

Advertising Plains Indian Art in the 1980s

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Inside the cover of the Summer 1984 issue of *American Indian Art Magazine* is a full-page, glossy advertisement. It features a Plains Indian man's traditional shirt. In full colour, the beaded and ermine fringed shirt contrasts stunningly with the solid black background against which it is portrayed. "War shirt, circa 1865," formerly belonging to "Joseph, Chief of the Nez Perce," is asserted by the advertisement. The value of the shirt is unmistakably high, though its price is kept discreetly confidential—available "upon inquiry."

Similarly, a centrefold advertisement in a well-known fashion magazine presents a new perfume. The small, curvaceous, artistically crafted bottle sits perched on a black velvet cushion, and is lit, seductively, from behind. The advertisement breathes money and mystique. The slogan reads, "for the discriminating woman."

Obviously these two advertisements have a number of features in common though they deal with two very different objects. Both reflect a concern with status, singularity and exclusivity; they serve as excellent examples of how both advertising and objects function as important vehicles of social communication.¹ Based on this idea, this article seeks to examine the advertising of Plains Indian art, traditional and contemporary, with the aim of gaining insight into current attitudes towards Plains Indian art. What do the advertisements reveal about the popular perceptions and appeal of Plains Indian art?

To date, literature dealing with Native art has tended to take an art-historical perspective, tracing and discussing evolution of style and technique. In these studies emphasis is on discussing links between the form of Western European art and society, and the form of Native art: how Western materials and craft techniques have influenced Native art. Examples of such art-historical studies include Christian F. Feest's *Native Arts of North America* (1980), dealing with the general impact of European contact on Native crafts, and Richard Conn's *Circles of the World* (1982), a more specific study focusing on Plains Indian traditional art. The

majority of these publications pertaining to Native art, its styles and techniques are in the form of museum exhibit catalogues. Publications where Native people discuss their own art history, such as Doreen Jensen and Polly Sargent's *Robes of Power* (1986), are definitely in the minority.

In addition to the investigations being carried on in the art world, studies of Native art are being done through the discipline of anthropology. These anthropological studies, in turn, emphasize the processes involved in the collection of Native art and artifacts. They investigate the appeal of the "exotic" and the "collection." As Native people begin to assert claims on Native art collections, the history of, and justification for, the acquisition of Native art become an increasingly politicized issue and, as a result, the histories of Native art collections are now under scrutiny. Studies in this area have focused on the reasons for, and methods of, collecting Native art of the "high-brow" world of museums and philanthropists. George W. Stocking's *Objects and Others* (1985), and James Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture* (1988), for instance, are excellent examples of such literature. Stocking's work discusses the historical role of Native art objects and museums in the representation of Native cultures, while Clifford's book includes a section on the phenomenon of "collecting" and on "tribal" art.

Existing literature reveals the current state and history of Native art in North America; however, what seems to be missing from this body of writing are investigations into the popular appeal of art and artifacts of Native manufacture. Museums and other large institutions are not the only collectors of Native art and their intellectual rationalizations for acquiring this material are generally not identical to those of the popular buying public. Where do individual and average consumers currently place Native art in the scheme of aesthetic creations? This question has yet to be answered. Nelson Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* pioneered the analysis of Native art production and sale, but few researchers have followed it up.² In the Canadian arena, Karen Duffek's short article, "Authenticity and the Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market," appears to stand alone in its discussion of the Native art industry.³

Art as an industry is never far removed from politics and economics, imagery and marketing. This paper is concerned with the Native art industry and the consumer wants and needs it reflects. Specifically, it will investigate popular attitudes towards Plains Indian art as revealed by the marketing strategies of a popular and influential Indian art magazine. Though advertisements cannot be judged unequivocally as true mirrors of popular attitudes and values, they do form a basis for plausible inference about society.⁴ Advertisements tend to reinforce and shape the same popular attitudes they seek to reflect, rather than challenge their

audience.⁵ Like any other kind of advertising, Plains Indian art advertisements reveal their audience.

The data-base for this investigation is the *American Indian Art Magazine* (*AIAM*), a "premier" trade magazine unique in its dealing with North American Indian art. *AIAM's* hybrid journal/magazine structure has made it an appealing reference source for both academics and commercial art dealers in Canada. As a result, the images and ideas that *AIAM* presents have wide circulation in the Indian art world, whether Canadian or American. This is not a fringe publication. The magazine is also popular among Native groups; issues of *AIAM's* forerunner publications are being used as textbooks for Canadian Plains Indian Survival Schools, and Native craft groups frequently refer to the magazine for information relating to the creation of "traditional" crafts.⁶

This paper will begin by discussing the history of *American Indian Art Magazine*—the setting for Plains Indian art advertising. It will then outline several characteristics of the Plains Indian art advertisements, and will look for meaning in the current *AIAM* marketing strategies.⁷

American Indian Art Magazine represents one of the few arenas for Plains Indian art advertising. Understanding the magazine and its features can give greater insight into the place of Native art in the contemporary art market. *AIAM* is a quarterly publication with a circulation of almost 16,000.⁸ Advertisements in the magazine, therefore, reach a substantial though select (target) audience. The current form of the magazine was born in 1974 out of its two forerunners, the *American Indian Hobbyist*, and *American Indian Tradition*.

The *American Indian Hobbyist* appears to have been established in 1954 as a small, volunteer-run, inexpensively produced magazine aimed at an audience interested in recreating traditional Native North American crafts.⁹ Norman Feder, the founding editor of the magazine, was connected with the Denver Art Museum, and later publication staff had similar links to the museum world (see Richard Conn, Fredrick Dockstader, Bill Holm). The *Hobbyist* concerned itself primarily with articles aimed at elucidating Native craft techniques and their history. Patterns and measurements were often included for the home hobbyist. Advertising in the *Hobbyist* was done mostly by craft material suppliers.

Following the *American Indian Hobbyist* was *American Indian Tradition*, which began circulating in 1961 with only a slight but noticeable change in content. The emphasis in articles was now on historical trends in Indian art styles and less on craft techniques, though these were still presented. Advertisements in *Tradition* dealt primarily with the sale of craft materials: "Real Indian made scalps—looks like Human hair," and "Tipi poles—genuine lodgepole pines preferred as the best by

Indians. . . ."¹⁰ A few galleries selling Indian crafts were also beginning to become involved.

The creation of *American Indian Art Magazine* saw distance being put between the magazine's "craft" roots and its new image, which emphasized exclusive, original art. Today *AIAM* is a glossy, well-produced magazine with contributions by experts in the Native art field, art historians, museum curators and researchers. The feature articles include art-historical and historical approaches to various forms of Indian art, museum collection reviews, auction prices, and museum/gallery events. The advertisements have moved away from promoting craft materials and towards presenting "masterworks," "important," "handmade" art and artifacts "from the heart and soul of the American Indian."¹¹ An important percentage of all Indian art marketing, therefore, occurs in an environment emphasizing not only prestige but also scholarly merit, and this serves to validate how the art is marketed.

AIAM has attempted to create a new image for itself and the objects it features—moving away from its association with amateur craftsmen. Between 1954 and 1980, Indian art slowly enhanced its status from "craft" to "high art." A description of current Plains Indian art marketing reveals the position of this material on the contemporary market.

Advertisements present their target audience with information of both a factual and symbolic nature. For instance, many of the Plains Indian art advertisements give factual information, such as the age of a piece, its function, its price, its tribal origins, and the name of the gallery or dealer selling the piece. These vital facts are usually presented clearly to the audience, and form the heart of the advertisement. At another level, however, the advertisements evoke in the minds of their audience a myriad of real and mythic mental associations—usually through visuals rather than texts.¹² A given piece may be associated with a historical photograph in the advertisement, thereby indirectly signalling the piece's ties to tradition, history and authenticity as opposed to mass production and modernity.

The visual imagery in advertisements usually works by allusion.¹³ Since the visual suggestivity of advertisements is difficult to analyze, the first part of this investigation will deal with the obvious "facts" presented by Plains Indian art advertisements, in an attempt to uncover what they emphasize. Only Plains Indian art advertisements featuring a visual of the object being advertised were chosen for investigation. It might be added that advertisements with only text and no picture formed a very small minority of the total Plains Indian art advertisements.

Evaluation of advertisements placed in *AIAM* during the 1980s led to a number of conclusions. Firstly, it appears that the type of items most

commonly featured include bags, decorated clothing (shirts, vests, leggings, dresses, belts, moccasins), paintings, sculptures and jewellery. Occasionally odd items such as quilts, robes or horse-tack are advertised. Though advertisements in *ALAM* appear to display a wide selection of Plains Indian items, those items featured are most certainly not representative of the total range of Plains Indian art—far from it. Conspicuously missing or uncommon are traditional items such as headdresses, tipi covers, tools, backrests, parfleches, saddles and shields, to name just a few. Modern Plains art, such as beaded caps and shoes, decorated shawls, car ornaments and modern pageant and pow-wow regalia are similarly nowhere to be found in the advertisements. The advertisements, therefore, reflect the current range of Plains Indian art only to a certain and small degree.

Secondly, almost sixty percent of the items advertised are Plains Indian art "antiques," otherwise known as artifacts. Half of these are advertised with their age indicated to emphasize their antiquity. Of the remaining forty percent, approximately half are reproductions of traditional items, and only the remainder is contemporary creative art. Every item advertised in the selected issues, it should be noted, is based on a *traditional* theme. Obviously the emphasis in the Plains Indian art advertisements is on ethnic traditions.

Thirdly, seventy-three percent of the advertisements listed either a tribal affiliation for the object advertised, or the artist's name. Once again, the emphasis appears to be on the ethnicity of the artist. The mentioning of tribal affiliation occurred more frequently than the listing of personal names.

Finally, Plains Indian art advertisements make up only a small percentage of the advertisements in *ALAM*. A survey of additional issues of *ALAM* showed that Plains Indian art advertisements consistently make up twenty-three percent or less of the advertisements in *ALAM*. Items from the American Southwest, from tribes such as the Hopi, Navajo, Zuni, and from Pan-Southwest contemporary artists, appear to get more coverage in the magazine—around forty percent.

The types of objects represented in the Plains art advertisements, as well as the total number of Plains art advertisements per issue, further reveal attitudes towards Plains Indian art. As already stated, Plains art advertisements are less common than Native art advertisements for other culture areas, and when present, Plains art advertisements feature only a narrow range of objects. Advertisers are appealing to already established Euro-American aesthetics in their advertisements; advertisers are not challenging the tastes of their target audience. This point can also be made for the art of other Indian groups. If the advertisements for Southwest Native art are scanned, it quickly becomes evident that the

items featured are mostly pottery figurines, dolls and weavings or textiles (Navajo blankets, in particular). Similarly, Northwest Coast Native art advertisements feature basketry and wood carvings. Such objects already have an established position in an average Euro-American aesthetic framework. Most non-Natives have little problem appreciating the aesthetics of textiles, ceramics and miniature figurines, all of which have counterparts in Euro-American culture. The materials and shapes of the objects are already familiar. Objects that are easily recognizable from a Western point of view are most popular. Plains Indian art objects, on the other hand, less frequently fall into the categories so readily appreciated in Euro-American culture. Ceramics, textiles and wood carvings were less common in Plains traditional culture and today form less of a base for contemporary innovation. Plains Indian art, therefore, is less familiar and consequently less popular.

Based on the data collected, the types of Plains art objects advertised as "masterworks," "significant" and "unique treasures" again fit easily into Euro-American established definitions of "art." Most of the objects are small to mid-sized, colourful (beaded) and easily displayed or worn. Clothing is easily appreciated, as are bags, paintings and jewellery. Items such as baby-carriers, shields and pipes are perhaps less familiar to Western tastes; however, they are visually stunning and can be easily managed in an average home. These are often very real considerations in the mind of the purchaser of Plains Indian art. Items such as feather headdresses, hairy hides, buffalo skulls, large tipi covers and unwieldy backrests and saddles are obviously more problematic to the non-museum art collector. Display difficulty, material deterioration (feathers, hair) and Western ideas of "good taste" (is it generally acceptable to hang a buffalo skull in your living room?) tend to draw the buyer away from the latter items.

Indirect examples of Euro-American definitions of art can be found in the following two advertisements. The first advertisement, put out by the Indian Arts and Crafts Association, appeals directly to Euro-American ideas of art by stating boldly in its text that "the Native American Indian's **HANDMADE WEAVINGS** make 'climbing the wall' a pleasure. . . . It's easy to get the **HANG** of it!"¹⁴ A second advertisement shows a fully beaded baby-carrier, with a close up feature of the beadwork—*not* of the finely tanned hide, which appeals less to Euro-American tastes than the beadwork.¹⁵

The visual imagery employed by Plains Indian art advertisements is as interesting as the slogans used, and the objects featured. In the advertising world, a considerable amount of research goes into establishing the nature and importance of the symbolic attributes of goods.¹⁶ Goods

are an important means by which consumers can communicate to others abstract ideas such as social status, lifestyle and expectations.¹⁷ If the advertiser can appeal to established values in the target audience, his message is believed to have a greater impact. Because these values are less precisely defined in the target audience, visuals are the most effective way of signalling associations in advertisements. As opposed to text, visuals provide the advertisement with the greatest versatility in terms of range of interpretation.¹⁸ Visuals are important in the advertising of Plains Indian art because, unlike objects produced within Euro-American culture, Plains art objects themselves usually signal an unintelligible message to the target audience. For example, an automobile advertisement featuring a Rolls Royce needs only to enhance the "status" already exuded by the car. A Plains war shirt, on the other hand—an item of prestige in Plains culture—says little to even an educated Euro-American audience. It therefore becomes the function of the advertisement to signal the value of the object.

Plains art advertisements have also been created to send out very limited and distinct messages, messages that easily fit into one of five categories: museum advertisements, lifestyle advertisements, trading post advertisements, art gallery advertisements, and craft advertisements. The museum advertisements allude to similarities between the featured object and ones found in museums. Museums, in Euro-American culture, are establishments associated with prestige, civilization, tradition, education and mystery. These associations are a result of the history of museums, which originated as collections of curiosities belonging to the rich and leisured class, and of the type of objects presented in them—old, rare objects from distant countries. Possession of exotic objects can be seen as a signal of worldly knowledge.¹⁹ Museum advertisements seek to highlight these values in their objects and do this by displaying their objects as a museum would—on a neutral, well-lit background, with accompanying text in a discreet label-like format describing cultural provenance, age, size and sometimes event cultural context. Some advertisements even go so far as to proclaim their pieces as being "museum quality," or appeal directly to museum collectors.²⁰ These advertisements form the bulk of Plains Indian art advertising.

The lifestyle advertisements are less common. Lifestyle advertisements are a recognized genre in advertising, and in them product-related images become emblems for social collectivities through their association with particular lifestyles.²¹ In the case of Plains Indian art, the lifestyle is usually one associated with money and high social status. Such advertisements often associate Plains art objects with Euro-American symbols of status—particularly antiques, expensive home interiors and

fashionably dressed people. Lifestyle advertisements demonstrate to their audience how to deal with Plains Indian art, and that incorporating this art into daily life is possible. These advertisements suggest, indirectly, how Plains Indian art can best be displayed or incorporated into a home setting: parfleches can be set on the mantle and drums can be used as coffee tables.

The trading post advertisements, in turn, hearken to the all-American (perhaps less Canadian?) dream of the "open frontier." They appeal visually to cliché ideas of American identity. For example, they present their audience with a visually overwhelming quantity of materials, and emphasize the importance of the family. Gallery owners are frequently featured in the advertisement as a family, and proudly proclaim their association with tradition—"over 36 years in the same location," and "a family business since 1963."²² The establishments sponsoring these advertisements are also often associated directly with a trading post image through their name: The Great Northwest Fur and Trading Post, Indian Territory or the Indian Post. This reflects an appeal to a romantic type of history—frontier history. The visuals tend to conjure up images of overstuffed souvenir shops, or the "O.K. Corral." Prestige is not emphasized here, nor are individual artists, tribes or artistry. What matters is that "the stuff is Indian" and is a product of the "last best West." The Trading Post advertisements generally feature traditional objects, whether reproductions or originals. This style of advertisement is interesting because it presents its audience with a paradoxical image: the advertisements emphasize the North American ideal of "plenty"—by portraying display floors crowded with hundreds of similar items—while simultaneously claiming rarity and authenticity for their pieces.

The museum, lifestyle and trading post advertisements appear to predominate in Plains Indian art advertising. The remaining two categories, the art gallery and craft advertisements, deal with advertisement styles that are less common, are smaller and use minimal visual manipulation, though they are worth noting. The art gallery style of advertisement is characterized by the emphasis placed on the artist and his or her creation. Visuals associated with these advertisements limit themselves to presenting the piece and explanations, slogans or labels are missing. Art gallery advertisements almost always list the artist's name and the format of the advertisements is almost identical to advertisements found in prominent art magazines. The advertisements further emphasize the medium and the techniques used by the artist, and the pieces are often named. Art gallery style advertisements most frequently deal with contemporary art, including paintings, sculpture and jewellery. The advertisers are usually art galleries.

Finally, the craft advertisement style can perhaps be traced back to *AIAM*'s history as a craft-oriented magazine. These advertisements are generally produced on a smaller scale, without the stunning and controlled visuals found in the museum, lifestyle or trading post advertisements. Craft advertisements tend to make their point through text, and stress "craftsmanship"—"hand-carved, hand-polished, hand-tanned." Much like the older *American Indian Tradition* or *Hobbyist* advertisements, these push the use of traditional, "authentic" techniques and materials. For example, a typical advertisement reads: "craftwork using traditional materials, methods and styles of 19th century Native Americans. Our pieces are tastefully patinated in an appropriate manner to bring about the richness of the colors, designs, and materials."²³ Another example reads, "All items made with authentic materials."²⁴ As in the *Hobbyist* and *American Indian Tradition* magazines, pieces in craft advertisements are usually replicas of traditional Plains Indian objects.

All in all, the visual imagery employed by Plains Indian art advertisements generally and overwhelmingly portrays the objects as exclusive collectors items, souvenirs and historic relics, whether real or reproduced. There appears to be little room for "modern" Indian art in *AIAM*. It seems that Euro-American ideas of tradition and authenticity play dominating roles in the production, and ultimate form, of most pieces advertised as "art." The objects treated as art actually fall into the category described by Graburn as "tourist art": objects that present a particular self-image and are created by Fourth-World peoples (Indigenous ethnic minorities) using more than one symbolic/aesthetic system for First World consumption.²⁵ The art and the way it is advertised appeal to Euro-American preconceived notions of what is accepted as "Plains Indian." In addition, the ethnicity of Plains Indian art seems to be of central importance. Emphasis is placed on the tribal affiliation rather than the personal characteristics of an artist. Finally, in every advertisement, Plains Indian art objects have been recontextualized. These objects are not portrayed in the environment in which they were conceived, but rather have been given new Euro-American sanctioned settings: on walls and in display cases.

The seemingly trivial and superficial nature of Indian art advertising belies its deeper and more symbolic nature. Based on the study of the advertisements in *AIAM*, it appears that Native American art, and specifically Plains Indian art, have an interesting function in Euro-American society: this tribal material has been detached from its conceptual milieu to circulate freely in another world of museums, markets and connoisseurship.²⁶ As indicated by the overwhelming abundance of advertisements portraying these objects as museum pieces, it seems that

much emphasis is placed by the purchasing public on acquiring and using these objects as parts of collections. Collections, because of their self-enclosed nature, can be considered ahistoric since they aim not to restore their members to their original context; they instead create a *new* context, a new world. They are "a form of art as play, a form involving the reframing of objects . . . and manipulation of context."²⁷ Plains Indian art advertisements, particularly the museum type that emphasize collections, involve a great deal of symbolism. Not only do they worship individual objects as potential museum pieces, with the historicity and exclusivity that idea connotes, but they also allude to the pieces as potential parts of collections. The objects are not important for their ties to reality, but rather for their potential role in the invention of tradition. What is actually occurring in the perpetuation and creation of collections is a process of Western-identity formation.²⁸ Through the appropriation of objects, particularly foreign objects, Euro-Americans conquer and reconstruct an unknown past and confirm Western knowledge and tastes. Not surprisingly, what is collected over time varies directly with the self-image of the collector. In addition, collections also have the power to invent identities for the groups they supposedly represent.²⁹ Since collections consist of a finite number of objects, each forms a part of a collective symbol for an entire culture. The advertising focus on collections therefore implies that Plains Indian art is currently being used to invent new worlds and new identities using elements hearkening to a distant and dim past. An example of this relationship between collections and traditions can be found in the history of Native art marketing in the American Southwest. At the turn of the century the trade in both historic and reproduced Native artifacts boomed under the stimulation of museum philanthropists who considered these objects to be pieces of *national heritage and pride*.³⁰ The types of objects saved, and which Natives were encouraged to make, were *not* random selections but rather careful choices based on rigid criteria set by the Euro-American collectors.³¹ Is there a parallel here between this type of selection and that which occurs in the advertisements of *AIAM*? Are modern collectors of Plains Indian art looking to reconstruct a new past out of both new and old pieces?

Throughout this investigation the emphasis in Plains Indian art advertisements on authenticity has been noted. This authenticity is associated with hand-production and ethnicity, also emphasized in the advertisements, and the definition of "authentic" Native art seems to be controlled directly by the buying connoisseurs—who are generally non-Native.³² These three concepts form a strange triangular relationship: authenticity and standard of workmanship are very much tied up in preconceived notions of ethnicity. Graburn's study of reactions of an

uniformed public to various forms of Native art describes a similar relationship between hand-production, ethnicity and authenticity. Graburn found that when objects of Native manufacture conflicted with the audience's preconceptions, the objects were given a bad review.³³ To be authentic, and truly ethnic, therefore, Indian art has to be hand-crafted. Such an emphasis on, and use of, ethnicity in the portrayal and sale of Plains Indian art serves to control what objects are recognized as "fine art," and what is produced.³⁴ Based on the abundance of advertisements focusing on traditional, ethnic arts in *AIAM*, it can be concluded that, indirectly or directly, the advertisers encourage the restriction of Native artistic expression to a particular historic phase: the late nineteenth century, in particular. The concepts of ethnicity, authenticity, value, tradition and rarity are all tangled in the same web. What the market appears to be looking for is a link to an authentic cultural tradition. As progress and innovation reign and craftsmanship, tradition and cultural distinctions become scarce in a world of global culture and mass production, buyers look for an identity with an historic basis. Plains Indian art objects appeal to such a longing for history. In addition, how the objects are advertised and marketed confirms that this appeal is recognized.

Finally, the Plains Indian art advertisements reflect the idea that Plains Indian art objects made for sale are neither truly Plains Indian in the mythical authentic sense, nor "art" in the Euro-American sense. These objects, though readily accepted in the First World, do not seem to attain the same status as "fine art." At the same time, many of the objects represented in the advertisements do not reflect the same types of innovations or trends represented in objects created by Native people for their *own* use. Whose art is this? Plains Native people have selected from their culture, and from Western aesthetics, certain symbols and features and combined them into saleable items. In such a way, these objects form a kind of cross-cultural dialogue: Indian-White relations in the aesthetic arena.

In conclusion, Plains Indian art advertising in *AIAM* shows that Plains Indian art is sold on its appeal to a buying public lusting after historic (nineteenth-century), ethnic hand-made objects that are valuable because of their rarity. But not just any piece of Plains Indian art is accepted as such: pieces must fit, largely, into the established Euro-American framework that defines what constitutes "art." The modern Plains Indian art industry, in turn, appears to be catering to these market demands for "traditional," ethnic and rare pieces with historic overtones. With the Indian art industry choosing such a focus, a question that naturally follows is: are Plains Indian artists being dominated and controlled (colonized) by

the demands and romantic sentiments of their market, or have Plains Indian early historic traditions simply been successfully transformed into a marketable commodity? If Plains Indian traditions have been commodified, as commodities they appear to be highly desired by a sector of North American society looking for a new identity, a romantic identity, an identity hearkening back to an innocent and pre-industrial world. Whatever the answer may be, both the appeal of Plains Indian art and the strategies used to market this material give an important view on Euro-American perceptions of Native culture in general. Art is easily made political: marketing strategies provide art with an image, and images are powerful communicators in the political arena. As a result, like the Hollywood and literary images of Native people, the marketing of Native art is an important indicator of current understandings of Native culture. The lack of research carried on in this area is lamentable since the amount of material involving allusions to Native culture produced by advertising companies is enormous and reaches mass audiences. These images also easily spill over into other intellectual realms, including the sacrosanct legal and academic systems. Given the current focus of Plains Indian art advertising on traditions of the nineteenth century, it may be concluded that acknowledgement of the contemporaneity of Native culture has yet to occur at a general level.

Notes:

- 1 Sut Jhally, Stephen Kline and William Leiss, *Social Communication in Advertising* (Toronto: Meuthen, 1986), p. 3.
- 2 Nelson H.H. Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
- 3 Karen Duffek, "Authenticity and the Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market," *BC Studies* 57 (spring 1983).
- 4 Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). p. xix.
- 5 Marchand, p. xx.
- 6 Carol Sheehan, personal communication, April 1989.
- 7 The issues chosen for evaluation were the non-feature issues of summer 1982, summer 1984, and winter 1988. These issues were chosen because they represent a range of years in the 1980s and were not special feature issues. The format and content of the magazine were consistent throughout the 1980s and it appears, and is assumed, that the issues analyzed are representative of *American Indian Art Magazine* in the 1980s.
- 8 *American Indian Art Magazine*, spring 1989, p. 80.
- 9 *American Indian Hobbyist*, Sept/Oct. 1959.

- 10 *American Indian Tradition*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1961.
- 11 *American Indian Art Magazine*, winter 1988, p. 12.
- 12 Jhally, Kline and Leiss, p. 239.
- 13 Jhally, Kline and Leiss, p. 239.
- 14 *American Indian Art Magazine*, winter 1988, p. 78.
- 15 *American Indian Art Magazine*, summer 1982.
- 16 Jhally, Kline and Leiss, pp. 242-43.
- 17 Jhally, Kline and Leiss, p. 243.
- 18 Jhally, Kline and Leiss, pp. 239-40.
- 19 George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 134.
- 20 *American Indian Art Magazine*, spring 1989 and summer 1984.
- 21 Jhally, Kline and Leiss, p. 295.
- 22 *American Indian Art Magazine*, summer 1982, p. 26, and winter 1988, p. 84.
- 23 *American Indian Art Magazine*, summer 1984.
- 24 *American Indian Art Magazine*, summer 1982, p. 74.
- 25 Graburn, 1976, p. 5.
- 26 James Clifford, "Histories of the Tribal and the Modern," *Art in America* 73 (April 1979): 171.
- 27 Susan Stewart, *On Longing* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 151.
- 28 James Clifford, "Objects and Others – An Afterword," in *Objects and Others*, edited by George W. Stocking (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 239-40.
- 29 Clifford, 1985, p. 239.
- 30 Edwin L. Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest 1880-1980," in *Objects and Others*, edited by George W. Stocking (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 175-76.
- 31 Wade, p. 181.
- 32 Duffek, p. 100.
- 33 Nelson H.H. Graburn, "I Like Things to Look More Different than that Stuff Did," in *Art in Society*, edited by M. Greenhalgh and V. Megaw (London: Duckworth, 1978), p. 64.
- 34 Duffek, pp. 104 and 107.