

Bank Street College of Education

**Educate**

---

Graduate Student Independent Studies

---

1992

## **The Museum Paradox : The Co-existence of Narrative Structure and Audience Advocacy**

Barbara Cohen-Stratyner

Follow this and additional works at: <https://educate.bankstreet.edu/independent-studies>




Part of the [Adult and Continuing Education Commons](#), and the [Museum Studies Commons](#)

---

T  
1992  
C678m

The Musum Paradox:  
The Co-existence of Narrative Structure and Audience Advocacy  
By  
Barbara Cohen-Stratyner

Advisor



Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
of Master of Science in Administration  
Bank Street College of Education  
1992

**The Museum Paradox: The Co-existence of  
Narrative Structure and Audience Advocacy**

by Barbara Cohen-Stratyner

**Abstract:**

This paper is concerned with narrative structures and adult learning in history and art museums that were established between 1870 and 1930, although the discussions of structure and exhibition development can be useful for any cultural institution that displays artifacts. Within the large field of study on cultural institutions and their role in adult cognitive change, the focus is placed on narrative exhibition structures that allow the museums to present information and artifacts to an adult audience without the intervention of live staff members or docents.

After an analysis of the narrative basis of the art forms favored by the museum founders and funders, the thesis will focus on the narrative structures of four principal cognitive aspects of the museum experience. They are the museum as an architectural unity establishing a physical relationship with the mobile audience; the individual exhibition; exhibition-related programming; and associative texts created by the institution. For each aspect, there are narrative mechanics and syntaxes derived from contemporary public art and popular entertainments to efficiently and efficaciously serve the institution's desired audience. These narratives, narrations and narrative voices will be studied for their derivations, their uses in interpretive exhibitions, and their representations of cognitive change. As museums have altered their approach to audiences and artifacts, those involved with the exhibition development process have questioned these narrative strategies and whether institutional authority and exclusionary biases can be detached from them. Do these strategies for including information exclude audiences? The thesis will end with a brief review of the current debate on the retention and adapting of interpretive museum forms.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction: The exhibition paradox	1
Methodology	4
Sources	5
Museums in an age of narrativity	6
Four cognitive aspects of museums	9
Narratives	12
Narrations	14
Narrative voices	17
Narrative structures and cognitive change	23
Authority	43
Endnotes	58
Bibliography	63

## **Introduction: The exhibition paradox**

Museums are based in the traditional historiographies of the 19th and 20th centuries. They were designed to present world chronologies acceptable to their founders and their perceptions of the desired audiences. Life (as culture and as history) was designed to be seen through the perspective of the "great man/occasionally woman" or idealized "common man/occasionally woman" whose history and life-style was presented to an audience who resembled both the museum creators and the specified perspective. The demand for museums to change the pre-selection of its audience and its perspective came in the later 1960s and was codified in the American Association of Museum's 1972 publication -- *Museums: Their New Audiences*. Through 20 years of national conferences, seminars and further publications, the museum profession has adapted its focus to the widening of audiences through changes in collection and interpretation policy. It is the major challenge of what is being called "the new museology" to eliminate the biases and exclusions perceived in traditional museums in order to include and empower new audiences.<sup>1</sup> The curator or subject specialist no longer has the sole responsibility of creating exhibitions; in many institutions that assignment is given to a team of curators (representing the artifacts), designers (representing the space), administrators (representing the institution) and educators (representing the potential audience). The latter, named audience advocates, provide input on how the decisions of the team might affect an audience's appreciation of the museum visit and comprehension of the exhibition content. The professional literature of the last decade for exhibition developers and audience advocates throughout the museum hierarchy has focussed on these tasks and on the methodologies available to museums to create new interpretive exhibitions or re-design existing collection displays.

Museums display material with presentational and interpretive methods derived from fiction. These methods have been developed through centuries to ensure that the audience comprehends the material and recognizes the institution's authority. We must

investigate the mechanics of these methods of presentation to understand how they have permeated the institutions before we can facilitate the presentation of new interpretations of history aimed at an audience that reflects the actual populations of their communities. The methods allow the presentation of accurate information that empowers the audience to comprehend and question, but, like all rhetoric media created to persuade as well as educate, they may have also been used to present material that inhibited the audience's search for knowledge and cognitive change.

The basic mechanics of these methods -- narratives, narrations, and narrative voices -- are used in all of the principal cognitive aspects of the museum experience. Museum professionals who advocate the inclusion of traditionally unserved audiences create narratives to guide and empower the audience, but may find the task difficult since every narration is vested with the authority of the exhibition and the institution that sponsored it. The experience of viewing the exhibition is inextricably bound to the experience of entering and negotiating the museum as a physical space. When empowering authority is vested in an imposing and historically exclusionary institution, the audience may be unable to accept the inclusionary message.

It has been suggested by some in the field that the narrative structure should be eliminated in order to divest exhibitions of institutional authority. The revisionist museologists reject what they call "coercive" exhibitions that interpret a curator's views to the traditional audience as if they were universal truths.<sup>2</sup> It is my belief that the biases can be eliminated without eliminating the mechanisms. Narratives, as strategies for including information, do not automatically exclude audiences and, in most cultural forms, they serve cognitive change.

It is a paradox of museums that by eliminating narrative structure and authored exhibitions, all authority may default to the institution, thereby giving it even more precise and inherent power to exclude. The institution may create or reflect a socially acceptable false reality that has not been recognized as either false or exclusionary, such as Columbus'

"discovery" of the Americas, and use narrative structures to persuade the audience of its truth or it may use that power to include audiences and give them the perception of ownership in the institution, as has been attempted in this year's revisionist Quincentenary exhibitions in many museums. If cognitive change is recognized as a factor in audience advocacy, the narratorial strategies that serve it must be studied so that they can be used to serve the audience.

Both the biases and the narrative forms date from the mid-19th century. As museums moved from collections of oddities to carefully scripted presentations of comparative cultures, they broke their social links with popular amusements -- James Smithson, Benjamin Ives Gilman and John Cotton Dana did not want to be considered in the same business as P.T. Barnum and the Eden Musee. The presentational links among these founders of the field of museum education and their popular entertainment contemporaries, however, remained strong. Both narratives and narrations as interpretive tools are based in popular art forms, not forms that were collection by museums. Narrative structures borrowed from plays, popular songs, fiction and early motion pictures became the basis for the traditional museum's physical and interpretive structures.

Film and museums were 19th century art forms that connected to general culture through presentations called "exhibitions." In a museum of this period, an exhibition could mean a show of art or objects in a temporary setting, a permanent gallery or an entire museum. In popular entertainments, an "exhibition" was the showing or performing of any work involving visual and textual/musical material. Songs, slide lectures, live performances and films were all presented by "exhibitors." This verbal linkage is not just a pun. There are intrinsic structural connections between museum exhibitions and exhibitions of popular culture which transcend the language of the period and raise important questions for museum interpretation.

- The exhibition forms are perceived at the discretion and active choice of the adult audience at the onset -- the "shall we go in?" question -- and throughout the

experience -- the "am I paying attention?" question. A well developed exhibition will continually re-excite the audience's focus.

- The forms are multi-sensory but require a physically frontal re-orientation. The audience member controls his/her pace and route inside the performance space or among gallery scenepoints.
- The forms work with associative texts, such as programs, brochures and orientation graphics, that supplement the presentation of information to the appropriately literate.
- The forms require instant perception of both narration and narrative structure by the audience and therefore employ structures that are known to the audience from other genres and experiences.
- The forms employ narrative structures that represent cognitive changes to the adult gallery audience. The changes happen to the characters (in popular entertainments) and to the artifact producers or users (in exhibitions).
- The forms use narrative structures that can be manipulated to present, emphasize or invent authority. This authority can be used to exclude or to empower audiences.
- If the forms do not reveal a recognizable narrative structure, the artifacts will assume a default narrative based on the inherent authority of the audience experience.
- In a default situation, both forms cede authority to the institution housing them.

### **Methodology**

This paper, although primarily historical in nature, uses supplementary methodologies. Exhibitions are detailed through structural analysis, a tool developed in the 1970s from semiotics and the study of physical and popular performance. Structural analysis, through non-judgmental documentation, looks at the relationships among performer, audience and space. Michael Kirby's writings on avant-garde performance as spatial art and his verbal and performative presentations that "anything that exists continuously through time creates structure" have influenced my readings of the museum as a space.<sup>3</sup> Among the language-based semioticians, the work of Paul Bouissac on



performance outside of theater buildings as a construct of program and act has been especially useful and was readily adapted for the analysis of museum as construct of institution, exhibition and program.<sup>4</sup>

The study of the narratal nature of the arts is currently a major concern of many musicologists and other historians of culture and the individual art forms. Among my colleagues who are writing on narratology and musical analysis, I am especially grateful to Channan Wilner and Robert Kosovsky, City Univerity of New York, who shared bibliography and ideas with me.

The educational methodology of looking at exhibitions for their potential cognitive change is based on my studies at Bank Street College of Education and on presentations at symposia sponsored by the New York City and national Museum Education Roundatables. Presentations referred to in the text by John Tchen, then of the Chinatown History Project, and Annie Storr of the National Museum of American Art were especially relevant since both are studying methods of imparting information to an audience. I am also very grateful to David Carr, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, for telephone conversations and access to his then-unpublished paper on "Cultural Institutions as Structures for Cogitive Change," that helped to clarify my view of museums and active adult learning.<sup>5</sup>

### **Sources**

The sources for the analysis include the literature of museology and adult participation in museum programming. Many of the most useful sources were papers and planning documents presented or distributed at symposia and colloquia for the profession, some of which are now included in anthologies. When possible, the originally contextual source of the material, as well as its current publication status, is included in all references.

Part of the paper is based on observation of museum spaces and exhibitions over the last four years. Both associative texts distributed to the public, such as brochures, advertising heralds, floor plans, etc., and internal documents reserved for an institution's

staff (planning and grant narratives, docent training texts, floor plans, etc.) have been cited extensively. Educational documents designed for teachers, classrooms and museum visitors of all ages have also been studied. This material was seen in private collections and institutional archives, as well as the Bank Street College of Education Library, the Teachers College Library and The New York Public Library's General Humanities Division, Local History and Genealogy Division and the Wallach Division of Art, Architecture, Prints and Photographs. It is seldom possible to verify the author of these texts and documents, since they are so often credited to the institution. Most of the sources for the cultural contexts of the museums and exhibition structures came from the book and non-book collections of The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

### **Museums in an age of narrativity**

The accepted history of the modern American museum begins in the 1870s from two disparate strands of collections. The first was the salon, whether commercial or sponsored by an membership society, in which artists were invited to show their recent works. They still exist as galleries and as art museum shows, such as a Biennale. The second, which can still be found in many older institutions, was a systematic arrangement of artifacts or art works by chronology, genre, species, geography or other categorization from the natural or social sciences. Neither of these antecedents included interpretive exhibitions. Dissatisfaction with the latter and a desire to present public history (as well as natural science) in the former led to the development of large museums in the major cities of the United States.

The earliest of these were still what Benjamin Ives Gilman writing in 1913 called the "magazine era of museums, when they were built and arranged with chief reference to the preservation of their contents. These were days of closely restricted access, of crowded rooms and walls, of great cases with multifarious contents, both arranged in each other's way, of light openings insufficient and dazzling."<sup>6</sup> In the first decades of this

century, urged on by audience advocates such as Gilman and John Cotton Dana, museums adapted a form from expositions and commercial displays and began to create interpretive exhibitions to educate their audiences. These included wings devoted to individual histories (usually Ancient but also Oriental and American) and chronologically arranged gallery suites, as well as individual temporary exhibitions. Since this occurred in a period in which narrativity was the norm for the arts, literature, historiography and popular entertainments, interpretive exhibitions and museum development were developed as narrative forms.

They succeeded as bases for museums as well because they reflected their founders' and administrators' contemporary concepts of history. The historians' arts of narrating and presenting, as well as their fixations with Empires, were integrated into the new institutions. The turn-of-the century concept of good history, which became entrenched into museums, was described in an inaugural address of the American Historical Association in 1906: "...the fascination of great history lies not so much in sharing through vivid narrative the emotions of those who live again in the historians' pages, as in tracing 'the sequence by which successive occurrences are seen to issue in their necessary results, or causes apparently remove to converge to a common end' ".<sup>7</sup> This vision of history as a series of occurrences with causes, effects and results fit well into the gallery structure and became the basis of most narrative interpretive exhibitions.<sup>8</sup>

History, in academia, museums and elsewhere, was also a product of the American fixation with past Empires, their glories and their downfalls -- information provided to prevent repetition. The focus, concurrent with cause-and-effect historiography and a period of exploration and discovery, was aimed primarily at the life styles of the Empire builders, not at indigenous cultures. The revisionist Columbus Quincentenary exhibitions of the current season are in direct opposition to this. As the century began, this fascination was seen as a search for parallel civilizations that would teach America to recognize and adopt the secret of historical permanence. In the later 1920s, Charles and

Mary Beard and their left-oriented colleagues used the parallel civilizations to praise and protect the American rejection of totalitarianism.<sup>9</sup> In each case, the Empires that were studied were the Mediterranean cultures of Egypt, Greece and Rome (considered the cradle civilizations), Babylon, Persia and Assyria (which jointly fascinated Americans), the lost cultures (from the real to the imaginary) and what was then generally called "The Holy Land." Museums funded research and provided gallery space to artifacts of those cultures that were seen as pre-European even as collectors were developing the fields that were then described as Oriental, Primitive and American art. A discussion of the political impact of these classifications in captioning can be found in the Authority section of this thesis.

The museum founders and supporters in American society are also identified as the major donors to the establishment of classical music organizations, opera companies and theaters that focussed on "new" European plays. While we cannot determine whether they enjoyed their culture, we do know what they expected from those institutions. Tastes varied, of course, but the consistent theme was the importance of narrative forms in music, dance (then presented in opera houses) and drama. This is, of course, also the period in which abstraction became prevalent in strains of dance, music and graphic art, but it attacked realism and representation, rather than narrativity.

Narrativity was also vital to literature and public art. At the time when the modern museum was being codified, the single narrative focussing on an individual subject was the primary focus of popular fictional forms. The English, German and French 18th and 19th century novels, dramatic literature and music in the narrative tradition are primarily biographical single narratives, as are their American counterparts. The most popular fictional forms, from Bildungsroman to Gothics to dime novels to nickelodeons, were almost exclusively single narratives and derived their power from the audience's commitment to the single narrative voice and the inevitability of plot development inherent in a form with a guaranteed beginning and end.

The serial narrative, focussing on a series of individual subjects in turn, in the form of opera subscription seasons, serial publications and progressive events, was the focus of culture-as-social entertainment as audiences committed themselves to Monday evenings, rather than purchasing tickets to individual cultural works. Even invitational ballroom parties were serial narratives with identified leaders to guide the hierarchy of guests through a pre-determined set of cotillion dances.<sup>10</sup> Certain popular entertainments, such as film, song and novels, reflected parallel interests from the non-museum-going public.

#### **Four Cognitive aspects of museums**

The museum experience can include an almost unlimited number of opportunities for cognitive reactions. From orientation to exit, there are multiple choices to be made depending on the scale and dimensions of the space, the time span of the visit, the number of galleries, the presence or absence of other visitors, etc. The aspects of a museum visit on which I have focussed are present in almost every museum visit. This thesis is concerned primarily with adult audiences, but many of the cognitive aspects of museums are applicable to family and intergenerational visitors led by adult members of the group. Children and visitors at museums designed for children have different cognitive needs.<sup>11</sup>

#### **Museums as buildings:**

Museums built or re-located at the turn of the century followed one of two architectural models from Europe. Most adopted the models of former palaces as adapted in the early 19th century as public buildings. Rooms follow each other or open on to large spaces. Decoration schemes on walls and ceilings break narratives into chapters that begin and end in each room. The galleries are serial by architectural model and as functioning representatives of the serial concepts of history. You have to leave Egypt to reach Greece and walk through Greece to see Rome. In each historiography, historic eras are presented serially -- the technique most easily adapted to museum use. 19th century museums were designed for audiences that knew the accepted version of world and art

history of their times. Major additions to that canon of knowledge were limited to newly discovered examples of past cultures.

The other model was adopted from buildings created for public expositions in the latter 19th century, most notably the World's Fairs of 1893 (Chicago) and 1900 (Paris) and the presentations at the Crystal Palace and Earl's Court, London. These large edifices, designed with knowledge of commercial necessity rather than etiquette, featured a large orientation frontage, a balconied *rez de chaussée* or Great Hall extending the length of the building, and side rooms suitable for displays. Such modern interpretative and educational methodologies as illustrated lectures, live demonstrations and displays of currently available goods were developed in expositions.<sup>12</sup> You still had to leave Egypt to reach Greece, but you also had the option of returning to the present that could be seen through each gallery.

Both models were designed to introduce an audience to new products or artists or to reinforce publicly held positive ideas, such as the status and power of a nation sponsoring an exposition building, so they were designed as large, inviting places. Spatial and decorative elements were chosen to focus equally on the artifact, the institution and the audience.

### **Exhibition spaces**

An exhibition space can be a single gallery, a suite of rooms or any discrete section of the museum. One can distinguish an interpretive museum from a salon-model room by the imposition or integration of a narrative into the designed self-enclosure. In the period of museums development, when only those who possessed cultural literacy were visitors, the artifacts were self-limiting. One knew that the Greek "exhibition" had ceded to the "Roman" one because one identified the stylistic change in the objects. In the era of expanding audiences, museums use signage and orientation to signal the change from one gallery to the next or from one exhibition back to the permanent chronological collection.

In order to observe the structure of an exhibition space, it is useful to look at both the architectural divisions of wall, doors and corridors, and at "scenepoints," centers of movement or stasis.<sup>13</sup> Where do people stand or sit to see the artifacts or text panels? This question is important as it determines the cognitive efficiency of the placement of the material on the wall or floor.

In cognitive terms, an exhibition (unlike a museum or a salon) presents new information as a unit. This is accomplished through the narrative structure, beginning with the spatial and graphic orientation area and ending with either a representation of closure or of continuing relevance. The mobile audience is presented with information in three modes of motion perception which shift as people move among the architectural divisions and the scenepoints. In the "static mode of motor perception, the image is essentially unchanging through extended time," as with displayed artifacts and wall signage. In the "transitional mode .... a series of different present moments flow one into the other without creating operative memories or expectations," as with a pedestrian audience viewing those artifacts and signages. In "extended actions, memory is necessary to perceive the entire configuration...predicting the future characteristics of the changing shape from the portion of the action that has already been perceived."<sup>14</sup> The latter mode refers to the act of cognition within an exhibition.

Artifact labels, that provide identification and provenance only, and captions, which include interpretive texts, are considered part of the exhibition. They can be used for orientation, interpretation and identification and should compliment the scene point structure as well as the selected narrative syntax.

### **Public programming**

The interpretation of permanent collections and temporary exhibitions is presented to the general public through educational programming aimed at the adult audience. Public programming can include lectures, symposia, film showings and performances. Scheduled and publicized in advance, it can be related to a specific exhibition or can

illustrate the institution's mission. In most museums, the programming ranges from esoteric explications of specific topics or artifacts to popular events, such as all-day festivals. It is usually at the museum in a gallery or a proscenium auditorium, but can also be presented in an outreach setting, such as a community center. More recently, museums have developed year-round or even multi-year programming related to a series of projects, such as the Columbus Quincentenary, or an institution re-definition, as in The New-York Historical Society's *Why history?* events. Although it is now often cited as a good way to expand audiences, public programming originally developed from museums' attempts to serve its targeted, invitational clientele through the adoption of such socially acceptable soiree events as illustrated slide lectures and musicales. Those evening events (still presented at some museums) merged with adult education formats during the 1930s public art movement, as the mission to a post-secondary school museum audience grew. In many urban museums, public programming has shifted some of its focus away from adults to family and intergenerational learning.

### **Associative texts**

Associative texts present the institution's statements on itself, on individual exhibitions and on public programming. They can include mailers and calendars for the membership or targeted audience, brochures created for free distribution in an exhibition, and single-page heralds for exhibitions or events. Catalogues and sales items can present the same narrative message as associative texts, but they are self-limiting by virtue of price. The museum use of associative texts is derived from American popular entertainment documents such as programs and cast lists which, unlike their European counterparts, are free to the ticket-buying public.

### **Narratives**

The presentation of information in exhibitions, most literature and popular arts depends upon the manipulation of three interrelated forms -- **narratives**, which are presented in



**narrations** by **narrative voices**. They come in a wide range of variations of numbers, format and strategies for interpolation of information. They both describe cognitive change within the narrative and serve cognitive change for the reader/viewer/visitor to the narrative.

A narrative is the spine or structure of a unit which is externally plotted. It can be fiction-driven (directly from the imagination), tradition-driven (from real or accepted history) or, as in most cases, a combination. A narrative is never genuinely inherent although it can be based on supposedly self-evident history. It must be selected and scripted individually for every interpretive show by an exhibition developer or development team.<sup>15</sup> They create a narrative to structure entire exhibitions in discrete sections although they may not think about the selection and creation process as one involving active choices, since the institution may have inherent physical, logistical and financial limits. The term "narrative" as it is commonly used in grant proposals (as a synonym for "walk-through") refers to the end result of this process. If the exhibition developers do not select a narrative, the artifacts assume a default narrative in the audience's minds based on the inherent authority of the museum experience.

Narratives are culturally bound and, in Western traditions, fit into the cyclical structure of museums. Each defined space (whether individual gallery, suite or wing of entire museum) begins and ends a narrative. The simplest narratives are observed chronologies of an event or life. They have a beginning, middle and end which are presented as if self-evident. Developers can select single, parallel, serial or binary narratives, each of which may have an internal structure of chronological or topical interpolation strategies that serve cognitive change. They may have a framework, which is also presented chronologically -- from precursors (prologue) to continuing influence (epilogue), to add authority. A full analysis of narratives and their internal structures forms the third section of this thesis.

## **Narrations**

After the narrative is selected, it is scripted into a narration, which becomes its superimposed presentation. The narrative exists in the minds of the exhibition developers; the narration is present in the gallery. All narrations assume a literacy in the creating institution's accepted language or iconography and can be culturally and chronologically self-limiting. A verbal narration, such as a brochure text, an orientation video or a set of captions, requires verbal literacy. A non-verbal narration, such as a musical background score, requires that the audience understand its emotional and social cues. A purely pictorial narration requires audience orientation and attention span. The narration determines the pace of audience comprehension of the narrative, so comprehension can be negated if the narration presents information to the audience that is illegible, or requires quick processing of information.

The narration retains the authority behind the narrative. It too can be presented verbally, non-verbally or pictorially and relies on the audience comprehension. However, the grandeur of the traditional museum experience ensures that the institution's authority is presented even if the audience does not understand the individual assertions in the narration.

As the presentational technique for narratives, narrations follow and reinforce the selected narrative structure. This can be seen and heard most overtly in pace-related narrations, such as head-phone Audioguides and hand-held Accousti-sticks, which react to cues embedded in the gallery wall or floor.

The structure can also be presented tacitly in the narrational texts, such as didactic wall panels, individual captions or labels and brochures (which are often adapted from the didactic panels). Reading the texts carefully often reveals cues to the artifact's place in the total chronological structure. The use of dates or such phrases as "Fin de siècle" give a contextual chronology; usages such as "early in her career" and "towards the end of his

productive years" set the text in the individualized timeline. We can find these contextual phrases in almost any exhibition, but especially those which focus on an individual's career and influence.

One exhibition that takes a purely chronological narration was a recent artist retrospective. The exhibition and programming brochure for *Memory and Metaphor: The Art of Romare Bearden, 1940-1987*, organized by The Studio Museum in Harlem in 1991, gives Bearden's dates in the title and first line and continues to focus on specific years in his personal chronology. Following a statement of universal themes in his work and a paragraph giving the number and media of items in the exhibition, the brochure is divided into five sections that parallel the organization of the exhibition: "Search and Formation: Painting from 1940 to 1965; 1950-1962; 1964-1965; Affirmation: Painting from 1967 to 1988; Conclusion." The lack of cohesion in style and format of the sections is more overt in the brochure than in the sprawling three-floor exhibition space in which the differences between "to" and "from" and hyphens could be lost. Within each section's text and especially in topic sentences, dates are used liberally: "By the 1940s, Bearden had become a social realist painter and draughtsman...In 1950, encouraged by close friends, Bearden travelled to Paris...The 1960s was an important decade for the nation, for African Americans and for Romare Bearden...From 1967 to 1969, Bearden produced some of his most innovative, expressionistic, and robust, often, monumental work..."<sup>16</sup> The narration here gave a sense of closure to Bearden's life and work, as if the paintings just before his death presaged it.

The exhibition and tour brochure for *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang: 1555-1636*, organized by the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri in 1992, also adapts chronological language. Since its subject matter is further into the past and individual dates are thought to be less important to the American museum visitor, the brochure uses an internal syntax of words such as "before" and "after." The first paragraph uses three different dating systems to set Tung in context: *The Century of Tung*

*Ch'i-Chu'ang: 1555-1636*, one of the most important exhibitions of Chinese art ever organized in the West, brings together 171 of the finest landscape paintings and calligraphies by the Ming dynasty master Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and his 17th century contemporaries and followers." (my underlining). The text continues with non-specific chronological language: "...[Chung] rewrote the history of Chinese art, giving it a new vision and direction for centuries to come...[Chung] restored a stagnant revivalist tradition at the same time that he gave birth to the most radical and expressionist painting ever to be produced in China. As one modern critic has noted, 'After him, Chinese painting was never the same again.'"<sup>17</sup>

A cyclical narration can reinforce the structural distortion of history by allowing the gallery audience to assume that it is seeing the beginning, middle and end of each civilization before leaving the room. The audience at most museums is allowed to believe that Egyptian culture died after the dynastic era and that Greece produced nothing after the Classical era. It is interesting in this regard to look at *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, the Summer 1992 exhibition organized by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Patronato Alhambra and Generalife.<sup>18</sup> Since the Islamic era in Spain is one of the few periods in cultural history that has an accepted end point -- the expulsion by unified Spain of the Islamic Moors in 1492 CE -- the exhibition had an intrinsic political chronology that could not be considered arbitrary or culturally biased. The expulsion actually happened and legally ended the influence of Islam on Spain. In the wording of its text panels, the exhibition reinforced this. The didactic panels in the orientation gallery gave that date and the reason for it being an accepted end point. There was no final panel culminating the exhibition or presenting the continuing presence of architectural reminders of the Islamic era. But in the last connective room, the penultimate didactic panel hung at a scenepoint with a modern photograph of the Alhambra.<sup>19</sup> Although it did not deal directly with the expulsion, it included a narrational phrase that reinforced the audience

that the end of the culture was nearing: "[The Alhambra was] a statement of defiance against rapidly encroaching Christianity" [my underlining].

In the attempt to expand the audience base of museums, some institutions have made a genuine commitment to redo their narrations, whether graphic, textual or spoken. It can only aid the audience's comprehension of the existing narratives and is therefore only a first step. In some cases, it may also enforce the institution's authority and further distance the audience.

### **Narrative voices**

The narrative voice is the presenter of the narration whether it is vocalized, pictorialized or written. It can be anonymous, as often happens in an exhibition script, or identified to give authority to the narration.

Fictional narratives have narrative voices to set their tones. In the language of traditional literary criticism, they can be the protagonists' (e.g. *Jane Eyre*), the auteur stand-in (e.g. *Josephine March*), that of an auditor/observer tangentially connected to the structure (as in *Wuthering Heights*), that of a non-characterized observer, or a multiple of these. The 19th century novel proved the potential power of the observer as narrative voice and it was this tradition that had the greatest influence on exhibition narrations. Many framing structures were created in fictional forms (including narrative novels and films) to add to the third-person observer voice which were also influential in exhibition development. Framing devices, such as prologues, flashbacks, and multiple layerings of narrative voices, were adopted to enlarge the narrative from within and to add opportunities for comprehension of the information and the self. John Tchen has pointed out that reincarnation (as a plot line) can add educable moments to life -- the layering of narrative voices could also be manipulated for that purpose.<sup>20</sup>

The narrative voice assumes authority because of its fictional precedents. The reader's decision to participate in a narrative work and thereby activate a cognitive change depends on his/her commitment to the narrative voice. The grammar of the narrative

voice and especially whether it is presented in the active or passive, therefore raises questions on authority. Gallery interpreters often use the active third person to give artist's views and processes -- "O'Keefe wants your eye to move from the upper right to the center..." This practice has been criticized by post-modernists since it gives institutional authority to a reinterpretation without citation from the artist, since most audiences seem to assume that the institution speaks for the artist or artifact. The inclusion of artist's statements, diaries, journals and interview fragments as artifacts or in text panels can cede authority back to the creator.

Site interpreters tend to use the passive voice for buildings. The Carnegie Hall docent tour script, for example, mentions the enthusiasm of the renovation workers, but describes their work entirely in the passive: "the Hall was filled with [architectual] scaffolding...the seats were replaced...the tiara of lights was added...the plaster was cleaned...the gilding was refinished."<sup>21</sup> The political import of this passive narrative voice was reported by Thomas Greenfield in observations on Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's plantation, and cited by James Oliver Horton and Spencer R. Crew as a notable example of a "selected presentation of the past:" "Even the docent language denied the troublesome existence of slaves...site interpreters used the passive voice when referring to Monticello's blacks, focussing attention away from the majority of the plantation's residents. Docents switched to the active voice, however, when they pictured Jefferson's actions. They might explain that 'Mr. Jefferson designed those doors' but use the passive 'The doors were installed originally in 1809' when referring to the activities of slaves."<sup>22</sup>

Narrative voices are equally important in fictional and fact-based material. Advocacy literature depends on carefully selected narrative voices to both alleviate and strengthen the introduction of information. The "character" of the narrator created an empathetic relationship between the information and the listener. We can look in our mail today and see an advocating narrative voice in the first paragraph of any charity's appeal. The technique evolved in the early 19th century in Temperance and Abolitionist tracts and

songs that were situational, rather than plotted, and written in the narrative voice of a child orphaned, starved or neglected because a family member drank. Some were named - "Little Mary," "Little Bessie" or "Little Katy, the Hot-Corn Seller." Others exist only in descriptive, generic titles such as "Poor Drunkard's Child" and "Little Pleader."<sup>23</sup> These advocacy songs, advertised as "Pathetic ballads," when those terms denoted positive values, formed the emotional and narratal models for early film and exhibition. The skill required in scripting a narrative voice that could persuade an audience to go home and stop drinking was adapted to creating narrative voices that could present information within a museum setting.

Instant recognition of the narrative voice was vital in songs, which in the late 19th and early 20th century lasted from 4 to 8 minutes. Often the narrative voice was revealed in the title. Without hearing the lyrics, one can determine the narrative voice identities (and the advocated beliefs) of the 1915 *I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier* (by Alfred Bryan and Al Piantadosi) and *My Mother Raised Her Boy to Be a Soldier* (by Jack Crawford).<sup>24</sup> The speed of recognition is even more important in exhibition development in which the decision to visit or leave a gallery can limit any change of cognitive input.

The narrative voice from death, a Victorian poetry conceit, was prevalent in the 1910s and 1920s as an effective empathetic device for advocacy. Many examples are associated with martyrdom in the union and Industrial Workers of the World movements, among them, "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill last night." A particularly moving labor example can be found outside the radical community. In the Yiddish song, *Mamenu* (by Scherr and Rumshisky, 1909), the narrative voices come from the deceased parents and unborn children of the young women victims of the Triangle Shirt-waist Fire.<sup>25</sup>

This technique became very popular in narrative fiction and film, perhaps through the era's fascination with history and reincarnation. The use of the empathetic narrative voice spread into such non-advocacy genres as historical fiction. These "I was there with..." military and seafaring plots and historical romances are structurally identical to

*Ben-Hur*. They depend on the intersection of reality (or accepted history) with a fictional narrative voice. But their sphere of accepted reality was divorced from the stories of the Bible. The authors, such as Jeffrey Farnol and Raphael Sabatini, wrote about European history for an audience which had less available knowledge.<sup>26</sup> The narrative voice needed empathy for an engagement of the audience that would last through 300+ dense pages of plot and description. By leaving the socially acceptable Bible for Borgia Italy, Elizabethan England and slave colonies in Jamaica, they ceded the authority given to General Wallace, but could appropriate and invent more detail from the lesser known historical figures whose narratives interacted with those of their characters. The fictional empathetic narrative voices are used in many period rooms or homes and in exhibitions based in a specific past time frame.

Working with authentic narrative voices in exhibitions and classroom prepared gallery programming has developed with the interest in using primary sources in junior and intermediate schools. As spearheaded by the National Archives in collaboration with the National Council for the Social Studies in a school-based project that began in 1977, the discovery and distribution of documents for prepared visits has now become an accepted practice for many museums and history sites.<sup>27</sup> Among those that recognize the importance of the authentic narrative voice by integrating original texts and sources are the "Tea is Brewing" (Boston Tea Party) and Sojourner Truth projects of the Old South Meeting House in Boston, The Constitution Works at Federal Hall National Memorial (by the Constitutional Education Foundation and American History Workshop), the National Portrait Gallery and the National Archives exhibition program itself. Some history sites also distribute or sell documents produced for these programs as family projects.

The merging of the authentic narrative voice with the documentation process has been promoted by John Tchen at the Chinatown History Project. His clearest statement on this developing process began as a 1989 planning document for the institution that was presented at various New York and national museum colloquia.<sup>28</sup> Tchen makes a distinction between "inquiry-driven exhibitions" (using Thomas Schlereth's phrase) and



"dialogic museums, " pointing out that the former, while more able to communicate with an audience than a tradition display of objects, is a function of the exhibition development process that ends with the opening:

Once the exhibitions are installed, guards and the occasional museum educator are asked to take over, and often are the only points of contact between the museum staff and the public. This lack of contact is especially troubling when the subject of scholarship and exhibition is a community that the museum is trying to attract into its membership. Even when done sensitively and well, exhibitions tend to speak in a single authoritative voice, which precludes meaningful give-and-take with visitors. (p.290)

In the effort to support his goals for the institution, the representation and validation of the audience and the reclamation of its past, he posited four dialogue processes: among scholars, museum professionals and the institution's planning group; with targeted members of the specific community (about issues of individual and community identity); with targeted members of the larger community (about their perceptions); and those "most interested in pursuing historical exploration [who] have been training in historical literacy and museum work skills to help us further document and interpret community history." (p.298) The methodology for integrating these planning process dialogues into an opened exhibition depends on the active involvement of gallery personnel. Exhibition visitors will be urged to share their reactions and memories as jogged by the artifacts or the authentic narrative voice text panels. As they do, their words will be added to the History Project's ongoing projects -- the data bases and future exhibition development teams -- as supplementary members of the targeted audience. The institution's brochure provides a rare example of associative text as effective expansion agent as it uses a coded vocabulary to reinforce its insistence on authentic narrative voices: "For a complete history of New York Chinatown we need the cooperation of everyone: young and old, juk kok and juk sing, Saam Yap and Sei Yap, 'old timers' and recent arrivals, plus all other groups."<sup>29</sup>

A number of New York institutions have begun to adapt the dialogic and documenting techniques for school visits and family programs. Both the history education package *Play It Again* and the family visit brochure *City Play*, produced by the Museum of the City of New York, include suggestions that the participant conduct oral histories to learn more about street games. The package, aimed at teachers, provides instructions on oral history interviewing while the family brochure suggests talking to a "parkbench historian [an older person who grew up in your neighborhood]".<sup>30</sup>

Attempts to adapt the techniques to adult visitors in less targeted institutions have been promoted by the Museum Program of the New York State Council on the Arts and are being used in exhibition planning and presentation. In one of the easiest forms to establish, exhibitions at The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts frequently include memory books, loose leaf binders in which visitors can write reactions and jogged reminiscences. The comments reveal the desire of the writers to be dialogic. In the book attached to *Body & Soul: The Alvin Ailey American Dance Company*, many visitors wrote directly to the late choreographer or to individual dancers with detailed reminiscences of specific performances or events.<sup>31</sup>

The manipulation of "authentic" narrative voices is used often by historic sites as part of active interpretation. Clothing, decor, food and plants can be at times augmented with role-playing interpreters in historical character. This performative technique, which has engendered controversy within the field, can blur the distinction between period-appropriate and authentic.<sup>32</sup> It always asserts the institution's authority, since the interpreter/character cannot assert his or her own information without breaking "reality" with the site.

A narrative voice can be assumed from a well-known medium, rather than an individual or character. For an exhibition on Thomas Eakins, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts created a 16-page educational insert for the *Philadelphia Daily News*. *Newspapers in the Classroom* projects, co-produced by many museums and local

newspapers, usually include short articles and gallery and classroom activities scripted in contemporary age-appropriate vocabulary to read like a text book. The PAFA paper was unique in that it captured the narrative voice (and graphic style) of the tabloid, itself a turn-of-the-century phenomenon.<sup>33</sup>

### **Narrative structures and cognitive change**

Much of the research on museums as instruments for cognitive change has focused on the role of museum professionals -- educators, interpreters, docents, audience advocates and exhibition development teams -- as active interveners between the information/artifact and audience. It reflects the belief that for life-long learning, the "zone of proximal development" can be bridged best with "collaboration with more capable peers."<sup>34</sup> This combination of Vygotskian theory and museum experience, written by and for museum educators and audience advocates, has been of enormous influence in the design and re-design of museums and exhibition spaces, as well the development of public programming and instruction events.<sup>35</sup>

Cognitive change without active intervention by a human being (docent, guide, taped narration or museum staff member) adapts the active intervention processes for financially strapped or less-fully staffed museums. In the current state of many institutions, the reliance on active intervention is financially unrealistic. Cognitive change without active intervention is all that is offered to most audiences. Interpretation planners have had to create or adapt cognitive apprenticeship situations within museums and exhibitions without guaranteeing the presence of peers or staff. They have used silent scaffoldings for which all collaboration, self-evaluation and goal perception have to be built into the structure of the narrative presentation.

The exhibition development process calls on the narrative structures to enable cognitive change for the audience. Narratives are organized through a variety of structures that are derived from both oral and written storytelling traditions. These

structures aid in the presentation of information by forming a scaffold for the audience's perception of facts/definitions and sensory perceptions. Rather than creating a new or invisible structural scaffolding (as in post-modern forms), presentations of history tend to use identifiable structures that do not detain the audience from the process of comprehension. The traditional structures, such as asides, flashbacks and interpolations, are accepted by the audience which recognizes them from popular entertainments and can then easily fit the information into the identified scaffold.

The presentations of history by museums adapt structural scaffolds from many sources -- from epic literature of the oral tradition to 19th dramatic texts to the manipulation of chronology that was prevalent in popular fictional forms of the early 20th century. They use techniques of dealing with pace, audience expectation, audience receptivity and style to service that space between information and action. By using recognizable structures, museums give audiences a pretense of reality and therefore control over an experience.

Just as expositions and exhibitions used existing forms of narratives and narrative voices because they had been proven to work in literary and non-literary forms, so they looked to popular entertainments for the narrative's structures. The film directors and scenario writers of the late 1910s and 1920s were very conscious of the manipulation of the narrative as it affected the cognitive mind of the viewer as can be seen in the self-disclosing commentary on the choice of narrative structure by such filmmakers as D.W.Griffith and Jeannie McPherson below.

Since presentation of information is not solely a verbal art of interpreter telling audience, museums went beyond storytelling to adapt many complex forms from popular narratives that were developed to deal with multiple and conflicting levels of knowledge. Exhibition development teams understand that they must take into account what the audience knows and when did they know it. But they must also understand what a narrative voice knows and when he/she/it learned it in order to present information

through the voice. The narrative structures below were developed for genres and plots in which the timing of knowledge of factual information was vital. Eventual revelations of identity and purpose are the defining plot device in almost every one of the narratives using these structures. The method and pace of the revelations created the narrative interest.

The choice of available structure for the narrative, like the narrative itself, could be manipulated to add or detract from content and authority in the presentation. Therefore the structures and their derivations must be analyzed in their performance and/or fictional contexts and as they enable the learning experience.

The most popularly used structures are single narratives (with a single chronology or with multiple interpolations or insertions of information) or multiple narratives. **Single narratives** derive from the oral traditions of biographical texts. They can be complete in themselves or units of larger narratives. They are not simple, just focused through the discipline of a single narrative voice.

Narrative texts can also merge imagined narratives with accepted history -- a highly influential 19th popular century format. Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and General Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur* are examples of parallel narratives that were successful as novels, plays and films. Each has an authored narrative about the title character that fits neatly into the geographic and temporal narrative -- of King Richard of England and Robin Hood in the former and of the accepted life of Jesus via the plot structure of a Passion Play in the latter. What the audience already knows about the accepted history serves the comprehension of the fictional one and provides it with the authority of accepted reality. For an audience that believes that the history of Medieval England or the biblical life of Jesus are "authoritative" and true, the parallel narrative will give authority to the fictional *Ivanhoe* and *Ben-Hur*. Museums use this technique whenever they set a exhibition within a chronological context. "Great man" exhibitions are almost exclusively parallel narratives, often including the phrase "...in [or of] His Times" in the title.

Idealized common man exhibitions, including most living history sites, follow this form so that the previously known narrative can provide a scaffolding for the gaps in the information known and provided about the "common" life. This parallel narrative form can often also be found in genre and period exhibitions that focus on discrete groups of people when seen in the context of their historical or societal milieu. It can easily be used to orient the gallery audience to the topics' time and place and can be extended to set them in a philosophic background.

This technique has become very important in recent years since it is often used to include sections of society excluded from conventional historic surveys. In institutions willing to make a commitment to the targeted audience, this can take the form of a discrete exhibition. The Schomburg Center's *Blacks and the United States Constitution*, formed a parallel narrative to the exclusionary conventional statements of themes for the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution: "Anticipating Constitutional themes; Framing the Constitution; Constitutional Principals in the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1787-1865; Winning the War and Losing the Peace: From the Thirteenth Amendment to Plessy v. Ferguson; The Civil Rights Counteroffensive; and Constitutional Victories" rather than a discussion of the Federalist Papers and States' Rights.<sup>36</sup>

While allowing for inclusionary content, the parallel narrative can also unify multi-building sites, such as the Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York. The National Park Service's brochure's map page prints "The Story," in cyclical narrative form beginning with the Women's Rights Convention, July 19 and 20, 1848: "The Convention was called because five courageous women, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton felt the need to publicly address the grievances of women. Many factors contributed to the success of the convention including the industrial revolution, the prevalent spirit of Reform and the movement west." "The Story" continues with paragraphs on Elizabeth Cady Stanton; Tea Party (July 9, 1848) and the Declaration of Sentiments at the Convention. The column that covers the map when the brochure is

folded is entitled "The Context" and has paragraphs about the Industrial Revolution, Reform Spirit and Going West.<sup>37</sup>

Seneca Falls is also a New York State Urban Cultural Park. The State site developers saw Women's Rights as a sufficient topic without larger context and dropped the grounding narrative. The site is described in a 1992 New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historical Preservation herald, *Past Meets Future*, as "dedicated to Women's Rights and includes settings where crucial events of the Women's Movement had their genesis. Among them, the Wesleyan Chapel, site of the pivotal 1848 Women's Rights convention, and the homes of staunch leaders Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Amelia Bloomer."<sup>38</sup>

Most single narratives are based strictly on a chronology -- personal or historical. **Chronological narratives** are directional presentations. A chronological structure implies a beginning and a termination point either in the past (inferring that the presented culture is "dead") or at the present (inferring a chronological historiography in which the past prepared for the present). The chronological narrative was believed to be ideally suited for gallery-by-gallery surveys of past civilizations or arts and was popularized by expositions and temporary exhibitions of the 1870s-1900s. It is the form inherent in most large municipal art museums built between 1870 and 1920.

For interpretive presentations of historic artifacts, rather than art objects, however, it was necessary to develop structures that allowed for the interpolation of information, images and subordinate narratives without disturbing the audience's comprehension of facts. They were discovered in a variety of media and genres.

Exposition and museum planners developed a variation for focused interpretive exhibitions -- **single chronological narratives with topical insertions**. This is the structure most often in use in temporary exhibitions to this day. Here, the directional presentation is organized by groupings that overlap the strict chronology. The single artist or historical event retrospective tends to follow this structure which allows the narrative

more flexibility but still relies on an accepted beginning and end point. It can also be used for exhibitions without an individual person as focus. Many period clothing exhibitions arrange their artifacts in this structure, as did the Metropolitan Museum's *small illusions: children's clothing, 1710 - 1920 [sic]*.<sup>39</sup> The narrative (which dealt with Europe and the United States only) progressed chronologically with occasional insertions for gender, geographical and cultural differences.

Larger interpretive exhibitions use the most flexible of the strictly focussed narratives -- **single chronological narratives with grouped multiple topical insertions**. This structure, ideal for multiple connecting rooms, follows a single chronology (such as a person's life), but allows for the insertion of objects and texts to develop additional points without interrupting the chronology or changing the narrative voice. A typical exhibition with this structure might be a multi-individual, single-movement retrospective, such as one on the Signers of the Declaration of Independence or one on Cubism that includes a gallery of the various artists' classroom anatomical drawings, a gallery of Japanese prints, a costume display on the Diaghilev Ballets Russe, a wall of African masks, etc.

This structure can also be used for a single individual exhibition when artifacts are scarce or not evenly distributed throughout the career. The 1991 retrospective on Kazimir Malevich at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for example, followed a general biographical-professional chronology from 1905 to 1935, but included galleries devoted to a single production (the 1913 Futurist opera *Victory over the Sun*) and a theoretical construct (Malevich's teaching charts).<sup>40</sup>

This structure is useful when large numbers of people are known for individual accomplishments, but there is no causal link among them. Here, the institution gives authority to the individual subjects by including them in the large group. Questions of relative importance are presented in interpretive texts. The Anacostia Museum's travelling exhibition *The Real McCoy: African American Invention and Innovation, 1619-1930*, was able to present their artifacts in a basic chronology with focusses on inventions by industry



("Business, Railroad, Sugar Processing"), time ("Early, Emancipation"), place, legal status of individuals (enslaved or free), gender or biography. The flexible structure allowed the institution to create a biographical narrative for the associative brochure and a topical-chronological one for the exhibition floor plan. The former presented brief statements on individuals and their inventions grouped by "18th Century; 19th Century; Slavery and Invention; 1865-1900; and 20th Century."<sup>41</sup> The floor plan distributed at the exhibition (which included the biographical information in labels for artifacts) was organized to present individuals within a revised historiography as follows: "Introduction; African Ingenuity in Colonial America; Free Black Inventors, 1776 - 1865; Black Inventors in the Antebellum South; Reconstruction and Recognition: Black Inventors, 1865 - 1889; The Black Exposition Movement; and Urbanization and Modernization in the 20th Century."<sup>42</sup>

Non-biographical uses of this structure can include exhibitions on a group of institutions that developed during a discrete period. The Anacostia Museum's *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877* established an internal chronology from "the First Great Awakening" in 1740 to the end of Reconstruction in 1877 and presented developments of individual churches, congregations and urban areas within it. Since it focussed on evolutions, not individual events, the exhibition and its associative brochure was organized into topical interpolations that had philosophical, geographical and temporal sub-headings: "The Great Awakening and the Rise of Black Congregations, 1740-1800; Black Churches in Service to Northern Communities, 1800-1860; 'Visible' Black Congregations in the South, 1800-1860; Civil War and the Multiplication of Black Congregations in the South."<sup>43</sup> The exhibition, but not the brochure, began with a prologue section called "African Traditions" in the students' educational material and "The Beginnings of Afro-American Christianity" in the Teachers' Resource Booklet and planning documents.<sup>44</sup>

Grouped multiple topical interpolations can themselves be an entire exhibition. The British National Gallery presented a tightly focussed show in the Summer of 1992

titled *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian* in the guise of a blockbuster. To the dismay of many visitors who wanted to see a Manet retrospective, the National Gallery presented three versions of the large painting "The Execution of Maximilian" with a five gallery deconstruction. The interpolations were grouped as follows:

Room 1: the paintings;

Room 2: "The French Intervention in Mexico. Paintings and prints illustrating the French campaign in Mexico, which began in 1861 and lasted more than five years."

Room 3: "Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico...Contemporary photographs and prints document Maximilian's brief reign and his dramatic capture and execution by Mexican republicans."

Room 4: "Manet's Composition. Manet looked to a variety of source as he worked on his Maximilian pictures, from the art of the past to popular prints and photographs. A selection of these are displayed alongside what survives of his working material to demonstrate the complex evolution of Manet's composition."

Room 5: "Manet and the Salon. The Maximilian pictures derive in part from themes that had already preoccupied Manet during the 1860s. A group of major works of this period, exhibited at the official annual Salon, are shown together with some related works by contemporary artists."

Room 6: Manet as a Political Artist...Manet's political sentiments surfaced in several works which are displayed here with some of his portraits of prominent republicans."<sup>45</sup>

Each room, with its own chronology which overlapped slightly to the adjacent galleries, opened into the foyer with the three large paintings. There were also two sub-interpolations that required narratal literacy not provided in the exhibition -- Room 6 demanded contemporary definitions of the terms "Communard," "communist" and "republican" as used in French history while Room 5 rewarded the retrospective-hungry viewer with the inclusion of the exhibition's best-known work, "The Fifer," in a survey of heroicism in art. In this exhibition, authority lay with the specificity of the narrative -- the

institution authorized the decision-making process to select a thin slice of Manet giving it precedence over any other possible Manet exhibition focus.

**Complex Chronologies** allow the storyteller or institution to place the story within a cultural context. Although they have defined beginning and end points, they can present information from before, after and elsewhere and permit the layering of additional information about the subject of the narrative. Most traditional narratives, such as national epics, that were created or derived for oral formats employ these structures since they mirror vernacular speech patterns. These structures were practiced and varied in the narrative media to develop powerful tools for organizing and arranging interpolated information. They provide external learning experiences for the audience to absorb, copy or reject without requiring first-hand experience of the stimulus.

**Strategies for insertion of information from within the scope of the focus:**

Insertions or interpolations of material or information is accomplished through a variety of strategies and forms developed over the entire history of literature. They differ from each other in their reliance or independence from pace -- some interrupt the audience, some do not -- and in their use of single or multiple narrative voices. All of the forms can be translated into informational or didactic text panels which carry the authority of the scholar/curator (if signed or credited) or the institution (if anonymous).

An **exegesis** is needed when a narrative opens in the middle of a narrative. As codified in 16th century drama, a character tells the audience what it needs to know about his/her situation or past, either in a discrete monologue or in a running commentary on the action. The form, derived from Medieval pageants for the non-literate, used speakers who open the narrative by introducing the characters and plots directly to the audience. Shakespeare employed this then-old-fashioned technique in *Henry IV, Part 2*, which opens with the symbolic character "Prologue, painted with tongues" who explains the plot of *Henry IV, Part 1* and sets the stage for the sequel. The simplest and most common exhibition forms of exegesis are orientation graphics for the museum as a whole and the

250-word introductory wall texts (which are often repeated in the brochure) for individual exhibitions or gallery groupings.

In the related **aside**, a character with a role in the narrative speaks directly to the audience to tell them what other characters do not know. An aside can take place at any time in the narrative and in the internal chronology of the structure. This form of exegesis can range in length from a full monologue to a comment and were especially popular in Jacobean tragedies and 19th century melodramas, genres in which knowledge is equated with power. Didactic text panels within the exhibition will follow this form when the narrative voice is characterized and the panels require scenepoints that interrupt the flow of artifacts.

A variation on this is an **indirect exegesis** presented to a an on-stage auditor who is not directly affected by the situation, e.g. Hamlet to Horatio in Act I. A feature of late 19th century opera was a male duet presenting an indirect exegesis in close harmony. Among the best known are the duet "Au fond du temple saint" from Bizet's *Les Pêcheurs du Perles* and the Act IV duet, "O Mimi, tu piu non torni" from *La Bohème*. As a dramatic device, the indirect exegesis is more naturalistic than the aside and serves to reinforce the audience's commitment to the narrative voice. The indirect exegesis provides the external learning experience (for the audience) through a self-narrated educatable moment (for the character). In a museum, didactic text panels or artifact labels that cite an identified individual's description of an event or object are indirect exegises. The documentary material created by dialogic museums and projects can be used in this way, as can relevant quotations from the owner or maker of the artifact. In this case, authority can be ceded from the institution or the credited curator to a named individual associated with the artifact.

In a **mimetic exegesis**, a character within a narrative tells a story that distracts the audience and disturbs the flow of the original plot but does not affect its development. It can be used only in forms that do not rely on pace.<sup>46</sup> Since the unescorted museum

experience is self-paced, mimeses, rather than exeges, are the preferred tools used to include large sub-narratives.

A **Suspense mechanism** is an activity that interrupts a narrative and delays or alters a plot development while distracting both the characters and the audience. It was the prevalent form in the 19th century drama, dance and opera that surrounded the developers of the modern museum. The opposite of a mimesis, a suspense mechanism could only work when it interrupted a narrative form that relied on pace. Late Romantic plots in plays, ballets and opera were often about the supernatural and involved an inherent internal chronology, such as "the coming of the dawn" when danger will have passed. They used non-verbal performance, often in the guise of on-stage entertainment, as a delaying mechanism, stretching plot lines into 5-act studies of individuals reacting to conflict. Playwrights such as Victor Hugo and Victorien Sardou, whose plots were about inevitability of fate, could maintain the audience's suspense over long interrupted narratives. Operas and even ballets included suspense mechanisms that entertained the on-stage audience while keeping information away from the on-stage characters. The plot of *Swan Lake* is continuously interrupted by Peasant dances, national dances (Spanish, Neapolitan and Hungarian in most productions), and swans. Exhibitions that, by following a strict chronology, delay access to the featured or best-known artifact may find themselves using suspense mechanisms to interpolate information while the audience is still motivated to view every element.

### **Cutbacks/cutsforward**

At the end of the 19th century, new popular media had to simplify or reject the pace-related tools of epic novels and 5-act operas. Films, which in the Edison and nickelodeon eras were less than 8 minutes long, developed a new grammar of technically possible tools to present knowledge and learning from the narrative's past and present quickly. Cinema's cutbacks to the past and cutsforward to the future, were re-popularized in all narrative forms, including songs, novels, films and drama.

These strategies for inserting information from within the scope of the focus are visualized learning experiences interpolated into a chronology. In the various models for learning, the process comes between reception of and acting on information. A cutback/forward allows a character to receive information and to act on it outside of his/her reality. The character can learn by self-scaffolding. By acting outside of the narrational chronology with the true reality of cause and effect, the character can correct incorrect decisions before they are made. These forms do not depend on pace since they are, by definition, interruptions into active and manipulated time. The verbal and visual methodologies of cutbacks and cutsforward were readily translated into exhibition narratives.

**An internal single cutback**, popularly known as a flashback, is the visualized equivalent of an aside. Film cutbacks are usually cued by plot in a manner that is easily recognized by the audience -- wavy lines, soft focus or dialogue. They fill the audience in on necessary information or assist a protagonist in a decision. **Cuts forward** (or flashforwards), in which a character can "see" the results of his/her decision and learn from it, are cued in the same way.

A 1992 exhibition that uses cutbacks to interpolate sub-themes into a gallery narrative is the Museum of Modern Art's Matisse retrospective that includes examples of styles and genres that the artist rejected. The flashback format reinforced the narrative's assertion that Matisse learned from each of his experiments with artistic genres. Cuts forward are used in wall texts to signal the audience to remember an artifact in order to compare it to one later in the exhibition's chronology. The institutional authority, which in this exhibition is shared with a named curator, is given to Matisse's learning process as an equal focus to his artistic results.

**Reincarnating cutbacks** were popular in the Gothic novels of the early and late 19th century and again in the 1910s and 1920s. Their double scaffolding allows a character to become another character who then flashes back to an experience in order to

present the information or the result of a decision. In periods of general acceptance of reincarnation as, at least, a fictional form, we can see it as a learning enabler or, as John Tchen has said, "a re-formulation of a personal past." They function as external cutbacks providing information and experience to be used to augment the present. Since it was one of the rules of the genre that reincarnations did not lie, this form of cutback carried great authority at the times of its popularity.

An **external cutback** was used when the lesson from the cutback is presented from one character to another. Unlike a reincarnating cutback, both characters live in the same chronological reality. As a plot device, it is similar to an aside or exegesis since it allows one character and the audience to learn what everyone else already knows. This complicated structure was generally used along with reincarnating cutbacks in intergenerational narratives, as in the tremendously popular play and film *Smilin' Through* written for the stage in 1919 by Allan Langdon Martin [Jane Cowl and Jane Murfin] and filmed in 1922, 1932 and 1941, in which visitations and flashbacks prevent one generation's tragedy from being repeated by their children. The external cutback could stretched in 1920s feature films until it imitated the binary narrative. Director Cecil B. DeMille and scenarist Jeannie McPherson created a genre of film adaptations of contemporary plays with extended external cutbacks in different periods, which ranged from *Man and Woman*, which added a Babylon sequence to J.M. Barrie's *The Admirable Crichton*, to *Manslaughter* (Famous Players-Laskey Corp./Paramount, 1922), which adapted a modern dress Alice Duer Miller "bad girl" melodrama to include the fall of Rome to Alaric [the] Goth.<sup>47</sup>

The **personification cutback** combines external and reincarnating forms. In this structure, characters facing decisions or denouements visualize mythological or mythicized historical figures facing the same decisions. The personifications role play for the characters. This is a safe learning experience that parallels the performance experience itself -- the audience learns from characters who learn from personifications.

This structure was a performance variant of public art in which an audience is expected to "learn" from personifications painted on walls and ceilings and often featured a similar cast of Graces, Muses and national symbols. The transitional form may have been municipal pageants of the 1890s-1910s which employed their casts as symbols of American history and mythology. There was also a genre of French and American plays popular in the United States in the first decade of the 20th century which presented entire casts of personifications. These included presentation by Winthrop Ames of Maeterlinck's Symbolist plays such as *The Blue Bird* and "New Morality Plays" such as Henry W. Savage's *Everywoman* in 1908. From these sources, the use of personifications inherited the assumed mantle of a civic lesson, often, as in the 1917 film *Civilization*, a pledge for American moral leadership and peace.

Like other cutback forms, external, personification and reincarnative cutbacks can be used in museum narratives to reinforce the decision made by the exhibition focus. These "road not taken" sub-topics can be controlled through managed reformulation in exhibition wall texts and placement decisions. These tools can also be considered as parallels to the museums audience's interaction with interpretive narratives -- learning from the cause-and-effect historicism of the real and fictional past.

**Multiple, serial cutbacks** progress chronologically to the present in long narrative forms, such as novels and feature films. They insert one or more serial narratives into a single chronology. They were popular in the early 1920s in fiction and film, and could include flashbacks, personifications, reincarnations or any combination thereof. Philosophically, they are interesting because they represent a dedication to chronological history in which the past serves the present. In film, they can be exemplified by *Man Woman Marriage* (1920) in which a modern heroine goes through five visions of historical women (from Ancient to Suffragist) before deciding about marriage. This tool is used overtly by institutions that have multiple period rooms or sites organized by a single



narrative voice. It can be inherent in any circular path museum or exposition in which the past leads back to the present/orientation.

**Complex chronologies with insertions from outside the scope of the topic:**

**Prologues and epilogues:** One structure that seems "dated" in novels, films and narrative forms is the use of a prologue introducing the plot with characters who do not appear in the work -- the auditor narrative voices. The best-known example from fiction of an external cutback as prologue remains Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw*. The structure was very popular in silent feature films in which a narrative inter-title had served as a introductory text panel. The prologue could replace an inter-title without disturbing the chronology. In a tragic plot, the film prologue was often a personification, an historic or mythological figure, such as the Spirit of the Mediterranean in *Mare Nostrum* (Rex Ingram/M.G.M., 1926), who foretold but could not change fate. The Three Fates themselves appear in the Prologue of *Intolerance*.

Many narratives also had culminating epilogues. The late Romantic plots such as *Swan Lake*, in which characters' lives were pre-determined by fate and duty, often had apotheoses in which they were united after death, guaranteeing at least a posthumous learning experience. The structure was so often used that the audience feels bereft by *Turn of the Screw* which ends without one, disproving the reader's assumption that the narrator is an active, learning character. *Mare Nostrum* has an epilogue which unites characters and spirits in death, while the complete *Intolerance* ends with a lengthy apotheosis in which swords are turned to plowshares on screen.

Many exhibitions include a text panel which relates the subject matter to larger issues or to the present, serving structurally as an epilogue/apotheosis and emotionally as a challenge to the audience. An exhibition which used the epilogue structure to make a strong political statement was *Marcus Garvey: The Centennial Exhibition*, created for the Schomburg Center, The New York Public Library, by Guest Curator Robert A. Hill in 1988.<sup>48</sup> The exhibition's proposal form and brochure share a description paragraph, which

cites the two parts of the narrative (a personal chronology and a organization chronology with multiple topical interpolations) and the epilogue:

Arranged in two parts, the exhibition first documents the life of Marcus Garvey, from the formative years until the final period of his life spent in exile. The second part of the exhibition covers the many expressions of the UNIA's African Redemption political program. It illustrates the importance of Harlem as ths historic crossroad of the Garvey movement, the Black Star Line's significance as a recruiting instrument and as a symbol of black achievement. The sucess of the UNIA in the Caribbean and Africa is also exemplified. Finally, the Garvey legend and its function as an icon of universal black pride is illustrated through the careers of figures as diverse as Elijah Mohammed, Kwame Nkrumah and Bob Marley.<sup>49</sup>

Related to these structures are the **dream sequence narratives** in which present reality serves as a prologue and epilogue for the extended cutback. That these structures were seen as learning experiences can be seen in their popularity in pro-interventionist films made just prior to World War I. In such features as *The Battle Cry of Peace* (1915) and *The Fall of the Nation* (1915), a pacifist America is invaded by a foreign army. Both films reveal that it was only a nightmare, but one that was created to teach the audience what could happen. This structure is ideal for a "What might have been" history exhibition. It reflects the impact of the prologue and epilogue as a cognitive tool, but is very difficult, in my experience, to translate into objects. Institutions that use graphics or other created artifacts can set up "what if" texts for introductory or concluding didactic panels. A panel on Harlem without the UNIA in the above exhibition could air brush buildings, people and signs out of a photograph. To avoid the difficulty of locating alternative artifacts, many institutions use the structure only in public programming. It works especially well for single and grouped lectures and panel discussions and is often used to integrate new historiographies into presentations.

**Parallel narratives with two or more foci** were a feature film specialty, associated with D. W. Griffith. It is best exemplified by *Intolerance* which, beside the

prologue and apotheosis, has four parallel narratives, one of which is a Passion plot. Unlike serial and binary narratives (see below), parallel narratives have the same basic plot structure, pace and related or identical narrative voices. In *Intolerance*, all plots have two romances (one of which is a triangle), an off-screen villain with an on-screen agent, and a chase scene; all of the narrative voices are female, except in the Passion plot. Miriam Hansen quotes and comments on Griffith's Prologue analysis of the film as a parallel narrative:

"[the title cards] introduce parallelism as the organizing principle of the film, preparing the viewer for the heterogeneity of the narrative(s). 'Our film is made up of 4 separate stories laid in different periods of history, each with its own set of characters.'... 'The next title assures the viewer of the underlying coherence of theme: 'Each story shows how hatred and intolerance, through all the ages, have battled against love and charity.' This thematic continuity in turn motivates and justified the discontinuity caused by the interlacing of the discrete naratives: 'Therefore you will find our play turning from one of the four stories to another as the common theme unfolds in each.' ...Griffith described the narrative structure as it effected the mind of an audience member in associative program notes: 'Events are not set forth in their historical sequence, or according to accepted forms of dramatic construction, but as they might flash across a mind seeking to parallel the life of different ages.'"<sup>50</sup>

Parallel narratives are an inherent part of the full museum visit experience.

Griffith's "mind flash of connectivity" works between galleries when the audience moves from one to the other or when, as often happens in museums, when the audience can see one from from another. The parallel narrative with multiple foci is, like the simple narrative that parallels accepted history, becoming a recognized tool for the including of excluded audiences. An example of this strategy that has received professional and press attention is the Maryland Historical Society's *Mining the Museum*, a full floor installation piece by artist Fred Wilson with Guest Curator Lisa Corrin.<sup>51</sup> Authority issues raised by this exhibition are discussed below. The exhibition of artifacts of enslavement from the MHS forms a parallel narrative focussed on five silent narrative voices, with a prologue

gallery "spoken" by the artist and an epilogue/apotheosis "by" astronomer Benjamin Banneker set in a transchronological planetarium. The naming of the five narrative voices recognizes the political impact of names in enslavement, the more so because they are the names cited on reproduced bounty notices.

### **Multiple narrative structures**

**Serial narratives** are among the oldest surviving narratives in most cultures. The *Iliad*, *Shah-nama* and *Torah* are all epics by definition and scope, but they can be defined structurally as serial narratives because they follow more than one narrative voice through serial episodes. The form lapsed in the western tradition as writers began to focus on the conflicts on the individual protagonist, but it returned to popularity in the mid-20th century and remains popular to this day in multi-generational narratives. Booth Tarkington, Edna Ferber, James Michener and Alex Hailey all wrote serial narratives, as do most popular fiction writers. Experiencing a serial narrative requires an unlimited time frame so they are found in books and such extended dramatic forms as a television mini-series.

The serial narrative is the basis structure for museums built on the 19th century model. The dual popularity of dioramas and habitats in natural history museums and period rooms (the large-scale popularity of both dating from the 1870s) merely codified the practice derived from galleries in private homes of arranging objects by place and time of origin. Serial narratives have an internal logic -- in art and history museums, it is usually chronological; in natural history museums, it can be by geography or by order and species.

The **binary narrative** posits two seemingly independent narratives -- one from the present, one from the past or future. The purpose of a binary narrative is to alleviate the acceptance of a lesson whether of historical inevitability or modern-day morality, to "compare and contrast." The hey-day of this form was the 1920s, a period of great

disparities between views of reality and an ideal American society. Binary narratives were used very frequently in popular novels and films. Most selected the historically "hot" cultures of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome for the setting of their past plots. Unlike the reincarnation or external cutback, the modern-day plot in a binary narrative contained the experience to be learned, not the past.

The binary narrative is an extended learning experience that is experienced only by the audience. The characters do not serve as intermediaries, since they do not receive the information from the doubled plot. Two genres which in our present exist as serial binary narratives are cumulative mythologies in the oral tradition and as painted in public buildings. Either or both may have served as the conduit medium to museums.

The transition between present and past could be integrated into the narrative as an extended external cutback, as in the partially dialogued epic *Noah's Flood* (Vitagraph Co./WB, 1928). Its "present" plot set in World War I places all of the characters in a collapsed building, in which the Chaplain tells them the story of Noah. The Biblical and World War I characters are played by the same actors, but the connections exist only in the mind of the Chaplain. The other characters have their learning experiences in the epilogue with the declaration of peace which follows.

The present and past plots can also abut, in which case two separate casts were used, as in the silent version of *The Ten Commandments* (Famous Players-Laskey Co., 1923). If the parallel narrative was the purlieu of D.W.Griffith, the binary narrative was the home of Cecil B. deMille and his scenarist Jeanie McPherson. The external cutback, however extended, did not provide them with the appropriate vehicle for their message. They recognized that the power of the binary narrative could not be replaced by the easier serial structure. The distinction between the serial and binary narrative forms was made by McPherson in an analysis of her scenario. The film was made, according to Paramount Studios publicity, in response to a nationwide competition to prove that "the clean sober minds of the vast majority of people are not interested in froth but in the virile, vital things

of life, the epic ideas of all times." The winning response suggested a motion picture about the Ten Commandments. It begins with the Pyramids, continues the Moses narrative through the Golden Calf and fades out on the Ten Commandments inscribed on stone slabs. It fades in on the contemporary narrative by McPherson about John (the good son/carpenter), Dan (the bad son/architect), Mary (the woman they both love) and their mother. Dan marries Mary, strays with the Eurasian Sally and uses shoddy materials to build a cathedral. In McPherson's words:

"Events move with great rapidity. Dan is obliged, by his wife's urgent interruption, to leave the love-potioning Sally and go to the [church]. Even so, while Dan and John are arguing, a terrible crash is heard. The whole apse wall has tumbled down and buried in its ruins the little Mother who had strayed into the church to touch with reverent hands her sons' Tablets of the Law." The plot continues, Sally blackmails Dan who finds out that she is a leper, kills her and attempts to flee to Mexico. In McPherson's synopsis: "a wild sea beating against a rock-bound coast. Dan's motorboat, no longer answering the helm, is driven upon the cliffs. Man and craft are dashed against its beetling twin face, the outlines of which are Nature's rude sculpture of the Tablets of the Commandments. Only Dan's dead form lying at the foot of the great cliff, one arm flung over the splintered piece of the boat bearing its name DEFIANCE."

John cures Mary of leprosy, using an external flashback to the New Testament, and the film ends. In an essay published in the 1923 souvenir program of the film, McPherson answered the question "How did you evolve a modern story from the suggestion that Mr. DeMille make a film presentation of the Ten Commandments?"

...My first thought was to interpret the Commandments in episodic form [i.e. a serial narrative]. We would have illustrated the Commandments one at a time, or perhaps in pairs. I worried for several weeks along these lines with growing dissatisfaction. Something was wrong. In episodic form, the story didn't have the right 'feel.' It was bumpy. It started and stopped, ran and limped. The thread or theme of it seemed subtly broken every time we commenced a new episode. It became evident that the usual failure of episodic drama would be the fate of *The Ten Commandments* unless we changed our plans."

When are binary narratives used in museum interpretation? Almost always. They are the narratal form of "compare and contrast," which DiBlasio and DiBlasio, in their analysis of constructing a cultural context, cite as a major principle of museum storytelling: "An effective museum story invites cross-cultural comparisons."<sup>52</sup> The comparison of a past to a present is often cited as the most common and effective way to connect an audience (present) to an exhibition or period gallery. The audience is invited by simulated "historical" narrative voices to make a direct comparison between the presented culture and its own. This can be scripted into the exhibition, intrinsic in the placement of the exhibition next to a study center, or voiced by a docent/gallery teacher. Any time the question "how is your life similar" or "different" is asked or implied, the interpretation is based on a binary narrative.

This discussion of individual forms of narrative structures and their manifestations in narrations and narrative voices is necessary to inform exhibition developers of the genealogies and functions of the strategies that they have been using to present cohesive information. As the museum field becomes more and more conscious of its responsibilities to the audience, these forms need to be re-considered as they impact on the presentation of authority.

### **Authority**

The connection between exhibitions of art objects and performance genres lies in the importance ceded within them to authority. The authority assumed by the presenting institution or given by external social forces was considered an integral part of all contemporary forms of exhibition. Narration, narrative and, especially, the manipulation of narrative voice, were tools to create and maintain authority.

Anything scripted has a structure and a narrative. Interpretation relies on the conscious manipulation of a narrative voice. We as exhibition developers, designers and interpreters need to understand the structures and narrative voices that we employ so that we can best communicate with an audience. To do this, we must recognize the relationship

that exists automatically between the exhibition's narrative voice and the institution that houses it.

As museums move towards cultural plurality, the extent to which their institutional identity can interfere with audience appreciation and attendance is being studied.

Authority is both the tool and purpose of any institution with a mission to "interpret" as well as "collect and preserve." It has to be considered in each of the four cognitive aspects of museums, especially in the presentation of material within exhibitions, because the craft of exhibition development has always had as its goal the presentation of its own authority. Authority can be asserted or affixed to any narrative cultural project, whether a novel, film, exhibition, or individual statement. It can be retained by an institution or ceded to an individual. In an anonymous exhibition without an identified narrative voice, all authority lies with the institution. The museum orients the audience, guides it to the exhibition, dictates what is in the dialectic panels and the captions, schedules and selects the participants in public programming and publishes the associative texts.

Museums founded or re-configured to serve an expanded audience may reinforce their institutional authority even in the associative texts designed to reach outward. Two brochures received in January 1992 reveal this dichotomy in statements about the institutions' roles in the re-evaluation of public history. During the years 1991-1993, the New-York Historical Society revised its mission statement from "to collect, preserve and interpret...;" it now includes the phrase "...to reveal the power of history as a determinant force in American society, and to convey to the present and future generations a sense of the past, of their place in its legacy, and of their role in shaping the future."<sup>53</sup> The public programming brochure from a 1991-1992 Columbus Quincentenary project previewed the institution's placement of its authority behind new historiography: "The New-York Historical Society offers a series of lectures that will address the debate surrounding the Quincentenary of Christopher Columbus' voyages...Recent research requires us to examine



how the history of our hemisphere has been recorded and taught to many generations. The speakers will explore the continuing ramifications of Columbus' journeys."

The all-purpose membership/fundraising mailing from the Afro-American Heritage Society of Charles County, Maryland, gives as its mission "to promote appreciation of the life and history of Afro-Americans living in Charles County, Maryland" and continues:

In 1974, there was, as now, tremendous neglect of the study of Afro-Americans. Out of this lack of understanding, misinformation about race and color flourished. The strength of this nation lies in the diversity of its cultural heritage. No other nation can boast of such a remarkable assimilation of people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, all contributing to the richness and strength of the whole. History cannot be restricted by limits of race or peoples. We must retain the real facts as they are, and complete such knowledge by learning the history of Black people which has been ignored.

The authority of an institution, deriving its pre-cultural power from a sacred site, was re-informed in the 19th century through the medium of public art. A place of worship (whether edifice or open air) had authority invested in it by its community. If a building speaks to "the people" through an accepted language of architectural and political icons, it inherits the power of general acceptance. The artists who created and decorated the great public buildings of the late 18th and 19th centuries presented this acceptance visually by placing their painting figures on the walls and ceilings in the perspective of the people standing on the floor. The personified audience, in whose sight lines the public art is often seen, is a substitute for the actual audience, standing in the appropriate place. If the institution was built "for the people," and with the people's funds, it gains even more public authority.

Institutions can cede (or lend) authority to an individual within or outside the exhibition. When inside, the authority is given to a narrative voice. This can be a real transfer of authority (as to an identified staff member or outside curator) or a substitution

for the institution (as to the narrator of a audio-tour). In some situations, authority can also be lent to a visible narrative voice, such as a docent or living history interpreter.

Authority can be given by individuals outside the institution, or, more commonly, external individual authority can be recognized by the institution. The most common use of external authorities is in exhibition-related public programming. The "What is American?" programming in the ongoing "Why History" series is described as "The conceptual and programmatic core of the [New-York] Historical Society public education activity." Yet all of the thirteen speakers who presented lectures or films were non-staff members, at the core only because the institution had ceded them temporary recognition of authority.<sup>54</sup> By presenting the outside scholars directly to the public, the institution missed the opportunity to create an overtly dialogic situation, since they were not identified as having been involved with the planning process.

The presentation of museum professionals (identified by title) or docents in regularly scheduled informational talks has been recommended for both staff and audience development. The University of Missouri's "Lunchtime Tours," begun in October 1980, which presents weekly 30 minute lectures by docents, staff and university personnel was offered as a model to the Museum Education Roundtable's *Roundtable Reports* in 1982.<sup>55</sup> A similar current program is "Art Breaks," offered by The Brooklyn Museum. These talks in the early afternoon of various weekdays and weekends are presented by docents.<sup>56</sup>

American society's acceptance of authority was integrated in its developing museums and cultural institutions. Since many of the museums' most basic cognitive experiences, among them public programming, captions and interpretive texts, are derived directly from forms created to emphasize authority, it is necessary to analyze them in depth.

The early 19th century believed in external authority. If dealing with an issue of culture, the authority needed to come from Europe; but a domestic issue recognized authority from the clergy, the social-intellectual classes and the press. This diffuse

assigning of authority could facilitate the resolution of advocacy issues if they were presenting information with the requisite empathetic narrative voice. "Little Katy, the Hot-Corn Seller," the popular Temperance narrative voice in song, play and novel form, was invented by Horace Greeley for an editorial designed to alleviate the suffering of street children.<sup>57</sup> Real funds were donated by the clergy and social-intellectual class (as well as song-writers) for a charity that served the actual children of the Five Points District in New York. Similiar examples of a narrative voice that meshed authority with advocacy are the pre-Civil War novel and various dramatizations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.<sup>58</sup>

The assigning of cultural questions to Europe led to the delay of the formation of museums and other non-advocacy institutions. The late 19th and early 20th century Americans believed in multiple domestic authorities and invested them with great power -- cultural institutions eventually followed this lead. Statements of authority were affixed to novels, films, songs and other popular forms. Authority came from expertise recognized in academics/historians, professionals (including clergymen) and social leaders, as well as from testifiers and eyewitnesses. The latter derived its power from the traditions of religious experience and the advocacy movements. They were often integrated into presentations and could served as a narrative voice -- the "I was there with..." function.

One genre that invested testifiers with cultural authority was the illustrated slide lecture, which has been studied as a direct pre-cursor of film, but should be recognized as the antecedent of the most common forms of museum public programming.<sup>59</sup> These events, popular from the late 1870s, were narrated travelogues performed in subscription series at legitimate theaters, churches and halls. The lectures, as reconstructed from their detailed programs, presented views of foreign sights and people from Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific and what was then called "The Holy Land." Most were non-plotted and were narrated in the first person ("Then I saw...") or the second person ("You can see..."). Apart from the witnessed expertise of having seen and done that which was shown in the slides, authority was given to the speakers in more subtle ways. Programs

and other associative texts recognized their social status by listing them as "Mr." or "Dr.," as in "Mr. John L. Stoddard's Illustrated Lectures" (1895) or "Lecture by Dr. Adolphe Danziger."<sup>60</sup>

Social acceptance also gave authority to illustrated lectures. Many lecturers cited the authority given to them by social patronage on their promotional material and programs with names and comments by the professionals and social leaders who had seen their performances and would recommend it in appropriate language and syntax to their equally socially acceptable friends and colleagues. In a typical example, on February 1901, Dr. Danziger announced a Stereoptikon lecture "at the special request of distinguished patrons" on *The Ghetto of New York*. The promotional pamphlet reproduces a letter from the list of distinguished patrons, who include two senators and Ambrose Bierce, who state that "having heard your lecture on the 'Ghetto of New York' highly commended, and some of us having heard the lecture itself, we shall be pleased if you can name a time and place at which you can repeat it in Washington." In a reinforcement of the correctness of the recommendation, the pamphlet gives the date, time and place of the requested lecture as if in Danziger's words:

"Mesdames and Gentlemen; With a deep sense of the kindness of your suggestion, I have the honor to say that it gives me pleasure to comply, and I beg leave to name, as the time and place for the lecture, Friday evening, March first, at the Washington club, 1710 I Street, NW., Respectfully, Adolphe Daniziger." <sup>61</sup>

The events' subject matters could give authority to the lecturers who did not have the social facility of Dr. Danziger. European cultural capitals, previously unknown locations and sites related to accepted history and religion had their own status. Mr. Stoddard, for example, gave lectures during Mr. [Augustin] Daly's Annual Lenten Matinees series over 16 years (the program cited is from March 25 - 30, 1895) including in each at least one lecture on Rome, the Holy Land and, on April 8, "The Passion Play" [of Oberammergau]. That version of the narrative was also the subject of a cinematograph exhibition filmed in New York for the Eden Musee in 1897. The

production which combined the 19 minute moving picture with an illustrated lantern slide lecture was performed at the Eden Musee in January - March 1898 and at Lyman Howe's Nesbitt Theater in Wilkes-Barre in April 1898. When its decency was questioned, the exhibitors provided authority as if for slide lecturers. Its New York associative texts included published endorsements from some clergymen and, in the more conservative Wilkes-Barre, Howe employed a minister to provide live narration.<sup>62</sup>

Illustrated slide lectures as authoritative entertainment lasted in popularity through the silent film era although magic lantern and stereopikon slide sets were easily available for home use. The 1897 Sears Roebuck and Company catalogue offered individual and triple ("Gem") slide sets on the same geographic range as Dr. Stoddard, as well as two sets of Biblical (Christian) scenes, United States History, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the Temperance play *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* and comic scenes. Slides were also available from Sears with a descriptive lecture since "to render an exhibition thoroughly enjoyable, a proper description of the views presented to the audience is an absolute necessity and to obtain the exact information requires access to extensive libraries, books or travel, etc., beyond the reach of many."<sup>63</sup> The remnant of the illustrated slide lecture that retains the genre's claims to authority is General Lew Wallace's *Ben-Hur*. As written, it provides an example of late 19th century layering of authority by testifier, professional and expert. It was seen as a valid history because it was (1) written by a Civil War era General and former Governor who had (2) been to and photographed "the Holy Land" and who (3) was an exhibitor of Holy Land slides. Its authority lasted through dramatizations and filmings.

The authority-endowed slide lecture merged (as an industry) with film but it remained a potent method of announcing discoveries that might not be believed without photographic documentation. Leadership in the field moved from the traveling travelogue lecturers (who switched to documentary film presentations) to discoverers and aviators. Howard Carter announced the discovery of King Tut-ankh-Amen's Tomb (sic)

at Carnegie Hall on April 29, 1924. That theater, which had hosted lecturer Burton Holmes since its founding in 1891, sponsored a Great Adventures series of illustrated lectures as late as 1935, when Richard Byrd and Amelia Earhart both spoke.<sup>64</sup>

The illustrated slide lecture segued easily into museum interpretive genres, especially those associated with adult public programming. The lecture with slides is still a common feature of most museum's calendars. New technology has led to the development of film screenings and interactive disks, but both genres, with their circa 55 minute lengths and voice-over narrations remain disguised or modified slide lectures.

Captions including diagrams and details, graphic diacritical texts and museum publications such as brochures and catalogues all duplicate the impact of the illustration slide lecture and the authority given to the combination of text and image. When they include provenance statements, such as the name of the donor, captions present social authority. This is true for art works, but especially for captions of functioning artifacts, which state the relationship of the donor to the user, e.g. "[Gown] made by Charles Frederick Worth for Mrs. Jacob Astor, donated by Mrs. Caroline Schermahorn Wilson, grand-daughter of the wearer."

The clergy occasionally stretched its authority from religion to popular entertainments. Producers of many of the modern-day moral melodramas of the early 20th century published pamphlets and souvenir programs citing "Opinions of Prominent Clergymen," as did Hall Caine for his modern-dress melodrama *The Christian* (1898). Religious figures shared authority with social leaders in other promotional material, such as Robert Hilliard's press book for the national tour of his *A Fool There Was* (1909). Its cover described the play based on the Rudyard Kipling poem as:

"An unusual Dramatic Offering of Literary Merit with a Cause, a Reason and a Powerful Lesson. Most favorably criticized by the Leading members of the Press. Eulogized by America's foremost Citizens. Highly commended and endorsed by Theologians, Fraternal, Social and Labor Societies."<sup>65</sup>

Academic authority became separated from society status in the 1910s. In some cases, academics were quoted as endorsing aspects of culture that might not receive eulogies from the foremost citizens. In 1913, a poster for diver/dancer Annette Kellermann quoted Prof. Dudley Allen Sargent of Harvard University's opinion that she was "The most beautifully formed woman of Modern Times." The poster included an profile image of Kellermann in quasi-Egyptian clothes and a chart that compared her measurements to those of Venus de Milo and Aphrodite.<sup>66</sup>

Academic authority became affiliated with popular entertainments that focused on the traditional chronology of empires. Exhibitors of film were avid users and misusers of historical authority, perhaps since they lacked their own professional authority. The use of scholarly statements, prevalent from the earliest one-reelers, found its greatest peak in *Intolerance* (in both the 1916 full film and the 1924 *Fall of Babylon* version). D. W. Griffith's inter titles at this time gave both scenario (establishing text, hieroglyphs and dialogue) and background information. The title cards throughout the film use different font and backgrounds for the different parallel narratives and are formatted to look like exhibition captions with three sizes of type, block settings and footnotes, citing scholarly authority both literally and visually. The inter titles for the Babylon sequences give background and authority to Griffith's interpretation of the episode (the fall of Babylon to Cyrus and the Persian army) as a historical reality and as a metaphor for language, the latter analyzed by Miriam Hansen.<sup>67</sup>

*Intolerance* programs (created by each individual theater from exploitation books provided by Griffith as distributor) also featured social and academic authority for the film. One such program reprints plot synopses and adds quotations about Reform from Ralph Waldo Emerson, Woodrow Wilson, John Koren ("in the *Atlantic Monthly*") and Frank P. Walsh (in *The Independent*, 1915); on political intolerance from Kitchin's History of France and Longfellow; on Prohibition from the New Testament; and on Babylon from

"Added note to Herodotus by the editor, George Rawlinson."<sup>68</sup> Other programs add a note on Authorities:

Over a period of four years of active research, Mr. Griffith and his staff have consulted every established authority on each of the periods of the production, notable among them: *For the Babylonian*, Jastrow, King Rawlinson, Rev. Henry Sayce, et al; *For the Judean period*, Tissot, the Jewish Encyclopedia, Canon Cheyne, et al; *For the French period*, Kithcin, Guizot, the Catholic Encyclopedia, et al; *For the Modern story*, U. S. Industrial Commission Report, Legislative reports on Mothers' Pension Bills, National and State public papers, etc."<sup>69</sup>

The authority ceded to academics and historians is overtly presented to the museum audience through captions and didactic texts that cite academic justification for the selection and inclusion process. In some institutions or individual exhibitions, however, the selection process that determines which artifacts are on view and which merit captions is hidden from the audience. These exhibitions can be anonymous or credited to such a large group that individual attribution is lost, but in either case, authority automatically defaults to the institution.

Academic authority can be emphasized or lost through the use of full professional titles, in associative texts that promote lecture series and other adult events. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's brochure for the exhibition *Andrea Mantegna*, for example, listed a weekly lecture "by Museum staff" and six lectures credited to individuals, each of whom was identified by his or her title, e.g. "Jean Cadogan, Charles and Eleanor Cunningham Curator of European Art, the Wadsworth Atheneum."<sup>70</sup> In the latter case, Dr. Cadogan is duly credited and authority is effectively ceded; in the former, authority is retained by the institution except for the audience present at the active intervention/lecture.

Historical authority can easily be misused as well -- either by lying or by presenting information with undue authority. It may be easier to see this manipulation in a contemporary film example before looking at museum texts. The associative texts for the



film, *The Queen of Sheba* (Fox Film Corp., 1921), for example, give equal weight to historical authorities for what we can see as correct and incorrect information. In the exploitation booklet (aimed at theater owners and advertisers) and in the program (aimed at the ticket-buying public), historical sources and a paean to the research method were cited in a statement credited to the director, J. Gordon Edwards:

...I realized that all I actually knew of [the Queen of Sheba] began and ended with the Book of Kings; the Talmud and the Koran offered little more, the English Encyclopedia still less...Then in the French Encyclopedia *La Rousse* (sic) I found at last something tangible and in a musty book shop I came across *La Reine de Saba* by Hughes Le Roux...Other authorities consulted were: Josephus; the Jewish Encyclopedia; Littman's 'Legend of the Queen of Sheba'; Morere, the Catholic historian; Bokhari's 'Mohammedan Traditions'; Encyclopedia Hispanico; Schechter's 'Folk-Lore'; and Weil's 'Biblical Legends of the Mussulman'...<sup>71</sup>

On the facing page, a source, A. Dochtenberg's *Sheba and Her Times* (Munich, 1807) was cited to prove that "There is no basis whatever for believing those historians who endeavor to locate Sheba on the main continent of Africa;" therefore The Queen of Sheba was not black.<sup>72</sup> This was both an exclusionary racist statement and an attempt to validate the casting of the actress Betty Blythe. It was also clearly a mis-use of academic authority. Such a simple mis-use that it makes us question the other seemingly thoughtful citations.

Museums and other research institutions created in the late 19th century often reproduce that mis-use of authority in their hierarchical or organization structure. Sheba is still excluded from Africa in most cataloguing systems. Many institutions, like The New York Public Library, genuinely committed to intellectual freedom, can collect artifacts and material from all cultures, but must catalogue them under exclusionary and incorrect division classifications, such as "Oriental" (which takes in all of Asia and the Middle East, but does not include Africa). A Eurocentric hierarchy for performance collecting and cataloguing created for the Ohio State University Theatre Research Institute became the

basis for the annual bibliography of American theatre dissertations in progress and may have infected generations of students and teachers.<sup>73</sup> It was presented to SIBMAS (the International Association of Libraries and Museums of the Performing arts) as valid as late as 1983.

Assuming that audiences read captions and didactic texts, the institutional associations included in them need to be recognized as elements of authority. Using the above example, if such a museum mounted an exhibition on artifacts from Sheba and credited the items to the Oriental department, Black audiences members would not be able to have their ownership of the topic reinforced. If an institution credited the material to the department of Primitive Art, in which many African collections are housed, it might also disenfranchise that audience.

The presentation or exclusion of "context" can also be seen as a use and mis-use of institutional authority. In the exhibition, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, co-organized by the National Gallery of Art, The Art Institute of Chicago and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, context was almost completely excluded. The show, presented with the cooperation of the Government of the Turkish Republic, was successful in representing the importance of Süleyman to law, society and art, and can be considered a seminal point in the inclusion of Ottoman culture into the revised "standard" art history. But the extent of Ottoman conquests into Europe and his place in recent European history were muted through the severely restricted use of hemispheric (rather than localized) maps and Common Era (rather than Islamic) dating. The text panels and brochure (created and copyrighted by the National Gallery of Art but used at the other venues) followed the practice of many armories by downplaying warfare while displaying weapons as art objects. They used only one map, showing the Mediterranean area, and an opening paragraph which ended "...extending [Ottoman] boundaries from Iran to Austria." The exhibition was organized into four large sections: "Süleyman the Lawgiver; Süleyman the Magnificent; Patronage of the Arts; and Splendor of the Court, " in the chronological

"great man" structure. In the only mention of his impact on the map of Europe, the brochure reads: "Europeans referred to Süleyman as the Magnificent because of his military conquests and the grandeur of his court. His highly disciplined forces were equipped with splendid arms and accoutrements, which displayed the wealth of his state. The army and navy were divided into highly specialized corps, each of which had specific weapons, garments and headdresses."<sup>74</sup>

### **Authority and exhibition development**

Since the reliance upon serially arranged galleries was built into most extant museum structures, the format brings an authority of inherent correctness. But this internal authority distorts history. Cultures do not end as others begin, although a long tradition of narratives assert that belief. The manipulation of narrative voices itself can also be a mis-use of authority. It is common and recommended practice for museums, especially living history sites and period homes, to interpret through an invented narrative voice. But it is important to remember that this technique is an accepted tool only to the interpreters and others in our field. The gallery audience may perceive the voice as a historic reality rather than a tool. The danger here is not that the interpreter will break reality by using an anachronistic term, but that the audience will believe the voice as a false reality when it actually presents a parallel narrative. The costumed interpreter may be well informed, but he/she is only as real as the fictional "Ben-Hur."

Academic authority is often integrated into exhibitions and associative texts through the adoption of scholarly publication mechanics. Footnotes, indented quotations, glossaries and bibliographies are frequently included in free exhibition and public programming brochures as well as purchasable catalogues.<sup>75</sup>

The responsibility of exhibition developers to existing and targeted audiences has recently become a major topic of conversation, writings and presentations at professional seminars and meetings. Narrative structure and authority as they serve and disserve exhibitions are featured in two examples of self-reflection which will conclude this paper --

the exhibition, *Mining the Museum*, and the publication *Ideas and Images: Developing Interpretive History Exhibits*.

*Mining the Museum*, analyzed above for its narrative voices, was created by outside authorities designated and recognized by the Maryland Historical Society (MHS) to create a parallel exhibition to its permanent collections as displayed. Artist Fred Wilson and Guest Curator Lisa Corrin (who is Assistant Director of The Contemporary, a site-less Baltimore museum) used MHS artifacts and cases to answer their questions: "Why have those represented by these works been lost to us? Who is included in this history? Who is left out?" It is a striking, thought-provoking exhibition which calls into question the floors of slavery-less and Black-less Maryland history below it.<sup>76</sup> Wilson works with juxtapositions, devoting an exhibition case at an early scenepoint to artifacts but limiting the caption to a description of the registrar's numbers (i.e. card stock inscribed with ink) or placing wooden sculptures of Dime-store Indians facing into a corner and away from the gallery audience. He places examples of artisanship at scenepoints where they can be by-passed or examined. The shackles as metalwork and whipping post as furniture are not shocking just because they are included with silver vessels and upholstered chairs by these outside authorities. The vessels and chairs are transformed from artifacts into unanswerable questions. They have been preserved as "owned by" objects with no clue to whether they were made by Baltimore's African American enslaved artisans. Has the curator of decorative arts -- the institution's appropriate inside authority -- ever considered investigating the questions raised by Corrin and Wilson? Can these artifacts be both "owned by" and "made by?" Are artifacts "used by" their owners alone or also by the people who cleaned them? Altering the caption texts of the downstairs exhibition of repousse and wood carving would change the permanent exhibition's narrative enough to make it less exclusionary if the institution put its authority behind this radical change in labeling. The change could be made through a change in the narration, the narrative voices or both.

*Ideas and Images: Developing Interpretive History Exhibits*, edited by Kenneth Ames, Barbara Franco and L. Thomas Frye, was a recent outgrowth of the American Association of State and Local History's *A Common Agenda* project.<sup>77</sup> It presents case studies for the creation of permanent and temporary exhibitions in museums and historical societies from 1987. Some of the exhibits were designed specifically to adjust exclusionary perceptions in their own museums or in museums in general and were aimed at African American, Native American and Hispanic populations. Others, in large urban areas, expanded the targeted audiences and included them into history. Some exhibitions dealt with local issues (such as minor league baseball) or national concepts (such as the automobile). In each case, the exhibit was created by a team over a minimum eighteen month period.

In these essays, ceding authority develops as a major, cross-institutional issue. Working with a panel of outside scholars is seen as a positive solution to museum stagnation by Frank Jewell in his essay on the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Virginia.<sup>78</sup> Bringing individual academic experts into the development team for a specific closed-ended project has become a common practice for the included museums. Even those new institutions which were creating permanent exhibitions that defined their missions, like the National Afro-American Museum and Cultural Center, Wilberforce, Ohio, imported a project leader/scholar.<sup>79</sup> Assignment of credit goes to the institution or to the team. As Candace Tangorra Matelic wrote of the Museum of Florida History project:

"Research may be based on current scholarship by others or may be original findings produced by the team historian. If the necessary expertise is not available on staff, consultants may be contacted. Regardless of who does the research and writing, the credit for authorship goes to the team rather than to individuals."<sup>80</sup>

Although many of the exhibitions described in *Ideas and Images* have cohesive, well scripted narratives, none of the essays nor the afterword mention their importance to issues of audience advocacy and inclusion or to institutional authority. This may be partly due to the dislike of some museum professionals for what they consider a question of

theory, not practice, or may be a recognition on the inevitable reliability of the very structures that they use but do not discuss. However, by ignoring structure in what will become a basic text book of exhibition development, they risk their discarding by the next generation of museum workers.

Museum exhibition developers, whether individual curators or teams including designers, interpreters and audience advocates, must take responsibility for the authority that tradition has endowed to their institutions. Rather than rejecting as coercive the tools developed to serve audiences within the cognitive aspects of museums, the profession needs to examine the educative and performative sources of their power. For twenty years, the museum professions have struggled with the paradox of the employer/institution's authority as it alienates the very audiences that they strive to attract. Rejecting narrativity does not solve the paradox -- it leaves the audience without roots or scaffolds and forces them to rely even more on the institution to guide them through the cognitive experience. Acceptance and objective analysis of the paradox can assist the museum in reaching the new audience. The comprehension of the structure and origins of such basic tools as narratives, narrations and narrative voices is vital to the expansion of the museum's function and audience base.

---

<sup>1</sup> The term, as used by Peter Vergo in the critical anthology of that name, refers to the study of museums as they relate to audiences rather than collections. As he writes in his introduction, "I would retort that what is wrong with the 'old' museology is that it is too much about museum methods and too little about the purpose of museums." Peter Vergo, ed. *The New Museology*. (London: Reaktion Press Ltd., 1991): 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova, "Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums" in Vergo, *ob cit.*:17.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Kirby, "Structural Analysis/Structural Theory," in *The Drama Review* (T-72), Volume 20, Number 4 (December 1976): 51-68. See also Kirby's "Manifesto of Structuralism" in *The Drama Review* (T-68) Volume 19, Number 4 (December 1975): 82-83, and *The Art of Time: Essays on the Avant-Garde* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1969).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Bouissac, *Circus and Culture: A Semiotic Approach* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), especially "The Circus as Multimedia Language" originally published in *Language Sciences* 11 (1971); Paul Bouissac, "Ecology of Street Performance," *The Drama Review*, Volume 36, number 3 (T135), Fall 1992: 10-15.

<sup>5</sup> David Carr, "Cultural Institutions as Structures for Cognitive change," presented at the NYCMER Symposium on Life Long Learning, April 1990; published in a slightly different form in Lorraine Cavallere, ed., *New Directions in Adult and Continuing Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992)

- <sup>6</sup> Benjamin Ives Gilman, 1913 Proceedings of the American Association of Museums, Volume 9, as reprinted in *Roundtable Reports* (Spring )1977. Gilman used the term "magazine" in its ammunition carrying sense.
- <sup>7</sup> President Mahan is quoted in "The Point of View," *Scribner's Magazine* (April 1906), Volume 39, #4: 507. The original text of this speech has not been located.
- <sup>8</sup> For an incisive analysis of the current debate on narrativity in historiography, please see William Cronon's "A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative," *The Journal of American History*, Volume 78, number 4 (March 1992): 1347-1376.
- <sup>9</sup> Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Making of American Civilization*. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929 and 1942 editions.
- <sup>10</sup> See, for example, William DeGarmo, *The Dance in Society...including dissertations on time and its accentuation, carriage, style and other relative matters* (New York: William DeGarmo, 1879, 1884 and 1892 editions); and Allen Dodworth, *Dancing and its Relation to Education and Social Life* (New York: Dodworth Company, 1885, 1888 and 1900 editions).
- <sup>11</sup> The literature on cognitive aspects of children and children's museums is vast and growing. The writing of James LaVilla-Havelin and Inez Wollin on differences between children and family groups as museum visitors informed my decision to limit my discussion to adult-led visitors only.
- <sup>12</sup> It is difficult to determine the exact origin of demonstrations as exhibitions, but the public offering for the Palais de la Femme of the Exposition Universelle de 1900, Paris, cites the Women's Building of the Columbia Exposition in Chicago, 1893 as its source for the decision to place demonstrations in the central hallway. Le Comite du Palais de la Femme a l'Exposition de 1900, [Public Offering], (Paris: Chaix, 1899): 7. The "metiers" shown in the 1900 exposition included lace making, embroidery, stenography, photography, engraving, embossing, garment trades, faience and [homeopathic] pharmaceuticals.
- <sup>13</sup> The phrase was adapted by Michael Kirby, "Structural Analysis/Structural Theory," op. cit., p. 63, from Robb Cleese's performance piece *Discrete scenepoints*.
- <sup>14</sup> Kirby, *ibid.*, p.57. Kirby was referring to found-spaces, not museum-based galleries in his analysis of a distinction between sculpture and performance art.
- <sup>15</sup> Itself an attempt to break away from collection-based non-interpretive exhibitions, the exhibition development team concept gives a group the job of creating the narrative, selecting the material, etc. Teams follow different models, but most consist of a combination of the curatorial staff, the design staff and the interpretive/education staff, representing the collections, the museum-as-building and the audience respectively. In the [Michael] Spock model, a professional exhibition developer is brought in to manage the team.
- <sup>16</sup> The Studio Museum in Harlem, *Memory and Metaphor: The Art of Romare Bearden, 1940 -1987*, Exhibition and educational programming brochure, April - August 1991, and transcriptions of text panels.
- <sup>17</sup> The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang: 1555-1636*, exhibition and tour brochure, April-June 1992.
- <sup>18</sup> The exhibition, which was seen at the Metropolitan Museum only, was under the joint patronage of the Junta of Andalucia, the [Spanish] Ministry of Culture and the Ayuntamiento of Granada. As it customary at the Metropolitan Museum, the exhibition and its texts were uncredited.
- <sup>19</sup> Due to the architecture of the Metropolitan Museum's gallery space, the exhibition rooms did not always abut. I am considering as the last room the final space before the sales area devoted to this exhibition.
- <sup>20</sup> John Tchen lecture at the symposium, "Towards a Philosophy of Museum Education," March 1992.
- <sup>21</sup> Carnegie Hall Marketing department., Centennial Tour Guide script, December 1989.
- <sup>22</sup> James Oliver Horton and Spencer R. Crew, "Afro-Americans and Museums: Towards a Policy of Inclusion," as distributed at the New York State Council on the Arts workshop, Cultural Pluralism for Museums: Opportunities and Solutions, April 1990. A version of their paper is included in *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1989). Greenfield's observations were originally published by him in *Crisis* 82, number 4 (1975) and were verified as of 1987 by Horton and Crew.
- <sup>23</sup> For more information on narrative voices in Temperance songs and tracts, please see my "Platform Pearls; or 19th century American Temperance Performance Texts." in *Performing Arts Resources*, Volume 16 (1991), pp. 70-91. The songs discussed are at the Music Division, The New York Public

Library for the Performing Arts; the John Hay Whitney Library, Brown University; and the Library of Congress.

<sup>24</sup> The anti-Interventionist and pro-war songs were popular on the vaudeville stage before the American entry into World War I. Both songs are in the Uncatalogued Popular Songs collection, Music Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

<sup>25</sup> Uncatalogued Popular Songs collection, Music Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. The tragic fire in a locked factory is considered a landmark in the development of the Ladies Garment Workers Union.

<sup>26</sup> Farnol wrote over 48 novels and novellas between 1908 and 1938, of which only one was filmed. Sabbatini wrote fewer books but is better known today since many of his novels, such as *Captain Blood* and *The Sea Hawk* were filmed in the 1920s and remade in the late 1930s with Errol Flynn. Sabbatini's *Scaramouche* was first filmed in 1923 with Ramon Navarro and remade in 1952.

<sup>27</sup> Introduction and Acknowledgements, *Teaching with documents: Using primary sources for the National Archives* (Washington, D.C.: The National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1989). A similar project, Jackdaw packages, were developed in England in the late 1950s and sold in museum shops.

<sup>28</sup> John Kuo Wei Tchen, "Creating a Dialogic Museum: The Chinatown History Museum Experiment" in Karp, Kreamer and Levine, *Museums and Community: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), as edited from the proceedings of the conference, *Museums and Communities*, March 1990.

<sup>29</sup> The New York Chintown History Project, Brochure, 1982. The brochure is printed on one side in Chinese.

<sup>30</sup> The Museum of the City of New York, *City Play*, exhibition brochure, 1988, and *Play It Again*, History Education package, 1990.

<sup>31</sup> The memory book was used at The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, February - May 1992, and on tour. An analysis by Sathi Pilau for the Dance Theatre Foundation Board or Directors found 14 comments directed to Ailey (who died in 1988), 3 to other deceased members of the dance community, 32 to living individual dancers or choreographers and 53 to the sponsoring institutions (Dance Theater Foundation and NYPL-PA).

<sup>32</sup> American Association of Museums Historic Sites Committee, *An Annotated Bibliography for the Development and Operation of Historic Sites* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1982); Jay Anderson, *The Living History Sourcebook* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979); and Suzanne B. Shell, "On Interpretation and Historic Sites," *Journal of Museum Education*, volume 10, number 3 (Summer, 1985), pp.6-10 and bibliography.

<sup>33</sup> "Thomas Eakins," The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the *Philadelphia Daily News*, November 7, 1991; *The Mini Quad-City [Iowa] Times* published for the Putnam Museum and The Davenport Museum of Art, Fall 1990; *Africa Explores: Twentieth Century African Art* published for the Center for African Art by *New Youth Connections*, 1991.

<sup>34</sup> L.S. Vygotsky. *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 86; as cited in Carr, op.cit., page 7.

<sup>35</sup> See the excellent annotated bibliography, "The 'Public' Museum: A Review of the Literature," by Carol Stapp in *Journal of Museum Education*, Volume 15, number 1 (Fall 1990): 4-11; and volume 16, number 1 of that journal, devoted to "Current issues in Museum Education."

<sup>36</sup> Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, *Blacks and the United States Constitution*, Exhibition and tour brochure, April - July 1987 and observation.

<sup>37</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York, Brochure 1991. The full NPS museum experience includes interpretive exhibits at an orientation center and docent-led tours of the Stanton house and the park.

<sup>38</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historical Preservation, *Past Meets Future*, Herald for State Urban Cultural Park programs, 1992.

<sup>39</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, Costume Institute, *Small Illusions: Children's Costume, 1710-1920*, Exhibition brochure, June - September 1990 and observation.



- <sup>40</sup> The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Kazimir Malevich: 1878 - 1935*, February-March 1991, Exhibition brochure and observation.
- <sup>41</sup> Anacostia Museum, *The Real McCoy: African American Invention and Innovation, 1619-1930*, Exhibition brochure, May - November 1989.
- <sup>42</sup> Anacostia Museum, *The Real McCoy: African American Invention and Innovation, 1619 - 1930*, Exhibition floor plan and observation. The docent-led tours and prepared educational programming followed the floor plan structure. My thanks to Robert Hall of the Anacostia Museum for copies of the pre-visit and gallery materials and for allowing me to observe a prepared 8th grade class visit to this exhibition.
- <sup>43</sup> Anacostia Museum, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877*, October 1987 - October 1988, Brochure and observation.
- <sup>44</sup> Anacostia Museum, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877*, Pre-visit educational booklet for students and Teachers' Resource Booklet. My thanks to Robert Hall, Education Specialist for the Museum and this exhibition, for sending me this material.
- <sup>45</sup> The National Gallery, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian*. Exhibition brochure, July - September 1992 and observation. The spatial experience of the exhibition was that of a "blockbuster," with a separate orientation, individual purchased tickets and timed entrances to the gallery.
- <sup>46</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 3.
- <sup>47</sup> *The Rivoli Times*, 1922 program. The film was remade with dialogue but without the cutback in 1930.
- <sup>48</sup> Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, *Marcus Garvey: The Centennial Exhibition*, Tour Brochure, 1988. It was created as a travelling show but seen in the New York venue.
- <sup>49</sup> The Schomburg Center, The New York Public Library, *Ibid* and planning document, 1987-1988. Note that the planning document created for grant proposals stated some of the text in the future tense.
- <sup>50</sup> Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992: 55. Title cards as cited from the Museum of Modern Art reconstruction as published in Theodore Huff, ed. *Intolerance: Shot by Shot Analysis*. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966).
- <sup>51</sup> Maryland Historical Society, *Mining the Museum*, Handouts and observation, Spring 1992 - February 1993; Michael Kimmelman, "Art View: An Improbable Marriage of Artist and Museum," *The New York Times* (2 August 1992), C:27.
- <sup>52</sup> Margaret DiBlasio and Raymond DiBlasio, "Constructing a Cultural Context through Museum Storytelling," *Roundtable Reports*, volume 8, number 3 (1983).
- <sup>53</sup> Standard descriptive paragraph for The New-York Historical Society quoted here from the institution's brochure *Writing History* (November 1992).
- <sup>54</sup> The New-York Historical Society, "What is American" brochure, 1992.
- <sup>55</sup> David L. Butler, "Nourishing the Lunch-hour Connoisseur," reprinted in Nichols, Alexander and Yellis, *Museum Education Anthology*, pp.126-128.
- <sup>56</sup> The Brooklyn Museum, "Art Breaks," *Herald*, November 1991.
- <sup>57</sup> "Little Katy" was introduced in a Greeley editorial in the *New York Tribune*, August 5, 1853. Solon Robinson's novel, *Hot-Corn, Life scenes in New York*, was published in 1854 and dramatized that year.
- <sup>58</sup> The post-War dramatizations changed their focus to "Little Eva" and lost their direct advocacy function.
- <sup>59</sup> X. Theodore Barber, *Magic Lanterns*, dissertation in process, New York University, 1992.
- <sup>60</sup> E. Butterworth Collection, Scrapbooks 1883-1895 and 1896-1904 [uncatalogued], Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.
- <sup>61</sup> Pamphlet, admission card and reviews affixed into E. Butterworth Collection, Scrapbook 1896-1904. A stereoptikon was a slide projector that used side-by-side images to produce a three-dimensional effect.
- <sup>62</sup> See Charles Musser and Carol Nelson, *High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp.73-75; and Musser's *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990), pp.212-218.

- <sup>63</sup> 1897 Sears Roebuck Catalogue, pp.484-485 [original pagination], reprinted by Chelsea House Publishers, 1968.
- <sup>64</sup> Promotional materials in the bound program volumes for 1893, 1924 and 1934-1935, Carnegie Hall Archives, New York City. Holmes billed himself as "successor to Mr. John L. Stoddard" in his 1902 brochure.
- <sup>65</sup> Caine and Hilliard promotional materials are in the Frank J. Walstach Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.
- <sup>66</sup> Oversized iconography, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. It can be assumed that Prof. Sargeant measured Kellermann against statues.
- <sup>67</sup> Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, chapters 7 and 8. The textual inter titles were used in both the original version of *Intolerance* and the re-editing of *The Fall of Babylon*; plot and dialogue inter titles changed in the two films. The connection between the inter titles and caption format was originally made by Dr. Hansen in public programming in association with the exhibition, *Epics and Icons of the Silent Film Era*, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, 1987.
- <sup>68</sup> Program, Liberty Theater, New York, 1916 {First run}, *Intolerance* (cinema 1916) Clippings file, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.
- <sup>69</sup> Program, Olune's Auditorium and Theatre Beautiful, [Cincinnati], 1916, *Intolerance* clipping file, Billy Rose Theatre Collection. There is no explanation in the program text for the differences in type fonts between the two cited magazines.
- <sup>70</sup> The exhibition was organized by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Royal Academy of Arts and was seen in New York. The brochure, for May 7 - July 12, 1992, was used at the former institution only.
- <sup>71</sup> Exploitation book from the Maj. Edward Bowes Collection, Scrapbook; Lyric Theater programs from *The Queen of Sheba* (cinema, 1921), program file, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. It should be noted that in a second piece of associative text material distributed at the Lyric Theater about the scenarist Virginia Tracy, it was said that "in no sense is the presentation to be regarded as a historical reproduction of the past..."
- <sup>72</sup> Lyric Theater program, op cit.
- <sup>73</sup> Alan Woods, "The McDowell Research Classification System for the Cataloguing of Scene and Costume Designs," in *Performing Arts Resources VIII* (1983): 30-35. The chart, which appears on page 35, classified all of Africa and all of South America as units.
- <sup>74</sup> Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, Tour Brochure, January - May 1987 and observation in Washington and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 1987 - January 1988.
- <sup>75</sup> In recent years, all brochures funded through the Smithsonian Institution's Educational Outreach Program and the National Endowment for the Humanities Public Humanities Program panel include citations for quotations and "For Further Reading" selections. The Library of Congress' "Read More About It" segment on CBS-TV specials and The New York Public Library's publications also include bibliographic suggestions.
- <sup>76</sup> The notable exception here is a single case devoted to composer Eubie Blake which interrupts the chronological flow of decorative arts on the second floor.
- <sup>77</sup> Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1992.
- <sup>78</sup> Lonnie Bunch, "Fueled by Passion," in *Ideas and Images*, op.cit.:283-312.
- <sup>79</sup> Clement Alexander Price, "Been So Long: A Critique of the Process that Shaped *From Victory to Freedom: Afro-American Life in the Fifties*," in *Ideas and Images*, op.cit.: 9-30.
- <sup>80</sup> "Forging a Balance: A Team Approach to Exhibit Development at the Museum of Florida History," in *Ideas and Images*, op.cit.: 198.

## Selected Bibliography

### Books:

Alexander, Edward P. *Museum Masters: Their Museums and their Influence*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Museums in Motion*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979.

American Association of Museums Historic Sites Committee. *An Annotated Bibliography for the Development and Operation of Historic Sites*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1982.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Museums: Their New Audience*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1969.

Ames, L. Kenneth, Barbara Franco and L. Thomas Frye, *Ideas and Images: Developing Interpretive History Exhibits*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1992.

Anderson, Jay. *The Living History Sourcebook*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979.

Bann, Stephen. *Clio's Clothing: Representation in nineteenth-century Britain and France*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Inventions of History: Essays on the representation of the past*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990.

Beard, Charles A. and Mary R. Beard. *The Making of American Civilization*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929 and 1942 editions.

Bouissac, Paul. *Circus and Culture: A Semiotic Approach*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976.

Collins, Zipporah W., ed. *Museums, Adults and the Humanities*. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Museums, 1981.

- De Borhegyi, Stephan F. and Irene Hanson. *The Museum Visitor: ...Visitor Reaction to Exhibits in the Milwaukee Public Museum*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1968.
- Gilman, Benjamin Ives. *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923.
- Goode, George Brown. "Museums of the Future" in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution (1897)*. *Report of the U.S. National Museum*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901.
- Grinder, Alison L. and E. Sue McCoy. *The Good Guide: A Sourcebook for Interpreters*. Scottsdale, Arizona: Ironwood Press, 1985.
- Gunning, Tom. *D. W. Griffith and the Origin of American Narrative Film*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Hansen, Miriam. *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Hudson, Kenneth. *A Social History of Museums*. London: Macmillan, Ltd., 1975/
- Karp, Ivan, and Stephen D. Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Karp, Ivan, Christine Mullen and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Larabee, Eric, ed. *Museums and Education*. Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968.
- Museum Education Roundtable, eds. *Patterns in Practice: Selections from the Journal of Museum Education*. Washington, D.C.: Museum Education Foundation, 1992.
- Musser, Charles and Carol Nelson. *High-Class Moving Pictures: Lyman H. Howe and the Forgotten Era of Traveling Exhibition, 1880-1920*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

National Archives and Records Administration. *Teaching with Documents: Using Primary Sources from the National Archives*. Washington, D.C.: The National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1989.

Nichols, Susan K., ed. *Patterns in Practice: Selections from the Journal of Museum Education*. Washington, D.C.: Museum Education Roundtable, 1992.

Nichols, Susan K., Mary Alexander and Ken Yellis, eds. *Museum Education Anthology, 1973-1983: Perspectives on Informal Learning*. Washington, D.C.: Museum Education Roundtable, 1984.

Scher, Steven Paul, ed. *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Schlereth, Thomas J. *Material Culture Studies in America*. Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982.

Vergo, Peter, ed. *The New Museology*. London: Reaktion Press, 1989.

**Unpublished theses:**

Barber, X. Theodore. *Evenings of Wonder: A History of the Magic Lantern Show in America*. New York University, Department of Performance Studies: 1993.

**Articles and conference presentations:**

Anon. [The Point of View], "The Point of View," *Scribner's Magazine*, Volume 39, number 4 (April 1906): 507.

Annis, Sheldon. "The Museum as a Staging Ground for Symbolic Action," *Museum* 151 (1986): 168-170.

Blackmon, Carolyn P., Teresa K. LaMaster, Lisa C. Roberts and Beverly Serrell. *Open Conversations: Strategies for Professional Development in Museums*. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1988.

- Carr, David. "Cultural Institutions as Structures for Cognitive Change, " presented at the New York City Museum Education Roundtable Symposium on Life-Long Learning, April 1990; published in a slightly different form in Cavallare and Sgrol, eds. *New Directions in Adult and Continuing Education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1992.
- Cronon, William, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative," *The Journal of American History*, Volume 78, number 4 (March 1992): 1347-1376.
- De Borgegyi, Suzanne. "Museum Brainstorming: A Creative Approach to Exhibit Planning," *Curator*, Volume 21, number 3 (1978).
- Dierking, Lynn and Myriam Springuel, eds. "Current Issues in Museum Learning," *Journal of Museum Education*, Volume 16, number 1 (Winter 1991).
- Eri, Istvan. "A Brief History of the Show-Case," *Museum* 146 (1985).
- Horton, James Oliver and Spencer R. Crew. "Afro-Americans and Museums: Towards a Policy of Inclusion." in *History Museums in the United State: A Critical Assessment* ed. by Leon Warren and Roy Rosenzweig. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Kimmelman, Michael, "An Improbable Marriage of Artist and Museum," *The New York Times* (2 August 1992): C 27.
- Kirby, Michael. "Structural analysis/Structural Theory" in *The Drama Review* (T-72) Volume 20, number 4 (December 1976): 51-68.
- Schereth, Thomas J. "We Must Review History Museum Exhibits," *History News*, volume 43, number 3 (1988): 30-33.
- Shell, Suzanne B. "On Interpretation and Historic Sites," *Journal of Museum Education*, Volume 10, number 3 (Summer 1985): 6-10 and bibliography.
- Stapp, Carol B., ed. "Public Mission vs. Private Allegiance: The Museum's Inner Conflict," *Journal of Museum Education*, Volume 15, number 3 (Fall 1990).

Stratynner, Barbara. "Platform Pearls; or 19th century American Temperance Performance Texts" in *Performing Arts Resources*, 16 (1991): 70-91.

**Associative Texts:**

The Afro-American Heritage Society of Charles County, Maryland. Membership brochure, nd [1990].

The Anacostia Museum, Washington, D.C. *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877*. Exhibition brochure, October 1987 - October 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Real McCoy: African-American Invention and Innovation, 1619-1930*, Exhibition brochure, May - November 1989.

The Brooklyn Museum. "Art Breaks," herald for November 1991.

D. W. Griffith Productions, *Intolerance*, Programs, 1916.

Famous Players-Laskey Corporation and Paramount Pictures. Souvenir program and exploitation book for *Manslaughter* and *The Ten Commandments*, 1922-1923.

Maryland Historical Society. Brochure and floor plan, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Mining the Museum*. Exhibition handouts, 1992.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Al-Andalucia*. Exhibition and public programming brochure, July - September 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Andrea Mantegna*. Exhibition and public programming brochure, May-July 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Kazimir Malevich, 1878 - 1935*. Brochure, February - March 1991.

\_\_\_\_\_. *small illusions: children's costume, 1710-1920*. Exhibition brochure, June - September 1990.

The National Gallery, London. *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian*. Exhibition Guide, July - September 1992.

The National Gallery of Art, Washington. *The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent*.

Tour and exhibition brochure, January 1987 - January 1988.

The National Park Service. Women's Rights National Historical Park. Brochure and map, 1991.

The National Portrait Gallery. Calendar of events, September-November 1992.

New York Chinatown History Project. Brochure, 1982.

[New York] Lyric Theater. Program for *The Queen of Sheba*, 1921.

New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. *Past Meets Future: New York's Urban Cultural Parks*. Herald, ca. 1991.

The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. *The Century of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang 1555-1636*. Exhibition and tour brochure, April - June 1992.

The New-York Historical Society. *Rediscovering the New World*. Public programming brochure, October 1991.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Why History? What is American?* Public programming brochure, February 1992.

The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, *Blacks and the United States Constitution*, Exhibition and tour brochure, April - July 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Marcus Garvey: The Centennial Exhibition*. Tour brochure, 1988.

The Studio Museum in Harlem. *Memory and Metaphor: The Art of Romare Bearden, 1940-1987*. Exhibition brochure, April - August, 1991.

Vitagraph Corporation. Exploitation book for *Noah's Ark*, 1928-1929.

#### **Educational texts and planning documents:**

American History Workshop (N.Y.), Inc. *Denver Dispatch v. United States: The First Amendment and National Security*. Teacher's Guide and Student Workbook for



The Constitution Works at Federal Hall National Memorial. (New York: Merrill New York, 1989).

Anacostia Museum, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877*. Exhibition materials for Primary level and Teacher's Resource Booklet, October 1987 - October 1988.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Real McCoy: African-American Invention and Innovation, 1619-1930*, Exhibition floor plan, pre-visit materials for Primary and Secondary levels and gallery activity texts, May - November 1989.

Carnegie Hall, Inc., Marketing office. Tour script, December 1989.

Field Museum of Natural History, "A Brief Outline of Permanent Exhibit Work, 1875-1995," Document distributed to National Association of Museum Exhibitors and American Association of Museum conference attendees, May 1990.

The Museum of the City of New York. *City Play*. Brochure, May 1988 - February 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Play It Again*. History Education package, 1990.

Missouri Historical Society. *The Mission of Lewis and Clark*. Draft copies of Teachers' Guides to documents, 1989.

National Archives and Records Administration. *The Road West: Primarily Teaching Using Primary Sources from the National Archives*. Washington, D.C.: The National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1990.

The New York Public Library. Planning documents and grant proposal narratives for the Exhibition Program Office, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts and the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 1987-1992.

The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and *The Philadelphia Daily News*. *Thomas Eakins*. Educational supplement, November 7, 1991.