

CULTURAL PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES

PART TWO: CURRENT CULTURAL CLAIMS

PANELISTS:

KINSHASHA HOLMAN CONWILL,
Director, The Studio Museum in Harlem

PETER JEMISON, Historic Site Manager,
Ganondagan State Historic Site, New York

THOMAS KILLION, Director,
Repatriation Program, Smithsonian National
Museum of Natural History

JEMISON: Nya:wëh sgë:nö' ga:gwe:go
we:nitsi:yo:h. Onöndowa'ga:ni'.
Ganönza:de:dëon ni:' gya:soh. Ganön:da:gën
ni:' ka:nön:geh.

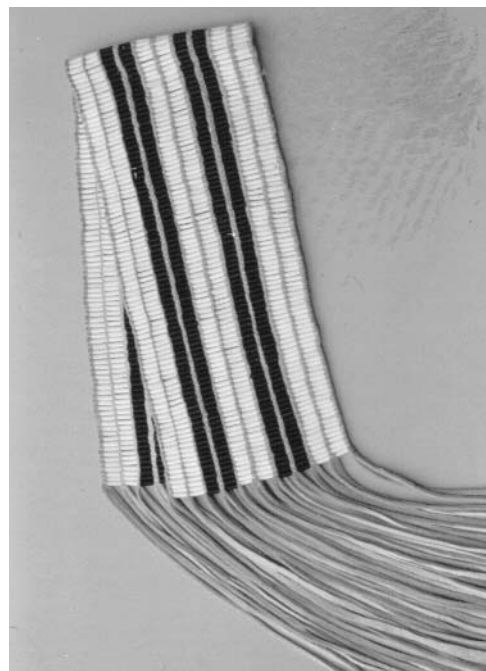
The language I'm using is Seneca. And I did it intentionally. I will translate it, but I wanted to illustrate that some of what I've been listening to, I've not understood. And I will help you to understand my perspective and why some of what I've heard has been so foreign to my ears. It's not my lack of command of the English language. Perhaps it's the concepts.

I first said, "I give thanks that each of you are well." And then I said, "It is a beautiful day today, not only outside but because of this gathering of people that are here." I said also that "we don't call ourselves Seneca, we call ourselves, 'the people of the great hill.'" And we refer to a hill on the southern, eastern shore of Lake Canandaigua as the hill of our origin. I said further, "I have a name which comes from the clan which I belong to, which is the Great Blue Heron clan of the Seneca nation. And that name is a name given to a faith-keeper, a person who is responsible, along with others, for the ceremonial way of life of which I am a part." And then I said,

"Where I live and where I work is a place known as a town situated on a hill, surrounded by the substance of white"—referring to white blossoms that were growing there when my Seneca ancestors settled there around 1655 and remained until 1687, when a campaign of the French came and destroyed four major Seneca towns in that area, including Ganondagan. I am the Historic Site Manager for 522.5 acres of land in Victor, New York, about 20 miles southeast of Rochester.

I brought with me an example of our way of explaining who we are and our relationship to you. In the Seneca language, we called this the Guswentá. We could read it this way, we could read it that way, in fact, we could reverse it and it would be the exact same thing.

This is an example of what we call a Wampum belt (below). Wampum is actually made from the shell of Quahog clams, sometimes from the periwinkle clam shell and sometimes also from the conch shell. The shell is cut into blanks, then it is rounded and made into a tubular-shaped bead, and then it is drilled so it can be strong. This kind of work went on here in the city of New York, but first the



*Wampum belt.
(Copyright G.P.
Jemison.)*

work was done in areas on the shore of Long Island and across the Sound in Connecticut and up into New England. Algonquin-speaking people made these shell beads and traded them inland to the Haudenosaunee, of which I am a part—the Haudenosaunee being the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy made up of the Seneca, the Tuscarora, the Cayuga, the Onondaga, the Oneida and the Mohawk.

We then use these shell heads to fashion belts, and which are called Wampum Belts, which anthropologists refer to as mnemonic devices, a means for recording important concepts. The idea is that when the person reading it holds it in his hand, the message literally comes from the belt to the speaker. This is a facsimile. But it is also an emblem that the bearer is bearing a message of truth, and is bearing a message that he has been designated to deliver, and that is the purpose of having it in his possession at a given time.

Eventually factories were opened in New York City by the Dutch and again by the English in which they manufactured Wampum because they learned of this great demand. It's not money. Not to us. It was a trade item. It is used to record an important idea. The idea that this belt embodies, some of you may find difficult, but I'm going to try to explain it. We Haudenosaunee are traveling along this particular pathway in our canoe. And in our canoe is our language, our way of life. You call it a religion. In that canoe is our law, delivered to us by the peacemaker. In our canoe is our knowledge of the trees, our knowledge of the Mother Earth and the gifts that she has brought forth to us. In our canoe is our knowledge of art, our knowledge of craft. In our canoe are all of those things that we need to be who we are.

Traveling in a parallel path next to us are the Europeans. This treaty was first made with the Dutch. In their boat is their law, their language, religion, customs and knowledge. And appar-

ently, science is traveling with them. You'll notice that the boat and canoe do not touch. They run parallel through the river of life, but they don't touch each other in this particular belt. And what the original treaty said between the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee was, "We're not going to get out of our canoe and try to steer your boat for you. We would appreciate it if you would not get out of your boat and get into our canoe and try to steer it for us. Respect our sovereignty."

And from time to time, some of our people will jump from our canoe and jump into your boat and they'll travel along with you for some time. And some may decide that they are as you, become you. Some may return and jump back into the canoe. Some of your people from time to time will jump from your boat into our canoe with us. But they find, in time, that it's too swift, and they'll return to their own boat.

And every treaty we made after this first one we made with the Dutch, early on in the 1600s, has followed this same concept: that we are each sovereign nations and that we have a right to the land. We are the original occupants of this land, and there are visitors who have come here. And our teachings are, "Be kind to the visitor. Don't forget the Indian, don't abandon the Indian, but be kind to the visitors who come." And that's the nature of our agreement, from that period on. We have a separate and a distinct way of life, which we are still observing until this time. And I know people probably find that almost impossible to believe.

Who owns the past? Is everything for everyone? A chance encounter in an Albany, New York bookstore sent Lewis Henry Morgan on a journey that changed mankind in 1844. Morgan met Elys Parker, a tall Seneca youth who was serving as an interpreter for the chiefs of his nation. During discussions in the state capitol, a series of extended conversations

led to Parker's collaboration with Morgan on his publication, "League of the Haudenosaunee," or Iroquois, published in 1851. Morgan was intensely interested in American Indians, and the opportunity to meet and discuss with a living representative of the Seneca Nation excited him tremendously. Elys Parker was a superb informant who later became a Seneca Chief and special assistant to Ulysses S. Grant. In fact, he penned the terms of surrender that Robert E. Lee signed at Appomattox. And he was the first United States Commissioner for Indian Affairs. Parker contributed more than half of the material published in "League of the Haudenosaunee." "Haudenosaunee" translates to mean in Seneca, "People who build an extended house."

As I said earlier, the Haudenosaunee are the original inhabitants of New York state, which includes the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida and Mohawk nations. Those were the five original nations of the Haudenosaunee. We were later joined by the Tuscarora to make the sixth nation.

Lewis Henry Morgan is considered the father of American anthropology. He is credited with the first scientific study of an Indian tribe. Morgan is the founder of the science of anthropology. Thus began the scientific study of one culture by another. He assembled an extensive collection of ethnographic material, carefully described in his field notes. As a writer, he built upon the efforts of those who preceded him, including the Jesuit writer Charlevoix, Cadwallader Colden, and the Baron de Lahontan.

Morgan's book began with a noble purpose—ostensibly, to examine the society of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, explain its structure and expose the negative stereotypes. The results were, I'm afraid, quite different. Morgan begins from the premise that the Iroquois were uncivilized. Morgan then takes

on a new task: that of determining which race is more evolved toward civilization, based largely on tool development. I am not questioning here Morgan's attention to the importance of language, and the lack of a written language by the Haudenosaunee.

Why begin here, when we're discussing culture, and who owns it, or when we're discussing repatriation? The answer is, because we need to know what led American and European museums to amass those enormous collections of Indian bones and our artifacts. What led to the notion of measuring the amount of sand you could pour into the craniums of American Indians killed in battle to determine their intelligence? What led to sending those heads back to the Army Medical Museum for study? Why were so many American Indian people decapitated, and their heads sent to Washington?

Measurement became the yardstick by which science was conducted on Indian remains collected by the United States War Department. The Smithsonian Institution, the Heye Foundation (today known as the National Museum of the American Indian), the Peabody Museum at Harvard, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Rochester Museum and Science Center became repositories of hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of American Indian human remains. Many of those museums are still the repositories of those remains, even though the efforts toward repatriation are ongoing.

When I emphasize Lewis Henry Morgan, it might be argued that Thomas Jefferson had a hand in this, and that the "cabinets of curiosity" preceded the work of Morgan. However, it is clear that Morgan's work accelerated this whole field. The gathering of human remains, this desecration of burial ground, at times in front of and over the objections of loved ones, knew no bounds. We are considered the savages by the writers of the 17th, 18th and 19th

"Why were so many American Indian people decapitated, and their heads sent to Washington?"

“We are considered the savages by the writers of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. But nothing can compare to the efficiency of professional and amateur archaeologists at desecration in the last century. . .”

centuries. But nothing can compare to the efficiency of professional and amateur archaeologists at desecration in the last century, from our point of view. The U.S. Army routinely decapitated American Indians and shipped their heads to Washington for study.

This scientific racism, which had so dominated the museum community and the fields of anthropology and archaeology, is still affecting American Indian people today. While there is a voluntary moratorium among some archaeologists in New York state on the excavation of Indian burials, today archaeologists have been supplanted by the pot-hunter or the developer with whom the archaeologists contract. In the part of the state where I live, they are building a new salt mine at a place called Hampton’s Corners, in spite of the fact that I attended hearings of the Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) and warned them of the high likelihood of finding human remains. The commissioner of the DEC, Commissioner Zagata, overruled the concerns of the administrative law judges of the DEC and issued a permit to the salt-mine company to proceed with work on this new mine.

The results were that in December, we had the first discovery of two sets of human remains. Now we’ve had four more sets of human remains discovered, right in the path of this railway that American Rock Salt intends to use to convey the salt in and out of the mine. So it’s the contracting archaeologists who are now facing the task of how to respectfully remove those remains from that location, since we can’t stop the progress of this salt mine, and we have to deal with its aftermath. And it’s one of my responsibilities to tell you the emotional toll this takes on us.

These topics could not even have been approached before the Indian activists of the 1970s, who in some cases took their leads from the civil rights era of the 1960s. I think of Dr. King’s march on Washington and the

Longest Walk, which took place between 1977 and 1978, when Native Americans walked literally from San Francisco all the way to Washington D.C. to protest the attempt to do away with our treaties.

American Indian nations now have treaties with the United States, entered into as one sovereign nation treatying with another. Treaties are the supreme law of the land, according to the U.S. Constitution. One result of past political events was the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, and the approval of its regulations in 1995.

Because of NAGPRA, a series of dialogues have begun that heretofore were nearly nonexistent. Under the act, museums that receive federal funding must provide to Indian nations summaries and inventories of the holdings they have. Those nations then have an opportunity to request the return of human remains, cultural patrimony, sacred objects, associated and unassociated funerary objects. Wampum would be for us an example of cultural patrimony—meaning, it does not belong to any single individual, but to our entire confederacy and is in the possession of the Onondaga Nation, which we have designated as the Wampum Keepers.

The act acknowledges Indian sovereignty, because it identifies Indian nations as the sole groups that can negotiate for their returns, and under NAGPRA, only federally recognized nations can repatriate (there have been few exceptions). The Indian nations are the ones who are designated to work with these museums. The act treats this whole topic much as property law; these things are deemed to be property, including human remains. We can make an argument for the return of these remains if we can prove that we are the lineal descendants of these remains. We must prove that we have a legitimate right to objects of cultural patrimony, or that the sacred objects

still have a place in our way of life and are therefore needed to continue our way of life. Under NAGPRA the burden of proof is on the Indian nation.

I chair a committee, the Haudenosaunee Standing Committee on Burial Rules and Regulations, that deals with two areas. One is the protection of our human remains throughout New York and other contiguous states. But we also deal with the problems of repatriation. We have chosen to approach this as a confederacy, rather than as individual nations. I am the Seneca Nation's NAGPRA representative.

Proving we are culturally affiliated with human remains gets into a whole gray area: the definition of "what is historic," and "what is prehistoric." As you probably understand, things are historic so long as they involve the time period after the European-American arrived here. Things are "prehistoric" if they predate the arrival of the European. So, for example, anything after 1550 is described by museums as "historic," because by 1550 they can find the existence of some kind of European trade item on our Seneca sites. Anything before that time is prehistoric. In other words, a bias already surrounds the entire discussion, which is that until Europeans arrived, there is no history in this country. And we Haudenosaunee don't recognize that concept to begin with. This argument about historic versus prehistoric has further implications when we claim human remains. Museums make the argument that remains predating 1550 may not be Seneca because there is no historic proof of there being Seneca. They are of course relying on the analysis of archaeologists who may not identify an associated funerary object with Seneca people.

When you talk about the identification of ceremonial objects and sacred objects, we get into a very difficult area of confidentiality. For us

to obtain a sacred object, we must explain to the museums to their satisfaction what its purpose is, what it's used for. I've always said that one of the things museums are good at is they've got a great handle on the obvious: they know how long it is, they know how wide it is, they know what color it is, sometimes they even know what it's made of. But in our case, they generally don't know what it's for. They haven't a clue of the songs that go with it. They haven't a clue of how to sing those songs, and they haven't a clue of the ceremony that actually makes that object do what it was given to us by the Creator to do. And that is the interesting paradox. So for us to get those sacred objects back, we must venture into that area of the confidential.

The Haudenosaunee have received over 200 letters from institutions all over the United States, including museums, universities and historical societies. And to date, we've only been able to scratch the surface of that. Imagine the emotional toll of witnessing the kinds of things that we see—we walk into a room, the entire room is filled, from floor to ceiling, with cardboard boxes containing the remains of our ancestors. Many of them were originally wrapped in newspaper, and until NAGPRA, many of those were still wrapped in those same newspapers they arrived in 80, 90 years ago. They've never been studied, never been opened. Now, because of the act, much has been changed, these have been taken out. And by the requirements of NAGPRA, these remains must be studied. So even though we object to that whole notion of the study of our human remains, the act mandates that before they can be returned to us, study must take place in order to be very clear about the inventory and that what they have belongs to us.

I do not want to say that these dialogues between ourselves and the people who work in the museum world are not beneficial. They are extremely beneficial. And it's been a two-way street, our sharing information with them and

their sharing information with us. I do not want to deemphasize that these collections of human remains and the artifacts that are with them have made it clear to us, in many cases, precisely where our settlements were, where our towns were located—after all, the work of the archaeologists did reveal that.

However, we have seen the looting of these graves for the treasures, and the hauling away of these treasures for their monetary value, not just their aesthetic value, and the hoarding and the gathering of more and more because the more you seem to have, the more important your museum is.

My question for you is this: Has all of this study and collecting fostered an understanding between us that wasn't here beforehand? Do you now know that there are Indian roots to American democracy? Do you know that we are the forgotten founders of the concepts of freedom that your people appreciate and your people followed by learning from Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson of the contributions to that way of thinking, of a representational democracy that our people had—our leaders being representatives of their people? Do you know that American Indian art is the original art of this country, and is it appreciated as such? Do you know of the combs that were produced by my ancestors that depict our clans and depict the first men we saw on horseback? “Indian Art of the United States,” the exhibit that MOMA mounted in 1941 that so influenced people like Jackson Pollock and other painters of that era with the power of American Indian art, has that continued? You might point to the Battery and say, “There, down on Bowling Green, there's your museum, down there.”

And when we assert that we are still sovereign, and that we have legitimate land claims in this state, who is it that pops up to counter that claim at this moment? The John Birch Society has taken issue and, in fact, has targeted the

issue of Indian sovereignty as the one thing that it's going to get rid of at all cost, and is working mightily with your Senate and with your legislature at both the national and the state level to do away with anything that resembles that.

I've always found it ironic that the Statue of Liberty faces out toward Europe, and turns its back on us. That it welcomed all of you and your ancestors and your descendants, while it turns its back on us. At one time, I created a piece of work—I work on paper bags because all art should naturally return to the earth. On one side of the bag, I did the Statue of Liberty, and on the other side, facing the visitor, on a monument raised high, was the bison, the American buffalo. For me, that beautiful animal, that powerful animal that was nearly hunted to extinction, whose tongues were the main objects of all that hunting, and the carcasses left to rot—for me, that embodies and symbolizes much more of the America that unfortunately we know.

KILLION: I want to link some of my comments to some of the issues that have come up. I think that the repatriation movement has a great deal of significance. I think repatriation legislation in the United States has resulted in some very specific actions: protection of burial places—an extension of the protections that have been accorded since at least the middle of the 19th century. We're in the process of extending protections to Native American burial places.

Equally important is the disclosure of information in the museums, in other institutions, etc. The records and collection information, until recently, was inaccessible to many people, including Native Americans. I think you'd be surprised to know how difficult it is for native people in other parts of the world to get into the records, to look at the information standing behind the collections in their museums. Finally, there is importance in the actual

return of the remains and objects. The law specifically requires consultation, and this is perhaps the most important aspect of the repatriation legislation.

I should digress for a second. We have two laws that we're working with here: the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act passed in 1990 referred to in Peter's discussion, but also the prototype for that law that was passed for the Smithsonian in 1989, the National Museum of the American Indian Act, which had the first federal repatriation provisions. NAGPRA broadened that mandate to include not only the remains of the ancestors, but also the objects that were buried with them, including sensitive objects and objects of cultural patrimony.

But this law mandates a consultation. Consultation is really a sharing of information, an opening-up, a way of getting access to information and making decisions. The spirit of respect that repatriation can often generate broadens perspectives and can lead to the sharing of power that many have called for.

An example of power-sharing is collaborative decision-making. At the Smithsonian and at many other museums, universities, etc., repatriation has led to new curatorial practices, new arrangements, new procedures such as traditional care. That is, Native American curatorial efforts have been incorporated into the practices of the museums, even at the Smithsonian. This interaction has also led to additional scientific research, where there is community support. This idea of community anthropology is a very important outcome, not only of repatriation but of similar and related initiatives that are going on today. Even agreements to retain objects, where groups have decided to leave their materials in the museum (this rarely happened with the skeletal remains, although it has)—those are all based on arrangements mutually amenable to the parties involved, and those are made

very explicit in agreements.

Perhaps the most explicit sign of power-sharing has been the returns themselves. At our museum, more than 4,000 individual objects to date have been returned to their relatives, their cultural affiliates (to use the terminology of the law). More than 1,000 funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony have been returned to tribal control.

Giving up control does not mean abandoning one's principles, only that you respect the legitimate prerogatives of another stakeholder. We don't tell the tribes what to do with their ancestors or with their objects. This fiduciary responsibility transfers with the return, with the repatriation. We're certainly willing to work with tribes, if they so desire, to help preserve, or to develop museums, etc. But that's their call. Sometimes, repatriation provides a secure foundation for working together. Some of our returns have resulted in agreements to continue research on objects, agreements to curate materials for their continued presentation of their culture to the greater public. Some of those collaborations are moving forward.

One question that has come up at this conference is of additional laws and agreements internationally to stop looting, site destruction, illegal export, and other problems related to international cultural-property issues. My experience in repatriation suggests that additional agreements and international laws probably need to be passed, or there must be greater attention to compliance with existing laws. Repatriation itself would never have been enacted voluntarily: this is clear. So I think additional international agreements are unavoidable.

At a recent repatriation session that took place at the World Archaeological Congress in Cape Town, we discussed progress with repatriation and related issues around the world. Australia, for instance, has completed a great deal of

“Repatriation itself would never have been enacted voluntarily: this is clear.”

“There’s a loudly voiced fear within the research world that repatriation means the end of research.”

repatriation and grave protection without legislation. I’m not sure that Australian experience will be widely applicable, though.

The same may be true for the protection of cultural properties and the return of national patrimony. Given Ricardo Elia’s very convincing demonstration of the existence and the increasing scale of looting and site destruction in a sovereign state, even with existing protections for antiquities, it seems clear that a greater number of players, stakeholders and decision-makers need to be brought within a formal and widely supported framework: i.e., international agreements with some teeth in them.

The key to repatriation success has been a leveling of the playing field by the parties involved. Repatriation legislation is taken very seriously at museums and other institutions across the country. I think John McCarter’s comments about the need for power-sharing perspectives on cultural property and patrimony as well represent a really important position.

One thing that has always puzzled me is the relatively small attention paid to repatriation in the academy. Perhaps framing repatriation within the larger issue of cultural property can lessen the pariah-like nature of this issue within our educational institutions. This is good for anthropology, and I hope it will pull some of our elders and the doyennes in our field more into both the applied and the theoretical aspects of the repatriation movement. Repatriation might be thought of as a vanguard within cultural-property issues, a model within which there’s a broader process of evaluation within a set of related disciplines and enterprises.

I firmly believe that it is possible to do good research within the framework of repatriation. There’s a loudly voiced fear within the research world that repatriation means the end of research. A colleague and I did a little

research on this: What might be a measure of the depth of the science of anthropology, even archaeology and physical anthropology? We looked at the publication record in two journals: *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, and *American Antiquity*, for the eight years preceding repatriation and for the nine years since.

What we found was: One, articles that specifically incorporated the use, the study, the examination of Native American human remains changed very little in the years preceding repatriation to the years after. The overall number was very low to begin with. That measure suggests that the effect has been less than had been feared within the profession. I think some of the real dilemmas in cultural property may yield to the principle of inclusion that has sometimes, very uncomfortably, accompanied the birth of repatriation.

CONWILL: You may wonder why I am on this panel. My second museum job was at the Museum of the American Indian at 155th and Broadway, at the time of the Attorney General-mandated inventory of the collection, at a time when that institution was run by new staff after some controversial moments. I would not have predicted 20 years ago that today there would be a National Museum of the American Indian, and that the individuals involved in that institution would include a large number of Indian people.

My first museum job, however, was at a Frank Lloyd Wright house. That house had been denuded of all of its furniture and even some of the architectural ornamentation of the venerable Hollyhock, which was the motif that surrounded the Mayan temple-inspired home.

Peter Jemison reminds us that what is sacred and what is cultural is a challenging and complex notion. It is specific, nuanced and textured. The sense of place and its sacredness to the Seneca nation is profound and multi-layered.

ered. One of the most effective moments of a very affecting presentation for me was his description of the decapitation of Indian people and the deportation of their heads for scientific study. It interested me for a number of reasons. One is that cranial studies were also used with African-Americans as a way to attest to the knowledge, humanity and I.Q. of African-American people and, as with native people, it became a way to dehumanize the subject. And how can one's property be claimed to be legitimate when the people with whom that property is associated are looked upon as less than human? This, of course, was a major subtext of the American slavery experience and the international trade in human cargo that made that possible.

But I also felt that a very effective moment yesterday was the video still of the destruction of the bridge at Mostar, which was a vivid example of a moment of annihilation. We can only imagine the horrible notion of what Peter has described to us. It particularly resonates for me, because I am in a field where we often turn to the abstract, the intellectual. We turn to our principles, our guidelines, our missions, our professional practices as a way to absolutely frame issues. This is important, but it distances us very much from the human, emotional and profoundly spiritual nature of these kinds of exercises and discussions.

I'm just going to throw out some bulleted thoughts that also resonate from the discussion of the past couple of days, starting with the title, "Who Owns Culture?"

- Who owns culture? In Chicago, African-American elected officials entered a gallery in the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, removing a work of art depicting Harold Washington dressed in women's lingerie, because they found it offensive.

- Who owns culture? In Washington, African-American construction workers took sledge-

hammers to a painting on a billboard depicting the Reverend Jesse Jackson with blond hair and blue eyes, and the inscription, "How do you like me now?" They did not know that this was a work by the black artist David Hammon.

- Who owns culture? In New York, a black professor at the New School defaced the work of a Japanese artist that pictured black people with stereotypical features. The tag line he wrote on this work: "This is bullshit."

- Who frames the issues and how? The Richard Serra example raised again and again is a very important one, because it's one of the few times that a contemporary artist has truly entered a very broad dialogue. Most of our dialogues are quite insular and airless in the art-museum world. But that broke into the public arena, and it met the constructs that our previous colleagues have put forward regarding the aesthetic, political, cultural and public object. And when one unpacks the intentions of everyone involved, from the GSA officials, who claim a victory for democracy, to Serra himself, who is much quoted saying how he really planned to assault Foley Square, that was his job. Then, on a certain level, it was a very successful intervention of public art.

Lastly, historically black colleges and universities were the caretakers of 100 years of important cultural objects and cultural property, and not just of African-American people. For instance at Hampton University, there's a major Native American collection. At Fisk University, there's a great collection of European-American art, donated by Georgia O'Keeffe in honor of her husband, Alfred Stieglitz, a collection that many in the art-world have questioned being at a historically black college.

If people are questioning whether Peter and his colleagues in the Native American community can control their own culture, there

certainly is suspicion that a marginalized group of Americans—that is, African-Americans—should control the status, the future, the care of major objects of European-American art.

My last comment is on Neutra: I think that if the structure were in Southern California, it wouldn't matter if it was the best example or the worst example. The real divide for us between east and west is East Coast and West Coast. And Schindler, Neutra and Frank Lloyd Wright reign in Southern California in a way that people from the East Coast could never imagine.

JEMISON: I wanted to make a comment concerning what is called cultural property.

At the moment, there are a number of corporations that are attempting to patent all sorts of things, including certain species of corn. And if they were permitted to patent those species of corn, some of which are our corn,

we would eventually wind up in a position where we could not raise that corn. We would be in violation of their patent on that corn.

And at the same time, we have people running throughout the rainforests of the world, gathering plants—pharmaceutical companies—and applying patents to those as well after they've consulted with Native Americans or native people who are the practitioners of those, and who use those plants for medicinal purposes. Their intent is to control access and use of those particular plants. And what they leave out is all of the spiritual aspect that goes into the use of those plants, the ceremonial life that surrounds those people who have learned—through eons of time—the respect for those plants, and the people who recognize the right of all living things and see themselves as a part of that. I wanted to point this out because the distinction was made yesterday—it was stated that you can't say really who owns things like that. Yet there are companies that are attempting to do that.