

The Heiltsuk Case: Museums, Collectors, Inventories

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#### ABSTRACT

The art of the Heiltsuk of the central coast of British Columbia is not well known to non-aboriginal people and has been frequently misrepresented in the literature on the Northwest Coast. Because the majority of historical art from Bella Bella and other Heiltsuk communities is now in museums, ideas about Heiltsuk art and culture have been shaped largely by the museum collections from this region. While it is recognized that museums impose new organizations and narratives on the objects they display and store, how this happens is often less clear. To elucidate the process, the current methodological study analyses in detail the Heiltsuk collections of four major museums: the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution), the American Museum of Natural History, the Royal British Columbia Museum, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and makes reference to Heiltsuk art and artifacts in other collections. Close examination of the composition and documentation of, and motivations for, these collections reveals both the diverse inventories used to create the museum-structured representation of Heiltsuk culture and the processes of their accumulation. The dissimilar agendas, knowledge,

and opportunities of the artifact collectors influence museums' portrayals of Heiltsuk culture. The study deals only with Heiltsuk collections but its findings and methodologies are applicable to other Northwest Coast collections.

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## PREFACE

The original intention of this study of Heiltsuk art in museums was to draft a Heiltsuk art history. During research for the project I realized that any attempt to formulate such a history must first address the nature of museum collections of works from Bella Bella and vicinity, for these must be the primary evidence for the nature of historical Heiltsuk art. The study then became a critical inventory of Heiltsuk art and artifacts in selected museums.

Examination of this inventory reveals Western conceptual and institutional lenses through which Heiltsuk objects have been viewed and transformed. My use of the term 'art' to refer to objects made by Heiltsuk carvers, painters, weavers, and other producers is such a lens, of course. As Charlotte Townsend-Gault has pointed out, art is just one of "a series of 'outsider' classifications of artifacts that continues to the present" in the discourse about aboriginal art (1988: 32). Material culture, artifact, and craft are also Western, not aboriginal, classifications. The applicability and ramifications of these terms for tribal objects in general have been the subject of extensive comment, particularly in the 1980s.<sup>1</sup> The issue with reference to the Northwest Coast has been addressed by art historian Aldona Jonaitis (1981).

Jonaitis traces the history of outsider perceptions of Northwest Coast art from ethnographic specimens to fine art and reveals how objects were reclassified from artifact to art with the changing aesthetic and political ideals of non-aboriginal artists, institutions, scholars, and the general public. A rise in monetary value and status accompanied the reclassification.<sup>2</sup> Today, both historic and contemporary First Nations' works are commonly classed as art and shown in art galleries as well as museums, but the categorization remains problematic for historical objects. Townsend-Gault (1988) and Ruth Phillips (1988) are among the anthropologists and art historians who remind us that calling First Nations objects 'art' distorts their original cultural meaning and imposes Western ideas and value systems on First Nations cultures. The use of the term is appropriate in this study, however.<sup>3</sup> It acknowledges the aesthetic nature of the objects, but it also signifies that conventions of the academic discipline of art history are operating and that the life of Heiltsuk objects outside of Heiltsuk culture is the study's focus.

Examination of the Heiltsuk inventory reveals that each museum collection of Heiltsuk material is the unique and rather arbitrary product of a collector whose agenda was peripheral to the Heiltsuk culture that produced the artifacts. Yet the collections have been instrumental in

forming conceptions about what Heiltsuk art has been and can be.<sup>4</sup> These conceptions are part of what art historian Michael Ann Holly calls the "post-text" of a work of art: "the afterlife of the object as it continues to work at organizing its remembrance in the cultural histories that employ it" (1996: 14). The museum and collection frameworks discussed can themselves be understood as part of Heiltsuk art's post-text; analyses and interpretations arising from the objects in these and other museum collections are also part of the post-text. From the vantage point of a distinctly European cultural institution - the museum - the vast inventory of erratically documented and organized Heiltsuk material is surveyed and organized into classes and categories.

"Although we have become relatively adept at reading exhibitions as texts," writes art historian Ruth Phillips (1995: 99), "less attention has been paid to the anatomy of collections as historically contingent object records that permit or exclude certain representational possibilities." The current study addresses this lacuna and illustrates how the representational process proceeded with reference primarily to four major Heiltsuk collections: the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution), the American Museum of Natural History, the Royal British Columbia Museum, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. In substantial ways, it

follows historian Douglas Cole's (1985) method of detailed analysis of archival and collection records and careful attention to the circumstances of collecting. Cole's work is encyclopedic in scope, whereas my concern is solely with Heiltsuk objects, their documentation, and collectors' motivations which determined what was collected and recorded, and therefore how the category Heiltsuk art developed.

Despite my original intention, this study does not offer a Heiltsuk art history after all. Instead, it provides the necessary basis for one and demonstrates one model for the analysis of First Nations art in the museum context.

## Notes

1. An example of the debate in the context of African art is theorist Arthur Danto's article in the catalogue for the Center for African Art's influential "ART/artifact" exhibit (1988). Danto considers the hypothetical Basket Folk and Pot People whose products look identical but are either art works or artifacts depending on how much they are valued and the cultural ideas they embody. He concludes that utilitarian objects from African cultures may resemble works of art in Western cultures, but the resemblance does not make them art. Works of art embody thought and have expressive content; the artifacts they resemble do not carry the same kinds of meanings. For Danto, cultural context defines art. Art historian Denis Dutton critiques Danto's position in an article in The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism (1993). Dutton notes that Danto's distinction is "of the mind, not the eye" and offers a contrasting argument. He postulates that Danto's hypothetical potters and weavers - the artists themselves - and the connoisseurs of that hypothetical society could differentiate between their own products and the identical-looking ones of the other culture. Dutton argues that "trained perception is the key," giving equal weight to visual evidence.

2. James Clifford (1988) theorizes this movement of objects from ethnographic artifact to fine art (and back again) within an "art-culture system."

3. Everyone who writes about aboriginal objects addresses the terminology problem differently. Anthropologist George Kubler notes, optimistically, that "The gray area between artifact and work of art was a problem resolved in this century by the statistical concept of the graded series between such polarities." In his view, art and artifact share different degrees of the same qualities: function and aesthetics (1991: vi). Joan M. Vastokas, an anthropologist trained as an art historian, reveals and solves the dilemma concisely: on one hand, "our analytical procedure must avoid the imposition of arbitrary, external, or pre-conceived categories more pertinent to Euroamerican art," on the other, it is futile to become "embroiled in unproductive discussion regarding the definition of what constitutes a work of 'art'." Her solution is to interpret the term 'art' as connoting a concern with "visual imagery in the broadest sense" (1978: 243).

4. This is true even for contemporary Heiltsuk, including artists, whose conceptions of historical objects and art styles are informed by museum collections.

## INTRODUCTION

## THE HEILTSUK AND HEILTSUK STYLE

The Heiltsuk Nation

The inhabitants of the community of Bella Bella today are primarily the descendants of four Heiltsuk-speaking tribal groups: 'Uyalit<sup>ǂ</sup>xv, U<sup>ǂ</sup>withitxv, 'Qvúqva<sup>ǂ</sup>yáit<sup>ǂ</sup>xv, and 'Isdaít<sup>ǂ</sup>xv (Map 1).<sup>1</sup> A fifth Heiltsuk-speaking group, the Xíxí<sup>ǂ</sup>s, live mainly at Klemtu, a mixed Heiltsuk-Tsimshian community on Swindle Island.<sup>2</sup> Collectively, these groups are called the Heiltsuk, a name which is the English spelling of Hailhzaqv (plural, Hai'aílhzaqv). The Heiltsuk are also known as the Bella Bella after the English-language name for their principal settlement on Campbell Island at Bella Bella Reserve Number One.<sup>3</sup> Bella Bella is actually two village sites: the modern town of Waglisla and 'Qélc, the previous community at McLoughlin Bay about two miles to the south.<sup>4</sup> The names Heiltsuk and Bella Bella are sometimes written as plurals (Heiltsuks, Bella Bellas) but the singular is the more common usage.

Both Heiltsuk and Bella Bella are terms that have been in use since at least the 1830s. They appear in the journal of William Fraser Tolmie, a physician with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), which was written at McLoughlin Bay in 1834. In the nineteenth century the

Heiltsuk were also called Milbanke Sound Indians. (The spelling of Milbanke varied.) For example, on a voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1866, a British sailor named Pym Nevins Compton encountered the northern neighbours of the Heiltsuk, the Haisla, at Kitamaat and Kitlope in Douglas Channel. In a written account of his visit, Compton noted that the Haisla were located "between the Millbank Sound Indians [i.e., the Heiltsuk] and the Tsimpian [Tsimshian] nation. . . ." <sup>5</sup>

Anthropologist Franz Boas, whose extensive and influential publications on the Northwest Coast determined to a large extent how the First Nations were perceived and classified by outsiders, referred to the Heiltsuk as the "Northern Kwakiutl." The designation comes from linguistic classifications. Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka, the language spoken by the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), are both Northern Wakashan languages. The Haisla and the Oweekeno also speak Northern Wakashan languages and Boas called them "Northern Kwakiutl" as well. <sup>6</sup> This terminology implies that Boas viewed Kwakwaka'wakw culture and language as definitive with regard to other Northwest Coast cultures, a condition that Wayne Suttles has called "essentialism" (1989, quoted in Jonaitis 1995: 314). <sup>7</sup>

Anthropologists who followed Boas adopted his terminology. Ronald L. Olson, who did field research at Waglisla in 1935 and 1949, published his observations as

"Notes on the Bella Bella Kwakiutl" (1955). Philip Drucker included the research he did at Waglisla in 1936-37 in "Kwakiutl Dancing Societies" (1940). The common use of "Northern Kwakiutl," or even just "Kwakiutl," to refer to the Heiltsuk has contributed to the confusion on the part of non-Natives about the identity and location of the Heiltsuk and is a factor in the marginalization of the Heiltsuk in academic discourses. The Heiltsuk themselves abhor the term with reference to themselves and it is now never used. For a synonymy and explanation of the names Heiltsuk and Bella Bella, see Hilton 1990: 321.

Geographically, the Heiltsuk are at the centre of the British Columbia coast. Heiltsuk ancestral territories encompass the outer islands, protected inland waterways, and mainland fiords between Rivers Inlet and Milbanke Sound. The area from the southern tip of Calvert Island, up Dean and Burke Channels as far as Kimsquit in the northeast, up Mathieson and Finlayson Channels to the north, and seaward to the outer coast regions of the Goose Island Group is included in these territories (Map 2).

Despite Boas' essentialism and its influence, the Heiltsuk have been characterized in the ethnographic literature as central. Anthropologists traced selected ceremonies, ideologies, and practices from the Heiltsuk to other Northwest Coast nations, thus placing the Heiltsuk at the cultural centre of the coast. Boas himself

recognized that the Heiltsuk *há'á'ca* (*tánis*) ceremony was the source of the Kwakwaka'wakw *hamatsa* ceremony, noting that Kwakwaka'wakw chiefs obtained the songs and regalia in a mid-nineteenth century raid on Heiltsuk chiefs travelling by canoe (Boas 1897: 427). Drucker believed that the characteristics and distribution of the Kwakwaka'wakw Winter Ceremonial show that the Heiltsuk, with the neighbouring Haisla and Oweekeno, constituted "the centre of the ritual complex" (1940: 227), and in a recent book, anthropologist Michael Harkin writes that "Much of the ceremonial repertoire of the Bella Coolas [Nuxalk] was Heiltsuk in origin" (1997: 1).<sup>8</sup> Heiltsuk healers were central to Northwest Coast shamanic practices according to anthropologist Marius Barbeau, who mentions the influence of famous Heiltsuk shamans among the Tshimshian/Gitksan/Nisga'a (1958: 76). Heiltsuk music was also central to Northwest Coast musical traditions. The Heiltsuk were "the most significant musical and ceremonial group on the Northwest Coast during the nineteenth century" according to ethnomusicologist Anton Klostee (1988: 1).

Marriage alliances spread Heiltsuk rituals and associated artifacts outward from the Heiltsuk centre to other nations. One example of the spread of Heiltsuk prerogatives and attendant objects is a painted cradle containing a moveable figure representing a pubescent girl

(UBCMOA A7877, Fig. 1). Collected at Village Island in Kwakwaka'wakw territory and therefore catalogued as Kwakwaka'wakw, it is a prerogative associated with a *caíqa* performance called *xa'ápi* (Cradle Dance) that was obtained from the Heiltsuk through marriage (Hawthorn 1979: fig. 98; Harkin 1997: 16).

The Heiltsuk are characterized as central in other senses. Heiltsuk social organization links them to the northern coast matrilineal tribes and to the southern coast groups who inherit position and property through both mothers' and fathers' families. On the basis of field work done at Waglisla, Boas concluded that the Heiltsuk, with four endogamous clans - Raven, Eagle, Killer whale, and Wolf - and the option of either matrilineal or patrilineal descent of crest affiliation and privileges, combined characteristics of the Kwakwaka'wakw to the south and the Tsimshian to the north (1923). With regard to nineteenth-century head-flattening practices, the Heiltsuk were also between northern and southern cultural provinces. The British sailor, Compton, noted on his 1866 visit that there were "two great groups" on the Northwest Coast: "those that flatten or otherwise distort the head," and those who do not. Compton observed that Milbanke Sound was on the border between the two groups.

Historically, Bella Bella has been a centre of interaction between First Nations and Europeans since the fur trade and mission eras. The HBC's Fort McLoughlin was built in 'Uyalit̓x̓v territory in 1833. The community of 'Qélc grew around the fort and the 'Uyalit̓x̓v became powerful middle-men in the central coast trade. Even after Fort McLoughlin was dismantled in 1843 and HBC trade came to be conducted primarily by steamer, 'Qélc remained an important Heiltsuk winter village and a commercial centre. A small HBC store was opened on the Fort McLoughlin site about 1850 and continued to operate for many years (Hilton 1990: 319).

By about 1870, 'Qélc was the principal Heiltsuk community (Fig. 2, Map 3). Populations from settlements such as Elcho ('Háłkv), Hoonees (Xvnís), Howeet (Húyat), Kokyet ('Qábá), Koqui ('Qvúqvái), Kunsoot ('Qíłsutkv), and others gradually amalgamated and moved into McLoughlin Bay. The smallpox epidemic of the 1860s was the primary reason for this upheaval and resettlement. Whole villages were decimated in the pandemic of 1862. Between 1834 and 1889, smallpox and other diseases reduced the Heiltsuk population from an estimated sixteen hundred throughout the traditional territories to about two hundred and fifty people, most living at 'Qélc (Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre 1989: 3, see also Hilton 1990: 320, Harkin 79-82).

The establishment of a Methodist mission at 'Qélc in

1880 positioned the community at the centre of missionary efforts on the central coast. The mission brought a school, a church, and medical services to 'Qélc and was an additional factor in the consolidation of the Heiltsuk at McLoughlin Bay. Soon, a growing population coupled with an increase in the single-family houses that were promoted by the Church and government as integral to the Christian way of life resulted in overcrowding. (The HBC would not allow the Heiltsuk to build on the Fort McLoughlin land in the centre of the village [Fig. 3].) In the late 1890s, the Heiltsuk planned and built the new town, Waglisla (New Bella Bella). 'Qélc (which became known as Old Town) was largely abandoned as a residence. Waglisla was built as a community of large European-style houses and modern facilities such as a six-metre-wide plank walk lit by oil lamps, a Heiltsuk-owned and operated steam sawmill, stores, a wharf, a warehouse, a recreation hall, and a day school. The hospital that the Methodist Church, with substantial Heiltsuk assistance, built at Waglisla served the entire central coast region. Waglisla was considered by church and government to be a model Christian village. By 1907, with a population of three hundred and eighteen, it was the second-largest Methodist community on the British Columbia coast (Crosby 1914: 183-94, Black 1997: 35-36, Fig. 4).

Despite the outer - and in some cases more than superficial - trappings of acculturation, the Heiltsuk resisted cultural obliteration. Heiltsuk culture survived and flourished (Fig. 5). Waglisla continues to be a centre of culture, commerce, and services. With a population of approximately fifteen hundred, it is one of the largest and most influential central coast communities. Urban Heiltsuk extend that influence to Vancouver, Victoria, and other cities.

#### The Heiltsuk Record

It is surprising that, until recently, the Heiltsuk have appeared relatively infrequently in the ethnographic and art historical literature. Anthropologist Martine Reid notes this paradox. The Heiltsuk "occupied a pivotal position" among the Northwest Coast groups, she writes, and yet "are perhaps the least known to anthropologists and other students of the culture" (1987: 232). Robert Steven Grumet, in his annotated bibliography of the literature on the Northwest Coast, also notes the comparative lack of ethnographic information about the Heiltsuk and one of the reasons for it. The Heiltsuk and Haisla, he observes,

. . . share a lack of scholarly recognition. They have been regarded as infertile ground for ethnographic inquiry because of the disappearance of the traditional culture and the intransigence

of the communities, and no major ethnographic or ethnohistorical study has been attempted among these groups. [1979: 41]

Although several studies of Heiltsuk history and culture have been published since Grumet's bibliography was compiled (Klostee 1988, Black 1997, and Harkin 1997 are discussed below), the works of Boas, Olson, and Drucker constitute the primary ethnographic record of the historical Heiltsuk. References to the Heiltsuk can be found in other ethnographies, such as T. F. McIlwraith's on the Nuxalk (1948) and Edward S. Curtis' on the Kwakwaka'wakw (1915), but these are not extensive and they understandably present the Heiltsuk as peripheral to the main ethnographic subjects of the texts. In sum, the Heiltsuk record is sparse compared to the literature on other Northwest Coast nations such as the Kwakwaka'wakw, Haida, Tshimshian/Gitksan/Nisga'a, Tlingit, and Nuuchahnulth.

One of the reasons for the comparative lack of ethnographic interest was, as Grumet implies, the Westernized appearance of Bella Bella. In her study of Boas' methods and his relationship with his native assistant, George Hunt, Judith Berman stresses that Boas "was interested in the supposedly pure and uncontaminated state of Native American cultures before European influence" (1996: 221). Before he went to Waglisla with Hunt in 1923 to study the Heiltsuk language, which he

viewed as "the northern dialect of the Kwakiutl language," Boas visited the Bella Bella region only briefly (1930: I, x). He was there in the 1880s and stopped at Bella Bella while working on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (JNPE) in 1897. (Boas's Heiltsuk field research and the JNPE are discussed in detail in Chapter II, Part 2.) In the Preface to his Bella Bella Texts (1928), one of two volumes of stories that he recorded during his 1923 visit to Waglisla (the other is Bella Bella Tales [1932]), Boas lamented that "The whole culture of the Bella Bella has practically disappeared."

Longing for the ethnographic past, and the implied prejudice against the contemporary Heiltsuk culture that goes with that longing, were also elements of the perspectives of later ethnographers such as Drucker and Olson. In a passage reminiscent of Boas, Drucker noted the apparent lack of traditional culture at Waglisla in 1936-37:

Native culture has been badly shattered in Northern Kwakiutl [Heiltsuk] territory, where European influence, especially that of the missionaries, has been strong for the last sixty or seventy years. [1940: 201]

Olson had the same reaction in 1935 and 1949. "The time when a complete picture of Bella Bella culture could be reconstructed has long since passed," he writes (1955: 319). Boas, Olson, and Drucker all assert that their

information about the Heiltsuk is fragmentary because of the high degree of cultural loss at Waglisla due to extended European contact and the presence of the missionaries. This judgement is questionable because of the survival of Heiltsuk cultural knowledge into the present day but it is clear that, for whatever reasons, whole sections of Heiltsuk cultural knowledge were not communicated to the visiting anthropologists. The result is a paucity of Heiltsuk texts and ethnographic records.

Until recently, anthropologists who did research at Bella Bella wanted to rescue remnants of Northwest Coast cultures. They tended to ignore Heiltsuk daily life and concentrate on recording, in as much detail as possible, what they perceived as pre-European cultural traits: kinship terms, traditional marriages, chiefs' names and rankings, and the order and descriptions of dances. Life histories and origin stories, such as those published by Boas in Bella Bella Texts (1928) and Bella Bella Tales (1916) were categories of interest as well.<sup>9</sup> In general they focused on elders' memories of earlier days, believing they were the most valuable source of knowledge about the past. (For a critique of this agenda, which is part of the "salvage paradigm" in anthropology, see Clifford 1986 and Barker 1992.)

In the Heiltsuk case, however, other archives augment the sparse ethnographic documents considerably.

Archaeological, historical, and missionary records are comparatively comprehensive. They are the primary sources for recent studies of Heiltsuk culture and for reappraisals of Heiltsuk history as it relates to outsider narratives.

Archaeological work in Bella Bella territories has produced information on Heiltsuk history and the antiquity of culture in the area. The oldest site on the coast, showing over nine thousand years of continuous habitation, was found in the settlement area of the original Heiltsuk tribes. Investigations led by Simon Fraser University archaeologists revealed that traits encountered in early historic times (late eighteenth century) appeared as early as fifteen hundred to two thousand years ago.

Archaeological work continues to be extensive and is done in consultation with the Heiltsuk Nation through the agency of the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre (HCEC). Information about archaeological investigations in Heiltsuk traditional territories can be found in Borden 1975, Carlson 1976, Hester and Nelson ed. 1978, Hobler 1970, Hobler ed. 1982, Simonsen 1973.

The earliest written observations of the Heiltsuk appear in the records of explorers and maritime fur traders. Captain George Vancouver and Alexander Mackenzie both visited Heiltsuk territory in 1793 and mentioned the apparently fierce Heiltsuk in their accounts. Soon after

Vancouver's and Mackenzie's exploratory visits, trading vessels from Europe and America frequented Heiltsuk waters. The Heiltsuk were often portrayed as hostile protagonists in European-First Nations dialogues. The American ship Atahualpa was attacked by the Heiltsuk in McLoughlin Bay in 1805, for example (Walbran 1971: 153-55, see also Harkin 1997: 2).

The Heiltsuk are mentioned in records from Fort McLoughlin, in particular the journals of HBC fur traders John Work (1945) and Dr. William Fraser Tolmie (1963). The names that the traders used to describe people and places, and the different interests of those times, make these records frustratingly unspecific for late twentieth-century researchers. Nonetheless, they offer insight into aspects of early nineteenth-century Heiltsuk society.

Tolmie's journal is perhaps the best of these sources. Tolmie lived at McLoughlin Bay in 1833 and in 1834-36, during which time he noted the comings and goings at the fort and details about Heiltsuk people, concerns, and ceremonies. He wrote about the status and relationships of the hereditary chiefs "Kyeet," "Boston," "Wasash," "Oyallah," "Umcheet," and others.<sup>10</sup> He documented, if somewhat obliquely, the existence of the *hámac'a* (*tanís*) ritual in the early nineteenth century when he recorded dressing arm wounds for some of the Heiltsuk. The wounds, he said, resulted from "the bite of the chief," and we

know from later ethnographic accounts that part of the hámáca ceremony involves the apparent biting of members of the audience by the initiate who is possessed by the Cannibal spirit and acts as if he is hungry for human flesh. A more complete documentation of Heiltsuk ceremonialism is Tolmie's description of a dance and feast at the 'Qvúqvayáitǔv village at "Kyeet's Cove" ('Qvúqvái?) on November 27, 1834. A box full of masks behind the dance screen in the bighouse, the last-minute painting of masks to be used in the ceremonies, the application of face paint by the participants, the costumes, the dances, and the feast are all described in informative detail.<sup>11</sup> Tolmie's journal is the pinnacle of the trader narratives. His descriptions of Heiltsuk ritual were in many ways never equalled (Tolmie 1963: 259, 264, 268, 271-272, 276, 292).

The extensive and detailed missionary literature is the next major narrative about the Heiltsuk. Most Methodist missionaries kept records of their travels, plans, successes, and (less often) of their failures, and wrote frequently to church personnel and church publications such as the Missionary Bulletin and the Missionary Outlook with chatty news and appeals for funds. There are no descriptions of traditional dances or feasts in missionary records because the potlatch and dancing had been outlawed by the Canadian government in 1885 and the

missionaries attempted to enforce the ban. Instead, they offer extensive accounts of daily life, economics, and community concerns that reveal both cultural survival and the great changes that took place at Bella Bella after the mission was established in 1880.<sup>12</sup> Unlike the anthropologists, the missionaries were interested in documenting individual and social 'progress.' This promotion of change, the concern with individual salvation, and the fact that some missionaries lived at Bella Bella over extended periods and had close relationships with Heiltsuk people produced a record that is full of personalized details and has a historical perspective that is missing from ethnographic accounts.<sup>13</sup>

An example of the contrasting points of view and contents of ethnographic and missionary records is the documentation concerning Chief Robert Bell (1859-1904). Bell was the head chief at Waglisla after about 1900. Probably he was from the 'Qvúqva'yáitxv village of Kokyet ('Qába) on Yeo Island and moved into Bella Bella after a fire destroyed 'Qába in 1891.<sup>14</sup> Sometime between 1897 and 1901, Bell succeeded Boston Humpsit (Humchitt) as head chief at Bella Bella. The only reference to Bell's place in Bella Bella society in the ethnographic literature is Olson's comment in his Bella Bella field notes that Chief Bell performed as the sleep-causing (K!ya'LkyaLamas) dancer on the occasion of Chief Moody's father's marriage

(1935, 1949: 34). The missionary record gives a different picture of Bell's role. Dr. R. W. Large's report about a notice that was "printed in large type on a sheet of cotton and posted on the main street when the head chief and band president was to be married" is an example. Large carefully copied the notice for The Missionary Bulletin:

The officer of the B.B.C.B. will give a real good time when Christmas Day will Held, and his band boys will also try give a splendid time, and now I wish you all, Ladies and Gentlemens of B.B. to get ready when the time will held. any person not feel well I wish they try to make themselves better now. No old fashioned doing will be given I hope everything will be ready when time come.  
 - - From the Officer of the B.B. Cornet Band.  
 Robert Bell. [Large 1905: 113]

As far as Large could tell, the event was, as promised, "free from all old customs."<sup>15</sup> Bell had an important position in traditional Heiltsuk society and we know from Olson's reference that he took part in traditional dances. We can see from Large's description of the wedding day celebrations that Bell's situation was in fact much more complex. As the text of his notice indicates, Bell's high rank and involvement in traditional life did not prevent him from supporting certain changes. From the missionary record we also know that Bell was the owner of Robert Bell and Co. general store and was a carver of objects. The accession list of Large's collection at the ROM assigns three objects to him: two small crudely-made boxes of the

sort made for tourists and the curio trade (ROM 23114, ROM 912X16) and a club or talking stick (Large described it as a "war club") that displays finer craftsmanship and more traditional imagery and may have been a non-commercial piece (ROM 23144).<sup>16</sup> Bell's carvings, therefore, also reveal the very modern duality of his cultural focus. For illustrations of these carvings and a more complete discussion of Bell and the objects attributed to him, see Black 1997: 107-110, 139.

The Heiltsuk record has been re-examined in the last ten years. Anthropological data on the Heiltsuk has been synthesized for the first time by Susanne F. Hilton in the Smithsonian Institute's Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7 (1990). Anton Klostee, who studied Heiltsuk music at Bella Bella in 1978-79 and 1983-84, theorized that the structures of Heiltsuk music mirror other Heiltsuk cultural forms (1988). In his brilliant ethnohistorical study of the Heiltsuk, The Heiltsuks: Dialogues of Culture and History on the Northwest Coast (1997), anthropologist Michael Harkin juxtaposes historical, missionary, and anthropological narratives about the Heiltsuk with Heiltsuk narratives of their own history.<sup>17</sup> An on-going tension between the world view and practices of the Heiltsuk and those of Western society is revealed through dialogic analyses of these conflicting narratives. My own work on the ROM's R. W. Large

collection (Black 1997) focuses on artifact collecting and art production at Bella Bella. It also draws extensively from the mission record and juxtaposes Heiltsuk and non-Heiltsuk cultures to show how Heiltsuk history has been framed by the outsider discourse.<sup>18</sup> Linguistic study has been an important part of recent literature on the Heiltsuk. Working with Heiltsuk elders, John Rath devised an orthography and published a two-volume Heiltsuk-English dictionary in 1981. Rath's work was done in connection with the Heiltsuk Nation's language retention program.

The Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre (HCEC) at Waglisla is the primary archive and centre of study for Heiltsuk topics. The "Bella Bella Grave Sites Project" by Anya Streich (1983) is just one example of the exemplary historical and cultural work done under the auspices of the HCEC (see also HCEC 1989). Members of the Heiltsuk Nation are also working in university and museum contexts to present history from a Heiltsuk point of view and with regard to Heiltsuk concerns, and to critique past and present representations of their culture. Pam Brown, Curator at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology (UBCMOA), illustrated the involvement of Heiltsuk women in the fishing industry in the exhibit, "Cannery Days: A Chapter in the Lives of the Heiltsuk" (1993), which documents several decades of cannery work, mainly at Namu. Many of the images in Brown's exhibit are

family photographs and the text is taken from interviews with the women, so this view of Heiltsuk life contrasts strongly with the archaistic picture of the 1930s and 1940s offered by Olson and Drucker. Other studies of note were done by Heiltsuk scholars Kim Lawson, Brown, and Philip Hogan. In a paper done for an Anthropology course at the University of Victoria, Lawson presents the raw data of Heiltsuk ethnohistory: a chronological list of significant events in Heiltsuk territory from 1785 to the 1960s, a list identifying Heiltsuk people who appear in the various written records, and an annotated bibliography of selected sources for Heiltsuk research (1989). Brown's "Reasons for the Lack of Discourse about the Society and Art of Heiltsuk People," a paper done for an Anthropology course at the University of British Columbia, examines the sparse ethnographic record of the Heiltsuk and Heiltsuk art and analyses some of the effects that this skewed narrative has had on Heiltsuk perceptions of their own culture (1990). In an article published in the Royal British Columbia Museum's newsletter, Discovery, Hogan considers what is known about the history of Chief Boston's memorial pole that is now in the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM 4) and raises the issue of its repatriation (1998).

The above overview of literature about the Heiltsuk is incomplete. I have not discussed government records (such

as the data in the Department of Indian Affairs Sessional Papers), HBC records, British Columbia gazetteers, newspaper accounts, ethnographic photographs, and many other sources for Heiltsuk studies. What has been surveyed illustrates that the historical ethnographic literature on the Heiltsuk is indeed not extensive and until recently the Heiltsuk have been marginalized and misrepresented in much of the ethnographic discourse because they have been equated with the Kwakwaka'wakw and perceived as too missionized to be an appropriate focus for ethnographic study. There are many kinds of sources for Heiltsuk historical studies, however, of which trader accounts and missionary accounts are perhaps the most significant. The increasing amount of accessible work in the field by scholars from the Heiltsuk Nation introduces a new and informative perspective on Heiltsuk history and culture.

### Heiltsuk Art

The subject of artifact collecting in Heiltsuk territory is not addressed in most of the sources mentioned. The large number of Heiltsuk objects in museum collections, however, indicates that the removal of artifacts from the communities must have been an important factor in social and cultural change. The making and selling of objects

for the extensive curio and museum trade that developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century must have been significant parts of Heiltsuk economic activity.

There are few indications of these circumstances in the literature.<sup>19</sup> Tolmie noted that he sent ethnographic and natural history specimens, including "masks used by the Indians on the N.W.C. at their winter feast & dances," to the museum in his birth place, Inverness (1963: 327). Some of them may have come from Heiltsuk territory but he does not mention it. Although missionaries were enthusiastic artifact collectors, this activity is rarely referred to in their writings. We know that Thomas Crosby, the first permanent missionary at Bella Bella, supplied material to the agent for the Smithsonian Institution, James G. Swan, and seems to have actively sought museum customers for native carvings (Cole 1985: 22, 29-30). Later missionaries at Bella Bella, such as Dr. R. W. Large and Dr. George Darby, amassed and sold sizeable artifact collections. Large sold an extensive collection to the ROM; Darby's collection is an important part of the UBCMOA's holdings. (For a synopsis of missionary collecting at Bella Bella, see Black 1997: 45-51). Artifact collecting was a by-product of missionary activity, but it was a major component of anthropological work. One of the purposes of the Jesup North Pacific

Expedition, for example, was to collect artifacts for the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Most of the Heiltsuk artifacts in museums, however, were not collected by anthropologists in the permanent employ of museums. "The professional ethnologist, the rare art collector, the Native agent, and the tourist" are four different kinds of collectors identified by Ruth Phillips in her study of Northeastern tourist art in museums (1995: 105). Representatives of each of these categories collected artifacts at Bella Bella and figure largely in this study. James G. Swan, a lawyer at Port Townsend; Israel W. Powell, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Victoria; B. Phillip Jacobsen, a business man and settler based at Bella Coola; and A. A. Aaronson, a curio dealer at Victoria, were all responsible for major Heiltsuk collections and are less easy to classify. They and their collections are discussed in detail in the chapters that follow. For overviews of collecting at Bella Bella, see Cole 1985 and Black 1997.

Despite the extensive collecting done in the Bella Bella region, until recently Heiltsuk art has been a marginal category in the scheme of Northwest Coast art history. The Heiltsuk are not mentioned in Boas' study of representation in northern Northwest Coast art (1897a), which is concerned primarily with the northern province of Northwest Coast art (Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian). They

were frequently misrepresented in, or omitted from, early exhibitions and publications featuring Northwest Coast material. When the Heiltsuk were included, they were geographically and culturally elided with other coastal First Nations. For example, in a 1939 exhibition of native North American art that was influential in the United States because it was one of the first such shows, and in the widely-distributed book that was associated with the exhibition, a mask from Bella Bella that was purchased in Victoria by Boas in 1894 (AMNH 16/692) was labelled "Kwakiutl, Vancouver Island" (Douglas and D'Harnoncourt 1941: 172, Fig. 6).<sup>20</sup> This mask appeared in many surveys of Northwest Coast art over the years, always described as Kwakiutl (e. g., Vaillant 1939: Pl. 82, Covarrubias 1945: 56, Wardwell 1964: 25). As far as I can tell, it was first published as Heiltsuk in Hilton's article in the Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7 (1990).

Almost forty years after the 1939 exhibition mentioned above, the Heiltsuk were still misrepresented in the literature. In 1978, Allen Wardwell wrote that "the Bella Bella, often considered a sub-group of the Kwakiutl, also lived on the northern part of Vancouver Island around Milbank Sound" and included a map on which all of Haisla territory is marked "Bella Bella" while the Heiltsuk coastal islands and Dean and Burke Channels are included

in Nuxalk territory (1978: 14). In addition to this confusion about just who and where the Heiltsuk are, Wardwell's text omits any discussion of Bella Bella art even though several objects that are documented as Heiltsuk are pictured (e. g., Moon mask AMNH 16/594 [fig. 25] and Cannibal Bird mask AMNH 16/963 [fig. 29]). By 1986, Bella Bella was somewhat better represented in general books on the Northwest Coast. Anthropologist Edward Malin (1986: 28, 42) includes drawings of house posts and a memorial pole from Bella Bella in his popular book on totem poles and presents them as separate and different from Kwakwaka'wakw examples.<sup>21</sup> Malin's labelling, however, is complicated by his description of the Heiltsuk as the most northern of the Southern Kwakiutl (they are usually grouped with the northern nations.) A mask and a rattle collected at Port Simpson by Swan - with no documentation to indicate a Bella Bella provenance - were used to illustrate Hilton's article on the Heiltsuk (1990). These are just a few of the numerous examples of confusion about Heiltsuk art and its origins.

The investigation of what might constitute Heiltsuk style is a relatively new exercise in Northwest Coast studies. One of the first books to discuss Heiltsuk art as separate from Kwakwaka'wakw art is Form and Freedom: A Dialogue on Northwest Coast Art, by Bill Holm and Bill Reid (1975). Holm, an art historian and artist, is an

authority on Northwest Coast art. His nomenclature for Northwest Coast design elements led to a better understanding of the formal system of Northwest Coast art and facilitated its description and analysis (Holm 1965).<sup>22</sup> The codification of Heiltsuk art as a discrete stylistic category is in part due to Holm's careful scholarship and detailed analyses. Reid (1920-1998), an artist of Haida descent, was significant both as an interpreter of older Haida art and as a creative force in the renewal of the art form. Form and Freedom, which is the catalogue for an exhibition of a collection of Northwest Coast art owned by the DeMenil family,<sup>23</sup> is presented as an informal conversation between Holm and Reid. Among the art works that they chat about are several that they think must be from Bella Bella. The artistic merits of these artifacts are debated and attempts are made to pin-point the stylistic characteristics that suggest the Heiltsuk attribution. Because none of the artifacts in the collection have identifiable provenance, Holm and Reid's attributions are made solely on the basis of formal analysis. Subsequent books by Holm and others have added substantially to the catalogue of stylistic attributes that are thought to indicate Heiltsuk work (e.g., Macnair, Hoover, and Neary 1980), but the discussion in Form and Freedom remains a useful example of attempts to codify Heiltsuk style.

Because it encapsulates the methodology of formal analysis as well as the debate about Heiltsuk style and some of its conclusions, consideration of the text is warranted.

Holm and Reid's descriptions of Heiltsuk style in this comparatively early investigation of the topic are often subjective and imprecise. Generally, they define Heiltsuk art works as idiosyncratic. For example, a carved headdress plaque is perceived as having "a wildness to it that suggests Bella Bella" (1975: fig. 72). One of the figures on a carved mountain-goat-horn spoon (fig. 25), has "the most open mouth I've ever seen in Northwest Coast art," says Holm; another figure on the spoon appears to be an "odd little beaked frog." The cumulative effect of these unusual representations leads Holm to assign to the spoon a Heiltsuk provenance:

I'm inclined to see this as having a very Bella Bella quality - mostly on the basis of these extremely weird figures . . . . The Bella Bella made many funny little monsters, apparently for no reason but to amaze people with the artist's imagination. Nobody but a Bella Bella could imagine these figures. [Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 25]

A Heiltsuk provenance is also assigned on the basis of the unusual shape of the eye of a bird-like figure. Holm's focus on a distinctively-shaped eye as one of the distinguishing characteristics of Heiltsuk carving is consistent with the art-historical tradition of connoisseurship. In this methodology, conventionalized

forms of details, such as eyes and ears, are indicators of individual and/or regional style.

Holm describes a typical Heiltsuk eye form in a catalogue published three years before Form and Freedom:

In an otherwise Bella Coola [Nuxalk] or Tsimshian-like face a large, somewhat flattened and nearly circular orb is defined by narrow upper cheek and underbrow planes. In more naturalistic masks this may be subtly modeled, whereas in more stylized faces its angularity approaches the Bella Coola form, but the Bella Coola cheek bulge seldom occurs. [1972: 80-81]

This description involves comparisons with both Tsimshian and Bella Coola (Nuxalk) styles. Paralleling the description of Heiltsuk social organization as combining characteristics of both the northern and southern provinces of Northwest Coast culture, Heiltsuk style is often seen as an amalgamation of neighbouring styles.<sup>24</sup> Heiltsuk sculpture, according to Holm, "resembles that of the adjoining tribes and is very difficult to identify" (1972a: 80-81). The difficulty of codifying Heiltsuk style and the tendency to discuss it in terms of neighbouring styles is a repeated theme.<sup>25</sup>

Heiltsuk work is not only discussed in terms of neighbouring styles, it is typically portrayed as somehow peripheral, a border between the two major stylistic provinces of north and south. In Form and Freedom, Holm attributes a box to the Heiltsuk:

[It] resembles a Southern box, Kwakiutl or Nootka. But the corner kerfs and some of the other

construction details are like a Northern box. Beautifully painted in pure Northern style. So I don't know what's happening here. Perhaps the box comes from along the border in Bella Bella country. The painting resembles some documented Bella Bella pieces. Maybe it comes from the border between Northern and Southern styles. [Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 49]

Rather than viewing Heiltsuk style as the centre or origin point of many aspects of the encircling styles, it is portrayed as an impure product on the perimeter of several intersecting spheres of influence. Paradoxically, it is central and peripheral at the same time.

In Form and Freedom, Holm and Reid portray Heiltsuk art works as irrational tours-de-force. They look to the artist's creativity rather than to the conventions of Northwest Coast style for explanations of Heiltsuk form. As noted above, they speculate that the "extremely weird figures" and "funny little monsters" on the carved horn spoon were designed "to amaze people with the artist's imagination." Only a Bella Bella artist could have conceived these forms, they thought (1975: fig. 25). Perhaps because Heiltsuk style is seen as varied and idiosyncratic in comparison to the work of neighbouring groups (such as the rigidly formal work of the Tsimshian/Gitksan/Nisga'a and Haida to the north, which follows northern formline conventions),<sup>26</sup> the search for individual Heiltsuk artists is a common theme. This

statement about a carved chest in the DeMenil collection is an example:

I'm reasonably sure it is Bella Bella. I think we're going to reach a point where we can possibly even know the name of its carver or painter. . . . This same fellow - I'm sure it's the same person - made many chests and boxes. I think he was practically a full-time chest- and box-maker. The large chests are 100% normal, as far as basic design structure . . . and, along with all that, [there are] little individual quirks and details. [Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 43]

Understanding Heiltsuk style and the regional and personal variations within it leads to identification of individual artists' styles.<sup>27</sup>

Through attributions to individual artists, the Heiltsuk inventory can be enlarged to include works collected on Haida Gwaii and elsewhere. For example, Holm is sure that the artist who made a carved chest in the DeMenil collection made at least three others, one of which was collected on Haida Gwaii:

One is illustrated in Niblack and now in the Smithsonian. It was collected in the Queen Charlotte Islands, but I believe it's Bella Bella work. . . . [Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 43]

Stylistic attribution allows objects found all over the coast to be assigned to the Heiltsuk inventory.

The selected passages from Form and Freedom and other texts by Holm provide an exemplary demonstration of how Heiltsuk art works have been analyzed and perceived at a specific moment in Northwest Coast art history. The

examples chosen track a process of attribution which leads to the enlargement of the Heiltsuk inventory.

Conclusions voiced by Holm and Reid about the objects in Form and Freedom are applicable to other collections and are general indicators of at least some aspects of Heiltsuk works. For example, creatures with extremely wide open mouths, often with small figures crouched inside them, are seen in many documented Heiltsuk carvings, such as poles CMC VII-EE-27 and UBCMOA A6543. They do seem to be characteristic Heiltsuk devices.<sup>28</sup> What Holm and Reid would describe as "funny little monsters" are found in several documented Heiltsuk collections as well, notably the Aaronson collection in the CMC.<sup>29</sup> Frog-like figures with unusual characteristics are found in collections from Bella Bella. Two examples are UBCMOA A404 and A405, small bowls in the shape of frogs with teeth that are, as anthropologist Marjorie Halpin points out, strangely unnatural images (1994: 14).<sup>30</sup> The painted designs that Holm and Reid identify as typical of Bella Bella artists' work are ubiquitous in collections from all parts of the Northwest Coast. Holm describes this style in The Box of Daylight: Northwest Coast Indian Art as characterized by "narrow formlines, extreme non-concentricity of small inner ovoids and single-hatching of red secondary U-forms" (1983: 72).<sup>31</sup>

As stated, Form and Freedom represents a comparatively early, informal, and rather tentative attempt to codify Heiltsuk art styles. Attributions are frequently based on subjective criteria and undocumented works in the DeMenil collection are not explicitly related to documented examples of Heiltsuk art. Later publications by Holm and others are more specific about attributes of Heiltsuk style. The Legacy: Continuing Traditions of Northwest Coast Indian Art by Peter L. Macnair, Alan L. Hoover, and Kevin Neary is an example. In that catalogue, "Northern Kwakiutl" (Heiltsuk) flat design is described as exhibiting thin formlines and parallel hatching which almost always slants from upper right to lower left within secondary and tertiary design elements. Humanoid sculpture is defined in similarly precise terms:

. . . the eyebrows are sharply angled, expanding towards the temple. The orbit is well defined and within it lies a large, rather flattened and leaf-shaped orb. Examples from this [Bella Bella] sub-school show a painted, not carved eyelid line placed high in the orbit. Finally, the mouth projects noticeably forward and the upper lip arches prominently above an essentially horizontal lower lip.

These almost formulaic indications of style are extrapolated from documented Heiltsuk works such as a chief's settee and a humanoid mask collected by B. Filip Jacobsen in 1893 and now in the Royal British Columbia

Museum (RBCM 1856 and RBCM 72; Macnair, Hoover, and Neary 1980: 37, 49, Fig. 7).

Some Heiltsuk artists' names are known. Dr. R. W. Large named five turn-of-the-century Bella Bella artists: Chief Robert Bell, Enoch, General Dick, Captain Carpenter, and Daniel Houstie. On the basis of style, works by these artists can be identified in other collections (see Black 1996). Captain Carpenter in particular is thought by Bill McLennan of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology and others to be the maker of a large number of stylistically similar boxes, bowls, canoes, paddles, and poles, including the chief's settee in the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM 1856; McLennan, in press, see also Black 1997: 110-112, 139). Yet the evidence for named Heiltsuk artists is actually scanty: the R. W. Large Collection in the Royal Ontario Museum is the only historical collection studied to date that includes works by named Bella Bella artists. For stylistic and contextual information about Heiltsuk artists we are, in fact, dependent to a great extent on a single museum collection.

To return to the DeMenil collection, it is noteworthy that the objects in it have a stylistic consistency that reflects the collectors' tastes rather than the range of Heiltsuk production. The objects tend to be small, finely-finished works with golden patinas indicative of

nineteenth-century origins. There are no coarsely-finished or brightly painted carvings, no masks with exaggerated features, no curio carvings, and few objects from the twentieth century. It is also notable that, in this collection, the assigning of Heiltsuk provenance is based on style rather than on any known provenance. From a specific and rather homogeneous group of objects, a complex of qualities is extrapolated. This is the case for many Heiltsuk collections. From specific and unique aggregates of objects, generalizations about Heiltsuk art and culture are constructed.

The current study considers the post-text of certain Heiltsuk objects. As Holly's conception of the post-text implies (1996: 14), these objects have agency. They are not passive representations of culture but active agents in the creation of it. Vastokas states this clearly:

Works of art must be recognized as not simply the by-products of a culture, nor as documents about a culture, but as a vital part of the totality of the culture itself. In brief, works of art do not imitate or represent culture, they are the culture" (1978: 243).

In writing a history of Heiltsuk art, then, it is not correct to present the objects in museum collections as passive mirrors of Heiltsuk culture. It is essential to recognize how the evidence for an art history has been shaped by the objects themselves and by the circumstances of collectors and what was available to them.

For this kind of art history we need more than a single, stylistically homogenous collection such as the DeMenil collection. Understanding the large and complex inventory of Heiltsuk art is the first and necessary step in comprehending the nature of the Heiltsuk artistic legacy. The methodology in this study reveals how conceptions of Heiltsuk art have been shaped by its abduction into non-aboriginal contexts. It also demonstrates that the inventory of Heiltsuk art in museums can produce a new Heiltsuk reality outside of the original geographic and cultural context of Bella Bella. It has shaped our museum culture as well.

## Notes

1. 'Uyalit̃x̃v means the seaward people. Uwithit̃x̃v can be translated as the people of the inlet. 'Qvúqvayait̃x̃v designates the calm water people, named after 'Qvúqvái, a village at Gale Creek). The 'Isdaít̃x̃v are named after 'Isda, a village at Elcho Harbour.
2. Xíxís can be translated as "down river people," i.e., people of the north. Some of the 'Qvúqvayait̃x̃v also joined the Xíxís and Tsimshian at Klemtu. Klemtu used to be known as China Hat because the conical shape of Swindle Island is reminiscent of the kind of wide-brimmed, pointed hat that was sometimes worn by Chinese workers in British Columbia in the nineteenth century.
3. In August 1882, the Indian Reserve Commission allotted twelve reserves for the Heiltsuk people living at Bella Bella and six reserves for the Heiltsuk ('Qvúqvayait̃x̃v) still living at the villages of 'Qábá (Kokyet) on Yeo Island and 'Qvúqvái (Koqui) at the head of Gale Creek. The Heiltsuk reserves are listed as follows: Bella Bella and the burial ground on Denny Island, Hoonees (Roscoe Inlet), Quatcha (Roscoe Inlet), Noota (Roscoe Inlet), Clatse (Roscoe Inlet), Echo (Elcho, Dean Channel), Kisameet (Fisher Channel), Howet (Hunter Island), Kunsoot (Denny Island), Jajustus (Kajustus, Denny Island), Werkinellek (Goose Island), and Yellertlee (Goose Island). The 'Qvúqvayait̃x̃v reserves are listed as: Kokyet (Ellerslie Channel), Grief Island (Ellerslie Channel), Kyarti (Ellerslie Channel), Neekas (Ellerslie Channel), Tankeah (Tankeean, Seaforth Channel), and Koqui (Seaforth Channel) (Department of Indian Affairs, Canada 1900: 110-13).
4. Today there is a ferry dock, a fish-processing plant, and an interpretive centre at 'Qélc.
5. Compton's use of "nation" is noteworthy, as we tend to think of this designation as a modern term that acknowledges the political realities of the land claims. Pym Nevins Compton, "Account of Early Trip to Fort Victoria and of Life in the Colony." Add. mss. 2778, File 62, C73. BCARS. I am indebted to Grant Keddie, Curator of Archaeology at the RBCM, for this reference.
6. Kitamaat and Kitlope, on Douglas Channel, are village sites of the Haisla Nation. The contemporary Haisla live mainly at Kitamaat. Rivers Inlet and Owekino Lake are Oweekeno traditional territory.

7. Jonaitis (1995: 314) cites an unpublished paper by Suttles, "'Essentialism' in Northwest Coast Art," that was presented at the Native American Art Studies Association in Vancouver in 1989.

8. Although he does not say so, Harkin's opinion is no doubt based on anthropologist T. F. McIlwraith's classic ethnography of the Nuxalk (1948), which notes many prerogatives and traditions that came to the Nuxalk from the Heiltsuk. McIlwraith noted, for example, that the Nuxalk sisaok ritual came from the Bella Bella in comparatively recent times and that Nuxalk concepts of Qomoqwa, the lord of the undersea world, are perhaps entirely of Bella Bella origin (1948: I197, I53).

9. Boas' colleague on the JNPE, Livingston Farrand of Columbia University, recorded stories at Waglisla in 1897. Boas included them in Tsimshian Mythology (1916).

10. These chiefly names appear in the later records and are still current at Bella Bella.

11. As this excerpt demonstrates, Tolmie's observations are indeed detailed and informative:

All the masks were representations of the 'human face divine' except one which resembled that of the Falco Leucocephalus [Bald eagle] & was beset with tail feathers of that bird radiating from its edge all around - it was called Tech te cheinny & seemed to be held in great reverence - they said chiefs alone were permitted to inspect it & that a common man beholding it dies, or is killed - by pulling a string which the wearer can do with his mouth, two pieces of shining brass are made to pass from within over the eye, like the film of a bird's eye - a rude wooden horn was occasionally blown & was believed without to be the voice of Tech-th-cheinny. Common masks called Nawilock, other articles of dress displayed were blankets made from the wool of the Mountain Goat of a pretty pattern - colours black & yellow - a leathern kilt called Youchstiga, hung round with three rows of thimbles said to have been received from Vancouver by Kyeet. . . . [1963: 295]

The word that Tolmie uses for the common masks, Nawilock (nāwálakv), means something having or resulting from supernatural power.

12. Missionaries had been vocal in their support of the 1884 amendment to the Indian Act which banned the potlatch and the dances of the Winter Ceremonies. Despite official prohibition, the Heiltsuk continued these institutions in disguised and modified forms.

13. For a list of missionaries at Bella Bella between 1880 and 1914 see Black 1997: 138.

14. Bell does not appear in the Department of Indian Affairs reports and other Bella Bella records before 1900.

15. The wedding probably took place in 1902.

16. Bell was also the source of ROM 23155, a whistle, but Large does not say that Bell carved it.

17. The book is a re-working of his doctoral dissertation (Harkin 1988).

18. Like Harkin's, my book is a version of an academic thesis (1988).

19. For an overview of the importance of the artifact trade on the Northwest Coast in general, see Knight 1978: 41-44, 56-58, and Cole 1985.

20. The exhibition was shown at the Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco in 1939 and at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. It is an early example of the tendency to include the west coast of Canada - but no other region - in surveys of Native American art. "Since some of the tribal groups live both in the United States and in Canada," it is explained "a number of significant Canadian specimens have been included in order to show the entire scope of each culture" (Douglas and d'Harnoncourt 1941: no page). All of the Northwest Coast becomes part of the United States.

Douglas and D'Harnoncourt wrongly report that Boas collected the mask in Vancouver rather than in Victoria.

21. The poles are house posts ROM 23188, 23189 [963X149, 966X84.160] or AMNH 16/8379, 16/8380, and Boston's memorial pole, RBCM 4.

22. Holm expanded on the work of Boas (1897a), who realized that northern Northwest Coast artists followed rigid design conventions and described the way the designs were habitually configured.

23. Prominent American private collectors and art patrons, the DeMenils own extensive aboriginal and contemporary art collections.

24. This statement by Holm is an example of the tendency to see the Heiltsuk in terms of their neighbours:

Adjoining the Bella Coola country to the west and north are several groups [the Bella Bella] whose language relates them to the Kwakiutl, but whose social organization and art link them to their Haida and Tsimshian neighbours. [Holm 1972a: 80-81]

25. In another publication, The Box of Daylight: Northwest Coast Indian Art, Holm says that the stylistic designation Bella Bella is itself problematic because the term has been used to refer to all of the groups in the "Northern Wakashan triangle," including the Oweekeno, Xixis, and Haisla (1983: 23, 41). This mirrors Dockstader's earlier premise that the Northern Wakashan language groups had similar art styles:

The art of the closely related Nootka, Makah and Bella Bella is quite similar, and it is difficult to distinguish from that of the Kwakiutl. These tribes employ much the same colors and carving technique. [1961: 41]

Human face masks from the borders of Heiltsuk territory are, according to Holm, particularly difficult to distinguish:

I want to make a wild guess where it comes from: Coast Tsimshian or Bella Bella, possibly Haida. Right in that little triangle you've got a tough job identifying pieces of this sort. . . . [Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 94]

He reiterates this observation in Box of Daylight:

Naturalistic masks from the northern part of the Northern Wakashan triangle, from the Coast Tsimshian, and from the Queen Charlotte Island Haida are very difficult to tell apart. Naturalistic representation always blurs tribal distinctions, especially when styles are already similar. [1983: 41]

26. "Formline" is one of the terms that Holm coined for the elements of Northwest Coast design. He defines it as "a characteristic swelling and diminishing linelike figure delineating design units" (1965: 29).

27. In a later publication, however, Holm cautions that personal and regional styles can be confused:

There were probably whole regional styles which we misread as the works of single artists. A good example of this is the large number of painted objects, particularly boxes and chests, which were made at Bella Bella over an apparently long period of time in the last century and early years of this century. These all share really distinctive characteristics which make them stand out from similar objects from other places. We do know the names of a few of the latter day practitioners of this school so there's now no doubt that we are dealing with several artists. So far I'm satisfied to call these pieces "Bella Bella."  
[1981: 178]

28. Other examples are rattle CMC VII-EE-19 and model pole ROM 28199.

29. For example, CMC VII-EE-3 - VII-EE-10.

30. Halpin writes that these bowls are examples of images that do not conform to Boasian interpretations of Northwest Coast iconography as consisting of images of natural animals, identifiable by standardized and easily readable symbols (1994: 7).

31. See Holm 1981: 178 and Holm 1993: 69 for examples of this graphic style.

CHAPTER I  
HEILTSUK ART IN THE MUSEUM CONTEXT

Heiltsuk history and culture in general have been misrepresented and minimized in the ethnographic record. Similarly, Heiltsuk art has been obscured by the interpretive mechanics of non-aboriginal institutions. As a result, it is seen as enigmatic, difficult to pin down, and, contradictorily, both central and marginal. These perceptions were to a large extent created by the museum discourse. In fact, it can be argued that everything non-aboriginal people know about Heiltsuk art and material culture has been shaped by the collecting, categorizing, and displaying conventions of the museum. In the museums, Heiltsuk objects have assumed new functional and epistemological roles in a Western narrative of culture.

The great majority of Heiltsuk art now exists in the world's museums and not in Heiltsuk communities. It is, as Jennifer Carpenter has said, "culture in exile."<sup>1</sup> How our perceptions of Heiltsuk culture have been shaped by the processes and results of the transference of the objects into exile is the subject of this study. Indeed, it is not possible to write about Heiltsuk art outside this transforming context because art history, including ethnographic art history, as a Western intellectual tradition is not transferable to an historical aboriginal

context and vice versa. Why this is so and how the structures of art history have been applied to Heiltsuk works are questions for future study. First, it is necessary to analyze the inventory of Heiltsuk objects created for and by museums.

There is a considerable literature on the history and meaning of the institution of the museum. According to Donald Preziosi, "more [literature on museums] has appeared in the past decade than in the previous century" (1995: 13).<sup>2</sup> That so much of it is relatively recent attests not only to the growth of museum studies as a separate academic field and the politics of museum funding, but also to the tremendous influence of post-structuralist, especially Foucaultian, analysis. Foucault's insights about the culturally-constructed categories of rationality and knowledge are particularly applicable to the uniquely Western, classifying, powerful, institution of the museum (Foucault 1972; Clifford 1988; Hooper-Greenhill 1992). Museums make a geographically and historically specific conceptual system concrete by collecting, categorizing, compartmentalizing, and displaying the physical world. They embody the values of the state, create and dispense knowledge, moderate the interaction between people and things, order a picture of the world, and construct and make visible the self-justifying narrative of a dominant culture (Pearce 1992).

Most of the recent literature on museums is concerned with the unequal equations of power they encode. Many studies focus on the violence of appropriation and the falseness of representation of non-Western cultures in collections and displays. They show that objects have been taken out of the aboriginal narrative and become parts of the museum's own narrative of culture. This removal has had profound ramifications for the originating cultures because

Objects matter in cultural process, especially among peoples who have not relied on written texts for the recording of knowledge. Stripped bare of their traditional objects of use, beauty, and power, Native American communities have suffered interruptions of historical memory, paralysing failures in the generational transfer of political and sacred power, and the cessation of organic growth in many ancient stylistic and iconographic traditions. [Berlo and Phillips 1995: 9]

Not only the physical objects, but their power, is lost to the First Nations and transferred to the Western institution of the museum.<sup>3</sup>

Linking the removal and re-classification of objects by museums with the interruption of historical memory is appropriate because museums, as representational systems, have had "a very close relationship to the art of memory" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 79).<sup>4</sup> The late nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnographic collections that are the subject of this study were part of an erasure of memory of Heiltsuk art and culture that was also affected

by legal, missionary, and intellectual methods. The government's banning of the potlatch and Winter Ceremonies and the Methodist Church's actions against traditional Heiltsuk culture during the conversion of the people to Christianity are related to the disappearance of the Heiltsuk as a distinct group in the cultural scheme invented by anthropologists, and to the fragmentation of Heiltsuk culture in museum storage areas and displays.<sup>5</sup> An artificial memory of Heiltsuk culture based on a number of objects removed from a complex material culture was reconstituted in the museum as part of the European and North American world-view. The memory is no longer that of the Heiltsuk makers and owners of the objects; it has become a part of the museum's narrative of history.

This narrative is not a transparent reflection of the way things really are; the constructed representation has a very tenuous relationship to the fact of Heiltsuk history and culture it pretends to reveal. Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 6) asks the following questions about museum collections:

Do the existing ways in which collections are organized mean that taxonomies are in fact socially constructed rather than 'true' or 'rational'? Do the existing systems of classification enable some ways of knowing but prevent others? Are the exclusions, inclusions, and priorities that determine whether objects become part of collections, also creating systems of knowledge? Do the rituals and power relationships that allow some objects to be valued and others to be rejected operate to control the parameters of knowledge?

The answer to all of these queries is, of course, yes. As Cannizzo states (1989: 12), museums are "essentially 'fictional' in their nature." The picture of Heiltsuk art and culture presented in museums can be said to be fictional in that non-Native conceptions of it have been determined by European-derived, socially-constructed classifications of knowledge and collecting strategies.

Aware of the unequal power relationships that the museum collection of aboriginal artifacts encodes and the very real effects they have had, and realizing the inappropriateness of attempts at interpreting meaning in aboriginal culture and of accurately reconstructing historical context, non-aboriginal scholars have turned to analyses of colonialism, repression, and historical appropriations, that is, to examination of their own side of the story. Part of this strategy is the abandonment of the authoritative, interpretive narrative and the adoption of a collage of observations, stories, and 'voices.'<sup>6</sup> The objects in museum collections are conceived of and presented as fragments in the collage of interpretation.<sup>7</sup> This emphasis on what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991: 388) calls the "ethnographic fragment" (rather than the "ethnographic object") recognizes the ruptures brought about by the collecting process and the impossibility of

restoring whole context and trying to make objects illustrate culture.<sup>8</sup>

In collections, the ethnographic fragments have been made to stand, synecdochically, for the whole of the originating culture. Susan Stewart (1984: 162) has written that there are two parts to this process,

two movements to the collection's gesture of standing for the world: first, the metonymic displacement of part for whole, item for context; and second, the invention of a classification scheme which will define space and time in such a way that the world is accounted for by the elements of the collection.

Following Stewart,<sup>9</sup> James Clifford (1985: 239) has applied this concept to museum collections:

collecting - and most notably the museum - creates the illusion of adequate representation of a world by first cutting objects out of specific contexts . . . and making them 'stand for' abstract wholes.

The new representation is created, not only through exhibiting fragments of culture, but also by the museum's ordering of these objects. Clifford (1985: 239) explains:

a scheme of classification is elaborated for storing or displaying the object so that the reality of the collection itself, its coherent order, overrides specific histories of the objects's production and appropriation . . . . The production of meaning in museum classification and display is mystified as adequate representation. The time and order of the collection overrides and erases the concrete social labor of its making.

Analysis of the museum-created Heiltsuk inventory, therefore, involves consideration of the specific objects and their classification within the format of the

collection in order to see how these units generate an illusion of a whole culture.

Clifford notes that the details of the making of the collection - the making and gathering of the objects - are hidden. Therefore, it is profitable to study the museum's classification of collections "in relation to the way in which this ordering interrelates with the divisions and orderings of spaces and individuals" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 6). Any study of the Heiltsuk objects in museums should concern itself with their collectors and the mechanics of their collection as well as with the objects as fragments and metonyms of culture. As Pearce (1992: 116) has said,

It is an instructive exercise to take any collection or group of associated museum objects and ask, not 'What are they?' and 'What can this tell us?', which are the usual museum questions, but rather, 'When and how was the collection formed?', 'Who formed it?', and 'Why did this person/those people choose to assemble these objects?'

The collector is the generating force in the processes of re-ordering and creating a new reality.

Focusing on the collector and theories about collecting is a strategy for placing the museum outside of the power relationships it has historically embodied.<sup>10</sup> Emphasis on the collector and the process of collecting is also a strategy for writing about objects that can accommodate shifting systems of knowledge and different

realities rather than emphasizing a single, linear story.<sup>11</sup> For Heiltsuk culture, the resources, agendas, and beliefs of the collectors determined which objects or fragments were literally and metaphorically transported into a Western narrative by means of the museum. The collectors' expertise and points of view influenced how the objects were catalogued and what information went with them. The extent of their activities determined how large a sample was gathered, and therefore the perceived uniqueness or ordinariness of each individual object and how the single object relates to the museum-created corpus of the work. The recognition of the role of collectors in the creation of Heiltsuk art as it is now perceived is therefore an important part of this study. They are primary agents in the transformation of Heiltsuk art from aboriginal to Western power objects. A close reading of selected, major Heiltsuk collections will reveal not only "the time and order of the collection[s]," but also "the concrete social labor of [their] making" (Clifford 1985: 239).

It should be noted here that, in addition to the collectors and their classifications, there is a third aspect of the museum context - - display. It has been said that the museum display is one of the most powerful agents of transformation of objects, particularly in presenting the fiction of real culture within the

institution.<sup>12</sup> In fact, Svetlana Alpers characterized "the museum effect [as] . . . a way of seeing" (1991: 25). In the case of Heiltsuk art, however, the museum effect has been a way of concealing. Only a small portion of the works collected from the Bella Bella region have ever been shown. Most of the Heiltsuk material was immediately hidden away on museum shelves. What objects were placed on display were, before the refining influence of Bill Holm's stylistic studies, labelled as a variety of "Kwakiutl" or assigned to Coast Tsimshian or other groups, and therefore not visible as Heiltsuk.

## Notes

1. Jennifer Carpenter, personal communication, 1996.
2. Anthologies such as those edited by Ames (1992), Karp and Lavine (1991), Sherman and Rogoff (1994), and Tepper (1989) contain articles on a wide range of museum histories, theories, and methods. Earlier studies structure museum histories through the major collectors and fashions in collecting. See, for example, Alsop (1982) and Haskell (1980).
3. First Nations are acting to regain control of their material birthright and the power and knowledge it embodies. Berlo and Phillips (1995) note some of these initiatives.
4. Hooper-Greenhill follows Frances Yates' influential ideas, presented in The Art of Memory, 1966.
5. As Hooper-Greenhill notes, "The Kunstkammer took its place within the body politic" (1992: 103), where in its modern incarnation of the museum, it continues to be located.
6. See Ames (1992) for essays which explore current problems and solutions in the representation of aboriginal culture in museums, and Roberts and Vogel (1994) for essays which detail the strategies for circumventing the 'master narrative' approach. Classification of objects in the contemporary museum has been replaced by the constitution of objects "through organic, historic links, through stories, and through people" (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 204).  
 One illustration of this trend is a 1991 UBCMOA exhibit of a collection of material acquired from a private collector. The material was African. The approach exemplifies a current museological approach to all tribal objects. The UBCMOA exhibition attempted to replace "the museum construction of the anonymous and expert narrative voice that is silkscreened on walls and labels" with the construction of "a plurality of voices" from contemporary Africans. Further, it concluded that,  
 Only in the most . . . superficial and banal way could these . . . fragments [i.e., the objects that comprise the exhibition] . . . be used to represent Africa . . . . It is neither possible

not ethical, in the 1990s, to exhibit Africa; what we can and do exhibit ... are historic African objects valued by a Canadian museum and a Canadian collector. [Halpin 1991:2]

The confusion about what museum exhibits actually represent and the anxiety inherent in the museum enterprise today is palpable here.

7. Examples of analyses which discuss museum collections in terms of fragments are Halpin (1991), Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991: 389) and Roberts and Vogel (1994). The concept is drawn from the insights of Walter Benjamin. Halpin, for example, cites Illuminations (Arendt, ed., 1969) as an important source.

8. The idea that objects passively illustrate culture is a common one in the disciplines of history and anthropology. Pearce's position is similar to that of Vastokas, discussed in the previous section of this dissertation. Pearce asserts that objects are not mere reflections of action, but are themselves agents. They are not illustrations of culture, but creators of it (1992: 211).

9. Stewart's concept has been influential. It informs the work of Pearce (1992), Roberts and Vogel (1994), and other museum theorists, as well as Clifford.

10. Halpin (1991) demonstrates this tactic. The emphasis in the exhibition she describes is on the collector of the objects shown and the activity of collecting in general and not on the originating culture.

11. Following Foucault (1972), Hooper-Greenhill calls this "effective history." Its basis is an "opposition to the pursuit of the founding order of things, and a rejection of the approach that seeks to impose a chronology, an ordering structure, and development flowing from the past to the present . . . . The differences between things, rather than the links, become significant (1992: 10). Cannizzo also follows this model. She has written that "The accidental or serendipitous nature of many museum collections is obscured when exhibitions with clearly distinguished "storylines" and carefully developed sequences of cases impose a unity on a miscellaneous collection of objects" (1989: 85).

12. For example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett comments that exhibiting the fragment "in all its partiality enhances the aura of its 'realness'" (1991: 389) and Roberts (1994) notes that metonymic displays, which present objects as fragments of culture, can have more of an "aura of

realness" than mimetic displays with their attempted reconstructions of previous context (1994: 57-8).

CHAPTER II  
HEILTSUK ART AND ARTIFACTS IN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS:  
FOUR CASE STUDIES

Museum collections are sites of transforming power. Cultural theorists, anthropologists, museologists, and art historians - as well as an increasing number of postmodernist academics who are operating simultaneously in all of these fields (see, for example, Marcus and Myers, ed., 1995) - recognize the capability of the institution of the museum to insert the objects it collects into a hegemonic, self-justifying, and increasingly questionable narrative of cultural history. Museums, these commentators agree, impose new Western classification schemes, value systems, and meanings on objects. In the museum, whole cultures are incarnated by fragments and single objects signify entire cultural contexts.

The cultural and epistemological results of museum collections are detectable and have been much discussed, but the processes producing these results have not been. Seldom are the interpretive mechanics of museum collections examined in detail to show exactly which inclusions and exclusions took place and why, and exactly which taxonomies were imposed. "The time and order of the collection overrides and erases the concrete social labour

of its making," as Clifford notes (1985: 239). The details of collection-making are usually hidden. According to Pearce, though, it is just these details that should be examined in order to understand the peculiarities and varied metonyms of culture as "represented" in museum collections (1992: 116). Applying Pearce's dictate to the Heiltsuk case, we must ask the following questions. If the museum has created the illusion of a whole Heiltsuk culture, by what processes has this been done? If museum collections are artificially-constructed memories of a Heiltsuk past, exactly whose realities do they actually memorialize?

Pearce suggests that it would be informative to examine the collectors and their motives in order to see how museums construct cultures through collections. In this section of the dissertation, four major museum collections of Heiltsuk art and artifacts are examined in great detail, much as Hooper-Greenhill used specific case-studies "with the aim of drawing out the particular and detailed features of each one" in an attempt to write an "effective history" of museum collections (1992: 193). Hooper-Greenhill's case studies were taken from different historical periods. The examples in this study are contemporaneous, but they still show institutional differences between what Hooper-Greenhill (1992: 193) terms "the field of use, the gaze, technologies, and power

practices" that combine to create an illusion of representation of Heiltsuk culture.

The Heiltsuk collections chosen for detailed analysis are those in the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution), the American Museum of Natural History, the Royal British Columbia Museum, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Because these collections are extensive, they are the sources of much of our knowledge about Heiltsuk art and material culture. Because each is the work of a small number of collectors, these collections show how the narrative of Heiltsuk art and material culture was produced in specific circumstances by individual, as well as institutional, forces.

Detailed analysis of the making and make-up of these collections allows us to glimpse the complex processes by which museum collections transformed Heiltsuk material culture and to understand how it was interpreted by Western schemes of classification and served the agendas of diverse collectors. It will be demonstrated that, in the case of these museum collections of Heiltsuk objects, the parameters of knowledge have indeed been controlled, as Hooper-Greenhill states (1992: 6), but they have controlled as much by accidents of collectors' strategies and situations as by institutional purpose. An exceptionally varied Heiltsuk inventory was created by a

number of individuals with dissimilar access to the culture they were attempting to capture, dissimilar personal agendas, dissimilar levels of knowledge, and dissimilar biases. Collectors' resources, agendas, and beliefs determined which objects or fragments were literally and metaphorically transported into the Western narrative by means of the museum.

CASE 1: NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN  
INSTITUTION

James G. Swan Collection

Characterizations of the forms and content of Heiltsuk art, such as those outlined in the introductory chapter, have been made on the basis of objects identified as Bella Bella in museum collections. One of the largest American collections of such objects is in the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), Smithsonian Institution. The NMNH is an appropriate beginning for this section of the study because its Heiltsuk collection is relatively early and extensive. Seventy-three of the eighty-seven objects listed as Bella Bella in the Department of Anthropology printout and card files were accessioned in 1875 and 1876 (NMNH accession 4730, 5260) and nine were accessioned in 1884 (no accession number).<sup>1</sup> In addition, because these eighty-two objects were sent to the museum by a single collector, James Gilchrist Swan (1818-1900), the correlation between the content of the museum collection and the agenda and circumstances of the individual collector who made it is evident. It is also clear that, although the Smithsonian Institution would eventually be instrumental in the development of scientific anthropology in the United States,<sup>2</sup> when Swan's Heiltsuk collections

were accessioned, the anthropological collections were neither systematically displayed in the museum nor professionally gathered and studied (Hinsley 1981:75).

Swan is an example of the amateur, free-lance collector common in the nineteenth century. His personal ambitions, financial restrictions, methods, point of view, and relationship with the museum shaped a collection that, although neither methodical nor well-documented, is fundamental to our knowledge of Heiltsuk art. Indeed, Swan's collection from Bella Bella illustrates ambiguities inherent in all museum collections on which our understanding of historical Heiltsuk art depends. The theme has wider application as well. Most museum collections are similarly shaped by the situations and agendas of their collectors but while it is acknowledged that collections produce, in the words of anthropologist Virginia Dominguez (1986: 554) "referential indices of the Self," just how those indices are constructed with regard to the composition and interpretation of specific museum collections has seldom been examined in detail.

Because Swan kept a diary and copies of his letters, and wrote about his experiences, many details of his life are known. Unless otherwise cited, biographical information used in this study is from Swan Among the Indians: Life of James G. Swan by Lucile McDonald (1972), an account extracted from sixty-four of Swan's diary

notebooks and eleven manuscripts now in the Northwest Collection of the University of Washington Library. Brief biographies and chronologies outlining Swan's career can be found in Jane Turner's "Inventory of James G. Swan Papers, 1852-1907" and in William A. Katz's introduction to an edited version of Swan's early writings, Almost Out of the World: Scenes from Washington Territory, The Strait of Juan de Fuca, 1859-61.<sup>3</sup> The latter also contains a bibliography of Swan's newspaper columns, books, and monographs. An outline of Swan's collecting activities and his relationship with the Smithsonian can be found in Cole 1985: 14-47. Specific information about Swan's collections comes from NMNH accession files and Swan's letters and notebooks in the James G. Swan Papers, Smithsonian Institution (microfilms from University of British Columbia [UBC] Library, Special Collections, for which Turner 1990 is the finding aid).

In the words of biographer Norman H. Clark, Swan was "a moral refugee disguised as a business man when, in 1852, he found shelter and solace in the wilderness of the Northwest Coast" (Clark 1972: v). Unable to fit into the social role expected of him in New England, by 1849 Swan had sold his chandlery business in Massachusetts, left his wife and small children, and joined the California gold rush. Eventually he settled in what was then the Washington Territory, first at Shoalwater Bay and then, in

1859, at Port Townsend, which was his base until his death. There he joined another kind of gold rush, "the scramble" for Northwest Coast artifacts (Cole 1985).

Swan's interest in artifact collecting grew from his fascination with the Native people he met in his new home and from his activities as a collector of marine specimens. He had no formal schooling or experience as an ethnographer (he was a lawyer by training) and no long-term affiliation with a museum. Although at various times Swan was a customs official, Indian Department employee, Secretary to the Pilot Commissioners of Puget Sound, probate judge, Census Bureau agent, Hawaiian Consul, and held other official positions in Port Townsend, he had a problematic reputation. Within his small community his legal training gave him employment and some prestige, but he was an habitual drunkard and by all reports a rather curious character. Nevertheless, from his own writings it is evident that Swan saw himself as a man of science and there is no doubt that he was a serious and dedicated collector of aboriginal lore and art.

His studies of aboriginal culture had begun as soon as he arrived in the West. In California he became interested in Clallam culture through a Native friend; when he moved to Shoalwater Bay he studied the language, compiled a vocabulary of Chinook jargon, and recorded aboriginal customs and beliefs. In Port Townsend he

involved himself with all aspects Native life in Puget Sound and the Olympic Peninsula, and with Indian Department business. He spent long periods in the Makah reservation at Neah Bay (1862-66 as the school teacher and 1878-81 as Customs Collector) and made two trips up the coast to collect artifacts and natural history specimens for the NMNH (see below). A prolific writer and capable draftsman, he recorded his knowledge and observations in drawings, diaries, manuscripts, newspaper articles, and books. He contributed an article on burial customs and medicine men to Henry R. Schoolcraft's History of the Tribes of the United States and published The Northwest Coast; or, Three Year's Residence in Washington Territory in 1857. His subsequent publications - "The Indians of Cape Flattery: at the Entrance to the Strait of Fuca, Washington Territory" (1869), "The Haidah Indians of Queen Charlotte's Islands, British Columbia, with a Brief Description of their Carvings, Tattoo Designs, etc." (1876), and "Report on Explorations and Collections in the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia" (1884) - appeared in Smithsonian publications.

Swan's interest in the Smithsonian Institution can be traced to 1857, when he spent a brief period in Washington, D.C., working for Isaac I. Stevens, Governor of the Washington Territory. In that year, the National Cabinet of Curiosities was transferred from the Patent

Office to the Smithsonian and the main hall of the Smithsonian building was opened as a museum (Hinsley 1981: 64). Swan's interests in natural and ethnological specimens would no doubt have drawn him to the collection. We know that he did meet Spencer F. Baird, head of the new United States National Museum, with whom he began a lively correspondence which lasted until Baird died in 1887. His first collections (comprised of natural history specimens) were sent to Baird at the NMNH in 1860 and he continued to send such things as "the body of a gray, horned owl with two mice in its stomach" (McDonald 1972: 112) as well as ethnological items. A box sent to Baird from Neah Bay in 1864, for example, contained "a small canoe with mat sails, cotton sails, and six paddles; two miniature hats, two tile specimens from the Spanish fort, a piece of conglomerate, photographs of Clallam and Chemakum Indians, four bird skins, shells, fossils, two lower jaws of the cultus cod, and a deer mouse" (Ibid: 125). Swan was not a regular employee of the museum, but he did receive stipends to collect natural history specimens for the U.S. Fish Commission and ethnographic specimens for such projects as the New Orleans Cotton Centennial Exposition in 1884. He was also paid to make his two artifact-collecting trips for the Smithsonian. He went to Alaska in 1875 to gather Tlingit artifacts for display at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia and to the Queen

Charlotte Islands (Haida Gwaii) in 1883 to get Haida specimens for the NMNH collection.

In his introduction to the 1972 reprint edition of The Northwest Coast, Clark stresses both Swan's rapport with the aboriginal people and his alienation from American society, and he makes a connection between the two attitudes. Swan's alcoholism and frequent failures in business and in other endeavors distanced him from mainstream life and seem to have given him what was (for the time) an unusually sympathetic understanding of the aboriginal people who were similarly at odds with the power structures of government and commerce.<sup>4</sup> Clark notes that Swan "could appreciate the difference of Indian cultural values without denying their integrity for Indians." He could understand the "terrible threat" that white Americans were to Indian culture, and could therefore "see himself as both observer of and participant in a barbaric invasion" (1972: xi). It can be demonstrated that these sympathies and Swan's marginal status influenced his collecting strategies.

From his correspondance with Baird, it is clear that Swan wanted to be recognized as an expert on aboriginal society, culture, and art. He was very competitive about collecting, worrying that "foreign" collectors such as Adrian Jacobsen who travelled in British Columbia and Alaska collecting for the Museum für Völkerkunde in

Berlin, would get all the material.<sup>5</sup> He was anxious - almost desperate - for approval from the professional anthropological community in Washington and from artifact collectors such as Dr. William Fraser Tolmie and Dr. Israel W. Powell in Victoria. With his constant financial problems, he also hoped that collecting would pay off for him as they had for Powell, who was not only the Indian Agent for British Columbia but also a major seller of artifacts to Canadian and American museums, and who was rumoured to have sold a collection to the American Museum of Natural History for two thousand dollars, which was a lot of money at that time (see p. 104).<sup>6</sup> These concerns meant that Swan wanted to amass as much Native material as he could; he wanted any and all specimens. Also, because he was genuinely interested in all aspects of historical and contemporary aboriginal culture, Swan's approach to aboriginal material was catholic. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not shun modern aboriginal life. He did not privilege old ceremonial objects and ancient tools over modern manufactures. This is clear from the composition of his collections and from his expressed enthusiasm for contemporary expressions of native culture. Swan was anxious to have some control with the anthropological community, but he does not seem to have felt the need to control his sources of artifacts by selecting only one type of object or supplier.

Objects in Swan's collections are old and new, used and unused, ceremonial and secular, found and commissioned. In this regard, the collection conforms to Swan's inclusionary point of view and also to the museum's mandate articulated by the Secretary of the Smithsonian, Joseph Henry. In a circular authorizing Swan to accept donations to the NMNH for the Centennial Exposition of 1876, Henry wrote that the museum wanted to receive "any articles whatever, of modern Indian workmanship, models of Indian houses, and boats, specimens of their dress, etc., as well as any implements of stone or bone, objects of earthenware that may be found in ancient graves, in shell heaps, in the soil, or elsewhere."<sup>7</sup> Swan's Haida collection, for example, includes silver and argillite carvings made for sale and copies of tattoo designs that were obtained, along with explanations of their imagery, from Haida visitors to his Port Townsend office (Swan 1876: 14; Cole 1985: 45), as well as masks taken from burial caves and uninhabited houses on Haida Gwaii (McDonald 1972: 187, 190; NMNH accession file 13804; Cole 1985: 42-3). Swan didn't differentiate. He valued contemporary First Nations people and their culture and saw that new carvings were valid illustrations of aboriginal stories and beliefs (Cole 1985: 32). He also found that it was easiest to make collections of new, commissioned, objects. "My experience in the past year,"

he wrote in January 1876, "shows me just how I could work to get up a magnificent collection and have every article made new."<sup>8</sup> When, in 1890, he was asked by Franz Boas to assemble ethnological specimens for exhibition at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Swan ordered all of the carvings and baskets from Makah craftsmen.<sup>9</sup> This appreciation of new work, coupled with his desire for anything and everything, is reflected in his Bella Bella collection, the bulk of which also seems to have been newly made for the market.

Swan did not collect the objects at Bella Bella. It appears that he never went there. The village was a stop on neither of his collecting trips to the northern coast. On his 1875 voyage on the United States revenue cutter, Oliver Wolcott, landfalls were made only at Nanaimo, Alert Bay, and Fort Simpson before reaching Alaska. His 1883 trip to Haida Gwaii was made on the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) steamer, Otter, which stopped at Nanaimo, Alert Bay, Rivers Inlet, Fort Simpson, a cannery at the mouth of the Skeena (Port Essington?), and Metlakatla, before going on to Masset.<sup>10</sup> In a letter written on board the Otter at Rivers Inlet, Swan briefly describes the scenery there and notes that two canneries and a saw mill were operating at the head of the inlet; he makes no mention of Oweekeno people or settlements.<sup>11</sup> Upon his arrival in Haida Gwaii, he writes that he has "been to Alert Bay, Bella Bella,

Skeena mouth, Metlakatla, Fort Simpson, Fort Massett, and Massett village" - - and then, as an afterthought, adds Rivers Inlet between Alert Bay and Bella Bella.<sup>12</sup> There is no previous indication that the Otter stopped at Bella Bella, so this seems to indicate that Swan had Rivers Inlet and Bella Bella conflated. Perhaps he knew that at Rivers Inlet he was close to Heiltsuk territory but was unclear about its extent, or, possibly, he had the Heiltsuk and Oweekeno confused or did not differentiate between them. Either way, it indicates that Swan knew little, if anything, about the Heiltsuk and their communities. In fact, Swan seems to have known almost nothing about the British Columbia coast. Cole asserts that "He did not really know the country north of Victoria and his acquaintance with the north coast Indians was limited to groups he casually met at Port Townsend, Neah Bay, or Victoria" (1985: 31).

Swan's Bella Bella objects were obtained, not at the village, but through the HBC. Like many collectors, including Jacobsen, he had a buying arrangement with William Charles, Chief HBC Factor at Victoria.<sup>13</sup> Charles contacted the HBC traders in aboriginal communities to ask them to collect artifacts and extended credit for the purchases. The objects were sent to Victoria where Swan paid for them and arranged packing and shipping from Victoria to the NMNH.<sup>14</sup> Swan's requests for artifacts

could be specific. In November 1882, for example, he wrote to Charles:

I shall consider it a favor if you will kindly direct your agent at Massett to purchase for me three carved figures representing Earth, Air, and Water, similar to the ones Dr. Powell had, also some masks of female faces similar to those I saw in Dr. Powell's collection and anything else he can get of Indian manufacture. I want these articles for the U.S. National Museum.<sup>15</sup>

Other requests were more general. On his way to Alaska in 1875, Swan himself had approached the HBC trader, C. E. Morrison, and the Methodist missionary, Thomas Crosby, about getting a collection from Fort Simpson (Cole 1985: 23). The shipment from Bella Bella arranged for by Charles was received by Swan in Victoria at the same time as one from Fort Simpson, presumably sent by Morrison and Crosby. Swan had no control over what he received and no direct knowledge of the sources of the objects.

Swan approached Charles because he was unable to visit the aboriginal communities himself to collect for the Centennial Exposition (a hoped-for trip with Powell in 1875 did not materialize). He knew it was important to be in the field. "The most valuable things, from an archaeological point of view, can only be obtained by a planned visit to the Indian houses, for they are seldom or ever brought to the traders by the Indians for sale," he wrote, and Powell had told him that the only way to secure

good examples of native art and artifacts was "to have an agent on the coast constantly."<sup>16</sup> Swan no doubt thought the HBC network was the best alternative and that the agents' residency and closeness to the native population would insure an extensive collection. He was aware that the HBC was a powerful force in British Columbia, yet he knew that relations between the HBC and the First Nations were not without problems.<sup>17</sup>

What the specific situation at Bella Bella was in 1875 is not clear. The HBC store was run as a branch of the Bella Coola post at that time (Harkin 1988: 286) and we can assume that there were tensions between the Heiltsuk artists or owners of the objects and the HBC when Swan's collection was made. From the beginning, the "relations between the [HBC] traders and the Heiltsuk were characterized by suspicion" (Tolmie 1963: 293; Harkin 1988: 275). It will be remembered that one of the reasons for the move to Waglisla in the late 1890s was the trader's refusal to let the people build on the vacant land around the store. There is no reason to think that the relationship between the trader and the Heiltsuk would have been different in 1875. Nevertheless, the Heiltsuk economy had been tied to the HBC since the founding of Fort McLoughlin in 1833, with the Heiltsuk functioning as both providers and consumers of commodities (Harkin 1988: 280-87).<sup>18</sup> The fact that Swan's Bella Bella material was

purchased from the HBC reveals that the artifact trade was a continuation of the pattern of economic interdependence between the HBC and the Heiltsuk. Because of the on-going tensions, though, it would be an error to think that the whole community was involved with the trade and that the collection is representative of Heiltsuk material culture and artifact production at that time. Swan's objects probably came from a small group of people in the village who had other business connections with the trader.

When he went to Haida Gwaii in 1883, Swan kept careful records in his notebook of what he purchased, from whom, and how much he paid, attempting to provide scientific documentation for the NMNH.<sup>19</sup> No such information was provided by the HBC agent who sent the Bella Bella and Fort Simpson objects to Victoria. In Swan's notebook is a list with the heading, "Voucher No. 5 to HBC, Victoria, for invoices from Bella Bella, August 9, 1875." It is a list of objects, prices, and brief notes about the shipment in which they were sent, along with the Fort Simpson material, from Victoria to Washington on November 30, 1875. (The two objects - helmet mask, NMNH 20569 and paint mortar, NMNH 20606 - that were not accessioned by the museum until 1876 also may have been part of the 1875 shipment.) The artifact designations in the notebook are general descriptions such as "one whale bone for preparing stuff for weaving" (i.e., a bark beater) and "four wood

masks" (no individual descriptions given). There are two sets of prices in the notebook. For each object Swan notes the price he charged the museum and another, lower, figure which is probably his cost.<sup>20</sup> The list that Swan sent to the NMNH is the same but, not surprisingly, with only one set of prices. For a concordance of notebook/NMNH versions of the list, prices, NMNH catalogue numbers, and NMNH documentation, see Appendix A.

In most cases, Swan charged the NMNH twenty percent more than he had paid the HBC in 1875. If selling prices are indicators of relative desirability based on appearance, interest, or supposed scarcity, they offer insight into how aboriginal art was valued at the time. The cheapest objects were small, simple tools such as a "wood burner and sticks with tow" (NMNH 20644, fire starting kit), "wood comb and two sticks for painting face" (NMNH 20634-20635), and "bone borer" (NMNH 20631, awl), which sold for fifteen cents. Decorated objects were usually more. For example, plain wooden spoons (NMNH 20669-20670) sold for fifty cents but long-handled carved horn spoons (NMNH 20617-20619) were a dollar each. A plain wooden water bucket and ladle (NMNH 20567) sold for forty-five cents; a painted water bucket and bailer (NMNH 20568) sold for one dollar and twenty cents. A cradle (NMNH 20555) was one dollar and twenty-five cents; a painted cradle with elaborate interior structure (NMNH

20556) was sold for two dollars and seventy-five cents. But two bailers with formline painting (NMNH 20628-20629) were eighty-seven cents for the pair and twenty-four full-size painted paddles (NMNH 23523-23546) were forty cents each, while a bow and four arrows (NMNH 20912, NMNH 20694?) were one dollar and eighty cents and two stone chisels (NMNH 20603- 20604) were one dollar and twenty-five cents for the pair. Two plain, heavy, old-style copper bracelets (NMNH 20627) were the same price (two dollars and fifty cents) as a small but elaborately incised and painted bent-corner bowl with shells inlaid in the top (NMNH 20563).

Today we place a high value on ritual objects, but in Swan's collection ceremonial objects, such as four "painted rattles" (NMNH 20584-20587 or NMNH 20588-20591?, six dollars) a "fan used in dancing" (NMNH 20636, Fig. 8a, sixty cents), four "dancing whistles" (NMNH?, one dollar and fifty cents), and "cedar collar" (neck ring NMNH 20686, one dollar and seventy-five cents) were not at a premium. The two most expensive things in the 1875 Bella Bella collection illustrate a tendency to value elaboration and rare materials rather than to situate objects within a hierarchy of function, with ritual objects valued over tools. An elaborately carved and inlaid "mask with painted parchment cape" (NMNH 20571, Fig. 8b) and a set of gambling sticks in a leather case

with fine formline painting and what looks like part of an ivory ruler or measuring device on the end of the tying cord (NMNH 20646) both sold for six dollars. It appears that Swan made an undisclosed profit of twenty dollars and sixteen cents on his 1875 sale. This was not a lot of money (room and board in a Victoria hotel cost two dollars and fifty cents a day at the time),<sup>21</sup> but it was over and above his commission and expenses. In any case, as we have seen, financial gain was only one of the reasons that Swan collected for the museum.

The most noteworthy thing about Swan's 1875 list is his division of the objects into two categories: "ancient relics" and "imitation of old relics." In the first and smallest category are stone tools (hammers, chisels, adzes) and paint mortars, bone implements (bark beater and spinning disc), a stone gambling piece, the two copper bracelets, and a deer hoof belt described as a "set of deer hoofs used in dancing." There are tools in the second category as well, but the majority of the "imitation[s] of old relics" are wood carvings and basketry items. They are fishing and hunting implements, household goods (boxes, bowls, cradles, spoons, mats, baskets), ceremonial objects (masks, head rings, whistles, rattles, the dance fan), canoe-related items (a model boat with paddles, the full-size paddles), and personal objects (the gambling sticks, comb). These types of objects

appear in all Bella Bella collections. The notation that these are "imitations[s] of old relics" is important for our understanding of Heiltsuk art and its economy in the 1870s. (For a full list of the objects with catalogue numbers, see Appendix A.)

Many, if not all, of the "imitation[s] of old relics" would have been made for the artifact trade. The Heiltsuk were the source of important winter dance privileges and the ritual objects in which they are manifested, and Heiltsuk artists were admired for their superior skills. Because of this, Heiltsuk ceremonial art works and art forms were widely distributed on the coast and Bella Bella and the other Heiltsuk communities were artistic centres for traditional culture. Swan's collection indicates that Bella Bella was also a production centre for the non-Native market and that the Heiltsuk artifact trade was well established by the mid-1870s. By that time, Heiltsuk artists had been making articles for sale for years. The Victoria paper, The British Colonist, reported a "Bella Bella encampment" in the city as early as 1860 (July 10). Craftspeople would have been living and working there at that time. (Swan's many purchases of silver jewellery in Port Townsend and Victoria attest to the popularity of native art work.)<sup>22</sup> The Heiltsuk were also among the northern tribes who

travelled to Victoria on a regular basis to buy and sell goods, including artifacts and curios.<sup>23</sup>

According to Harkin, "a major reason for making the trip to Victoria was to obtain cash" (1988: 288). The sale of art and artifacts to the non-Native community was part of the money economy and must have grown in economic importance as cash replaced blankets as the trading currency. It is significant that Swan's 1875 collection was made just as the use of cash in trade with the HBC was becoming more important. Harkin (1988: 287) states that HBC records indicate that,

In 1877, under direction from the Hudson's Bay Company administration in Victoria, the trading post stopped accepting blankets in payment for goods; previously they had been taken as currency and 'sold' back to Indians in exchange for furs. . . . This limited the possible media of payment to cash and furs; as the latter were only available for part of the year, this made the possession of cash essential, as the only actual form of currency.

Because the art and artifact trade was a source of cash, it is to be expected that there was increased activity in it at Bella Bella at this time. Perhaps the majority of the "imitation[s] of old relics" were commissioned especially to fill Swan's order for artifacts. Whether they were or not, the description indicates that the objects were of recent manufacture, which is born out by their condition. They were certainly made only for sale. They are examples from a specific period in Heiltsuk art

and also manifestations of a new economic reality at Bella Bella. Swan's reasons for making the collection have been discussed; the Heiltsuk had their own reasons for filling the order that came from the HBC and these reasons were probably largely economic.

In light of the designation "imitation of old relics" for the bulk of the 1875 NMNH collection - which is one of the earliest museum collections from Bella Bella - we must re-examine our tendency to assume that older collections contain more 'authentic,' non-commercial things. As the purchase of 1875 reveals, Heiltsuk artists made many types of objects for the market at that time. The category of copies, or re-creations, of older forms could encompass many things. Things that conform to our ideas about objects made for sale are included: the new-looking (painted cradle), the miniature (canoe models), the impractical or over-elaborate (painted water box and ladle), the mass-produced (spoons, boxes, baskets, paddles). But Swan's collection also includes things we are accustomed to thinking of as 'authentic' or 'traditional': hunting and fishing gear (goat spear, seal spear with inflated seal bladder, fish hooks, bows and arrows), indigenous forms of tools (adze, awl, fire starter), objects "in use" (wooden dishes), ceremonial paraphernalia (cedar bark head and neck rings, whistles, dancing fan, masks).<sup>24</sup>

In 1884, Swan collected a second group of Heiltsuk objects for the NMNH. (These are listed in the NMNH printout as accessioned in 1862.) A "cradle or rocking chair" (settee, NMNH 20551?) and seven "large totem pole[s]" (model poles, NMNH 74743-74749?) from Bella Bella were sent to Washington in connection with the New Orleans Cotton Centennial Exposition (see Appendix A). Although Swan's records do not specifically say so, the settee and model poles were probably also purchased through the HBC. (Swan's records show that they were crated and shipped in Victoria.)<sup>25</sup> Like the majority of the 1875 shipment, they seem to have been made for the artifact market and, on the evidence of condition, were new when collected. As with the 1875 shipment, there is little information provided beyond general descriptions of functions and materials. Only one model pole (NMNH 74745) is accompanied by a description: "Old [?] wolf and young wolf in the mouth, four human figures doctor's guardians in the images, upper form HOORTS - bear and summation is the KOOT or fish eagle (hawk)." Perhaps the imagery on the other poles could not be interpreted, as the "collector's comment" on the card for another model pole (NMNH 74743) suggests:

The combination is a pictograph which illustrates the artist's idea of some mythical legend. As a general thing these legends are rendered differently by each artist either in delineation or combination and unless the artist himself gives the explanation, the story is difficult to be correctly obtained. 1 Dec, 1884, J.G. Swan.

The lack of documentation might also be the result of the role of the trader, to whom the shipments would have been commodities rather than scientific specimens needing explanations. Just a few months before (on September 27, 1884), however, Swan had shipped four "heraldic columns" from Bella Coola via the HBC in Victoria to the NMNH and for these he was able to provide very brief explanations (similar to the description of NMNH 74745) of the imagery.<sup>26</sup> The contrast between the explanations of the Nuxalk and Heiltsuk model poles underscores the fragmentary and problematical nature of the information we have on Swan's Bella Bella collection. The objects have been removed from their origin with no contextual or interpretive matrix. What interpretations there are were added by collectors or anthropologists who have created a sort of Heiltsuk virtual reality from isolated pieces of documentation. Not only is the information fragmentary, it is often about Northwest Coast groups other than the Heiltsuk. Swan's terms HOORTS for bear and KOOT for fish hawk are from his Haida vocabularies (Swan 1876: 5).

Stylistic similarities indicate that the model poles were likely all made by the same artist or a small group of closely associated artists. Idiosyncratic artistic styles are also visible in Swan's 1875 collection. Perhaps distinctive individual styles are more likely to be found in articles made for sale to outsiders than in

traditional objects that must conform to profound functional and ceremonial norms and conventions. The situation at Bella Bella also has a bearing on Heiltsuk artistic practice: the cash economy that was enforced in Bella Bella in the 1870s changed the social role of Heiltsuk artists. The Heiltsuk had always traded art works to other Native groups. Now production was organized differently. Harkin explains that, in general,

The introduction of cash coincided with the appearance and ascendance of economic employment - in the most general sense of work done by an individual for payment, either as a seller of labor or an individual producer - and a much more individualized system of material relations. [1988: 287-88]

The former economy of distribution controlled by the chiefs was replaced by a more entrepreneurial system of trade in the wage economy and with it almost certainly came a more personalized art production. In this interpretation, about the time Swan's collection was gathered, Heiltsuk makers of objects, while continuing their more complex roles in traditional society, also became individualized artists-producers for an outside market. Charlotte Townsend Gault reminds us that, "while in some important ways the 'tradition' [of Northwest Coast art] appears to be continuous, the context for it is discontinuous" (1994: 445). The NMNH's Bella Bella collection embodies a discontinuity of context for the Heiltsuk art tradition and one reason for this is the

expansion of art's economic function. There is a new cash basis for trade at Bella Bella, a growing commercial art market and, apparently, changes in styles and types of art production.

Because of the distinctive styles visible in Swan's Bella Bella collection, it has been an important source for assigning provenance as well as period. Following standard art historical practices of connoisseurship and attribution, undocumented objects with the same formal qualities found in objects identified as coming from Bella Bella are assumed to be from the village about the same time. In Swan's case (and probably in the cases of the other collectors discussed in this study), what the designation Bella Bella encompasses is not clear, however.

The term is used as if it were village-specific, that is, as if the objects the HBC trader said were from Bella Bella were collected at 'Qélc. Bella Bella, however, also designated the Heiltsuk people in general and they were living in communities such as 'Isda and 'Qába, as well as 'Qélc, at the time. Further, Bella Bella was used, like the misnomer "Northern Kwakiutl," as a blanket name for all Wakashan-speaking people from Rivers Inlet north. The British Colonist, for example, did not differentiate between Heiltsuk and Haisla,<sup>27</sup> and we have noted that Swan himself seems to have equated Bella Bella with Rivers Inlet. The Bella Bella provenance, then, is less specific

than it first appears. It may encompass several villages and therefore different village forms, imagery, and styles. (Alan Sawyer [1983] found this to be the case for Tlingit groups and postulated it for the Haisla villages of Kitamaat and Kitlope.) It might also have a much wider geographic scope. Further, it is not really clear who labelled the collection as Bella Bella. Was it the trader based at Bella Coola, Charles in Victoria, or Swan, whose idea about the area was fuzzy? These questions make the assignment of provenance on the basis of style an imprecise exercise.

Compounding the problem of provenance is the confusion between the 1875 Fort Simpson and Bella Bella collections in the NMNH documentation. Both lots were sent from the HBC traders to Victoria and Swan had them packed up and sent on to Washington in the same shipment. The crates were carefully marked and the collections clearly separated in his lists, but both groups contained similar objects with the same descriptions and there was no numbering system to make it easy to match objects with descriptions. Cole (1985: 27) notes that "Baird was annoyed that much of the British Columbia material. . .was inadequately labelled and catalogued." This seems to have been a deliberate strategy on Swan's part. In the Swan-Baird correspondence of April to July, 1876, Cole finds evidence that Swan had purposefully made it difficult to

identify the objects so that he would be invited to oversee the unpacking and cataloguing of the collection in Washington and to arrange the objects for display at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia:

[Swan] tried to ensure the trip by taking masks and other objects apart for 'good packing,' telling Baird that he could easily put them back together when in Washington or Philadelphia [and that] no one in Washington could do his collection properly. [Cole 1985: 26]

However, Baird refused to pay Swan for making the trip and the objects were accessioned (no doubt with difficulty) by someone at the NMNH.

The order of the catalogue numbers tells us that the Bella Bella and Fort Simpson groups were accessioned at the same time. The cataloguer seems to have worked directly from Swan's Bella Bella and Fort Simpson lists, writing the numbers along side the object descriptions in most cases. Most Swan pieces catalogued as Bella Bella by the NMNH can be found on the Bella Bella list, but in some cases errors were made. One of Swan's "stone mallets" from Bella Bella (NMNH 20599), for example, is grouped with a "stone pestle" from Fort Simpson on the museum card and is therefore catalogued as Tsimshian. A horn ladle (NMNH 20671) from Bella Bella is catalogued as Tsimshian. Similarly, a beautifully carved mountain sheep horn bowl with a rope-like decorated rim, formline designs, and a human figure (giving birth to a frog?) carved in high

relief at one end, is found on the Bella Bella list with its catalogue number (NMNH 20613), but is catalogued as Tsimshian. The previous catalogue number (NMNH 20612) was assigned to a bowl on the Fort Simpson list and the item following it on that list is a horn bowl with no number noted, so it seems the two have been confused. It has been published as "Tsimshian?, Fort Simpson" (Sturtevant, ed. 1974: fig. 44) and, probably because of an error in matching photographs to captions, as Tlingit (National Gallery of Art 1977: 164). Once again, this confusion illustrates the false contexts generated by museums for Heiltsuk art.

The tendency (noted by Holm and Reid 1975 and discussed in the first section of this study) to confuse Heiltsuk style with the styles of its neighbours - such as the Tsimshian - is an aspect, if not the result, of these false contexts. Many of the objects collected by Swan, like the deer hoof rattle (NMNH 20626, a leather belt with dew claw jinglers attached to the fringe) and the wooden comb (NMNH 20634) are confusingly designated as both Bella Bella and Tsimshian ("Bella Bellas, Fort Simpson," or "Chimsayou [Tsimshian] Indians, Bella Bella"). In some cases, examination of Swan's lists reveals the origin of an object. For example, an intricately carved wooden club with eagle and frog motifs and incised formline pattern (NMNH 20610) has "Ft. Simpson, B. C., J. G. Swan, Bella

Bella" written on the handle.<sup>28</sup> The museum's card says "ancient war club, Bella Bella . . . Thunder Bird ornament" and the printout lists it as Bella Bella. The Fort Simpson list, however, includes one "war club" numbered NMNH 20610, so there is no known Bella Bella provenance for the object.<sup>29</sup>

In other cases, it is not clear whether the object was originally in the Bella Bella or the Fort Simpson part of the shipment. This is particularly true of the rattles and clappers. Swan sent four "rattles or castenets" from Bella Bella, but there are four rattles and one clapper on the Bella Bella printout alone. These are: two round rattles which are described by Swan's version of a Haida term, "'Skaga Sisha," meaning shaman's or medicine man's rattle (NMNH 20584, in the form of a figure riding on the back of a killer whale, and NMNH 20585, Fig. 9, which has a human face in the centre and a bear's head above);<sup>30</sup> two "chief's rattle[s]" (NMNH 28586-28587, according to the card "not in collection"); one "chief's clapper" (NMNH 20588, in the shape of a raven's head). Three more rattles or clappers are recorded in the museum's card records: a "rattle used at a Dog Feast, Bella Bella" (NMNH 20589); a clapper "used at the Dog Feasts" (NMNH 20590, showing on one side a human figure riding on the back of a whale and on the other a face with protruding re-carved beak); another clapper (NMNH 20591). NMNH 20589 was

traded to a Mrs. John Crosby Brown in 1887 and NMNH 20591 is also "not in collection" according to the card. Examination of the museum card records reveals that all eight of these rattles and clappers were originally catalogued as "Bella Bellas, Fort Simpson." To this group we must add one more, the well-known round rattle in the shape of a human head with frogs emerging from the cheeks (NMNH 20583).<sup>31</sup> It is catalogued as "Tsimshian, Fort Simpson," but was also part of the confused Bella Bella-Fort Simpson shipment. Clearly the four Bella Bella "rattles or castenets" have become mixed with the five rattles (three "rattles," one "dancing rattle," and one "chief's rattle") that came from Fort Simpson at the same time. One is tempted to see the four clappers (NMNH 20588-20591) as Swan's four "rattles or castenets" from Bella Bella. The term "castenets" seems better suited to clappers than to rattles and the Dog Feast, though not exclusive to the Heiltsuk, had a prominence there (Drucker 1940: 211). The five rattles (NMNH 20583-20587) would then be assigned to Fort Simpson, not Bella Bella.

The masks in Swan's collection present a similar problem and illustrate a confusion between Bella Bella and Fort Simpson, and therefore between Heiltsuk and Tsimshian work. There are five masks on Swan's Bella Bella list. One seems easy to identify. Swan described it as a "wooden mask with parchment cape attached. Although the

number written (with a question mark beside it) on the Bella Bella list for this mask looks like 20580, this would seem to be NMNH 20571, a spectacular painted wood helmet mask, with copper and opercula shells applied, in the shape of a bird with a curved beak and with a long, deer hide trailer attached to the back of the head (**Fig. 8b**). The trailer is cut in the shape of the bird's body and finely painted with formline designs. It would have extended almost a metre down the wearer's back. According to the old museum label, it is "supposed to represent HOOYEH (the crow), which is connected with their traditions and held by them in high regard." HOOYEH is a word from Swan's Haida vocabulary, so perhaps the information accompanied the piece and was provided by Swan. If so, it is another example of both the lack of information about the Heiltsuk on the part of collectors and the tendency to see Heiltsuk art and culture in terms of neighbouring groups.

The other masks on Swan's list present difficulties. On the list, the entry, "four masks," has catalogue numbers NMNH 20576-20579 (again with a question mark) written beside it. The masks with these catalogue numbers are: a forehead mask in the shape of a bird's head with a curved beak and applied brows and cheek flaps (NMNH 20576, catalogued as Bella Bella); a curious round-eyed face mask constructed by affixing painted fabric and fur facial hair

to a thin wooden hoop (NMNH 20577, catalogued as Bella Bella); a painted wooden human face mask (NMNH 20578, Fig. 10a, catalogued as Bella Bella);<sup>32</sup> a painted wooden mask (NMNH 20579, Fig. 10b,) catalogued as Tsimshian. On the Bella Bella printout, though, four more masks, all said to have been collected by Swan in 1875, are included: a wooden helmet mask in the shape of a bird's head with iron inlay in the eyes, holding a human figure in its mouth (NMNH 20569), a painted wooden mask eagle/human mask with humanoid face and ears and long, articulated, curved beak (NMNH 20570, Fig. 11a); a wooden sculpin headdress with iron and copper inlay, to the back of which is attached a stuffed cotton body with wooden fins and tail (NMNH 20573); a wooden headdress mask in the shape of a bird's head, with profile faces in the ears and a carved human face on the underside of its moveable jaw (NMNH 20575).<sup>33</sup> The sculpin mask (NMNH 20573) has been reproduced as "Tlingit?" (Fitzhugh and Crowell, eds., 1988: 153), but it sounds very much like a shark's head mask with two fins that Swan writes about having collected on his trip to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1883 (Cole 1985: 42; McDonald 1972: 187). The others may be from the 1875 Fort Simpson group or collected from Fort Simpson at the time of Swan's Tlingit or Haida expedition (1875 or 1883).<sup>34</sup> Alternatively, some may have come from the Bella Coola region. Another mask in the collection (NMNH 129510, Fig.

11b), a raven/human mask, is so similar to the eagle/human mask (NMNH 20570) in Swan's collection that it might have been made by the same artist. It was collected by Franz Boas at Taleo (Talio) in 1887. As these masks, and other related masks such as NMNH 20572, exhibit what are said by Holm and others to be distinctively Heiltsuk formal qualities (e. g., eye shape), this raises important questions about attributions on the basis of style and about how Heiltsuk art has been codified.

A careful look at the documentation of selected parts of Swan's collection has revealed that some of the objects catalogued as Bella Bella by the NMNH were sent from Fort Simpson. This, however, does not necessarily rule out a Heiltsuk provenance for these objects. Fort Simpson in the 1870s was an important aboriginal and HBC trading centre. Located at the mouth of the Skeena River in Coast Tsimshian territory, it drew people and goods from the interior and all along the coast. The objects sent by the HBC trader at Fort Simpson to Victoria for Swan were not necessarily all made by the local Tsimshian. Heiltsuk goods, including art works, were among the things traded there and the Tsimshian had also acquired Heiltsuk ritual privileges and the Heiltsuk ceremonial objects that went with them. The Heiltsuk had always gone to Fort Simpson to trade for eulachon oil, sell canoes, arrange dynastic marriages, attend potlatches, visit relatives, and do

business. With the advent of the land-based fur trade, there were new ties between Bella Bella and Fort Simpson because both were important HBC centres. After 1880 both were regional centres for the Methodist Church missionary efforts, which reinforced an already strong relationship between the two places. Therefore, it would not be unusual to purchase Heiltsuk-made things at a busy, cosmopolitan centre such as Fort Simpson was when Swan's collection was made.

There are other objects that were part of the Bella Bella shipment but do not appear on the museum's Bella Bella printout. A few appear on Swan's list without a catalogue number and are not on the Bella Bella printout. Some, such as a pair of halibut hooks and the cheaper water bucket and ladle are not catalogued as Bella Bella despite having catalogue numbers noted on the Bella Bella list (NMNH 20649, 20650, 20567). There are also two non-Tsimshian designations in Swan's Bella Bella collection. The wood burner or fire-making tools (NMNH 20644) are described as from the "Bilhula [Bella Coola] Indians (Salishan stock), Bella Bella," and the twenty-four paddles (NMNH 23523-23546) are catalogued as "Clallam." The paddles were among those items recorded as "not received" with the rest of the Bella Bella material in 1875. Obviously, they were later found and assumed to

have been collected from the Clallam in the region of Swan's home, Port Townsend.

It has been noted that some of the rattles and clappers are no longer in the NMNH collection. These objects were exchanged with private collectors and museums in the United States and Europe. The Trocadero (Musée de l'Homme, Paris) received one of the model poles collected in 1884 (NMNH 74746) and two bowls (NMNH 20564, 20566). The Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, received a paddle (NMNH 23543) and a rattle (NMHN 20587, Fig. 12). Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, received a bowl (NMNH 20565), cedar bark mat (NMNH 20681), another of the model poles (NMNH 74749), and a painted wooden bailer (NMNH 20628). The University of Aberdeen Museum of Anthropology has a helmet mask in the form of a wolf with human faces in its ears and moveable flaps on either side of the head which is catalogued as having been collected at Fort Simpson by Swan (UA 93, AMNH catalogue number unknown).

The dispersal of objects from the Swan collection, both within the museum to other language groups and outside of the NMNH to other museums, affects how Heiltsuk production is viewed and is evidence of the transformative role of the museum. What is actually a discrete group of objects embodying a unique style that is specific to a particular time and region appears to be a wide-spread and typical category of Heiltsuk art. The dispersal also

further separates the objects from their contexts in an increasing spiral of generality.

This study is a step toward the resolution of the contradictions in the NMNH's documentation of Swan's collection, but its goal is not to solve all of the problems raised by that documentation. Rather, it is to illustrate that the picture of Heiltsuk art created by museum collections is closely tied to the collector's and museum's reality rather than any Heiltsuk reality. Questions raised about selected aspects of Swan's Bella Bella material point out complexities of provenance not at first obvious in the NMNH collection, which is comparatively well documented as Heiltsuk collections go. They reveal the kind of generalities and simplification produced by Swan's collecting practices and codified in the museum's labels and categories, and because of trades, in other museums as well. Susan Stewart has said that the narrative that creates a collection "replaces origin with classification" (1984:153). In the case of Swan's collection from Bella Bella, this is literally true. In the process of entering Swan's, and then the museums', narrative of the aboriginal culture of British Columbia and becoming specimens in the NMNH and other museums such as Musée de l'Homme, Peabody Essex Museum, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden), and University of Aberdeen Museum of Anthropology, the objects shed their specific

geographical context as well as their cultural context and become homeless in every sense of the term. One of the earliest, largest, and most cohesive Heiltsuk collections turns out to be confusingly documented and almost completely divorced from its original meanings. This fact has important ramifications for the understanding of Heiltsuk art.

#### Other Bella Bella Collections

Swan's Bella Bella collection is the museum's only collection of Heiltsuk material. The AMNH has only five other objects listed as Bella Bella: two baskets were received from the Benham Indian Trading Company in 1904 (NMNH 230103-230104), a carved fish club and a bark canoe bailer were acquired from E. W. Keyser in 1916 (NMNH 292269-292270), a cedar bark hat came from Victoria J. Evans in 1931 (NMNH 360670). None of these objects is well documented and at least two are not Heiltsuk at all, according to what documentation there is. The canoe bailer is from "Kuskoquim [Kuskokwim] River," which is in Alaska; the hat's provenance is given as "Kwakiutl, Vancouver Island." A number of art works in the collection have been attributed by scholars to Bella Bella on stylistic grounds. A grotesque-type mask that was collected by Lieutenant George Thornton Emmons and

accessioned in 1902 is an example (NMNH 217408, Fig. 13).

## Notes

1. NMNH records erroneously list these as accessioned in 1862. The accession file shows that they were catalogued in 1884.
2. "The Smithsonian Institution dominated American anthropology from its founding in 1846 until the emergence of university departments after the turn of the century" (Hinsley 1981:9).
3. Less useful for this study was Doig 1980, which combines passages from Swan's diaries with the author's own thoughts and experiences of the Port Townsend-Olympic Peninsula region. Like Swan, Doig moved from the eastern United States to the American northwest and he shares with Swan a romantic view of the region as remote and exotic.
4. Swan's setbacks included an early attempt at setting up a whaling enterprise in Port Townsend that did not come to fruition, several unsuccessful attempts to gain permanent employment with the Indian Service, dismissal from the Neah Bay school when he was "found wanting in important particulars" (McDonald 1972: 135), dismissal from his post of customs collector at Neah Bay, the failure, despite his promotional efforts, of Port Townsend to become a prosperous railway terminus, the snub of not being invited to arrange his collection at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and the denial of funds for a second trip to Haida Gwaii on behalf of the NMNH.
5. Swan to Baird, 10 June 1883. James G. Swan Papers 1852-1903, UBC Library Special Collections (hereafter cited as Swan Papers), reel 3, A.1.6. Like the majority of American collectors, Swan did not see himself as a "foreign" collector when travelling and collecting in Canada for American institutions.
6. Swan to Baird, 27 Nov. 1882. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.5.
7. "Circular," 20 July 1874, Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.6.
8. Swan to Baird, 25 Jan. 1876. Quoted in Cole 1985:32.
9. Swan made two of these collections, one at the request of Franz Boas, who was acting on behalf of the Cambridge Institute at Harvard University, and one for the Smithsonian Institution. Recognition from Boas would have been a thrill

for Swan. Unfortunately, many things went wrong with the commissions and he was unable to meet all his commitments to Boas. In the end he seems to have, as usual, lost money. See letters from Boas to Swan (1892-93), Swan Papers, reel 7, B.8.2.

10. Twenty-four letters written by Swan on his expedition to Haida Gwaii, Swan Papers 1883, reel 3, A.1.6.

11. Swan to Baird, 24 June 1883. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.6.

12. Swan to Farrell, 25 June 1883. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.6.

13. Swan to Baird, 10 June 1883. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.6.

14. Swan to Baird, 27 Nov. 1882. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.5.

15. Swan to Williams, 29 Nov. 1882. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.5.

16. Swan to Baird, 27 Nov. 1882, Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.5.

17. Swan's attitude toward the HBC was ambivalent. In his first book, The Northwest Coast, he had written that the people "knew, in all their dealings with the Hudson's Bay Company officers, that whatever was agreed upon was promptly executed in good faith" and this was the reason the HBC had "so great an influence over them" (Swan 1857, quoted in McDonald 1972: 25). In the same book (chapter 20), there is a lengthy condemnation of the HBC. In other writings, he contrasts their methods favourably with those of the American government.

18. The Heiltsuk provided furs, food, and fuel for the fort, and after it was dismantled in 1843, for the Beaver and other vessels of the maritime trade. In return they got commodities such as guns, metals, Western foods, household goods, clothing, and building materials. Harkin documents this trade and explains the changes it produced in Heiltsuk society.

19. Financial records series, 1858-91. Swan Papers, reel 7, C.2.

20. Financial records series 1858-91. Swan Papers, reel 7, C.1.2.

21. Financial records series, 1858-91. Swan papers, reel 7, C.1.2.

22. There are many references to such purchases in Swan's letters. He would often buy native-made silver brooches for his female friends. Swan Papers, reel 3, A.1.5 - A.1.6.

23. One such visit was reported in The British Colonist on February 28, 1860.

24. Contrasting forms, contents, and values in 'authentic' tribal arts and 'tourist' arts was a common preoccupation of earlier studies of tribal arts, e. g., Haselberger (1961) and Graburn, ed. (1976). Semiotic and Foucaultian analyses have replaced these rankings and judgements with discussions of the socio-political and psycho-physiological power of master narratives. Stewart (1984) reveals how the categories of miniature, gigantic, souvenir, and collection shape narratives and perceptions. It is interesting that Stewart's categories have been, and continue to be, central to studies of aboriginal art.

25. Financial records series, 1858-91. Swan Papers, reel 7, C.1.1.

26. That no such iconographic information was provided for six of the seven Bella Bella poles may indicate that the trader was more familiar with Nuxalk than Heiltsuk art, the Bella Coola store being the regional HBC centre at the time.

27. Reporting the murder (by local Cowichan men) of eight "Bella-Bellas" on Saltspring Island, the paper mentioned that they were from Kitamaat. British Colonist, 17 July 1860.

28. It is not clear who wrote the information on Swan's artifacts.

29. The club is shown in Niblack (1888: pl. 28, fig. 132) with the caption "Carved to represent the raven . . . . [and three] frogs. Tsimshian Indians, Fort Simpson." In Fitzhugh and Crowell, eds. (1988: 234) it is called "war club, Tsimshian?"

30. As noted in the Introduction to this study, NMNH 20584 is published in Hilton (1990: 319) as Heiltsuk. NMNH 20585 was included in exhibition, The Spirit Sings, with provenance given as "Northern, Bella Bella?" (Glenbow Museum 1987: 147).

31. NMNH 20583 is reproduced in Maurer (1977: 301) captioned "Tsimshian or Haida, ca. 1850" and in Niblack (1888: pl. 58, fig. 306; pl. 60, fig. 318). Niblack notes that, according to Boas, the face on the rattle is T'kul, the spirit of the

wind, and the rattle illustrates a myth that explains how frogs and toads come with the rain.

32. NMNH 20578 is reproduced in King (1979: 36) and Dall (1882: pl. 13, fig. 21).

33. In the museum records, NMNH 20573 is described as "dancing mask for chiefs." NMNH 20575 is also described as "mask for chiefs," but this description better fits NMNH 20570. NMNH 20570 is described as "helmet, old woman and bird mask," a description that better fits NMNH 20575. The descriptions have been reversed. NMNH 20570 and 20572 are illustrated in Dall 1882: pl. 16, fig. 28, 29; pl. 13, fig. 21.

34. The Fort Simpson list includes the following entries: "monkey mask," "three-faced mask," "old woman's mask," and possibly "head dress" and "shaking top head dress" (the last two are not certain because Swan's handwriting is hard to interpret). One of these may be NMNH 20581, a Tsimshian mask of a woman with a labret (see Dall 1882: Pl. 20, fig. 46). Swan wrote that he had a "very extensive" collection from Fort Simpson and had spoken to Rev. Thomas Crosby about "assisting and arranging" it. Swan to Baird, 12 April, 1876. NMNH accession file 5260.

## CASE 2: AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

An early, although less extensive, museum collection of Heiltsuk material is that of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). Heiltsuk objects in the AMNH were acquired by artifact collectors Israel Wood Powell, George Thornton Emmons, Franz Boas, George Hunt, and by a tourist, Mrs. Junius W. MacMurray. These people - a government official (Powell), a naval officer (Emmons), an anthropologist and his native agent (Boas and Hunt), and a tourist (MacMurray) - embody various motives and methods of artifact collectors on the coast in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three of the four kinds of collectors mentioned by Phillips in her study of Northeastern tourist art are clearly represented: the professional ethnologist, the native agent, and the tourist (1995: 105). Phillips' fourth classification, "the rare art collector," can be applied to Powell and Emmons because of their interest in authentic and scarce objects, and their lack of training in anthropology and museum work. Consideration of the collections these people made for the AMNH further emphasizes the absence of systematic collecting at Bella Bella that has been demonstrated through Swan's collection for the rival NMNH. The important role of the collector in the selection and

documentation process that structures the category 'Heiltsuk art' is further revealed.

### Bishop-Powell Collection

The first Heiltsuk objects received by the AMNH were part of the H. R. Bishop Gift (accession file 1869-90-94). Heber R. Bishop, a financier with business interests in the American west who was a patron of the AMNH, became interested in Northwest Coast art and in 1880 decided to augment the AMNH's small collection from the region. The man he contacted for a comprehensive Northwest Coast collection was Dr. Israel Wood Powell (1836-1915), Superintendent of Indian Affairs for British Columbia (Cole 1985: 83, Jonaitis 1988: 73-85, Wardwell 1978: 23-24).<sup>1</sup>

Powell, a prominent Victoria physician, was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs because of his social and political connections rather than his knowledge of First Nations in British Columbia. In fact, Jonaitis notes that "having limited experience with and minimal knowledge of the Indian prior to his appointment, Powell seems to have been ill-suited for his position" (1988: 72, see also Fisher 1977: 180). His Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) duties were apparently part-time because he maintained a busy medical practice in Victoria and developed a

lucrative sideline in Vancouver real estate throughout his tenure as Superintendent (1872 to 1889).<sup>2</sup> (For an outline of Powell's career see McKelvie 1947.) Another, less documented, business interest of Powell's was the artifact trade. Artifacts from Powell are part of the collections of the NMNH and the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC), among others.

Bishop contacted Powell because of his reputation as an artifact dealer and also because of his official government position. This is clear in a letter written by Albert Bickmore, the founding Director of the AMNH, to Powell in 1880:

We congratulate ourselves on enjoying the active co-operation of one who possesses such knowledge of these tribes and who occupies the official position that will enable him to carry out this [collecting trip], when one of our friends offers to defray the necessary expenses.<sup>3</sup>

Powell's exceptional access to aboriginal communities and artifacts contributed to his success as a collector.

Between 1880 and 1885 he made a large collection for the AMNH. He sold them seven hundred and ninety-one pieces at the cost of \$2,174.09 (Wardwell 1978: 23; Cole 1985: 83).

Bickmore's search for money to defray expenses implies that Powell attempted to separate his collecting activities from his DIA activities, but the relationship between Powell's artifact business and the policies of the DIA is never quite clear. At first, Powell wanted to

involve the DIA in artifact collecting. In his official report of a government survey trip made aboard H. M. S. Rocket in 1879,<sup>4</sup> he stated his intention of making a collection of Northwest Coast objects and hinted it might be paid for by the DIA:

These [artifacts], together with many more I was asked to purchase from those who could not afford to give them, will form the nucleus of a most interesting collection of great ethnological value. I trust my object, and the desire I had not to lose the opportunity presented by my visit to these distant tribes, of making a collection which, in time, will yield a highly prized and instructive return for comparatively a small outlay, may have your concurrence and approval. [Powell 1879: 122]

He envisioned some sort of cooperation between the Department and Canadian institutions and expressed his regret that many objects of aboriginal manufacture had been sold abroad:

It is a pity that already so many unique and finely carved articles have been bought up to enrich foreign museums, and the scattered collection of occasioned tourists, and that, so far, no effort has been made to preserve the history of these interesting people among ourselves. I venture to express the hope, however, that some outlay may have your sanction to prevent the loss to us of all these old relics of native art, and if so, there is yet left among the T'simpsheans and Hydahs a rich field for valuable research both in archaiology and the ethnology of their ancestry." [Powell 1897: 127]

The DIA did not encourage the project. Powell, not without misgivings, became a major exporter of Northwest Coast artifacts to foreign museums.<sup>5</sup>

Despite his activities as a dealer there are few records of Powell's collecting practices. The transactions are not part of the official record of the DIA and are poorly documented in museum records and Powell's own papers. Powell expressed admiration for the artifacts he saw in 1879 on his survey trip for the DIA, commenting on the "beautiful carving" and the "ancient genius in this art" (Powell 1897: 126),<sup>6</sup> but he noted only two occasions when he acquired First Nations artifacts. The first was at Fort Simpson:

Many of the chiefs presented me with old stone implements, and articles of Indian workmanship, which are now becoming very scarce among them, owing to their adoption of christian customs.  
[Powell 1897: 122]

The second was at Masset:

I was able to procure some very old specimens of carved implements lately exhumed at Queen Charlotte, and, also a few beautiful modern slate carvings which had been brought to exhibit to me.  
[Powell 1897: 127]

At Newitsee, "Ko-mah-nah-quilla [the chief] exhibited some of his family heir-looms and dancing masks," but there is no indication that the Superintendent acquired the objects (Powell 1897: 113). Powell made another government survey trip to the northern coast aboard H. M. S. Rocket in 1881. In his official report of this trip, he mentions only one display of artifacts. Chief Weah of Masset showed "a number of stone implements" during a meeting with Powell in order to demonstrate his people's need for modern tools

to the official who might be able to provide them (Powell 1881: 152).

This incident conforms to the theme of the 1881 narrative: the Christianization of many villages by recently-arrived missionaries and the resulting 'improvements.'<sup>7</sup> Although the missionary founder of the model Christian village of Metlakatla, William Duncan, attested that "we have not forgotten to cultivate the arts peculiarly Indian" and "I am encouraging the Indians to keep up their ancient carving" (in Powell 1881: 45), the emphasis of the time was on changing, not preserving, traditional culture and this is particularly evident in Powell's 1881 account. One of the reasons for the comparative absence of references to traditional artifacts in the report was the political need to demonstrate the 'progress' of the aboriginal population. Old tools, which were among the artifacts most wanted by museums at the time, and ceremonial objects may have been of interest to Powell as a collector of authentic and rare objects, but were not part of the official government record, which focussed on the acculturated and 'improved' aspects of First Nations life.

Bickmore thought that Powell would "obtain from the missionaries and all others the facts they possess regarding the religion, myth, language and history of the aboriginal under [Powell's] jurisdiction,"<sup>8</sup> but only a

diary kept by Powell during the 1879 trip gives an idea of the kind of ethnographic information the Superintendent was able to get (BCARS). Under a heading "Curios - presented," for example, he lists the following:

Head Dress presented by Moses McDonald, or, Niss-noh-ah. This mask came down to him from several generations. Only one crest of this kind was allowed in the Nation. The name of the dress is Wee-naghm gie or long hat. The rank of this chief was so great that on a great occasion even by putting it on large presents sometimes as great as 60 blankets would be given. [BCARS]

Powell made a note in his diary to send Moses a "family Bible" and his son William a "small present," presumably in return for the headdress. The presentation may have been the one at Fort Simpson that Powell mentioned in his official report (see above). Similar presentations were made at Nass River communities. Queen Nay-oh-Wan, the highest-ranking Nass River chief, gave Powell "an old mortar and the Beaver mask" and Chief Mountain presented Powell with a large mask called "Shib-be-la" that represented "the mother of the Shell Billa."<sup>9</sup> In each of these cases, the Superintendent made a note to himself to send presents to the donors in return for the objects.<sup>10</sup> Whether First Nations people understood that many, if not all, of the artifacts they presented to the Superintendent were going to be sold by him is not clear from Powell's accounts.

Other transactions were perhaps more straightforward. In his diary Powell listed artifacts that he purchased for cash, with prices. There are lists of objects purchased at Fort Simpson, at Kincolith, and from "the Queen of the Nass" (BCARS).<sup>11</sup> For those artifacts sent to the AMNH, the costs of the objects and their shipping and handling charges were paid by Bishop.<sup>12</sup> As Wardwell points out (1978: 35), Powell does not seem to have made a large profit on the transactions, and may have simply been reimbursed for his purchases.

In his DIA reports, Powell does not mention artifacts from Bella Bella, but twenty-one objects collected by Powell and accessioned as part of the H. R. Bishop Gift are described in the AMNH records as Heiltsuk, or probably Heiltsuk.<sup>13</sup> (For a list of these objects see Appendix B.) Where these Heiltsuk objects were obtained is not recorded. They could have come from intermediary sources. Powell may have purchased objects from Victoria curio dealers for resale to the AMNH or obtained objects from the HBC, as Swan did. It is known that Powell did involve another party in at least some of his sales. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94 contains invoices from J. Isaacs and Co., Victoria curio dealers.<sup>14</sup> One of these, dated September 11, 1886, is for a shipment of artifacts from the Skeena and Nass rivers. Cole (1985: 83) notes that this transaction was "probably at Powell's arrangement,"

but the role of the trader is not detailed. It is likely, however, that at least some of the Heiltsuk objects were collected on the trips that Powell made to the northern coast on government business.

Powell visited Bella Bella on several occasions. On his first survey trip, made on H. M. S. Boxer in 1873 "for the purpose of allowing the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to interview Indian tribes," the boat stopped at Bella Bella on June 8 to pick up from the HBC agent some articles thought to be from an American steamer that was missing and presumed wrecked in the area (Daily British Colonist, June 18, 1873; see also Robinson 1942: 86). In 1879, aboard H. M. S. Rocket, Powell visited Bella Bella on the way from Newitsee to Fort Simpson. He wrote that,

The Bella-Bella Indians ('Hile-tsuck') were most away, only some 30 or 40 being in camp. In company with Mr. Clayton (Hudson's Bay Co.'s Agent), we took a couple of canoes the next day and visited two other camps, and the 'Rocket' picked us up some seven miles from Bella-Bella, and we proceeded on our way to the Skeena. [Powell 1879: 113]

In Powell's diary, a notation reads "Bella Bella Indian visit to camps \$7" (BCARS). The following entry reads "To Indian Doctor for Rattle and headdress \$6," but it is not clear whether this refers to a purchase made in Heiltsuk territory or at one of the communities between Bella Bella and Fort Simpson.

Powell visited Bella Bella again on June 28, 1881, and noted the changes that had taken place in the community.<sup>15</sup> As is typical of the 1881 account, the rapid process of Westernization at Bella Bella is stressed:

I was glad to observe the improvement that had taken place in the interval since my last visit [in 1879]. The great Wesleyans have established a mission here, and a neat and commodious church with a most comfortable mission house have been erected.

The Indians presented a much more cleanly appearance, were well dressed, and their houses exhibited the effect of wholesome care and much attention. Many of them had quite discarded the demoralizing customs of their former savage life, affording gratifying results of the efforts of Mr. Tate, the Missionary in charge, who I may add, has been greatly aided by Mrs. Tate, a lady of long experience as an Indian teacher in the Eastern Provinces. [Powell 1881: 142-43]

Humchit and other chiefs of the Heiltsuk addressed Powell and his party, saying that the people had given up potlatching, winter dancing, gambling, and whisky drinking. They asked for a large flag for the village, a sawmill so that they would not have to buy milled lumber in Fort Simpson and could go into the lumber business themselves, and assurances that the Bella Bella town site and other lands would be reserved for the Heiltsuk (Powell 1881: 142-43).<sup>16</sup> A pocket diary indicates that the Superintendent stopped at Bella Bella again on September 19, 1898, but no information about the village was recorded at that time (BCARS).

Powell's writings are mediocre sources of information about Bella Bella and the Heiltsuks. The communities he visited in 1897 (Bella Bella and two Milbanke Sound villages) are not described; the people he met (with the exception of Chief Humchit) are not named. Two photographs taken of Bella Bella by Victoria photographers who accompanied Powell on survey trips are arguably better sources of information about the community than Powell's generalized and edited reports and diaries.<sup>17</sup> One of the first known photographs of Bella Bella (RBCM PN1686, Fig. 14) was probably taken by Oregon Hastings in 1879. In this image of the north end of the village, seven bighouses can be seen lining the beach. Isolated on the hill behind the row of houses is the HBC trading post. Only two other Western-style buildings are visible. A photograph (AMNH 42310) taken of the south end of the village on the 1881 survey trip by Edward Dossetter shows some of the modernization that Powell stresses in his report. The new church and mission house are visible to the right of the HBC lands; the hills in the distance appear to have been recently logged; a few Western-style buildings have been erected on the beach; some of the old-style houses have modern windows installed.<sup>18</sup> Bella Bella still had many aspects of a traditional Heiltsuk village, though. Seven bighouses can be seen in the photograph and numerous large canoes are visible. As Jonaitis points out

(1988: 85), the photographs taken by Hastings and Dossetter provide a cultural context for the artifacts Powell collected, and this is particularly true of Bella Bella. The images make it clear that the Heiltsuks were still living in a traditional manner during this period despite the rapid changes Powell described. Although Powell stressed the modernization of the village in his DIA report, the objects that he would have sought for the AMNH were those that illustrated Heiltsuk traditional life.

The scientific principles that would dominate collecting practices during Boas' tenure at the AMNH were not yet in place,<sup>19</sup> but Powell did get some direction about what he should collect for the Museum. The AMNH wanted a different kind of collection from the one Swan made for the NMNH, which included a large percentage of newly-made objects. Bickmore instructed Powell that

Old stone implements are the material we value most highly, and generally we seek objects that have been used and perhaps blackened with age but not chipped or broken. The bright, new clean carvings have too much a shop-like appearance as they are not made for worship or other use but only for sale.<sup>20</sup>

In his Heiltsuk collection at least, Powell followed this directive. The Bishop-Powell collection has a higher proportion of old, used, ceremonial objects and secular artifacts than Swan's. Only six objects in Powell's Heiltsuk collection - five paddles (AMNH 16/696 - 16/700)

and a model canoe complete with sail and paddles (AMNH 16/741) - appear to have been made for the curio trade.<sup>21</sup> These objects are different in graphic style and colour from the curio-trade objects that Swan got from the HBC trader at Bella Bella. This fact suggests that a number of different Heiltsuk artists or groups of artists were involved in the curio trade at the time. Swan or his agents seem to have dealt with one artist or group; Powell or his agents with another.

The rest of the objects described as Heiltsuk, or probably Heiltsuk, appear to be older ceremonial or secular artifacts. The secular objects are three boxes (AMNH 16/742 - 16/743, AMNH 16/945), a set of gambling sticks in a case (AMNH 16/744), and a case for gambling sticks (AMNH 16/745). The set of gambling sticks in a hide case with a carved bone or ivory toggle in the shape of a killer whale (AMNH 16/744) has material such as cardboard, string, and ink in its make up, so may not have been particularly old when it was collected, but the patina on the sticks, hide, and toggle suggests that the set has been well used. This is also true of AMNH 16/745, a hide case for gambling sticks. The boxes in Powell's collection, AMNH 16/742 - AMNH 16/743 and AMNH 16/945, are also objects that may have been in use in the community before Powell acquired them. AMNH 16/742, a "food box" with a flat lid that curves up on one end, has its

original cedar bark, cord, and cloth binding. AMNH 16/743, a box with a thick slab lid, is elegantly but simply painted with a red geometric design and is clearly a functional object. AMNH 16/942, a smaller (21.7 cm high) box with a heavy lid that rises to a flattened dome in the centre, is more elaborate.<sup>22</sup> Each side is carved and painted with a formline design of a profile head so that the profiles meet at the corners of the box to form a complete face when viewed from the side. The lid, painted with vertical stripes and inlaid on two sides with opercula shells, is tied on with hide lashing. These are the kinds of artifacts that Bickmore requested for the AMNH.

Bickmore also requested ceremonial objects and these dominate Powell's Heiltsuk collection. A headdress part in the shape of a spear (AMNH 16/391), eight masks (AMNH 16/594 -16/601), and a circular rattle (AMNH 16/602) are described as Heiltsuk or probably Heiltsuk. From their worn condition, some appear to have been old when collected (e. g., AMNH 15/596 and AMNH 16/594), and at least one shows evidence of having been used in ceremonies (AMNH 16/598).

Five of Powell's twenty Heiltsuk objects are given aboriginal names and functions but examination of the AMNH records reveals that the documentation of the ceremonial objects in Powell's collection raises some questions. For

example, the object described as a "headdress part" (AMNH 16/391), a long (102.5 cm) spear-shaped object that opens with a scissor-like mechanism to expose a row of painted teeth, is described as:

Undoubtedly HAUXHAUXQUEGAN. One of the spirits of the cannibal who, during the season of the winter dancing, has the right to bite pieces of flesh from the bystanders. During this ceremony he wears certain ornaments of red cedar-bark. The dance in which the present object is used represents the initiation of the cannibal by the spirit. Probably Heiltsuk.

This information almost certainly did not come from Powell. As Jonaitis points out, "Because Powell knew so little about Indian culture, he simply crated the masks, costumes, totem poles, and canoes and sent them to New York City" (1988: 85). It is unlikely that Powell obtained data about ceremonies during his visits to Bella Bella and vicinity. His 1873 visit to Bella Bella was very brief. In 1879 he did not stay long either, and many Heiltsuk people were away at the time. Two years later the Heiltsuks at Bella Bella told Powell that they had given up the traditional practices in favour of Christianity and a Western style of life. As the photographs show, many people still lived traditionally at Bella Bella at the time, but it seems unlikely that detailed information about ceremonial objects would have been made available to the Superintendent of Indian

Affairs in 1881, when the official focus was on modernization.

In the 1892 lists of artifacts sent by Powell to the AMNH,<sup>23</sup> only the following Heiltsuk items appear:

- No. 32 Mask, Sleeping Demon, Hiletsuck
- No. 42 Dancing Mask, Man's head, Hiletsuck
- No. 142 Gambling Tools, Hiletsuch
- 1 Large Canoe, dug out of one tree, Bella-bella Nation or tribe opposite Queen Charlotte Island, Hiletsuck
- No. 209 1 each Bellabella paddles

The descriptions are sketchy. In the case of the "Mask, Sleeping Demon," the information was not even transferred to the museum records. No Heiltsuk mask is described as a "Sleeping Demon" in the current catalogue.

Contextual data about the artifacts was important to Bickmore, however. In 1880, he had written to Powell asking for ethnographic information about the Northwest Coast:

I trust you will make it a part of your plan to gather materials from such a volume while collecting specimens for the collection, and that you will obtain from the missionaries and all others the facts they possess regarding the religion, myth, language and history of the aboriginal under your jurisdiction.<sup>24</sup>

Three years later, Powell wrote to Bickmore saying that he greatly regretted not being able to furnish "the volume of history" that Bickmore wanted. He did not have the time.<sup>25</sup> The information that Powell provided about the Heiltsuk artifacts seems to have been minimal. (AMNH

16/601 is described only as "Wolf mask;" AMNH 16/600 only as "Mask.")<sup>26</sup>

Boas was almost certainly responsible for the detailed ethnographic descriptions of the artifacts Powell sent to the AMNH. Bishop paid him three hundred dollars to catalogue the collection (Wardwell 1978: 23), which Boas implied was a complex task. He wrote to Bickmore on February 15, 1887, saying:

On your request I looked over the Bishop collection of British Columbia and find that it will take me about one and a half months continuous work to make a good catalogue which would contain the myths which the masks represent as far as I learned them in British Columbia and the customs of which they [are] an illustration.<sup>27</sup>

Boas' involvement explains the use of Nuxalk terms in several of the descriptions. At the time, Boas knew the Nuxalk language and ceremonial system better than those of other Northwest Coast traditions. He had been introduced to the living culture of the Northwest Coast just one year previously, in 1886, in Berlin. There he met the Nuxalk dancers who toured Europe with Adrian Jacobsen and studied their language, legends, and music. When Boas first came to British Columbia in 1887, he visited members of the Nuxalk dance troop who were living in Victoria. He had brought pictures of some of the objects in the Bishop-Powell collection with him because he hoped to get the "stories" that went with the objects. "His success in this was indifferent," according to Cole (1985: 106), but

it is intriguing to think that Boas' Nuxalk friends provided some of the information that appears in the AMNH catalogue.

A round rattle and a dramatic mask collected by Powell, and perhaps catalogued by Boas, have ethnographically-precise descriptions that are difficult to reconcile with the objects' formal characteristics. The rattle (AMNH 16/602, Fig. 15a) is carved with a naturalistic human face on one side. The eye area is blue, the bottom half of the face and the eyes brows are black, the lips and ears are red. The description in the AMNH records reads "Rattle, PAKUIS, mythological animal, like a monkey, anciently believed to live in the mountains, evidently WEKUSH - man, Heiltsuk." This seems to indicate that the rattle represents Pkvs, or Wild Man of the Woods. The rattle's naturalistic face, however, is unlike the usual images of Pkvs, which have heavy cheek and brow ridges, dramatic hooked noses, deeply recessed eyes, prominent chins, and wide, toothy mouths. The identification of the rattle has been changed on the wall label in the Northwest Coast Hall of the AMNH to read "Rattle - used in ceremonies of the secret society; It represents a mythical being with a land otter on its back," proof that Boas or a successor had some doubt about the accuracy of the original description.

The mask (AMNH 16/597, Fig. 15b-i) is identified in the AMNH records as "PAKWUSH, mythological monkey evidently BEKUSH - man, particularly a spirit living in the sea, Heiltsuk." This description implies that P<sup>g</sup>vis, the Wild Man of the Sea, is represented, but this can also be questioned. In many ways the mask resembles P<sup>g</sup>kvs. Its emphatic cheek ridges and forehead, overall black colour (possibly graphite), and prominent brows are characteristics of some late nineteenth and early twentieth century representations of the Kwakwaka'wakw Bukwus. Its condition suggests that it is quite old and the mask may be an early Heiltsuk version of the type. Other characteristics argue against this interpretation. The rounded mouth resembles Kwakwaka'wakw representations of Dzunukwa more than Bukwus. There is a distinct vertical ridge in the centre of the forehead, the brows are baleen strips with small holes that may have held feathers, and large holes in the nose and under the chin indicate that the moveable brows may have been manipulated by strings. None of these attributes is characteristic of P<sup>g</sup>kvs; perhaps they indicate P<sup>g</sup>vis. In Boas' "Bella Bella Notes" (1923), there is a sketch of a mask representing P'qis'k (which seems to be an alternate spelling of P<sup>g</sup>vis) and the following description:

Some being like a man who lives deep down in salt water - possibly like a merman. Used in Loalaka [dhuwlaxa] dance. Hair very long and hangs down

to feet. Always painted green as above in the masks [according to] W. Dick. [Boas 1923]

The sketch of the mask does not resemble AMNH 16/597 in any way.

Other documentation attached to Powell's Heiltsuk material is similarly confusing. Two of the masks are described in Nuxalk, rather than Heiltsuk, terms. One, AMNH 16/596, is called "NUKANOHOMIH SKALNAULTL or the winged [or whistling] demon of the forest, probably NOA QAUUA, the spirits who give the thoughts to MASMASATANIX, who in his turn transfers them to man, Heiltsuk."<sup>28</sup>

The first part of the description is difficult to decipher,<sup>29</sup> but Masmasala'nix is the generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters who constructed the geographical features and living things in the world and who are the patrons of various kusiut dancers of the Nuxalk (Boas 1898: 32-33; McIlwraith 1948: I 39.<sup>30</sup> The kusiut ceremony is the Nuxalk counterpart of the Heiltsuk <sup>2</sup>caíqa ceremony.) This identification is not reinforced by the formal qualities of the mask. A border of red half-circles interspersed with pieces of abalone or shell (now missing) encircles most of the mask, except for a space at the top of the head between two ear-like projections.<sup>31</sup> This border does not appear on other representations of the Nuxalk Masmasala'nix (e. g., Burke 51-52, reproduced in Holm 1987: 121); it is more often found on Sun masks.

That this mask, with its bulbous planes, heavy down-sloping brows, and wide, square-cornered lips, is perhaps more typically Nuxalk than Heiltsuk in form complicates the issue.<sup>32</sup> In the absence of firm documentation concerning the collecting-place of the mask, one can only speculate on what grounds the mask is attributed to the Heiltsuk when its description and many its formal characteristics are Nuxalk.

A humanoid mask with moveable eyes (AMNH 16/595, Fig. 15b-iii) is also described in Nuxalk terms. It is called "KWILLA-KOKSHITTO, the TLOGOTS of the BILHUTA, belonging to the Thunderbird Dance, Heiltsuk." Kwilla-Kokshitto may refer to Kwlilias, a supernatural being of the Nuxalk, who appears in a kusiut (plural: kukusiut) ceremony (McIlwraith 1948 II: 182). Could KWILLA-KOKSHITTO be a variation of Kwlilias, kukusiut? The designation, TLOGOTS, is clearer. It is almost certainly an alternate spelling of 'T̥oqots, the "Maligner" or "Defamer" who appears, in the same series of dances as does Kwlilias, as "a jealous-minded individual who does his best to ruin all ceremonials" (McIlwraith 1948: II 624). According to McIlwraith, 'T̥oqots wears "a huge mask," and the mask worn by the dancer representing Kwlilias is "painted with red to give the appearance of an angry man" (McIlwraith 1948: II 182-83). AMNH 16/595, however, is neither large (it measures 24.5 x 24.5 x 11 cm) nor obviously

illustrative of anger, although it does have some red paint on it.<sup>33</sup> A square-shaped mouth with clearly defined white teeth, rolling eyes that can be made to open and close by means of a system of strings, applied bear-fur brows, moustache, and goatee, and holes in the top and bottom of the mask that may have held feathers or attachments are other characteristics of the mask. These formal qualities are not easily correlated with the catalogue description of AMNH 16/595. Further, the use of Nuxalk terms calls into question both the origin of the information and the mask's provenance.

The formal characteristics described above - the square shape, the flat facial planes, the rolling eyes, the square-shaped mouth, the prominent brows, moustache, and goatee, and the complex painted design - are found in two other AMNH masks collected by Powell. One of these, AMNH 16/598 (Fig. 15b-iv), has black painted brows, moustache and goatee, and an asymmetrical painted design.<sup>34</sup> The red colour on the cheek areas on the inside of the mask suggests that it was used in the *dhuw'láxa* ceremony by a dancer who had painted his face with red ochre in the customary manner. The *dhuw'láxa* (the name can be translated as Returned from Heaven, or Coming Down Again) is the second of the Heiltsuk Winter Ceremonials. There is no written information about this mask in the AMNH records, however.

The other mask of this type, AMNH 16/594 (Fig. 15b-ii), is described in the AMNH catalogue as a Heiltsuk Moon mask. Again, this is certainly Boas', rather than Powell's, interpretation (see Wardwell 1978: 59). According to John R. Swanton, though, AMNH 16/594 was one of the "scores of masks taken from the [Queen Charlotte] Islands." (Swanton was an ethnologist with the Bureau of American Ethnology and a specialist on the Haida.) Swanton said the mask was a "representation of cumulus-clouds, the clouds being indicated by white triangular marks" (1905: 144). As Holm points out, Swanton has misread the design; the "white triangular marks" are actually the negative spaces formed by the positive elements of the design, which are blue feather forms. Holm goes along with Swanton to some extent, though, and says that the mask "could be seen as either Bella Bella or Haida" (1976: 42). Holm's statement is based on formal considerations; we do not know why Swanton thought the mask was Haida. It is yet another example of the confusion over provenance and meaning that is evident in Powell's collection and its interpretation.

One object typifies the problems about provenance that we have noted in much of Powell's AMNH collection: the "Large Canoe" (Fig. 16) described on the packing list as "dug out of one tree, Bella-bella Nation or tribe opposite Queen Charlotte Island, Hiletsuck."<sup>35</sup> According to

Wardwell (1978: 24), this is "the largest, best preserved, most beautifully made and painted canoe in any collection" and "one of the great monuments of Northwest Coast work, as symbol of the spectacular culture of these seafaring people." It does not appear as Heiltsuk in the AMNH records. Even though Powell specifically identified it as Heiltsuk, when the canoe was first displayed in the AMNH in 1899 suspended from the ceiling in the North Pacific Hall, it was identified as a "Haida Canoe . . . [made by] the Bella Bella Tribe of Indians living opposite Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia" (Jonaitis 1988: 80, 206, 211). In 1910 it was positioned on the floor in the centre of the Hall and a life group representing a Chilkat chief and his entourage going to a potlatch was installed in it (Jonaitis 1988: 219).<sup>36</sup> Exemplifying the usual confusion about the identity of the Heiltsuk people and their art, the canoe was then presented as an example of Haida technology, Heiltsuk craftsmanship, and Tlingit (Chilkat) culture. A Tsimshian provenance was also suggested; Swan thought that the canoe was "made on the Skeena River near Port Essington."<sup>37</sup> In yet another version, an AMNH article about the canoe states that it was "obtained from the Haida Indians at Queen Charlotte Islands through Dr. I. Powell [and] . . . brought to Victoria by the Haida Indians from Killisnoo [Alaska], the port of the Queen Charlotte Islands."<sup>38</sup> As were many

of the objects in the collection Swan made for the NMNH, the canoe was confusingly labelled because of the indirect manner of its acquisition.

Like many objects in Swan's collection, too, the canoe illustrates the lack of knowledge about the Heiltsuk Nation, and the tendency to group the Heiltsuk with other Northwest Coast nations. For example, there have been a number of opinions concerning the style of the canoe. Emmons thought that the canoe "resembles in form and style of painting the canoes of the Haida," even though it was made by the Bella Bella (1905: 136). According to Jonaitis, the canoe "was probably made by the Haida" and "decorated by a mainland group" (1988: 81). Of course, there is the usual confusion between the Kwakwaka'wakw and the Heiltsuks. Inverarity (1950: fig. 239) wrote that, "although this canoe is the typical Haida shape, it was made by the Kwakiutl." The carving and painting on the bow and stern of the canoe are Heiltsuk in style and Powell's statement of provenance is clear. In fact, Powell mentioned seeing a large canoe near Bella Bella in 1879 and the AMNH canoe may be the one described in his DIA report:

The Bella-Bella's are adept at canoe manufacture and derive considerable profit from barter and sale of them. I was shown a very large and highly ornamented war canoe capable of carrying one hundred people. It was dug out of a cedar tree, and measured 68 feet in length, 8 feet 4 inches beam and 4 feet 6 inches depth of hold. [Powell 1879: 113]<sup>39</sup>

There is no reason to believe that the canoe was made by anyone other than the Heiltsuk.

In all other cases, however, the reasons for assigning Heiltsuk provenance to objects in the Bishop-Powell collection are not evident. We really do not know where the objects that are identified as Heiltsuk came from. Neither do we not know the authorship of the descriptions of the Heiltsuk objects in the AMNH records. At least some of the objects did arrive at the AMNH with labels provided by Powell. For example, for Tsimshian mask 16/578, the Museum record reads "Mask - Moon, according to Dr. Powell's label, 'A WOOD DEMON,' the BILTULA represents their Q'OMGOMKILIL in the same way, Tsimshian."<sup>40</sup> The identification "Wood Demon" clearly comes from Powell. The interpretation of the Tsimshian mask 16/578 as representing the "Moon" is probably Boas'. The rest of the description, which gives a Nuxalk name, is probably also from Boas. There is no doubt that the Bishop-Powell catalogue was written by Boas, who used Nuxalk terms in several instances, but it is not known how much of the documentation originated with Powell and how much was based on Boas and Hunt's knowledge of Heiltsuk art and culture. Boas did not think highly of Powell's knowledge and refused the Superintendent's offer of assistance when he visited British Columbia in 1886 (Rohner 1969: 51-52,

Jonaitis 1988: 72). It is therefore likely that Boas would question any information from Powell.

Powell's Heiltsuk material entered the Museum between 1880 and 1885, and the objects may have been collected before that. Like Swan's collection for the NMNH, it is one of the earliest from Bella Bella area. The two collections are different in many ways, as has been noted. Powell's Heiltsuk collection includes object types and art styles not found in Swan's and a higher proportion of objects appear to have been made for use in the community. The lack of clear documentation about origin and function is, however, common to both of these early collections. The data that at first appears to indicate firm Heiltsuk provenance proves on examination of the museum records to be ambiguous. In Swan's collection, the Heiltsuks become confused with the Tsimshian; in Powell's collection, objects that are supposed to be Heiltsuk have Nuxalk names. Heiltsuk identity is obscured in both.

#### George T. Emmons Collection

Lieutenant George Thornton Emmons (1852-1945) of the United States Navy was "by far the most active and successful" collector of Northwest Coast artifacts," according to anthropologist Edmund Carpenter. A significant portion of all of the catalogued Northwest

Coast objects in museums was collected by Emmons (Carpenter 1976: 63, Wardwell 1978: 26). Not surprisingly, he was the source of one of the largest collections of Northwest Coast artifacts in the AMNH.

Emmons was stationed in Alaska and collected mostly Tlingit material. (For accounts of Emmons' career and collecting activities, see Conrad 1978, de Laguna 1991, Jonaitis 1988: 87-113, Low 1977, Low 1991, Wardwell 1978.) Of the over fifty-two hundred objects he sold to the AMNH (de Laguna 1991: xix), only twenty-five metal bracelets (E1811 following), two dentalia shell necklaces (E895, E1895), and a wooden club (E1932) are catalogued as Bella Bella (AMNH accession file 1894-15). (See Appendix B.) The Heiltsuk objects appear in the 1894 accession file, which is the collection Emmons made for the Alaska exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (de Laguna 1991: xix). According to Wardwell, they were part of the first Northwest Coast collection that Emmons "obtained in and around Sitka between 1882 and 1887" and sold to the Museum in 1888 (1978: 26).<sup>41</sup>

The artifacts are catalogued as Bella Bella but precisely where Emmons acquired them is not stated in the AMNH records. His material is for the most part very well documented;<sup>42</sup> the sources of the objects he collected are not. Anthropologist Jean Low observes that,

Emmons has not left a great deal of information on his sources of supply . . . . It is usually

possible to trace only a few pieces from the native sources to their final resting places in museums, or to know how they were acquired and from whom. Emmons collected vast numbers of things personally, but as time went on his sources became more diffuse. [1991: xxxi]

The Heiltsuk material may have been collected in Alaska from the Tlingit or from other sources but known to have originated in Bella Bella. Emmons may have visited Bella Bella on his travels. Alternately, he may have acquired the Heiltsuk artifacts from other collectors or purchased the objects from curio dealers in Victoria, where he spent time and, eventually, settled. He did employ missionaries (such as Archdeacon W. H. Collison of Kincolith), government agents, commercial dealers, First Nations people, and others to get information and artifacts for him. Dr. Charles Frederick Newcombe, a Victoria naturalist and artifact collector, purchased artifacts from Victoria curio shops and also on his field trips to Haida Gwaii and sold or traded them to Emmons (Hunter 1988: 5-6). Emmons himself purchased "quite a number of specimens" from Samuel Kirschberg, a Victoria dealer.<sup>43</sup>

The Heiltsuk bracelets that Emmons sent to the AMNH are C-shaped bands of copper and brass. Six different styles are represented: heavy, plain bands of hammered copper that are slightly square in cross section; bands of two strands of copper twisted together; thin, rounded bands of brass; bands of brass which are square in profile

and incised on the outside to mimic twisted copper; bands of two strands of brass twisted together; squared bands of brass incised with a pattern of triangles and parallel lines.<sup>44</sup> These kinds of bracelets were a standard medium of potlatch payment among the Kwakwaka'wakw in the nineteenth century (Holm 1983: 122), and they would have circulated among all the language groups of the Northwest Coast. Swan collected some from Fort Wrangell, Fort Rupert, Fort Simpson, and Bella Bella for the NMNH (Niblack 1888: Pl. VI). Swan's examples from Bella Bella are plain, squared bands of copper and are described as "similar to those worn north" (ibid: 262). Many of these bracelets may have originated at Bella Bella, if Emmons' information is accurate. The AMNH catalogue entries for E/2303-E/2305 say that the bracelets were from Bella Bella, worn by both men and women, made from metal procured from Europeans, and traded up the coast.<sup>45</sup>

The other Bella Bella artifacts in Emmons' collection, two dentalia shell necklaces (E/895-E/1895) and a wooden club (E/1932), are as generic in type as the metal bracelets. Dentalia shells were highly prized and valuable. They were traded along the coast and into the interior and, like the metal bracelets, were widely distributed. The wooden club is a simple form, spherical on one end, carved with the image of an four-legged, tailed animal (an otter?). Again, this is a form of fish

club that has extensive distribution on the Northwest Coast. Where Emmons obtained these objects and why they are identified as Bella Bella is not obvious from the AMNH documentation.

Emmons was very knowledgeable about the Tlingit. He lived close to them, knew their language, and studied their culture almost all his life. He would not, however, have had extensive knowledge about Heiltsuk culture. Whether or not the objects from Bella Bella were obtained by Emmons in Alaska or elsewhere, they are interpreted in terms of Tlingit culture in the AMNH catalogue. The plain bracelets, for example, are called EEAKEESE, the others simply KEESE. This is the Tlingit word for bracelet, "Ki's" (Emmons 1991: 248).<sup>46</sup> The documentation of the few Heiltsuk objects collected by Emmons, therefore, illustrates once again how artifacts from Bella Bella have been absorbed into the material culture of other Northwest Coast groups.

#### Boas-Hunt Collections

Franz Boas Purchases. Franz Boas (1858-1942) joined the AMNH as Assistant Curator of the Ethnological Division in 1895. His curatorial policies, scientific work, and profound influence on anthropology in the United States have been discussed in depth by Jonaitis (1988: 115-217);

see also Cole 1985: 141-164, Jacknis 1985, Jonaitis 1992, Wardwell 1978: 28-33. The present study focuses on Boas' Heiltsuk ethnographic and artifact collections and their documentation. His identification of some of Powell's artifacts has already been discussed, with the observation that Heiltsuk culture was interpreted in terms of another linguistic group (Nuxalk) with which Boas was more familiar at the time. Boas went on to greatly expand his knowledge and to make collections of objects, histories, stories, and data based on scientific principles.

The Heiltsuk, however, continued to be somewhat peripheral to his focus and he continued to define their culture in terms of other groups, primarily the Kwakwaka'wakw. Because Heiltsuk and Kwakwala are both Northern Wakashan languages, his linguistically-based scheme of cultural classification meant that the Heiltsuk became commonly known as the "Northern Kwakiutl" and, although their ceremonial importance as the originators or disseminators of the hamatsa and other rituals is stressed in Boas' writings (e. g., 1895: 427), their art and traditions are often interpreted in Kwakwaka'wakw terms. Because of his great influence on anthropology, Boas' relegation of the Heiltsuks to the periphery of Northwest Coast studies was a major factor in their subsequent marginalization in the literature.

Museum records indicate that Boas himself purchased only six objects from Bella Bella: AMNH 16/781 (accession file 1869-90-105A), AMNH 16/782 (accession file 1869-90-105), AMNH 16/962 (accession file 1895-4), AMNH 16/8379 - 16/8380 (accession file 1900-15). The first four of these are dramatic masks; the last two are house posts. All were acquired before 1901, but it was not until 1923 that Boas did sustained field work in Bella Bella.

AMNH 16/781 is a two-part mask painted blue, black, and red on an unpainted background.<sup>47</sup> The main element is a face with a large beak, square on the front edge, that curves over the bottom lip to the chin. At the top of the head, a rounded, projecting rim rises above the heavy dark brows. With the mask is a separate piece - a rounded snout with a wide mouth and large teeth - that fits over the lower part of the face. AMNH records describe the mask as "Double mask, Killer and man, used by gens HALG'ENOK (Delphinus Orca), collected at Bella Bella, Heiltsug." HALG'ENOK is the Killer Whale division of the Heiltsuk. (In The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, Boas spells it Ha'lx'aix.tenox [1895: 323].) Why the face with the large beak is called a "man" is not explained, but the mask clearly was used to portray the transformation of a supernatural being or ancestor into a killer whale.

The other mask in this accession, AMNH 16/782, is from Bella Bella but identified in the AMNH record as Tsimshian, not Heiltsuk. Boas called it "Mask KOMOKWA'S SLAVE used by gens HALGENOK, collected at Bella Bella, Tshimshian." Like AMNH 16/781, the mask was used by the Killer Whale division of the Heiltsuk and may represent a killer whale. It is a deeply-carved humanoid mask painted black with red and white details. The nostrils, lips, and the rectangular ears are red. The eyes and area around the mouth are white, as are four horizontal bands (one on each cheek and on either side of the forehead) painted to represent mouths with teeth. The toothy mouths and white-and-black colour scheme may be interpreted as characteristics of a killer whale slave of KOMOKWA (or Q!o'magwa, which is the spelling Boas uses in Bella Bella Tales [1932: 53]), who is the Chief of the Sea.

Other aspects of the mask imply a more complex meaning. Along the bottom edge of each of the painted mouths is a curved strip of wood, painted black with thin red vertical stripes. A short, thick piece of wood has been affixed vertically to the centre of the forehead between the two wooden strips. The top of the nose, just below the vertical piece of wood, is deeply notched. The mask is on display so it cannot be examined closely, but it is possible that it is another type of transformation mask. The notch at the top of the nose may have held an

additional element, perhaps a piece of wood or cloth, that could be made to move up and down to expose the painted mouth designs on the face. There is a Heiltsuk mask in the Field Museum (FMNH 19938, collected by C. F. Newcombe in 1905) with a similar arrangement. The Tsimshian origin claimed for this mask does not negate Heiltsuk ownership and use. It may have been acquired through trade, war, or as part of a marriage payment and incorporated into the Heiltsuk ceremonial system.

It is not clear when the two masks discussed above were acquired. The other two masks that are described in AMNH records as Boas Purchases, AMNH 16/962 - 16/963, were collected by Boas in 1894 and accessioned in 1895. AMNH 16/962 (Fig. 6) can be described as a grotesque-type mask. Used in this context, the term 'grotesque' is not pejorative, but denotes the inventive forms and exaggerated features of a class of dramatic masks that represent powerful super-natural beings. The mask is dramatically carved, with round eyes, a pronounced snout with round nostrils, clearly defined cheek ridges, and a mouth with protruding lips set low in the face. Bands of ochre and black surround the mouth. Just under the cheek ridges runs a band of unpainted wood with a line of red circles outlined in black and there is an ochre circle on each side of the nostrils as well. The protruding forehead is topped with bear fur 'hair.' AMNH records

describe the artifact as, simply, "mask, face, Kwakiutl, Bella Bella." Hilton (1990: 318) says it represents "the Zunuq'wa, an ogress of great strength whose mouth is rounded in creation of her fearsome cry."<sup>48</sup> This mask is similar in several details to the mask collected by Powell that is identified in the AMNH records as "PAKWUSH, mythological monkey evidently BEKUSH - man, particularly a spirit living in the sea, Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/597). Both masks have well defined cheek ridges, rounded mouths, snout-like noses, and black and red colour schemes. Both may represent Dzunukwa. On the other hand, Powell's mask is somehow associated with "a spirit living in the sea" and Boas' may be as well. Lines of circles like those around the mouth area are a conventional representation of the suckers of the octopus, or devil fish, and representations of maritime supernatural beings often feature images of sea creatures. Is this Dzunukwa of the Sea? Such a supernatural being appears in a painting by the Kwagwł artist, Mungo Martin (RBCM 14501). The imagery of that painting is explained by Macnair, Hoover, and Neary (1980:74):

. . . the Dزونokwa carrying her child in a basket on her back is normally associated with the land. However, by painting fin-like elements on her temple and cheeks . . . , the artist has conceived her as an ocean-dwelling counterpart of the more familiar Wild Woman of the Woods.

The sucker-like circles on the cheeks of AMNH 16/945 may be equivalent to the fin-like designs on Martin's Dzunukwa of the Sea. There is no data with the mask to clarify its meaning.

The second mask collected by Boas in 1894, AMNH 16/963, is a forehead mask in the shape of a fantastic bird's head with pronounced tubular nostrils and a beak that curves down to touch an articulated mouth. The mouth can be made to open and shut by means of a string that passes from the underside of the jaw through the nostril. The mask is shiny black overall (possibly graphite), with red ochre details.<sup>49</sup> Unpainted wood defines the eye area, three curved lines at the sides of the mouth, and an image of a face on the underside of the jaw. The 'hair' is bear fur. This mask is described in the accession record as "representing the Cannibal spirit BAXBAKUALANUXSINOE, Bella Bella." The mask appears in Boas' The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians as one of the masks representing Baxbaxalanusiwae and its use in the Kwakwaka'wakw, not Heiltsuk, hamat<sup>7</sup>sa ceremony is outlined (1895: Pl. 30, 447).<sup>50</sup> The tribal designation is not given in the book; the mask has been published as a Heiltsuk Cannibal bird mask, perhaps a version of Crooked Beak (Wardwell 1978: 62).<sup>51</sup> A pencilled notation in the AMNH accession record has changed the designation Bella Bella to Bella Coola,

however, and the mask is listed as Bella Coola in the AMNH catalogue. The change is not dated and an explanation is not given.

The above discussion reveals that all four of the Heiltsuk masks purchased by Boas have enigmatic documentation. One reason for this is that they were purchased from middle-men, not at Bella Bella. When or how the masks AMNH 16/781 and AMNH 16/782 were acquired is not stated. Given the accession number (1869-90), they were probably collected on Boas' trips to British Columbia in 1886 and/or 1888. There is no evidence, however, that Boas visited Bella Bella on either of those occasions.<sup>52</sup> The other two Heiltsuk masks described in AMNH records as Boas Purchases, AMNH 16/962 - 16/963, were collected in 1894. AMNH 16/962, the 'grotesque' mask, is known to have been purchased in Victoria, possibly from Emmons (Hilton 1990: 318).<sup>53</sup> Its path from Bella Bella to Boas is not recorded. Like many ethnographic specimens in circulation at the time, it may have come through the Victoria collector C. F. Newcombe (with whom both Boas and Emmons had dealings), from a Victoria curio shop, or from a HBC trader. There is no documentation for a Bella Bella visit on Boas' 1894 trip, either, so the second mask collected by Boas in 1894, the Cannibal Bird mask AMNH 16/963, may also have been purchased in Victoria.

Victoria, however, was not a fertile research area.

As Boas wrote in 1889,

despite the great number of Indians living in town . . . is not the place to learn much about the Indian. We have to seek him out in his own country where he lives according to his old customs, not influenced by European civilization.<sup>54</sup> [Rohner 1969: 6]

Boas learned very little about Heiltsuk traditions on his first trips to British Columbia. His early investigations into Heiltsuk culture appear to have been restricted to second-hand information. In Victoria, he heard some Heiltsuk stories from the Oweekeno wife of a HBC trader. On the steamer returning to Victoria from a trip to Alert Bay, he met a girl from the Bella Bella mission. "At her request, and so that I could learn the language," wrote Boas, "I taught her how to take down folk tales, and she promised to collect some for me." Also on the steamer he encountered Mr. Clayton, the storekeeper at Bella Coola and Bella Bella, who promised to "make some inquiries" for Boas in Bella Bella and "get a few things" which he needed to complete his collections (Rohner 1969: 45, 48-49). One wonders if Clayton was the source of the masks AMNH 16/781 and AMNH 16/782.

Bella Bella, a rapidly-changing mission centre in the 1880s, was not one of the communities untouched by "influences of European civilization," so Boas was initially less interested in it than he was in more remote

settlements.<sup>55</sup> What he had heard about Heiltsuk language and culture must have intrigued him, however, for when he returned to British Columbia in 1888 to conduct research for the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), first-hand experience with Heiltsuk culture was on his agenda. In fact, he planned to focus on the Heiltsuk during that trip. He wrote to Horatio Hale, head of the BAAS' Committee for the Study of the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, that he would go first to Alert Bay and then "proceed to Bella Bella and devote my attention to the little known tribes of that district."

There is no evidence that he did so. He encountered a missionary going to Bella Bella on the steamer going north in June, 1888, but Boas seems not to have stopped at the village himself. Returning to Victoria on the steamer he met "a Bella Bella who is willing to tell me things." In a letter to his family he reported that "The Bella Bella turned out to be pretty good. Through him I have been able to complete the list of tribes and am acquiring quite a good vocabulary."<sup>56</sup> There is no mention of visiting Bella Bella himself. On another research trip in 1894, Boas stopped briefly at Klemtu (China Hat), the Xixís village on Spindle Island north of Bella Bella, on his way to Port Simpson but seems once again to have by-passed Bella Bella (Rohner 1969: 81, 88, 152). The brief, cryptic descriptions of the Heiltsuk masks in the purchase

accessions up to 1894 support the thesis that Boas had little direct experience with the Heiltsuk at the time.

Later, in 1897, Bella Bella was one of communities studied by researchers hired by Boas for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (JNPE), a series of research trips organized by Boas and financed by Morris K. Jesup, the president of the AMNH, with the purpose of studying relationships between the aboriginal cultures of Siberia, Alaska, British Columbia, and Washington State (Jonaitis 1988: 154-213, Cole 146-48, Wardwell 1978: 29-30). Even then, Boas' own involvement with Bella Bella seems to have been minimal. The ethnographic information and artifacts acquired for the AMNH in the course of the JNPE seems to have come, once again, primarily from others (Kendall, Mather, and Miler 1997: 31-32). Boas' colleagues on the JNPE trip to Bella Bella were George Hunt, Livingston Farrand, and Harlan I Smith. These men, and the JNPE Heiltsuk research and artifacts, will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Only two artifacts from Bella Bella are accessioned as Boas Purchases resulting from the JNPE. In 1900, the house posts AMNH 16/8379 and 16/83800 were purchased from the missionary at Bella Bella, Dr. R. W. Large. Large had gone to live permanently at Bella Bella in December, 1898. He had either encountered Boas on the Coast or had corresponded with him about collecting First Nations

artifacts and the stories they illustrate. (For an account of Large's time at Bella Bella and the Heiltsuk collection he made for the Ontario Provincial Museum [now the ROM], see Black 1997.) Large wrote the following letter to Boas in New York on November 26, 1900:

You will remember having asked me to try and purchase a couple of the houseposts at Bella Bella and offering \$20 for them. A favorable time came a few days ago as the owners were in need of money and I made the purchase. The posts are on the wharf ready for shipment today or tomorrow so that they ought to reach you soon after you receive this note. I shall be pleased to receive the \$20 at your earliest convenience as I had to pay for the posts at once. Have not had time as yet to work on their Legends etc., but am hoping for more leisure shortly. [AMNH accession file 1900-15]

The posts came from a house at 'Qélc that is called "house number one" in the AMNH records. Two interior posts from the same house were sold by Large to the Ontario Provincial Museum (ROM 963X149, ROM 966X84.160).

One of the AMNH posts represents a bear with a smaller bear held between its paws, the other a killer whale. Both supported the transverse roof beams of the house. The Bear post (AMNH 16/8379), which stood at the front of the house in the northeast corner, held the roof beam in a rectangular notch between the ears of the large bear. The Killer Whale post (AMNH 16/8380) is from the back northwest corner of the house. The body of the whale is bent double so that the tail is beside the head and the dorsal fin rises vertically. The fin is notched to

receive the roof beam. The ROM Killer Whale post (ROM 966X84.160), which has the same form but differs in some details,<sup>57</sup> stood at the back of the house in the southwest corner. Large never did get the time to record the "legends" that go with the posts but the imagery suggests they represent the Bear Mother story.<sup>58</sup> The Killer Whale posts would also represent an origin story of the house's owner.

As is the case with the photographs taken on Powell's survey trips, images of the posts now in the AMNH and the ROM are more informative about Bella Bella than the rudimentary documentation provided with the artifacts. Photographs of them were taken by Harlan I. Smith in August 1897 when he was in Bella Bella doing research for the JNPE (Fig. 17). Smith's photographs of the Bear posts show that the house was no longer lived in at the time. It had no roof and was used to store both traditional Heiltsuk canoes and European-style boats. North of the house, a long pier where steamers could tie up juts into the water. European-style buildings and sail boats are also part of the scene (AMNH negatives 42852, 42854, see Black 1997: 97, fig. 23). The same mix of traditional Heiltsuk and European cultures is illustrated by photographs of the Killer Whale posts, which show the back of the house. In the photograph of the ROM Killer Whale post (AMNH negative 42855), the end of a large canoe,

wrapped in cedar-bark matting to keep the wood from drying out, can be seen. In the photograph of the AMNH post, the end of another canoe is visible, as is the bell tower of the Methodist church building on the hill behind the house. Trees and bushes are growing around both the tower and the post, indicating that much of 'Qélc was uninhabited (AMNH negative 42853, see Black 1997: 98, fig. 24). Most of the people were moving to the new site of Waglisla at this time. A few years later, other photographs showing the Bear posts were taken by C. F. Newcombe (RBCM PN143, RBCM PN482) and by Winter and Pond, commercial photographers based in Juneau (Alaska State Library 87-1350, see Wyatt 1989: 134, fig. 88). Only the main beams of the house remained when these photographs were taken. Shortly thereafter, the posts were taken down.

Forty years after Large sold the posts to the AMNH and the Ontario Provincial Museum, Drucker published a drawing showing two Killer Whale posts of identical design (1940: 209). Moses Knight, an 'Isdaítxv man living at Bella Bella, made the drawing and described what it represented:

Posts and screen of a potlatch house (Istetx Bella Bella). These Killer Whale posts are used for the potlatch following a performance of the dluwulaxa society. The screen behind which the novices and masks are kept is shown extending between the posts. . . .

Although Large did not record it, the Killer Whale posts are 'Isdaítxv crests, and perhaps 'Isdaítxv in style.

The photographs of the house posts in situ, Large's letter about their purchase, and Knight's drawing and explanation of one of their functions document the posts' origin. The above discussion has demonstrated that the Heiltsuk masks accessioned by the AMNH as Boas Purchases have more tenuous provenance. What all the artifacts in the Boas Purchase accession file have in common is that they seem to have been acquired from middle-men and have minimal, and sometimes confusing, information attached to them in the AMNH records and catalogue.

George Hunt Collections. Some Heiltsuk artifacts in the AMNH were acquired as a result of the JNPE and accessioned as George Hunt Collections (accession file 1899-50, JNPE; accession file 1901-32, JNPE). George Hunt (1854 - 1933), the son of an English HBC trader and a high-ranking Tongass Tlingit mother, was a life-long resident of the Kwaguł community of Fort Rupert and was considered by Boas to be Kwakwaka'wakw (Berman 1996: 226-31). He worked with several artifact collectors, including Powell in 1879 and the Norwegians Adrian and Phillip Jacobsen in 1881-85. Boas met Hunt in Victoria in 1888 and in 1891 hired him to acquire objects for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. (For a detailed discussion of Hunt's collecting

activities, see Jonaitis 1988: 171-84, Jacknis 1991, Berman 1996.) As Boas himself spent only brief periods in First Nations communities and was not fluent in aboriginal languages (Rohner 1969: xxvii, xxiv), Hunt's contribution was fundamental to the ethnographic work. He became Boas' indispensable field assistant and most important source of information and artifacts. Hunt was, in effect, the architect of the anthropological representation of 'traditional' Kwakwaka'wakw society (Cannizzo 1983).<sup>59</sup> His contribution to the specifically Heiltsuk collections and research, however, is difficult to determine.

Of the approximately twenty-five hundred artifacts Hunt collected for the AMNH (Jonaitis 1988: 173), only a small percentage are from Bella Bella. Twenty-three Heiltsuk entries are listed as collected by Hunt during the JNPE. Twenty-one of these came to the museum in accession file 1899-50, JNPE, the remaining two in accession 1901-32, JNPE. (See Appendix B.) All are ceremonial objects; there are nine masks or mask parts, twelve cedar-bark rings, and two whistles. The photographs of the house posts discussed above illustrate some of the great changes that were taking place at Bella Bella during the period of the JNPE. Despite, or perhaps because of, the Westernization and relocation that were under way, Hunt was able to get the kinds of old, used, 'authentic' ceremonial objects that Boas had requested.

Boas had definite ideas about the kinds of things that he wanted for the AMNH. In his general instructions to Hunt about what and how to collect, he emphasized masks and cedar-bark objects and stressed the importance of getting old, traditional things. The Heiltsuk artifacts in the George Hunt Collection conform to these desiderata. Boas also stressed documentation. He wanted to know the native name for each piece, where it was from, information about its use, and the "tales and songs" that went with it (Jacknis 1991: 190). Perhaps because he saw material culture as expressions of the culture as a whole (Berman 1996: 220-21), the names of artists and donors were not important and do not accompany the artifacts. For Boas, the texts - the stories, or ideas, underlying the artifacts - were the primary data (Darnell 1992, Berman 1996). The Heiltsuk masks, cedar-bark rings, and whistles that are part of the George Hunt Collection are discussed in detail in Kwakiutl Texts (Boas and Hunt 1906: 422-46).<sup>60</sup> Although they were not conceptually integrated with the AMNH's other Heiltsuk material catalogued by Boas (objects documented as Heiltsuk are illustrated, quite out of context, in Boas' The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island [1909]), the specific names and origin stories recorded by Hunt for the Heiltsuk objects indicate that he did attempt to convey the meaning of the objects in Heiltsuk history and ceremonial traditions.

In addition, Hunt used an aboriginal taxonomy for the objects. He classified most as belonging either to the *ts'e'ts'aega* (*cicaiga*, usually called *caíga*) or *lao'laxa* (*dhuwláxa*), the main divisions of the Heiltsuk ceremonial season (AMNH catalogue). In the Heiltsuk view, this is a primary distinction. The *caíga* (Shamans') series of ranked dances is the winter dance proper. Dyed red cedar bark is its sacred symbol. The *tánis*, or *hámača*, dance is its highest-ranked dance. The *dhuwláxa* (Returned from Heaven, or Coming Down Again) series is performed after the *caíga* series is over. Performances in both series of dances dramatize encounters between a supernatural being and an ancestor of the person who has the hereditary right to perform the dance. Initiates into the dance societies are abducted by supernatural beings and become possessed by the supernaturals. In the case of the *tánis* dance, for example, the initiates are abducted and possessed by the Cannibal spirit, *Báxvbakválanúsiwa*, and are overcome with the desire to eat human flesh. The dance performances dramatize the initiates' 'taming' and return to civilization. (For more complete discussions of Heiltsuk Winter Ceremonial see Drucker 1940: 208-11, Hilton 1990 318-19, Kolstee 1988, Olson 1955: 337-338.)

Two of the masks from the *lao'laxa* (*dhuwláxa*) group, AMNH 16/4730 and 16/4798, are similar in appearance. Both are humanoid masks with square faces and green painted eye

areas. Details such as brows, moustaches, and U-forms on the cheeks are painted in black or red ochre. Both have bear fur 'hair.'<sup>61</sup> Close inspection indicates that the bulging brows and mouth of AMNH 16/4730 were carved separately and nailed on and that the egg-shaped eye sockets are also separate pieces of wood. The attached parts would have been made to move during the dance by means of a series of strings. From the top of the head projects an ochre-painted, arrow-shaped stick that was no doubt part of the mechanics; the holes under the right eye and in one of the teeth may have been as well. AMNH 16/4798 lacks moving parts but is otherwise very similar. Hunt describes the masks as "GWETALALAL mask, or Haida dancing mask, LAO'LAXA, Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/4730) and "GWETELALEL mask, number two speaker or Hider dancing mask, LAO'LAXA of Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/4798). Their formal similarities, therefore, are related to their use.

"The Origin of the Haida Dance" is one of the "Traditions of the He'łtsa<sup>ε</sup>q<sup>μ</sup>" recorded by Hunt and published in Boas and Hunt (1906: 424-26). This account tells how Great-River, the chief of the Ō'yala ('Uyalit<sup>χ</sup>v) at Ya'laLe (Yellertlee), obtained the name of a Haida chief, Q!aē'dē (Kyeet), through a liason with Q!aē'dē's daughter. Hunt records that the Haida princess instructed Great-River to "make a figure like my father, so that you may really dance the Haida dance, and that I may give you

the name of my father" and that Great-River had "one carved figure for the Haida dance, and also four carved figures of attendants" (Boas and Hunt 1906: 426). Both the "GWETALALAL mask, or Haida dancing mask" (AMNH 16/4730) and "GWETELALEL mask, number two speaker or Hider dancing mask" (AMNH 16/4798) were probably worn in the dance obtained by Great-River from Q!aē'dē and may have been the "figures" referred to in Hunt's account.

Grotesque-type masks representing the supernatural beings Pkvs, Pgv̄is, and Dzunuk̄wa form another group of masks used in the lao'laxa (dhuw̄laxa) dances and documented in Boas and Hunt 1906. AMNH 16/4736 (Fig. 18a), representing Pk̄vs (Wild Man of the Woods), is a dramatic, deeply-carved mask with heavy brows over recessed eyes, a large, beaked nose extending over a square-shaped mouth with sharp teeth, high cheek ridges, and a prominent chin. Black overall, it has green, red, and white painted details.<sup>62</sup> A piece of coarse sacking and some silver fur remain attached to the top. In the AMNH catalogue, AMNH 16/4736 is described as "Mask, BAKU'S, for LOA'LAXA, Heiltsug, Histaitx" and in Boas (1909: Pl. XXIX) it is described as "Mask representing Woodman."

The origin story of this mask, "BEk!u's (the Woodman)," is another of the "Traditions of the He'ltsa<sup>q</sup>" recorded in Boas and Hunt (1906: 429-31). The

story tells of how Yě'madzālas, a chief of the Hé'sta ('Isda) at T!ā'yasiwē, encountered a Woodman child "with a hooked nose" in the forest, brought the supernatural being to his house, and obtained a dance and songs from it. Yě'madzālas' mask of the Woodman is a distinctive Heiltsuk type. Similar, but undocumented, examples are in the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI 5/9833) and the McMichael Canadian Art Collection (McM 1984.5, Fig. 18b). Hunt also seems to have collected a whistle that was used when the Pkvs mask appeared.

Representations of Pgvīs (Wild Man of the Sea) have been discussed in connection with a mask in the Bishop-Powell Collection, AMNH 16/597. Another 'grotesque' mask used in the lao'laxa (dhuwłáxa) series, AMNH 16/4740 (Fig. 19a), is identified by Hunt as a representation of Pgvīs. In The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island (Boas 1909: Pl. XL) it is described as "Mask representing Merman;" the exhibition label reads "Mask of a spirit of the sea."<sup>63</sup> In the AMNH catalogue it is wrongly described as "Mask, BEKU'S [it should be BEgwē's], for LAO'LAXA, Nu'luwitx of the Heiltsug." The mask has round eyes placed high in the face, wide nostrils, and a large mouth with a protruding lower lip and large teeth. Most of the face is painted green.<sup>64</sup> In the eye areas, along each side of the mouth, and on the curved black bands that extend across each cheek are a number of unpainted circles with red centres.

The mask once had very long stringy 'hair' (Boas 1909: Pl. XL) and dark cloth still hangs in strips from the top of the mask. The green colour, long hair, and tentacle-like dots indicate Pgvis' affiliation with the sea and conform to the description of Pgvis recorded by Boas during his Bella Bella field work in 1923.

The history of this mask was also recorded by Hunt (Boas and Hunt 1906: 436-46). In the account titled "BEgwē's (The Merman)," Hunt says it was obtained by Q!e'xetasa-we, chief at Nō'lo. The chief was a harpooner but at one point was unable to kill any seals and sea otters. His slave dreamt that the chief would be successful in the hunt if he underwent a program of purification, and both chief and slave purified themselves, their hunting gear, and hunting canoe. Not only was the chief then able to kill many seals and sea otters, but he speared a Pgvis from which he acquired the mask, dance, and songs of the Merman.

One of the whistles in AMNH accession file 1901-32, AMNH 16/8414, is called "Whistle, BEKU'S, Heiltsug." Because of the above-noted confusion of the words BEK!u's and BEgwē's in the AMNH catalogue, it may go with either mask AMNH 16/4736, which represents the Woodman (BEK!u's or Pkvs), or AMNH 16/4740, which represents the Merman (BEgwe's or Pgvis). The whistle is a plain cedar horn of the type used in the dhūwłáxa.

Mask AMNH 16/4737 (Fig. 19b) represents Dzunukwa, the Wild Woman of the Woods. This mask's heavy, protruding forehead shadows deep-set, round eyes. The snout and mouth of the mask also protrude, but the centre of the nose is concave and the under-eye areas are recessed. The mask is black with white oval shapes on the protruding brow ridge and a series of curved shapes along the sides of the jaw.<sup>65</sup> The top of the head appears to be covered with cloth.<sup>66</sup> It is catalogued as "Mask, TO'ONO'GOA, for LAO'LAXA, Heiltsug, Ewisitsx" and published as "Dzō'noq!wa Mask" (Boas 1909: Pl. XXXIX). It may be an unusually complex representation of this supernatural creature because it appears to have had a moveable piece attached to the forehead. Holes on either side of the nose are plugged with pieces of dowel and once held cedar-bark rope. Just above these, in the concave part of the under-eye area, are two more holes. The Dzunukwa is always sleepy, so perhaps her eyes could be made to open and shut by means of a piece of cloth pulled over the eyes by cedar-bark strings.

This mask's story is found in Boas and Hunt as well (1906: 431-36). The account, titled "The Dzō'noq!wa," tells how Food-Giver, a chief of the Aēwī'!ēdex<sup>u</sup> (Uwithit<sup>ŷ</sup>v) at Xunē's (Hoonees), obtained the mask, songs, and dance of the Dzunukwa. The chief's daughter was carried away into the mountains by a Dzunukwa and was

rescued by the tribe. The Dzunukwa (who had treated the daughter of Food-Giver kindly) followed the rescuers, was invited into Food-Giver's house, and danced there. Food-Giver announced "that he would keep the dance of the Dzō'noq!wa for the sacred dance" (Boas and Hunt 1906: 436). For a long time, the Dzunukwa remained in the house of Food-Giver. She always danced and was always kind to Food-Giver's daughter. But the Chief's attendants became envious and eventually drove the Dzunukwa away.

The information provided with the lao'laxa (dhuw<sup>2</sup>laxa) masks discussed above includes a detail that is rarely known about Heiltsuk artifacts in museum collections: Hunt recorded the names of the specific Heiltsuk tribe from which the masks originated. The GWETALALAL masks (Haida dancing masks AMNH 16/4730, AMNH 16/4798) belonged an Ō'yala chief at Ya'laLe. The BAKU'S or BEK!u's (Pkvs, Wild Man of the Woods, or Woodman, AMNH 16/4736) belonged to a Histaitx, or Hē'sta, chief at T!ā'yasiwē. The TO'ONO'GOA or Dzō'noq!wa (Dzunukwa or Wild Woman of the Woods, AMNH 16/4737) belonged an A<sup>ε</sup>wi'L!ēdex<sup>u</sup> or Ewisitsx, chief at Xunē's. The BEKU'S or BEGwe's (Pgvis, Wild Man of the Sea, or Merman, AMNH 16/4740) belonged to a chief of the Nu'luwitx at Nō'lo. The names are those of original Heiltsuk-speaking groups that eventually amalgamated at McLoughlin Bay. Ō'yala refers to the 'Uyalitx<sup>v</sup> (seaward people). Yā'laLē is a village site on

Goose Island, once home to a division of the Heiltsuk and still an important resource-gathering place. 'Yisdaitxv refers to the 'Isdaítxv people of the Dean Channel region. Ewisitsx, or A<sup>É</sup>wi'L!édex<sup>u</sup>, indicates the U<sup>2'</sup>withitxv, the people of the Roscoe Inlet region. Xunē's is Hoonees, until the nineteenth century an important Heiltsuk settlement. Nu'luwitx indicates the people of NŌ'lo village, a community on a small island at the southwest end of Hunter Island (Maps 1, 3).

It is probable that each of the Heiltsuk-speaking groups that eventually moved to McLoughlin Bay had their own distinctive art styles and, perhaps, ceremonial prerogatives and iconography.<sup>67</sup> While the grotesque masks now appear similar in many stylistic details (eye shape, pigment, scale, quality of the carving, etc.), they may actually embody separate aesthetic or iconographical traditions. Hunt's recognition of the various Heiltsuk groups and the historical complexities of Heiltsuk culture is reflected in the provenances he recorded. It would be interesting to know if all three masks were actually collected at Bella Bella, or at other Heiltsuk sites.

The use of the names of Heiltsuk tribal divisions in Hunt's descriptions points out a problem with the cataloguing of some Heiltsuk artifacts. For example, AMNH 16/2365, "mask representing Wak'as (Goose Island)" and AMNH 16/2363 "War-Dance mask (Hawi'nalaḷ)" are both

catalogued as "Kwakiutl, A@w!'L!edwex"" (Boas 1909: Pl. XLI) and not, like the majority of the AMNH's Heiltsuk artifacts, "Kwakiutl, Heiltsuk."<sup>68</sup> A@w!'L!edwex" may be a variant spelling of Uwithit<sup>3'</sup>xv. The other descriptions of these masks substantiate a Heiltsuk provenance. Wak'as (Wai'kes, or Wa'kes) is the seventh-ranked chief's name of the Killer Whale division of the Heiltsuk (Olson 1955: 328). Goose Island is seaward of Campbell Island. The reference with the illustration of mask AMNH 16/2365 directs the reader to the story of Ts!e'mqolagas, or the Mother of Dogs (Boas and Hunt 1906:422; Boas 1895: 401) which tells of the origin of the Heiltsuk Winter Dance. Hawi'nala± (Wawinala) is the Heiltsuk War dancer (Drucker 1940: 211, Hilton 1990: 318). These two A@w!'L!edwex" masks, therefore, are undoubtedly Heiltsuk. It is not known at this time how many other Heiltsuk masks are 'missing' because have been catalogued by the proper name of one of the Heiltsuk-speaking group and labelled Kwakwaka'wakw rather than Heiltsuk.

There is a fourth grotesque-type mask, AMNH 16/4731, in the George Hunt Collection (Fig. 20a).<sup>69</sup> It is described in the AMNH records as "Mask, Speaker, GUMISILA, LELOLALAL mask for LEO'LAXA, Heiltsug" (AMNH catalogue) and "GUMISILA or LELOLALAL mask for LEO'LAXA with mouth pieces and skull, Heiltsug" (AMNH accession file 1899-50, JNPE). It is black and skull-like with a little carved

skull attached to the top of the head and a deeply recessed mouth area.<sup>70</sup> Distributed over the mask are large, round, depressions. Five interchangeable mouth pieces come with the mask. Each can be inserted into a hole in the centre of the teeth. The mouth pieces are entered as "Mouths for mask GUMSILS,<sup>71</sup> [GUMISILA], frightens the people and turns the watchers' mouths different ways." In Boas' The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island (1909: Pl. XXXIX), the mask is described as "Mask of Ghost, with Mouthpieces."

The origin story of the mask is given in Boas and Hunt (1906: 426-29). It is another prerogative acquired by Great-River, chief of the Ō'yala ('Uyalitǵv) at Yā'laLē (Yellertlee), who in this story is called Wā'k.as. Hunt recorded that the people became jealous of Wā'k.as and caused his two children to be killed. Then, Wā'k.as went far into the woods where he heard a whistle sound four times and saw a house appear out of the ground. Ghosts were singing in the house and "a man with holes all over his face" appeared and danced.<sup>72</sup> This was Wealth-Maker, chief of the ghosts. Wā'k.as got the dance, which Wealth-Maker's speaker told him preceded in rank the Cannibal dance. When he danced it, "the man with holes all over his face showed himself. That was the face of Wealth-Maker which Great-River [Wā'k.as] wore on his face." Hunt goes on to say the the dance "was given in marriage to

Ō'mx<sup>ε</sup>id [Humchitt] of the Wealthy-in-Middle" (Boas and Hunt 1906: 429).

Philip Drucker, who did field work at Bella Bella in 1938, substantiates Hunt's information. Drucker spells the name Qomisila and says that it designates the "Chief, i.e., of ghosts." He explains that Qomisila is one of four kinds of Luał and gives the name of the dance as Lułal, which is the same word as Boas' LELOLALAL (1938, 44: 8) and describes the dance as follows:

When his whistles blow, the Ghost novice dances four times around the house, then sinks down into the ground (i. e., into a pit prepared in the floor of the house). He is gone four days. His reappearance takes place across the bay; certain people go on rafts to catch him. Two chiefs shoot arrows wrapped with smouldering cedar bark over him. For four nights after his capture he dances in a secular house, where the uninitiated can see him (and again in the dance house before the Shamans?). He wears a dance apron, long bones tied to his arms and legs, and has a human skull bound to the top of his head. He dances bent over at the waist, with arms out-stretched, palms downward. On the fourth night he sinks down into the ground, A certain woman has the right to call him up from the Underworld. She calls; his Spirit (ghost) appears, dances, then disappears. There are four kinds of ghosts which can be displayed: Chief (of ghosts) (qomisila), Always-first (i.e., highest rank) (xyaxyimsiyalsana), Blackened face (tsonisqimix), Ancestor(?) -of-ghosts (liluwolinuh). Then the dancer is called up. After his dance he is confined, to be released from the restrictions gradually. [Drucker 1940: 210]

According to Drucker, the Ghost dance is part of the <sup>2</sup> / <sup>3</sup> / <sup>4</sup> / <sup>5</sup> / <sup>6</sup> / <sup>7</sup> / <sup>8</sup> / <sup>9</sup> / <sup>10</sup> / <sup>11</sup> / <sup>12</sup> / <sup>13</sup> / <sup>14</sup> / <sup>15</sup> / <sup>16</sup> / <sup>17</sup> / <sup>18</sup> / <sup>19</sup> / <sup>20</sup> / <sup>21</sup> / <sup>22</sup> / <sup>23</sup> / <sup>24</sup> / <sup>25</sup> / <sup>26</sup> / <sup>27</sup> / <sup>28</sup> / <sup>29</sup> / <sup>30</sup> / <sup>31</sup> / <sup>32</sup> / <sup>33</sup> / <sup>34</sup> / <sup>35</sup> / <sup>36</sup> / <sup>37</sup> / <sup>38</sup> / <sup>39</sup> / <sup>40</sup> / <sup>41</sup> / <sup>42</sup> / <sup>43</sup> / <sup>44</sup> / <sup>45</sup> / <sup>46</sup> / <sup>47</sup> / <sup>48</sup> / <sup>49</sup> / <sup>50</sup> / <sup>51</sup> / <sup>52</sup> / <sup>53</sup> / <sup>54</sup> / <sup>55</sup> / <sup>56</sup> / <sup>57</sup> / <sup>58</sup> / <sup>59</sup> / <sup>60</sup> / 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<sup>707</sup> / <sup>708</sup> / <sup>709</sup> / <sup>710</sup> / <sup>711</sup> / <sup>712</sup> / <sup>713</sup> / <sup>714</sup> / <sup>715</sup> / <sup>716</sup> / <sup>717</sup> / <sup>718</sup> / <sup>719</sup> / <sup>720</sup> / <sup>721</sup> / <sup>722</sup> / <sup>723</sup> / <sup>724</sup> / <sup>725</sup> / <sup>726</sup> / <sup>727</sup> / <sup>728</sup> / <sup>729</sup> / <sup>730</sup> / <sup>731</sup> / <sup>732</sup> / <sup>733</sup> / <sup>734</sup> / <sup>735</sup> / <sup>736</sup> / <sup>737</sup> / <sup>738</sup> / <sup>739</sup> / <sup>740</sup> / <sup>741</sup> / <sup>742</sup> / <sup>743</sup> / <sup>744</sup> / <sup>745</sup> / <sup>746</sup> / <sup>747</sup> / <sup>748</sup> / <sup>749</sup> / <sup>750</sup> / <sup>751</sup> / <sup>752</sup> / <sup>753</sup> / <sup>754</sup> / <sup>755</sup> / <sup>756</sup> / <sup>757</sup> / <sup>758</sup> / <sup>759</sup> / <sup>760</sup> / <sup>761</sup> / <sup>762</sup> / <sup>763</sup> / <sup>764</sup> / <sup>765</sup> 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<sup>824</sup> / <sup>825</sup> / <sup>826</sup> / <sup>827</sup> / <sup>828</sup> / <sup>829</sup> / <sup>830</sup> / <sup>831</sup> / <sup>832</sup> / <sup>833</sup> / <sup>834</sup> / <sup>835</sup> / <sup>836</sup> / <sup>837</sup> / <sup>838</sup> / <sup>839</sup> / <sup>840</sup> / <sup>841</sup> / <sup>842</sup> / <sup>843</sup> / <sup>844</sup> / <sup>845</sup> / <sup>846</sup> / <sup>847</sup> / <sup>848</sup> / <sup>849</sup> / <sup>850</sup> / <sup>851</sup> / <sup>852</sup> / <sup>853</sup> / <sup>854</sup> / <sup>855</sup> / <sup>856</sup> / <sup>857</sup> / <sup>858</sup> / <sup>859</sup> / <sup>860</sup> / <sup>861</sup> / <sup>862</sup> / <sup>863</sup> / <sup>864</sup> / <sup>865</sup> / <sup>866</sup> / <sup>867</sup> / <sup>868</sup> / <sup>869</sup> / <sup>870</sup> / <sup>871</sup> / <sup>872</sup> / <sup>873</sup> / <sup>874</sup> / <sup>875</sup> / <sup>876</sup> / <sup>877</sup> / <sup>878</sup> / <sup>879</sup> / <sup>880</sup> / <sup>881</sup> / <sup>882</sup> 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<sup>941</sup> / <sup>942</sup> / <sup>943</sup> / <sup>944</sup> / <sup>945</sup> / <sup>946</sup> / <sup>947</sup> / <sup>948</sup> / <sup>949</sup> / <sup>950</sup> / <sup>951</sup> / <sup>952</sup> / <sup>953</sup> / <sup>954</sup> / <sup>955</sup> / <sup>956</sup> / <sup>957</sup> / <sup>958</sup> / <sup>959</sup> / <sup>960</sup> / <sup>961</sup> / <sup>962</sup> / <sup>963</sup> / <sup>964</sup> / <sup>965</sup> / <sup>966</sup> / <sup>967</sup> / <sup>968</sup> / <sup>969</sup> / <sup>970</sup> / <sup>971</sup> / <sup>972</sup> / <sup>973</sup> / <sup>974</sup> / <sup>975</sup> / <sup>976</sup> / <sup>977</sup> / <sup>978</sup> / <sup>979</sup> / <sup>980</sup> / <sup>981</sup> / <sup>982</sup> / <sup>983</sup> / <sup>984</sup> / <sup>985</sup> / <sup>986</sup> / <sup>987</sup> / <sup>988</sup> / <sup>989</sup> / <sup>990</sup> / <sup>991</sup> / <sup>992</sup> / <sup>993</sup> / <sup>994</sup> / <sup>995</sup> / <sup>996</sup> / <sup>997</sup> / <sup>998</sup> / <sup>999</sup> 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<sup>1055</sup> / <sup>1056</sup> / <sup>1057</sup> / <sup>1058</sup> / <sup>1059</sup> / <sup>1060</sup> / <sup>1061</sup> / <sup>1062</sup> / <sup>1063</sup> / <sup>1064</sup> / <sup>1065</sup> / <sup>1066</sup> / <sup>1067</sup> / <sup>1068</sup> / <sup>1069</sup> / <sup>1070</sup> / <sup>1071</sup> / <sup>1072</sup> / <sup>1073</sup> / <sup>1074</sup> / <sup>1075</sup> / <sup>1076</sup> / <sup>1077</sup> / <sup>1078</sup> / <sup>1079</sup> / <sup>1080</sup> / <sup>1081</sup> / <sup>1082</sup> / <sup>1083</sup> / <sup>1084</sup> / <sup>1085</sup> / <sup>1086</sup> / <sup>1087</sup> / <sup>1088</sup> / <sup>1089</sup> / <sup>1090</sup> / <sup>1091</sup> / <sup>1092</sup> / <sup>1093</sup> / <sup>1094</sup> / <sup>1095</sup> / <sup>1096</sup> / <sup>1097</sup> / <sup>1098</sup> / <sup>1099</sup> / <sup>1100</sup> / <sup>1101</sup> / <sup>1102</sup> / <sup>1103</sup> / <sup>1104</sup> / <sup>1105</sup> / <sup>1106</sup> / <sup>1107</sup> / <sup>1108</sup> / <sup>1109</sup> / <sup>1110</sup> / <sup>1111</sup> / <sup>1112</sup> / <sup>1113</sup> / <sup>1114</sup> / <sup>1115</sup> / <sup>1116</sup> / <sup>1117</sup> / <sup>1118</sup> / <sup>1119</sup> / <sup>1120</sup> / <sup>1121</sup> / <sup>1122</sup> / <sup>1123</sup> / <sup>1124</sup> / <sup>1125</sup> / <sup>1126</sup> / <sup>1127</sup> / <sup>1128</sup> / <sup>1129</sup> / <sup>1130</sup> / <sup>1131</sup> / <sup>1132</sup> / <sup>1133</sup> / <sup>1134</sup> / <sup>1135</sup> / <sup>1136</sup> / <sup>1137</sup> / <sup>1138</sup> / <sup>1139</sup> / <sup>1140</sup> / <sup>1141</sup> / <sup>1142</sup> / <sup>1143</sup> / <sup>1144</sup> / <sup>1145</sup> / <sup>1146</sup> / <sup>1147</sup> / <sup>1148</sup> / <sup>1149</sup> / <sup>1150</sup> / <sup>1151</sup> / <sup>1152</sup> / <sup>1153</sup> / <sup>1154</sup> / <sup>1155</sup> / <sup>1156</sup> / <sup>1157</sup> / <sup>1158</sup> / <sup>1159</sup> / <sup>1160</sup> / <sup>1161</sup> / <sup>1162</sup> / <sup>1163</sup> / <sup>1164</sup> / <sup>1165</sup> / <sup>1166</sup> / <sup>1167</sup> / <sup>1168</sup> / <sup>1169</sup> / <sup>1170</sup>

Lu'LaL ("Ghost" dance, or "dance of the dead, i.e., ghosts") is the eighth- or ninth-ranked dance of the <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup> *caíqa* series.

AMNH 16/4806, the other GUMISILA mask in the George Hunt Collection, is different from AMNH 16/4731. Although still skull-like with round, white-rimmed eyes, it is more humanoid in shape. It is painted blue with black, white, and red details.<sup>74</sup> Hunt's descriptions imply that this mask represents the Speaker of the Chief of the Ghosts: "Mask, GUMISILA, Heiltsug?" (AMNH catalogue) and "Speaker of GUMISILA" (AMNH accession file 1899-50, JNPE). Why the Heiltsuk provenance is questioned is not explained. On the evidence of the name, it belongs to the same set and may be another of the four kinds of ghosts mentioned by Drucker (1938, 44: 8).

Two skull masks, AMNH 16/4805 - 16/4805a, are probably also part of the same dance, although they are identified in accession file 1899-50, JNPE, simply as "Mask parts, two skulls." Each is square in shape and painted black except for the nostrils and teeth, which are left unpainted. The round eye sockets are deeply carved and the eye holes are bored. Black fabric with the ends cut into a thick fringe is attached to the tops of the skulls. What mask they are parts of is not specified. It is likely that they go with the mask of the Speaker of the

Chief of the Ghosts, AMNH 16/4806. The skulls indicate that they are for the Lu'LaL (Ghost dance).

Also apparently associated with the Lu'LaL (Ghost dance) is the whistle AMNH 16/8413 (accession file 1901-32) that is described as "Whistle, Q'OMESILA, Heiltsug." Q'OMESILA may be a version of GUMISILA. The different accession date may explain the different spellings. Cylindrical in shape with a tapered mouth piece,<sup>75</sup> this kind of whistle is used in the cáíq̃a, not the dhuw'láx̃a series.

Boas specifically asked for cedar-bark rings and Hunt collected two head rings and two neck rings that also belong to the LuLaL (Ghost dance). The LuLaL rings have small heads or skulls attached to them. Head ring AMNH 16/4732 is constructed of two large coils of twisted cedar bark and has a carved human face affixed to the front.<sup>76</sup> AMNH 16/4734, described as a "head ring with carvings," comes with four small (about 11.5 cm), finely-finished, unpainted wood skulls. They are separate from the ring but can be attached to it by thin metal spikes that protrude from the base of each skull. The neck rings also have wooden skulls attached. On AMNH 16/4733, a single coiled ring with alternating dark and light bands of dyed cedar bark, a wooden skull is attached where each of four long fringes meets the ring.<sup>77</sup> The final neck ring of this series, AMNH 16/4735, is similar but much thicker,

longer (112 cm) and more elaborate than AMNH 16/4733. It has four long, thick fringes and each fringe has two skulls attached, one where it joins the ring and one near the bottom. A cedar-bark figure with wooden skull, hands, and feet hangs at the front of the ring. At the back hangs a wooden skull with arms, legs, and an articulated backbone made of ten wooden cylinders.

The head rings (AMNH 16/4732, AMNH 16/4734) and neck rings (AMNH 16/4733, AMNH 16/4735) are all catalogued as "GUMISILA for TS'E'TS'AEGA." As discussed above, GUMISILA is Qomisila, Chief of the ghosts, whose dance Hunt placed in the dhuw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>á<sup>3</sup>x<sup>4</sup>a series. TS'E'TS'AEGA, however, designates the <sup>2</sup>caí<sup>1</sup>qa series (a variant of cicaíqa), the <sup>1</sup>taní<sup>2</sup>s series of which the Qomisila is a part (Drucker 1938, 44: 8). Ghost dance paraphernalia, then, is assigned to both the dhuw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>á<sup>3</sup>x<sup>4</sup>a and <sup>2</sup>caí<sup>1</sup>qa series. This would be confusing were it not for Hunt's observation that the Ghost dance "is now shown in the winter dance [<sup>2</sup>caí<sup>1</sup>qa] and in the sacred dance [dhuw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>á<sup>3</sup>x<sup>4</sup>a]" (Boas and Hunt 1906: 429). The set of GUMISILA objects is an excellent example of Hunt's attempts to collect related artifacts to illustrate an entire ceremonial context.

There are two more sets of Heiltsuk red cedar-bark rings in the George Hunt Collection. Head rings AMNH 16/4745, AMNH 16/4747, neck rings AMNH 16/4746, AMNH 16/4748, and ankle rings AMNH 16/4749 are also a set and

are arranged in series (Fig. 20b). They are called "Q'OMINAGA, from TS'EMGWALAGAS, first dance after the hemlock wreath, Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/4745 - 16/4746); "Of Q'A'MINAGAR, used in dance following AMNH 16/4745 - 16/4746, Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/4747 - 16/4748); "TS'EMGWALAGAS, anklets for AMNH 16/4745 - 16/4746, Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/4749). TS'EMGWALAGAS is not a name that appears in the ethnographies. Q'A'MINAGAR may be another spelling of Q'OMINAGA. Drucker (1938, 44: 4; 1940: 208) gives the name of the dance as Qoaminoaks or Qoaminokalaḥ and ranks it as sixth in the cáíqa series.

The only information Drucker (1940: 210) was able to get about this Heiltsuk dance was that "The goaminoaks becomes possessed and disappears when the Cannibal novice does, reappearing just before the latter." His account of the Xixis version of the dance, however, is more detailed (1940: 212). In this version, gominoaks is the second dance performance undertaken by an initiate who is progressing through the ranked dances on his way to becoming a Cannibal (tánis) dancer, the highest-ranked of the series.<sup>78</sup> The Qoaminoaks performance illustrates a progression - the taming of the initiate through a series of performances - and Hunt presents the rings as a sequence as well. The changes the Qoaminoaks dancer goes through are symbolized by the form of the cedar-bark rings. The head ring from the first dance of the series,

AMNH 16/4745, is a wide, thick ring of natural and red-dyed cedar bark with a distinctive three-panel appendage on one side. The accompanying neck ring (AMNH 16/4746) has two heavy fringes attached and is similarly massive. The head ring (AMNH 16/4747) used in the next dance is made up of two rings with bow-like details at the back and front. It is much smaller and thinner than AMNH 16/4746. Its neck ring (AMNH 16/4748) is thinner as well. The anklets (AMNH 16/4749) are thin, twisted rings of natural and red-dyed cedar bark with a single 'bow' at one end. This series of rings demonstrates the progression inherent in <sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup> caiga series performances that enact the gradual taming and return to civilization of the initiates.<sup>79</sup>

Two head rings (AMNH 16/4741, AMNH 16/4743) and a neck ring (AMNH 16/7744) in the George Hunt Collection are identified as Heiltsuk. Again, they comprise a set or part of a set. The head rings are described as "Of Goat hunter's TAWI'XILAKU, for TS'ETSAEGA, HEILTSUG" (AMNH 16/4741) AND "TAWIXILAK'S, TAWI'XILAKU for TS'ETSAEGA, used whole on festivals, belongs to 4741, Heiltsug" (AMNH 16/4743). Neck ring AMNH 16/7744 is described as "for 4743." These rings are different from the other Heiltsuk rings in the George Hunt Collection and are yet other examples of the variations in red cedar-bark regalia which seem to have so intrigued Boas. Head ring AMNH 16/4741 is braided; the other two in the set are woven in a

checkerboard pattern. Despite the detailed nomenclature given for these rings, I have been unable to find out more information about the dance or series of dances to which they belong.

The lack of explanatory texts, therefore, can be a problem even for relatively detailed data such as Hunt's. Boas' published writings incorporate some Heiltsuk information, but often - because of Hunt's own background and knowledge - in a Kwakwaka'wakw rather than a Heiltsuk context (e. g., Boas 1895, Boas 1909) or as a footnote to texts from a non-Heiltsuk group (e. g., Boas 1916). Indeed, the most important documentation of the Heiltsuk objects in the AMNH appears as "Traditions of the He'łtsaεq" in Kwakiutl Texts, Vol. 3 (Boas and Hunt 1906: 422-46). If other texts were specifically written to accompany the Heiltsuk objects (and they may not have been, as the following discussion of field work at Bella Bella during the JNPE illustrates), they are not easily retrievable.<sup>80</sup> Ethnographic studies that were done years after the JNPE, such as Drucker's (1938, 1940), Olson's (1955), and even Boas' own Bella Bella field notes (1923) are of limited use for expanding Hunt's descriptions. Therefore, it is difficult to evaluate the amount of Kwakwaka'wakw interpretation that has been imposed on Heiltsuk artifacts and whether or not it is appropriate.

Another problem is that it is not clear where, when, and by whom the Heiltsuk artifacts accessioned as the George Hunt Collection were actually collected. Some of the objects may have been collected in 1897, the first year of the JNPE, even though they were not accessioned until two years later. Bella Bella was a centre of JNPE research in 1897. Boas sent Harlan I. Smith (1872-1940), a young archaeologist at the AMNH, to Bella Bella on August 19. Livingston Farrand (1867-1939), a professor of Psychology at Columbia University, arrived a few days later, perhaps with Hunt.<sup>81</sup> (For information about the careers of Farrand and Smith see Jonaitis 1988 190-97.) One of the 'scientific' goals of the JNPE was to compare the physical characteristics of the aboriginal people of the North Pacific, so Smith and Farrand were instructed by Boas to make measurements, photographs, and castings of people's heads (Rohner 1969: 223, Kendall, Mathe, and Miller 1997). Farrand was to do the ethnographic and linguistic work, recording stories and vocabularies.<sup>82</sup>

Boas seems to have been somewhat anxious about the Bella Bella research. He wrote to his wife, Marie, on August 19 from Port Essington saying that he hoped Smith and Farrand would "be successful" at Bella Bella and "get good material." Near Bella Bella on August 26, on board the steamer returning from the Skeena River, he wrote again saying that "I hope I will catch Smith this morning

in Bella Bella" and "I wonder whether Farrand will be there and how successful he was." Boas' anxieties proved to be well-founded. Smith "had only moderate success," Boas reported to Marie later the same day. He did, however, get "nine masks altogether and the relevant photos" (Rohner 1969: 223, 228, 231). Smith's photographs are frontal, profile, and three-quarter head shots of Heiltsuk people (AMNH neg. nos. 42829 - 42851)<sup>83</sup>, and the images of the posts in 'house number one' at 'Qélc that have already been discussed. Were the nine masks the ones accessioned as part of the George Hunt Collection, accession file 1899-50, JNPE?

Smith and Boas went on to Namu to meet Hunt, who was returning from a successful collecting trip to Bella Coola, and the three of them continued to Rivers Inlet where they recorded stories, made castings, and purchased artifacts. On September 9, Boas again mentioned his concerns about Farrand in a letter to Marie. "I am anxious to know what kind of luck Farrand had in Bella Bella," he wrote. Finally, on September 13, Farrand arrived to join Boas at Rivers Inlet. Boas reported to Marie that "my Bella Bella collections had been put on board [the steamer] at Namu, together with the collection from Rivers Inlet," and although Farrand "did not do very much" in the end, he had "assembled quite a few things" (Rohner 1969: 243).<sup>84</sup> Boas does not say what the "things"

were. Among them may have been the seven "Myths of the Bella Bella" and four "Notes" (fragments of stories) that Farrand recorded and Boas included in Appendix I of his Tsimshian Mythology (1916: 883-88). It is not known what artifacts, if any, Farrand collected.

The JNPE continued until 1902. The emphasis in the later years was on Siberia and Alaska (Freed, Freed, and Williamson, 1988; Kendall, Mathe, and Miller 1997) but Boas and Hunt continued their research and collecting on the Northwest Coast. On January 13, 1899, for example, Boas wrote to Hunt about plans for the coming year. "One of the things I need," he said, "is [Haisla] collections from Gardner's Inlet and Douglass Channel." He suggested that Hunt consider making the trip in the fall (AMNH accession file 1899 - 50). This demonstrates that Hunt probably continued to collect in what he and Boas thought of as "Northern Kwakiutl" territory and that it is possible that he collected Heiltsuk artifacts after 1897.

This discussion of the artifacts identified as Heiltsuk in the AMNH's Boas Purchase and George Hunt Collection accessions has raised many questions about the origin and meaning of the objects. Although Boas insisted on a scientific approach to the study of aboriginal cultures and wanted to document all aspects of the culture and thus fully reveal the context of the artifacts he collected, the Heiltsuk objects in AMNH accession files

1869-90-105A, 1895-4, and 1900-15 (Franz Boas Purchase) are actually not very well documented and not contextualized. The artifacts remain isolated objects.

Hunt's documentation is more complete. As a First Nations person, he had special knowledge of the culture and exceptional access to material. He recorded Heiltsuk names for the objects and dances, Heiltsuk origin stories for the masks he collected, and even identified specific Heiltsuk-speaking groups to which some of the masks belong. He collected sets of related artifacts and the Heiltsuk objects in AMNH accession files 1899-50, 1901-32, and JNPE (George Hunt Collection) do convey a sense of the specific qualities of the Heiltsuk winter dance ceremonies. Nevertheless, as noted above, Hunt's documentation of Heiltsuk objects is not without problems. Some details of language and culture were probably inaccessible to Hunt, and there is the question of how much Kwakwaka'wakw interpretation Hunt overlaid on Heiltsuk material.

As for the other members of the JNPE, Smith recorded a limited number of Heiltsuk people and objects, but he and Farrand were unable to provide the kind of ethnographic texts that Boas wanted to go with the collected objects. It is not clear, either, where and when the artifacts were actually collected.

Junius W. MacMurray Collection

Six Heiltsuk artifacts came to the AMNH in 1946 as part of the Mrs. J. Marvin Wright gift (AMNH accession file 1946-63). The objects in the Wright gift were collected by Major and Mrs. Junius W. MacMurray in the nineteenth century (the date of collection is not known). Most are Plains artifacts collected by Major MacMurray while he was in the United States Army. After his death, Mrs. MacMurray made several trips to Alaska and the Pacific Coast, purchasing artifacts. The Heiltsuk artifacts are said to have been purchased on a trip to Alaska, presumably by Mrs. MacMurray, in 1886. A list of the objects in the AMNH accession file includes the prices paid by MacMurray for "IKTAS from Bella Bella - canoe 50 cents, wand totem \$1.25, basket \$1.25, basket 25 cents, basket 25 cents, masked figure \$1.50." Only one of these objects, though, is actually catalogued as Heiltsuk in the AMNH records: a miniature canoe, AMNH 16.1/2460. This is an unpainted model of a northern-style canoe with a high prow. Further research is required to locate the Bella Bella baskets and masked figure in the AMNH collection.

The remainder of the Heiltsuk objects in this collection may have been catalogued as Tlingit. At least one was. The "wand totem" (AMNH 16.1/2359) is described in the AMNH catalogue as "said to be a least seventy-five

years old (said to be Bella Bella), Tlingit." It is a speaker's staff, 107 cm high, curved at the top. The shaft is carved with three figures - a standing man (at the bottom), a killer whale (in the centre), and a seated man (at the top). Each figure is bordered by two red ochre disc shapes. There is no doubt that this is the wand that MacMurray paid one dollar and twenty-five cents for in 1886. Not only is it stylistically Heiltsuk (compare, for example, ROM 27882 and ROM 27911 which are known to be from Bella Bella), it is described in the catalogue as "said to be from Bella Bella." Despite this evidence, the speaker's staff appears as Tlingit in the museum records because it was collected somewhere on a voyage to Alaska.

MacMurray called the Bella Bella artifacts IKTAS. Cole (1985: 300) explains that,

The Chinook Jargon word ictus or iktahs, literally "thing," usually meant trade foods or provisions; collectors like Dawson, Newcombe, and Emmons employed it more narrowly to mean artifacts.

Another explanation is that it is an interpretation of a Tlingit word and meant to mean "shamans" or "shaman's spirits." Aurel Krause (1979: 305), a German geographer who was living at Klukwan at about the same time as Mrs. MacMurray is said to have collected the Heiltsuk artifacts, uses "Ichta" to mean "shaman." Emmons (1991: 455) gives "Ickt ku-yage" as "spirit of a shaman."<sup>85</sup>

MacMurray's use of this term to describe the Heiltsuk objects can be interpreted as an example of the romanticization of the First Nations that was a common characteristic of the Alaska tourist trade. Travelling to the far northwest, a tourist like MacMurray expected to experience scenes of untamed nature and encounters with exotic aboriginals (Hinckley 1965). Evidence of native belief in shamanism and spirits was part of that perceived exoticism.<sup>86</sup>

MacMurray was a tourist with no museum connections or scientific purpose. One would think that this might be reflected in the kind of objects MacMurray collected and the kind of documentation provided for them. It is true that, with the exception of the label IKTAS, there is no ethnographic information with the Heiltsuk artifacts in the Mrs. J. Marvin Wright gift and no indication of where on the coast the objects were actually acquired. Historian Ted Hinckley (1965: 69) has pointed out that the tourist route up the Inside Passage to Alaska was quite formalized:

During the years that followed [the first organized tourist cruises to Alaska in the early 1880s], many modifications were made in the cruise to Alaska, but its essential course remained approximately the same. The voyage originated at an American port, usually San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, or Port Townsend. The vessels frequently touched at Victoria and at Nanaimo, British Columbia. They reached the Alaskan boundary at Tongass Narrows.

It appears that Bella Bella was not a stop on most of the trips. Were MacMurray's Bella Bella artifacts purchased at Victoria, Bella Bella, Nanaimo, in Alaska, or somewhere else on the coast? It is probable that the model canoe and the baskets were made specifically for the curio trade. Baskets and models were common tourist-trade commodities.

In many ways the MacMurray Collection is like those made by Powell, Emmons, and Boas. It includes at least one object that may be an older, ceremonial artifact (the speaker's staff, AMNH 16.1/2359).<sup>87</sup> It is similarly vague about where the objects came from and how they were used. (Only Hunt, and to a limited extent, Boas, were able to provide more concrete information.) The way the objects were entered into the AMNH catalogue is similarly imprecise. While the motivations and methods of the collectors from whom the AMNH acquired their Heiltsuk material vary enormously, the end results are surprisingly comparable.

## Notes

1. In 1879, Powell's title was Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.
2. That he had other interests did not necessarily mean that Powell was inactive as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He lobbied for the establishment of schools and medical services in First Nations communities and seems to have been attentive to issues such as land disputes and labour problems (see McKelvie 1947: 549-51, Powell 1879, Powell 1881). On the other hand, such people as Governor Douglas and Malcolm Sproat criticized his lack of knowledge about the aboriginal people and his involvement with his own medical practice and other activities (Fisher 1977: 190).
3. In this letter, Bickmore assured Powell that the Canadian government was appreciative of the Superintendent's assistance to the AMNH and that "as a member of their survey . . . has just remarked to me, it would be gratifying to many Canadians to know that there was such an exhibition in this costly [word is unclear] edifice and in the largest city of the new continent" (Bickmore to Powell, October 14, 1880. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94). The member of the survey was George M. Dawson of the Canadian Geological Survey.
4. Powell made another survey trip up the coast in 1881. The purposes of the two official surveys are succinctly described by Dan Savard in a British Columbia Provincial Museum publication (BCPM 1976):

In June, 1879, H. M. S. Rocket left Nanaimo; aboard were the Indian Superintendent of the Province, I. W. Powell, Mr. Anderson, Inspector of Fisheries, Lieutenant Commander Olebar, and a complement of 70 officers and men. The purpose of the trip was to acquaint Powell with those villages under his supervision and to visit the Skeena, where cannery operators were disturbed over missionary interference with the Indian work force. Two years later the same vessel and essentially the same party again embarked on a tour of the coastal villages.
5. On October 5, 1882, Powell wrote to Bickmore about arrangements for shipping a collection to the AMNH via San Francisco. The collection, he wrote, "will make the Bishops Collection a most interesting and complete one so

far as British Columbia is concerned." He went on to say, though, that "I should not like to undertake another work of this kind, and when looking at them this morning I rather felt guilty of want of patriotism in sending the collection out of the country" (AMNH accession file 1869-90-94; see also Cole 1985:84, Jonaitis 1988:73, Wardwell 1978:24).

6. Powell was enthusiastic about Haida art in particular. He praised the "beautiful native workmanship" evident in the silver bracelets worn by young women, the "expertness in carving" evident in argillite work, and "the beauty of carved columns . . . carved from the bottom to the top in a perfect and most elaborate manner." He wrote that, "Being expert imitators they can copy anything . . . and their curios and articles of jewelry show the elaborate work and refined taste of genius." He expressed regret that the missionaries "discourage the erection of poles (these emblems of [the Indian's] birth-right which are the distinguishing marks of every Hydah and T'simpshean village)" and predicted that "it will not be long before these beautifully made devices will be relics of the past" (Powell 1879: 126).

7. As has been noted, the first missionary, Rev. C. M. Tate, arrived at Bella Bella in 1880.

8. Bickmore to Powell, Oct. 14, 1880. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94.

9. In sections of this diary entry, Powell's writing is hard to interpret. The chief's name can be read as "Wee-naghm gie" and the high-ranking woman's name as "Nay-oh-Wan." I think he says that William is Moses' "son" and that the large mask represented the "mother" of the Shell Billa.

10. One suspects that the donors intended the objects to be part of a diplomatic exchange between governments rather than personal gifts to Powell.

11. Powell paid the "Queen" twenty dollars for one mask, ten dollars for another mask, and twenty dollars for a war club. These were high prices; he bought a "Fish mask" at Fort Simpson for five dollars. The high prices may have to do with the standing of the "Queen," because Powell also noted that he was to send her "some badge to distinguish her rank."

12. An account ledger for December, 1881, lists "Amounts paid by I. W. Powell for Indian relics, curios, etc. on account H. R. Bishop, Esq., American Museum." Amounts

include freight charges for shipments on the steamers Otter, Grappler, and Princess Louise. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94.

13. AMNH records include the computerized data base, original accession books, and selected accession files.

14. J. Isaacs and Co. was located on Johnson Street in Victoria, at the corner of Oriental Alley. The store's letterhead reads "J. Isaacs and Co. The Indian Bazaar, Dealers in Indian Curios, Furs, Robes, Guns, and Ammunition."

15. Cole (1985: 83) says that most of Powell's AMNH collection was gathered on the 1881 voyage of H. M. S. Rocket. This may be true of the Haida, Tsimshian, and other objects, but Heiltsuk artifacts may have been collected on other trips as well, particularly the 1879 voyage.

16. Interestingly, flags are mentioned in missionary accounts as symbols of the new Christian (e. g., Tate 1917: 10). The use of national flags in this context underscores the connection between religious and political control of First Nations populations (see Harkin 1988: 232, Black 1997: 56). The text of the speech is given by Powell (1881: 142-43) as follows:

Upon landing, the chief presented me with an address of welcome, and shortly after I met the villagers in the church where speeches were interchanged. The native speakers were most earnest in impressing upon my attention an expression of their various wants and appeared sorry when the interview finally came to an end. As there was much unanimity in their desires, and sameness in their wants, the speech of the first speaker, "Humchit," will be a fair index of those which followed.

"We hope our chief, Dr. Powell, will see that there is a change among the people of Bella Bella.

"We have given up the potlach and the dance. We have no more gambling nor whisky drinking.

"All our people want to become better and do what is right.

"But I am sorry that we cannot build ourselves houses like white people, as we have no lumber, and the nearest place where we can get any is at Fort Simpson 200 miles from here. We think it would be very good if the Queen would put up a saw-mill here, and we would purchase the lumber.

"By this means the people would soon be able to build themselves houses, and we would soon have a nice town here.

"We hope you our chief will help us in the matter.

"Besides Bella Bella, there are many other tribes who would like to have lumber if they could get it at Bella Bella, but they, like us, think it is too far to send to Fort Simpson or Victoria.

"As we have given up all our bad practices we want to give up our old houses too. This is why we ask for a saw-mill.

"We would also like the Queen to send us a large flag for our village."

All asked that the village site should be reserved for them, and that other lands suitable for cultivation might also be allotted.

The rocky and sterile appearance of the country on the north-west coast renders it doubtful, however, if the Commissioner will be able to gratify them in the latter respect.

17. In 1892, Powell sent a collection of photographs of Northwest Coast scenes to the AMNH as part of the Bishop purchase. Among them was a view of "Bella Bella Village" (List of Negatives, August 6, 1892. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94).

18. The figure in the lap-strake rowing boat in the foreground of the photograph is probably one of the crew of the H. M. S. Rocket, who has ferried the photographer across the river to the south shore of McLoughlin Bay.

19. At the time Bishop approached Powell there were few guidelines governing museum acquisitions. "Acquisition procedures were erratic and fortuitous" and were made "according to the whim of persuasive trustees or the fancy of a generous benefactor" (Cole 985: 82). Boas' appointment as Assistant Curator of the Ethnological Division in 1895 ensured that scientific collecting and documentation policies were implemented (see Jonaitis 1988).

20. Bickmore to Powell, October 14, 1880. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94. Also quoted in Cole 1985:82 and Jonaitis 1988: 73. Despite this dictum, Bickmore was anxious to acquire argillite carvings, which were made for the artifact trade (Jonaitis 1988: 72).

21. Three of the paddles (AMNH 16/696, 16/697, 16/700) are painted with freehand formline designs in various combinations of red, green, blue, black, and/or white. A

model canoe complete with sail and paddles (AMNH 16/741) is painted black and white with simple head and tail elements of a bird, probably Raven, drawn freehand on the bow and stern.

22. In the AMNH records, this box is listed as "Kwakiutl - Bella Bella?" so there is some doubt about its provenance. It has been published as Bella Bella (Wardwell 1978: 98) and its style does not argue against a Heiltsuk origin. I have therefore included it with the Bishop-Powell Heiltsuk material.

23. Packing Account of Indian Curios Shipped per Steamer G. W. Elder For and On Account of Prof. Bickmore, Central Park Museum, New York, U.S.A. and Consigned to the Care of D. O. Mills, Esq., San Francisco, August, 1892; Specimens for the Ethnological Department of the American Museum of Natural History, Central Park, New York City for free public exhibition, August 6, 1892. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94.

24. Bickmore to Powell, October 14, 1880. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94.

25. Powell to Bickmore, June 21, 1883. Amnh accession file 1869-90-94.

26. These two masks are different again in style from those discussed above. AMNH 16/601 is a Wolf mask with a rounded snout, straight black brows, black feather designs on the nose and forehead, and blue feather designs on the face. AMNH 16/600 is a humanoid mask with a triangular-shaped face, small mouth, and distinctive eyes with pupils very high in leaf-shaped orbs. Its unpainted background is decorated with ochre crosses outline in white and an ochre band under the thin, black brows. This mask is similar to a Heiltsuk mask collected by Phillip Jacobsen (RBCM 35), but is unique in the AMNH collection. One more mask, AMNH 16/599, was traded to the Carnegie Museum in 1898.

27. Boas went on to say that he would divide the collection into northern, central, and southern groups. The Heiltsuk and "Bilhoola" would be in the central group. He would also make "a new map showing the distribution of tribes instead of the inaccurate one now exhibited." His fee was three hundred dollars. Boas to Bickmore, February 15, 1887. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94.

28. In Wardwell (1978: 46) this mask is published as Nuxalk. Wardwell states that Boas' catalogue notes for this mask refer to it as a "whistling demon."

29. Boas (1898: 32) implies that Sexz and ALk'unta'm are the supernatural beings who give the thoughts to the Masmasala'nix.

30. McIlwraith's spelling is Mesmesalanix (1948: I 39).

31. The ear-like forms each have a hole in the top, suggesting that the mask once had an attachment on the top of the head.

32. These characteristics are typical of Nuxalk humanoid masks as described by Holm (1976: 40-41), and AMNH 16/596 is similar in style to many Nuxalk masks such as the well known Sun mask collected by Boas and Hunt during the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (AMNH 16/1507).

33. The forehead, eye area, sides of the face, and scalloped pattern around the mouth are painted with red dashes over a black background, and the lips and ears are red. Other areas, though, are painted blue and white.

34. On the left (as seen from the front), the eye area is red and the feather form on the cheek is blue. On the right, the colours are reversed.

35. Packing Account of Indian Curios Shipped per Steamer G. W. Elder For and On Account of Prof. Bickmore, Central Park Museum, New York, U.S.A. and Consigned to the Care of D. O. Mills, Esq., San Francisco. August, 1892. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94. I have not been able to find an accession number for the canoe.

36. The making and installation of the Tlingit life group was supervised by Emmons. Since 1960, the canoe has been on display in the 77th Street entrance of the Museum.

37. It has been noted that Powell was one of the collectors that Swan emulated and Swan did help Powell ready his collection for shipment from Victoria. One of the entries in the ledger of December, 1881, which lists the "Amounts paid by I. W. Powell for Indian relics, curios, etc. on account H. R. Bishop, Esq." is "Paid J. G. Swan labelling as per bill." Swan got twenty-seven dollars for his work. AMNH accession file 1869-90-94.

38. "The Haida Canoe" (n.d.). AMNH accession file 1869-90-94. According to Jcnaitis (1988: 81), the canoe was purchased in Port Simpson and paddled by a group of Haidas from the Skeena River to Victoria. See also Cole (1985: 84) for details of the canoe's journey to New York.

39. AMNH records give the maximum length of the canoe as twenty-one meters.

40. Omgomkilika is a Nuxalk name for "one of nine supernatural siblings . . . one of the first men to settle as S'tskiit~~t~~ in the beginning of time . . . one of the first men to settle on the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time . . . [or] Tcimott~~t~~ woman who died about 1915" (McIlwraith 1948: II 603).

41. According to Low (1991: xxx), this collection was, like Powell's, purchased for the AMNH by Bishop. Wardwell (1978: 28) writes that the trustees of the Museum and other wealthy New Yorkers contributed the money.

42. Anthropologist Frederica de Laguna (1991: xix) explains that

His Tlingit collections, especially the two major ones in the AMNH [sold to the Museum in 1888 and 1894], are documented by the most meticulous notes on provenience, function, materials of manufacture, and other information about each piece, including the Tlingit designation. The catalogues of these collections are ethnographies in miniature.

43. Boas to Jesup, November 18, 1896. AMNH accession file 1896 - 42.

44. Three of the bracelets are heavy, plain bands of hammered copper that are slightly square in cross section (AMNH E/1811 - E/1812, E 1822). Two are made of two strands of copper twisted together (E/1815 has a 'Z' twist [upper right to lower left]; E/1816 has an 'S' twist [upper left to lower right]). Two are thin, rounded bands of brass (E/1827, E/1831). Three are brass which is square in profile and incised on the outside to mimic twisted copper (E/1825, E/1828, E/2301). Four are formed of two strands of brass twisted together (E/1820 has an 'S' twist, E/2305-E/2306 and E/2564 have 'Z' twists). Eight are squared bands of brass incised with a pattern of triangles and parallel lines (E/1824, E/1829, E/2225-E/2227, E/2302-E/2304).

45. The entry for E/2303-E/2304 reads:

Brass bracelets - KEESE - from Bella Bella, ornamentally cut in lines, worn by both men and women as an ornament and traded up the coast, the

brass was procured by the natives from the Europeans.

The entry for E/2305 is as follows:

Brass bracelets - KEESE - from Bella Bella, made of twisted brass wire which was procured from Europeans, worn by both men and women as an ornament and traded up the coast.

46. The club is described as KEKH-KHU-QUOY-AH. The meaning of the word is not given but it is likely a Tlingit, rather than Heiltsuk, designation.

47. On the main face mask, red defines the mouth, nostrils, ears (painted on the rim at the top), and a band around the face below the ears. Brows and pupils are black. The rest of the face is painted with split U forms (feather forms) in two shades of blue and there is blue hatching between the ears. Nose, ears, and eye areas are unpainted. On the separate mouth-nose element, the mouth and wide, flat nostrils are red. The snout has black split U forms and blue background designs separated by areas of natural wood.

48. The mask's painted moustache does not contradict this interpretation because "The ogress, Bukwus, Wild Woman, Wild Man, and Wild Beast of the Woods become androgynous, indistinct beings in the masks" (Hilton 1990: 318).

49. The lips and ends of the nostrils are painted with red ochre.

50. Its catalogue number is wrongly given as 16/1162.

51. Wardwell (1978: 62) described the painting of the face on underside of the jaw as "an animal head . . . which may represent a sculpin."

52. Codere says that "Boas made his first field trip to Bella Bella (Northern Kwakiutl) in 1885" (1966: xxiii). Rohner's and Jonaitis' work with the Boas' letters and other papers suggest that this is an error.

53. Another mask in this accession file, AMNH 16/961, is not catalogued. It was exchanged with Emmons in 1932-33. It, too, was purchased in Victoria and may have come from Emmons in the first place. The Lieutenant habitually tried to get artifacts that he sold back from institutions by exchanging them for different ones (Low 1991: xxxv).

54. Rohner quotes Boas' notes, published in 1889 as "Herr Dr. F. Boas: Uber seine Reisen in Britisch-Columbien," Gesellschaft für Erkunde zü Berlin, Verhandlungen 16, pp. 257-68.

55. For a discussion of Boas' search for ethnographic authenticity, see Jonaitis 1992: 27 and Berman 1996.

56. This statement may be an exaggeration. The self-confidence it exhibits is typical of Boas, who was sure that he knew more about the cultures of the British Columbia First Nations than all the other collectors. Powell, he wrote, "does not seem to know very much about Indian customs." Boas had no doubt that he would "do better" at collecting than the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and would not need the help he offered. Referring to R. H. Hall, the HBC Factor at Alert Bay, Boas wrote, "I certainly know more about the people than he does" (ibid: 45). Of William Fraser Tolmie, who at that time had lived in British Columbia for fifty-three years, he wrote, "I find that, although he is considered the chief authority in this region, he knows very little." In fact, on his very first trip to British Columbia in 1886, Boas pronounced himself "better informed than the oldest people here, who have spent all their time with the Indians" (Rohner 1969: 51-52, 45, 69). Boas' theoretical knowledge, linguistic talents, and observational skills meant that this was, perhaps, true in some ways.

57. For example, the AMNH Killer Whale post has a profile face in the bottom fin. The face in the bottom fin of the ROM post is seen frontally.

58. The ROM Bear post (ROM 963X149), which is from the southeast corner of the house, has a small human figure rather than a cub between the legs of the bear. In the Bear Mother story, a girl is kidnapped by a supernatural bear while out berry picking and taken to the bear's home. She has children that are half human and half bear. Eventually, she is rescued by her brothers and her family acquires ceremonial prerogatives from the bear. For versions of this story collected at Bella Bella by George Hunt in 1923 and at Rivers Inlet by Boas in 1886 see Boas 1932: 67-69.

59. According to Cannizzo (1983: 48), Hunt was as "one of the originators of 'The Kwakiutl' as an ethnographic entity."

60. The textual underpinning for the Heiltsuk artifacts accessioned as the George Hunt Collection is rudimentary compared to the Boas-Hunt Kwakwaka'wakw texts. This may

be because Hunt did not know the Heiltsuk language well. Although Boas thought Heiltsuk speakers would be able to understand Hunt, it soon became apparent that Hunt's Kwakwala was not adequate for recording texts in Oweekeno, a language that is similar to Heiltsuk. In August, 1897, Boas wrote that "George Hunt does not know the dialect well enough" to translate stories recorded at Rivers Inlet (Rohner 1969: 234) and on December 5, 1904, Boas wrote to Hunt asking if he knew anyone in Fort Rupert who spoke Heiltsuk or Oweekeno because he was trying to work on the material collected at Rivers Inlet and was "somewhat troubled by a few features in which the language differs from the Fort Rupert" (AMNH George Hunt file). If he did not know Oweekeno, it is unlikely that Hunt spoke the closely-related Heiltsuk language.

61. On AMNH 16/4730, red ochre is used to outline the green area, for the U forms surrounding the mouth, and for the nostrils and lips. Black lines define the teeth, goatee, scalloped moustache, forehead, and brows. Along with the bear fur 'hair,' some of the coarse blue-black wool that covered the head of the dancer remains attached to the mask. AMNH 16/4798 also has a red ochre mouth and nostrils. Its forehead shows the remains of black paint and the moustache is formed of two lines of black dashes. There are black U forms on the chin and the left cheek; the U forms on the right cheek are green. Silvery fur is attached to the sides of the head.

62. The round pupils are rimmed with white. Green paint with black hatching outlines eye areas, cheek ridges, and mouth. Lips and two thin lines under each eye are red.

63. The label also instructs that "The lateral attachments represent ears."

64. Eyes, nostrils, lips, and ears are painted red. It has black brows; black dashes on the forehead represent hair.

65. Other painted details are a band of red ochre dashes on each cheek and a green split-U form on each cheek. (The green is perhaps the same pigment as on AMNH 16/4740.) The eyes are outlined in white; there is a white arc on each side of the nose; the prominent lips are red.

66. The mask is on display and cannot be examined closely.

67. As noted, Sawyer (1983) found this to be true of amalgamated Tlingit groups.

68. The spelling used in the electronic catalogue is actually Heiltsug. The bracelets collected by Emmons are the exception; they are catalogued as Bella Bella.

69. There has been an error in the numbering of this mask and its mouth pieces. In the AMNH catalogue, only the mask is listed as AMNH 16/4731 a-d. The entry in the Record Book (accession file 1899-50, JNPE), however, includes the mouth pieces and skull in this catalogue number. But AMNH 16/4805 - 16/4805A are also catalogue numbers for mouth pieces and in Boas' The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island (1909: pl. 1909) the catalogue numbers for the mask and mouth pieces are given as AMNH 16/4731 a, b; 16/4805 a-d. To add to the confusion, AMNH 16/4731 is described as "Mask parts, two skulls," but these two objects are not displayed with the skull mask AMNH 16/4721 a-d and do not seem to be part of it. Another mask belonging to the series is catalogued as AMNH 16/4806. I have corrected the numbering in this discussion. I give AMNH 16/4731 as the mask and the mouthpieces. (This is a simplified entry that includes both the mask and skull, AMNH 16/4731 a-b, and the mouthpieces, AMNH 16/4731 a-e.) The two other skulls are given as AMNH 16/4805 - 16/4805a. These numbers place them, correctly I believe, with the second mask in the group, AMNH 16/4806.

70. The mask has red and white painted details. The nose ends in a red arch and there are red dashes on the cheeks. White lines circle the eyes, extend along the forehead under the brows, and outline the recessed area of the mouth. Two rows of white teeth are painted on the mouth area.

71. GUMSILS appears to be a misspelling; the name is given as GUMISILA in the AMNH catalogue.

72. It is tempting to identify the holes on the face as smallpox sores and date the mask to the time of the smallpox epidemic of 1862.

73. Another type of mask with separate mouthpieces, representing Echo, is used in a dhuwłáxa dance. The Oweekeno Echo dance (Sp!ah) mask has mouthpieces depicting "Spring Salmon, Frog, Xawa'h (Crack-in-the-rock), and Starfish," according to Olson (1954: 248).

74. A wide black band bordered with white extends over the nose and down the cheeks. The brows are black over white. The area around the ears, the insides of the eye holes, the nostrils, and the lips are red. The open mouth has a protruding lower lip.

75. The whistle is cylindrical, 25 cm long, bound at both ends, and tapers toward the mouth piece. A standing figure or animal is carved on it. The whistle is on display, so the carving is difficult to see.

76. The roughly-carved face is unpainted wood with some black details and a red area around the mouth.

77. This ring is pictured in The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island (1909: pl. XXXIX) with the caption "Heiltsuk Ghost Dancer's ring."

78. The third dance in the series is the Ghost dance (Drucker 1940: 212).

79. They are also examples of the complexity of Heiltsuk dance regalia in general. The variations in cedar-bark regalia seem to have fascinated Boas. Hunt collected sets of Kwakwaka'wakw cedar-bark rings as well (e.g., AMNH 16/4750 - 16/4755 Ma'malelega Hamatsa rings collected from the Awith'enox [Oweekeno of Rivers Inlet?]). Cedar-bark rings are illustrated in great detail in Boas 1895.

80. Research on this topic is outside the scope of this study. See Ostrowitz and Jonaitis (1991) for an example of the process of pairing artifacts collected by Hunt with the appropriate texts in the Boas archive.

81. Farrand wrote to Boas on August 22, 1897:

I am on the steamer and approaching Namu on my way to Bella Bella . . . . George Hunt is with me on his way to Rivers Inlet . . . . I should take him to Bella Bella with me to introduce me. [AMNH accession file 1897-42]

82. When Farrand returned to his position at Columbia University, he also tabulated the physiological data. Sometime between 1899 and 1904 (the date of the letter is illegible), he sent "the Heiltsuk papers" to Boas and explained how he worked out "the average of the indices" using the "approximated values in the tables" (AMNH Livingston Farrand file, 1899-1904).

83. Jacknis (1984: 7) wrote that, on the JNPE,

the primary user of the camera . . . was a research team gathering data on the physical features of the Indians. Wherever they went up and down the coast, the young Harlan I. Smith took the pictures - profile, frontal, and three-quarters - while Boas took plaster casts and

measurements, assisted from time to time by Livingston Farrand.

See also Kendall, Mathe, and Miller 1997.

84. Farrand's other work with the JNPE, in the Chilcotin in 1897 and in Washington with the Quileute and Quinault in 1898, was also not very productive (Jonaitis 1988: 191). On the whole, Farrand had little success as an ethnographer.

85. De Laguna gives ʔixt qu-ye.gi as the current Tlingit spelling.

86. The same romantic equation of genuine aboriginal art with shamanistic content continues today. Blundell and Phillips (1983) demonstrate this in their discussion of contemporary Woodlands School painting and its reception by the media, museums, and art galleries.

87. The size and patina of the speaker's staff indicate that it may have been used.

### CASE 3: ROYAL BRITISH COLUMBIA MUSEUM

The Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) holds an extensive and important collection of Heiltsuk artifacts. The majority of these were acquired in 1893 from Bernhard Phillip Jacobsen, an entrepreneur, farmer, and artifact dealer based in Bella Coola. Dr. Charles Frederick Newcombe, a Victoria physician and naturalist who was also an artifact dealer, added Heiltsuk objects to the collection of the British Columbia Provincial Museum (BCPM) between 1911 and 1914, and additional examples came to the Museum with the Newcombe family collections in 1961. Other Heiltsuk objects with firm collection data have been acquired by the RBCM from various sources, among them the American anthropologist Ronald L. Olson who visited Bella Bella in 1935 and 1949. Like the Heiltsuk collections of the SI and the AMNH, therefore, most of the RBCM's documented Heiltsuk collection was amassed by only a few major collectors, is specific in period, and illustrates the biases and opportunities of the collectors.

#### B. Phillip Jacobsen Collection

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, the Provincial Museum spent \$3,148.99 on "Maintenance," a sum that

exceeded the appropriation for the year by \$1,348.99. The cause of this deficit was an unusually large purchase of "Indian curios" from J. [sic] Jacobsen. The Museum paid Jacobsen \$766 for the curios, \$231 for expenses incurred in their collection, and \$100 for services, for a total of \$1,097. Excluding salaries, this was the largest single expense incurred by the Museum that year (British Columbia 1894: 151-52).<sup>1</sup>

Bernhard Fillip Jacobsen (1864-1935), a Norwegian based at Bella Coola, sold this extensive collection of "Indian curios" to the Museum. Fillip Jacobsen, as he was usually called, had come to British Columbia in 1884 as an agent for Carl Hagenbeck, a Hamburg importer and exhibitor of exotic wild animals who had a sideline arranging exhibitions of aboriginal people, such as Lapps and Inuit, in Germany (Cole 1985: 59-60). Hagenbeck hired Jacobsen to collect artifacts and animal specimens and to arrange for a group of Northwest Coast natives, preferably Kwakwaka'wakw with flattened heads (who appeared very exotic to Europeans), to go on tour in Europe (Jacobsen 1956: 14-15, Cole 1985: 62-67, Haberland 1989: 184). In the ethnographic business, Jacobsen was following his older brother, Johan Adrian Jacobsen, who had worked for Hagenbeck in Germany between 1877 and 1880 and who had travelled to British Columbia and Alaska in 1881-83 and to Siberia and Russia in 1884 collecting thousands of

artifacts for the Royal Ethnographical Museum (now Museum für Völkerkunde) in Berlin (Jacobsen 1977). Adrian joined Phillip in British Columbia in 1895 and the brothers hired nine Nuxalk people to go to Europe. (No Kwakwaka'wakw people could be persuaded to go, apparently because the missionary at Alert Bay talked them out of it.) After touring Germany with the Nuxalk for thirteen months, Phillip returned to British Columbia with them and eventually settled at Bella Coola (Cole 1985: 68-72, Haberland 1989; 184).<sup>2</sup>

In British Columbia, Jacobsen was involved in many projects. He helped to establish a Norwegian settlement at Bella Coola, ran a store at Clayoquot, managed a fleet of sealing vessels, staked timber claims for pulp and paper companies and mineral claims for mining companies, prospected, started a cannery, and farmed.<sup>3</sup> Artifact collecting remained an interest and a source of income. A newspaper article of 1891 announced that Jacobsen "has a standing arrangement with the German national museum in Berlin to collect specimens of the art of the Indians."<sup>4</sup> At Boas' request, he collected Nuxalk artifacts for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 (Cole 1985:123) and received a medal and diploma from the Exposition in recognition of his contribution.<sup>5</sup> In 1897, he worked with Hunt and Boas on the JNPE collecting Nuuchah-nulth objects for the AMNH (Wardwell 1978: 29,

Jonaitis 1988: 166).<sup>6</sup> In 1903-04, he sold artifacts to Newcombe, who was collecting for the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago at the time (Newcombe Family Papers, BCARS).<sup>7</sup> His obituary in the Victoria Colonist noted that "During his long residence in British Columbia he gathered a remarkable collection of Indian drawings, artifacts and dancing masks, as well as set down scores of native legends."<sup>8</sup>

As a resident of the British Columbia coast who was closely associated with First Nations people, Jacobsen must, indeed, have known "scores of native legends." He must have been aware of aboriginal cultural practices in the regions in which he operated, and the context of the artifacts he collected. Further, his early association with the Berlin museum must have given him some understanding of the current scientific standards in ethnology. We know that he paid attention to First Nations oral histories and took them seriously. For example, he recorded Nuxalk and Heiltsuk accounts of Alexander Mackenzie's visit to the Bella Coola River and Dean Channel and noted that these traditions contradict the Euro-Canadian version of the story.<sup>9</sup> Just before he died, he wrote to Newcombe about his understanding of Nuxalk ceremonies:

I think I ought [sic] to write a description of the different Indian dances, each one of course has a family tradition. . . . I have illustrations

or photos of each kind of dance except the Man Eating Dance which I have seen dozens of times up to 1888. . . . The Thunder Bird dance I have seen ever so many times.<sup>10</sup>

In April, 1893, he shared his knowledge with a reporter for the Victoria Daily Colonist who visited the Indian Department of the British Columbia Provincial Museum shortly after Jacobsen's collection had been installed.<sup>11</sup> Jacobsen explained how tools and utensils, feast dishes, and a dance blanket in the exhibit were used. He told the reporter that the "Indians have upwards of sixty distinct dances" and revealed the subjects of some of the masks:

One very distinguished looking mask is credited with being that of the Indian who first brought the dance to the O-wee-kanos. . . his distinguishing characteristic is a second mouth, specially adapted to asides. A particularly fierce-looking mask is the Devil of the River, who capsizes the canoes. The Raven, who first brought the sun to the earth, is shown in sombre black. Several wolf heads have each their tradition. A grizzly bear is given the credit of having provided the fertile valleys of the Province and honored accordingly . . . . Two sad-eyed masks are those of the crying spirits, before whose time tears were unknown. The Goddess of the Seas is propitiated by a mask designed to be the most beautiful of the collection. A character of a decidedly Japanese caste of countenance, the Kajul, who brought the dance to the coast . . . .

In addition, the reporter heard the family history that went with two of the Heiltsuk masks in the exhibit. The "story of Ianis [tánís] the Man-eater and of Nullem-killa the Dog-eater," explains how Wakas, an 'Isdaitxv chief, acquired the first tánís and nułam ceremonies. The chief's oldest son received the right to impersonate the

Cannibal spirit, Bákxvbkválnúsiwa. His younger son received the right to impersonate nułam, the spirit of the dog-eater.<sup>12</sup> Masks representing both of these spirits were displayed in the museum. Jacobsen also provided a brief description of how and why a dancer impersonating the Man-eater bites members of the audience: "Really the 'biting' is done with a knife, but so quick as to make people think it is really with the teeth."

It is clear from these examples that by 1893 Jacobsen had some knowledge of the technology and ceremonialism of the central coast. Very little of this knowledge, however, accompanied the collection that he sold to the British Columbia Provincial Museum in 1893. The Daily Colonist reporter concluded his article with the observation that "every article has its own interesting story; for which, however, in the absence of catalogue or description of any kind, the visitor must draw mainly upon his imagination." The RBCM Anthropological Collections Ethnography Artifact Catalogue Sheets (MIS-W-027, the original accessions book, and MIS-W-021, the typed copy, hereafter called the Catalogue) do not contain detailed information about Jacobsen's collection, either. Minimal provenance is given; the Heiltsuk objects are described simply as "Kwakiutl" and "Bella Bella."<sup>13</sup> The RBCM documentation supports Haberland's (1989: 186) observation

concerning the collection that Jacobsen made in 1884 and took to Germany on the Nuxalk tour:

Fillip obviously did not pick up the habit of his older brother to note down the objects bought and to indicate the village, the native name, and the price paid for it.

A list of the objects and sometimes a brief note about their use or what they represent is included in the Catalogue. Although it is clear that Jacobsen knew more than this about at least some of the objects, such as the 'Isdáitǵv táńís and nułam masks from the family of Chief Wakas, no further information is included.

In the case of the objects collected in 1884 and taken to Germany, there is some doubt about the geographical provenance given by Jacobsen. A list made in 1886 of artifacts sold to the Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, includes the designation "Bella Bella at River [sic] Inlet" and Haberland (1989: 186) thinks that "those objects called by the Jacobsen brothers 'Bella Bella' were actually made by the Oweekeno, since their geographical references are usually much better than their 'tribal' ones." This does not seem to be the case for the RBCM collection. Only two objects (RBCM 90, a cedar-bark neck ring and RBCM 490, a crooked knife) in the collection are described as Bella Bella from Rivers Inlet, and therefore assumed to be Oweekeno.

Place designations in the Catalogue are, however, not without problems and the Heiltsuk/Oweekeno distinction is among them. For example, a mask (RBCM 57) listed as Bella Bella in the accession record may be the one described in the Daily Colonist as "the Indian who first brought the dance to the O-wee-kanos," and therefore possibly from Rivers Inlet. This mask has a separate mouth piece: a wide oval that fits over the original mouth at an angle. Newcombe (1909: 30) said the mask represents "a man with mouth askew, as if suffering from facial palsy," but the attachable mouth piece is more consistent with the newspaper's description of a mask with "a second mouth, specially adapted to asides." On the basis of subject matter, therefore, RBCM 57 may be Oweekeno. Its style supports an Oweekeno attribution as well. The mask is unusually large (40.5 x 30 x 30 cm.) and the face unusually rectangular for a Heiltsuk humanoid mask. In addition, the eye area is unusually flat and the eyes, with bulging pupils close to the sides of the head, are farther apart than they are on most Heiltsuk masks. Also, the sharply-carved vertical lines on each side of the mouth are rarely found on Heiltsuk masks and the straight brows lack the well-defined arch so typical of Heiltsuk masks. Formal qualities such as these have led Peter Macnair, a Curator of Ethnology at the RBCM, to reclassify the mask as Nuxalk, rather than Heiltsuk, but an Oweekeno

origin is another explanation for its un-Heiltsuk appearance.<sup>14</sup>

One hundred and eighty accession numbers in the RBCM's Jacobsen collection are described as Bella Bella.<sup>15</sup> (Most of the balance of the collection is from Bella Coola.) On stylistic grounds, six masks accessioned as Bella Bella have been designated Nuxalk, rather than Heiltsuk, by RBCM staff and perhaps should be excluded from the total of Heiltsuk artifacts.<sup>16</sup> In addition, RBCM 496, a finely carved and patinated digging stick described in the Catalogue as a "Kwakiutl woman's spade" from Bella Bella is called Bella Coola on Newcombe's original card, so it is not clear to which group it belongs. This raises the question of whether all of the Jacobsen objects accessioned as either Bella Bella or Bella Coola are correctly labelled (and there are at least three objects called Bella Coola by Jacobsen that have some Heiltsuk stylistic traits),<sup>17</sup> but re-attribution of Jacobsen's material based on formal evidence is speculative because the styles of the border region between the Heiltsuk-speaking 'Isdaitxv and the neighbouring Nuxalk are not well understood. Also, by 1893 Jacobsen knew the central coast and its people well and would be unlikely to confuse Heiltsuk and Nuxalk. With the few exceptions noted, therefore, Jacobsen's information about the origins of the objects must be accepted.

Cole (1985: 63-64) observed that Adrian Jacobsen's 1881-83 collection for Berlin's Royal Ethnographical Museum was biased toward the old and the traditional. Reflecting the museum scholars' interest in 'primitive' cultures, Adrian looked for bone and stone objects that illustrated an ancient way of life. He was particularly interested in religious and ceremonial material. Household objects, such as spoons and dishes, were well represented but technological items and basketry were not. Phillip's 1893 Heiltsuk collection has a similar composition (see Appendix C). Ceremonial objects comprise the majority of the collection: forty-one masks, twelve cedar-bark rings, four frontlets and headdress pieces, nine clubs and various kinds of batons, seven rattles, six whistles, two dance aprons, and a puppet used in the dramatic winter ceremonies. There are two objects associated with true or ceremonial shamanism (a headdress and a soul catcher) and two feast bowls for potlatches. A full-sized house frontal pole embodies Heiltsuk social organization and evokes traditions of house construction. Three grave monuments and two chests said to be "coffins" illustrate mortuary practices. Two pouches with sets of gambling sticks illustrate a popular traditional pastime. Like his brother, Phillip collected household items: eight spoons, two small grease bowls, a lidded box and a woven cedar-bark box cover, a cradle and a cedar-bark pad used

for head deformation, and a comb.<sup>18</sup> As was the case with Adrian's 1881-83 collection, technological objects and basketry are relatively under-represented. There are seven halibut hooks and a nettle fibre net, five spindle whorls, four bark beaters, two bark shredders, a beautifully-painted loom headboard, two sets of bows and arrows, a digging stick, a cedar-bark cape, and a painted spruce-root hat.

All of these tools and weavings are finely crafted and many are decorated. Perhaps they were chosen as samples of Heiltsuk artistry as well as illustrations of everyday implements and clothing. Jacobsen's interest in Heiltsuk artistic techniques is demonstrated by a group of objects having to do with painting: ten templates and sets of templates for making ovoid shapes, three paint brushes and a lidded box to store them in, five paint sticks, and a sample of red paint. Unlike Adrian's 1881-83 collection, though, Phillip's 1893 Heiltsuk collection includes only a few bone and stone objects: five hafted stone mauls, two stone mortars (one carved with a seal hunting scene), and a charm stone.

Adrian Jacobsen "seems not to have distinguished greatly between old and traditional," observed Cole (1985: 64). He "willingly accepted recent productions of a traditional kind," such as argillite objects and new basketry, and commissioned new items if old ones were not

available. A well-known example of an object that Adrian commissioned is the splendid settee (MfV IVA2475-7) which he ordered from "the best carver" in Bella Bella (Holm 1976: 41-42). Phillip's collection has few things of this kind. There are old-style copper and brass bracelets (six) and ornaments (five) in the collection, but no silver or gold jewellery that might appear less traditional. With the possible exception of a small (61.6 cm high) wooden carving of a grizzly bear with a frog upside down on its chest (RBCM 233) there are no obvious curio-trade pieces.<sup>19</sup> Only three objects appear to be new carvings that illustrate old traditions, of the type that were typically commissioned by collectors: two model canoes (a northern type and a Nuu-chah-nulth type) and a large, complex model of "Hamatsa secret room" (ma'wiL) showing the house partition and Cannibal pole (ha'msp'eq).

The ma'wiL model is an important didactic artifact. Its accuracy is without doubt; it almost exactly corresponds to the "Tethering pole and room of the Cannibal (Istetx Bella Bella)" that is illustrated in Drucker (1940: 209). Drucker's informant, Moses Knight, an 'Isdaítxv man, drew the illustration and described the structure and its function:

Pole is decorated with four human skulls, four triangular plaques of dyed cedar bark. A Cannibal is seen at several stages climbing the pole, while his attendants stand on house roof. Below: Cannibal's room, with a painting of a spirit called kwuxLa'it, whose mouth serves as a doorway.

Painting should be on screen - - small rectangle  
in foreground, in front of which society members  
standing . . . .

The model in Jacobsen's collection, which was almost certainly made for sale as an illustration of Heiltsuk culture for a museum, has the same tall pole (ha'msp'eq) with four triangles of cedar bark arranged one on top of the other. It stands before a rectangular screen resembling a house front with a slightly peaked roof. The ha'msp'eq soars to twice the height of the roof. In both drawing and model, cedar-bark triangles are arranged along a cedar-bark-wrapped bar at the front of the screen. In the RBCM version, the screen is painted with a large-headed central figure flanked by two profile birds. The the door to the "Hamatsa secret room" (ma'wiL) is in the body of the central figure rather than in its mouth as it is in Knight's drawing. Four carved and painted model posts support the roof in the RBCM model. (For a detailed description of the materials and construction of structure, see Winkelbauer 1996.) This is a unique illustration of both Heiltsuk ceremonialism and Heiltsuk painting. In style and intent, it relates to a series of objects collected by R. W. Large at Bella Bella about thirteen years later. It has no counterpart in any other Heiltsuk collection.

The model, although newly made - and perhaps commissioned - may have appealed to Jacobsen because of its ethnographic importance as an illustration of culture. That he viewed his collection as 'scientific' in nature is indicated by the presence in the collection of a deformed skull (RBCM 301) "of the ordinary type, with lateral bulging" and "sutures nearly ossified" (Newcombe 1909: 64, Catalogue). Jacobsen obtained a number of skulls "from burials" and this interest in skeletal remains is consistent with scholarly collecting practices of the time.<sup>20</sup> Boas, for example, believed that skeletal measurements and cranial deformation techniques were important data in the mapping of aboriginal populations by physical characteristics and cultural traits, although he was troubled by the grave-robbing that produced his specimens (Rohner, ed. 1969: 88; Cole 1985: 175). The inclusion of a human skull in Jacobsen's Heiltsuk collection underscores the similarities between the collections made by Jacobsen, Boas, and Hunt: the Boas-Hunt AMNH collections also focus on artifacts that are old, traditional, ceremonial, and/or scientifically important. Jacobsen's association with Boas in Berlin and on the Northwest Coast no doubt influenced his own collecting practices.<sup>21</sup>

Old, authentically traditional artifacts were wanted for scientific collections. In keeping with this

preference, a number of Jacobsen's artifacts, in addition to the skull, are said to be from burials or grave monuments. Two carvings are called grave figures: RBCM 225, an "Eagle monument . . . from grave," and RBCM 229 a "grave figure, human of wood" or a "grave figure model" (Catalogue). The latter description may be in relation to its small size (50 cm.) rather than its origin. As well, two lidded chests are described as "coffins," even though they probably did not actually come from burials. RBCM 220 (Fig. 21), a large, finely carved and painted chest, is called a "chief's coffin" (Newcombe 1909: 30).<sup>22</sup> RBCM 221, a smaller chest with a painted design, is called a "child's coffin."<sup>23</sup> The latter appears to have been new when it was collected; it shows no signs of having been used and it was almost certainly made by Captain Richard (Dick) Carpenter (1841-1931), a contemporary artist of the time. The former, an older chest, shows some signs of wear but is still in relatively good condition, with few indications of long exposure to the elements.

One object is known to have come from a memorial: RBCM 4 (Fig. 22), a life-size (2.3 m.), carved cedar figure wearing a ringed hat and holding a large Copper painted with a simple formline design. This figure was photographed in situ by Oregon C. Hastings, probably during I. W. Powell's expedition of 1879 (RBCM PN 2404). Jacobsen's documentation says only that it represents the

"man who first brought copper to the Indians" (RBCM catalogue), that is, it represents either the ancestor of a Heiltsuk lineage or the supernatural being from whom the ancestor acquired the first Copper. Jacobsen is not specific about the source of this carving but the photograph provides ample evidence. It shows the figure standing behind a large wooden plaque with the words, "In Memory of . . . Bella Bella," painted on it. The figure stands in front of a large wooden disc decorated with two painted images of Coppers. Fixed to the top of the disc are two wooden Coppers and a small human figure with a Copper on its hat. A box drum painted with a whale design hangs on the side of the disc.

In Hasting's photograph, the name of the person memorialized by the inscription is obscured by vegetation. We know that it was "Boston a Bella Bella Chief" because in June, 1878, a year before the photograph was taken, George Mercer Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada visited Bella Bella and described the memorial in his journal (Cole and Lockner, eds. 1989: 446).<sup>24</sup> "Boston was one of several Heiltsuk or Bella Bella chiefs of the 1830s," according to Cole and Lockner (1989: 446, n. 51). John Dunn, who was at Fort McLoughlin in 1833-34, mentions Boston as the chief of one of the villages in the neighbourhood of the fort and says that Chief Kyete called himself Boston because the name was given to him by an

American sea Captain (Dunn 1844: 426). Captain John T. Walbran, who between 1888 and 1909 researched the origins of place names of the British Columbia coast, noted that Boston and Kyete were different chiefs. Boston, whose village (abandoned in Walbran's time) was at the head of Lizzie Cove in Lama Passage,<sup>25</sup> was "sharper and shrewder" than the Bella Bella chiefs Kyete and Wacash, he wrote (1971: 46). By 1897, the name Boston was used by one of the two first-ranked chiefs at 'Qélc, Boston Humpsit (Humchitt) (DIA 1898: 480).<sup>26</sup>

RBCM 4 may be a typically Heiltsuk memorial figure. A similar carving, possibly of the same vintage as RBCM 4, still stands at a site near 'Qélc (Streich 1983, RBCM PN 2762). Like RBCM 4, this figure wears a tall, ringed hat. It does not hold a copper but its forearms are folded over its stomach in pose similar to RBCM 4. Some facial details of both carvings, such as the treatment of the painted pupils and the slope of the eye brows, are similar.

As is the case with the interior house posts photographed in situ at 'Qélc, a specific collecting site and an original context are established by a photographic image rather than by information from the collector. In a way, the opposite is true of house entrance pole RBCM 3, the other monumental carving in Jacobsen's Heiltsuk collection. There is no photographic evidence for this

full-size (4.67 m.) pole in 'Qélc, even though it is said to have "stood in front of a house at Bella Bella" (Catalogue). Confusion about the original site of the pole is compounded by its style. It is a wide column (1.19 m. at the base) with an intricate, but not deeply carved, design evenly distributed over the surface. With the exception of the projecting beak of the bird at the top of the pole (identified as Raven in the Catalogue), the carving wraps around the column and conforms to its shape.<sup>27</sup> This style is typically Nuxalk, not Heiltsuk. It is seen on monumental carvings such as the house entrance poles from Talio and Bella Coola now in the CMC (Laforet 1992: 38-39) and the RBCM (RBCM 2308-2309). Because of the lack of evidence for this house entrance pole at 'Qélc and because of its stylistic affinities with Talio and Bella Coola poles, Newcombe's statement that it "was formerly in front of a chief's house of the Bella Bella tribe" (1909: 28) is probably more accurate than the accession list which places the pole at Bella Bella. It is likely that the pole originated in another Heiltsuk settlement, possibly an 'Isdaitxv village with lineage ties to Talio or another Nuxalk community. If it was taken to 'Qélc when its owners moved there, it was never erected in front of the house. The influence of the Methodist Church, for which Bella Bella was a mission base from 1880 onward, may be one reason why the pole was not

put up at 'Qélc. The traditional big houses and the potlatch ceremonies that would have accompanied any pole raising were opposed by the missionaries.

The use of the two feast dishes collected by Jacobsen would have been opposed by the missionaries as well. The dishes would have been brought out at potlatches and feasts given in connection with the winter ceremonies, or <sup>2</sup>caíqa series of dances. Newcombe (1909: 32) says that both dishes represent "being[s] belonging to the clan tradition." One represents a Cannibal bird companion of Baxvbakválanusiwa, the Cannibal at the North End of the World. This supernatural being is the controlling spirit of the <sup>1</sup>tánis (hámacá) ceremony, the first-ranked dance of the <sup>2</sup>caíqa series. The other represents the Sisiutl, the supernatural double-headed snake that can protect warriors, cause death, or bring wealth and power. The smaller feast dish is an ingenious representation (RBCM 437). "Carved in the shape of Cannibal bird's head [with the] beak as handle" (Catalogue), the vessel is triangular and takes the form of the fearsome bird's head with its huge, open mouth forming the opening of the bowl. The face of the Cannibal bird with its curved beak-handle is carved, upside down, on one side of the vessel.<sup>28</sup> The other large feast dish takes the form of the Sisiutl (RBCM 438). The huge bowl represents the creature's body with its central face carved on the side. From each end

projects a carved snake-like head with a long, curved, protruding tongue. Both dishes are old and used. They would have been treasured prerogatives of important Heiltsuk families.

The memorial figures, the "coffins," the house entrance pole, and the feast dishes demonstrate not only Jacobsen's interest in old, traditional artifacts, but also his uncommon access to Heiltsuk material. Either he knew enough about the memorials and the community to know how to acquire the carvings or he had Heiltsuk sources who would sell him important family artifacts such as these. An indication of his sources is found in a letter - written in Jacobsen's peculiar English - to Newcombe dated October 8, 1904:

I could get a fairly good collection from Bella Bella tribe. There is a lot of old masks I can get there that is burried in caves. I have an old Indian he got me some very voluable things from there. [Newcombe Family Papers, BCARS]

It is not clear what the "voluable things" were, but a mask and a frontlet in Jacobsen's Bella Bella collection did come from graves according to the Catalogue. RBCM 35, a humanoid mask, is called "Tlaolacha [dhuw<sup>ˈ</sup>laxa], very old, from grave." RBCM 1319, a circular frontlet, is described as "in centre Raven, human faces around . . . grave at Bella Bella." Both objects are weathered from exposure to the elements. The mask, which has a wide

face, a flat nose, a triangular-shaped open mouth, rectangular ears, and distinctive eyes with pupils placed high in the sockets, has a worn surface. The lips, ears, and rims of the eye sockets are still sharply delineated but the surface of the wood (red alder) is pitted and porous. Some painting can still be detected: green or blue split U-shapes on each side of the mouth, U-shapes above and beside the brows, a band across the eye area, red lips, a black moustache. Eyebrows, goatee, pupils, and other details may also have been painted, but the pigment is gone from these areas. Similarly, the frontlet has almost no paint remaining. The wood (also red alder) is pitted; the grain is raised in places; the end of the raven's beak and a piece at the top of the rim have broken off. The abalone inlays that were once in the eyes of all the faces, in the raven's ears, and between the faces on the rim are missing. The small, carved hands that once protruded from the rim below the raven's chin are gone.<sup>29</sup> Newcombe believed the frontlet was "very old" (1909: 31). Certainly, the condition of both mask and frontlet suggests that they had been "buried in caves," perhaps for considerable time.

The Jacobsen brothers seem to have acquired many artifacts from graves, caches, or uninhabited sites. In the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, for example, there are five Heiltsuk masks and mask fragments (IVA 7734-IVA 7738)

that must have had long exposure to the elements because of their poor condition. They appear to be very old and are finely painted with black designs on what appears to be unpainted wood. The similarities in their condition and their designs imply that they all came from the same site. They were collected by one of the Jacobsens.<sup>30</sup> A Moon mask, very similar to Moon mask RBCM 31, was purchased by the Donald Ellis Gallery, Toronto, from a private collector who said that it came from the Museum für Völkerkunde in trade.<sup>31</sup> It was probably also collected by one of the Jacobsens. The bottom of the corona surrounding this mask has rotted away, suggesting that it sat on damp ground for some time. The grain of the wood is raised through weathering. No pigment remains, but variations in the wood grain show a row of U-forms across the forehead. Interestingly, the eyes of the Ellis Moon mask combine the angular, leaf-shaped sockets of RBCM 35 with the half-moon lids of RBCM 21, further tying it to the RBCM group.

Although not documented as having come from graves, similarly weathered humanoid masks in the Jacobsen collection may also have come from exposed sites in the Bella Bella area. RBCM 15 (called "old" in the Catalogue), RBCM 19 ("Beak Nose"), RBCM 21 ("Spirit, Tlolacha, old"), RBCM 29 ("Sun," Fig. 23), and RBCM 31 ("Moon, old") are the most obvious of these. These five

masks, all carved from red alder, have worn surfaces and eroded edges. On all, the wood is bleached and porous. There are holes, cracks, and/or pieces missing. Only traces of paint remain. That they may have come from a burial is supported by a comparison with a humanoid mask in the Vancouver Museum (VM AA123) that is documented as having been "taken from a burial box at Kynock Inlet," where there was a Xixis village until about 1875.<sup>32</sup> The Vancouver Museum mask is similar to RBCM 21 in both form and condition. Two other masks collected by Jacobsen are not as obviously weathered as those discussed above, but may have come from exposed sites. RBCM 55 ("Tlolacha," Fig. 24), a human-bird mask carved from yellow cedar, is missing its beak and has chipped and faded paint. RBCM 72 ("Thoalacha," Fig. 7b), a humanoid mask, once had copper U-forms pegged on to the surface. These are gone, leaving behind a greenish copper colour, and much of the paint has worn away.

It is interesting to speculate that the frontlet (RBCM 1319) and masks come from the same site and that they constitute a set, or part of a set, of ceremonial regalia. The fact that they all belong to the dhuw<sup>3</sup>l<sup>2</sup>á<sup>1</sup>xá series of ceremonies may support this speculation. The frontlet would have been worn by a chief in the dhuw<sup>3</sup>l<sup>2</sup>á<sup>1</sup>xá series and four of the masks (RBCM 21, RBCM 35, RBCM 55, RBCM 72) are called "Tlaolacha" or "Tlolacha" (i.e., dhuw<sup>3</sup>l<sup>2</sup>á<sup>1</sup>xá) in the

RBCM catalogue. Formal similarities suggest that the other three humanoid masks in this group (RBCM 19, RBCM 29, and RBCM 31) also belong to the  $\overset{?}{\text{dhu}}\overset{\prime}{\text{w}}\overset{\vee}{\text{laxa}}$ : all have square ears attached to the sides of the head and a distinctive, triangular-shaped, slightly open mouth. Enough pigment remains on the masks to show that all were decorated with painted U-shapes at the sides of the mouths and across the foreheads. These designs can be interpreted as feather forms, a motif appropriate to the  $\overset{?}{\text{dhu}}\overset{\prime}{\text{w}}\overset{\vee}{\text{laxa}}$ . Often translated as Coming down again, or Returned from Heaven,  $\overset{?}{\text{dhu}}\overset{\prime}{\text{w}}\overset{\vee}{\text{laxa}}$  is oriented to the upper world of the sky:

In this ceremony, the performer, an individual of high rank, is believed to be taken into the heavens by spirits. When returned to earth, glistening with a heavenly aura, he wears a mask representing the creature, often in human form, who lifted him into the sky. [Macnair, Hoover, and Neary 1980: 48-49]

According to Olson (1954: 246), the Oweekeno name for the dance series,  $\text{Glu.ala'xa}$ , "means literally 'descended again' or 'come down again' and refers to the fact that most of the spirits represented are those of birds."

RBCM 55, which is identified in the Catalogue as " $\text{Tlolacha}$ " ( $\overset{?}{\text{dhu}}\overset{\prime}{\text{w}}\overset{\vee}{\text{laxa}}$ ), graphically expresses the relationship between the human participants in the ceremony and the bird-like spirits of the sky world. The mask is human in shape but has a bird's beak. Although

the beak is missing, we know what it would have been like because RBCM 55 closely resembles the human-bird masks NMNH 20590 (collected by Swan) and NMNH 129510 (collected by Boas at Talio) that have long, articulated beaks (Fig. 11a, b). The painted feather forms at the sides of the beaks and across the foreheads appear on all three human-bird masks as well. Two human face masks that are identified as *dhuw<sup>3</sup>l<sup>4</sup>axa* masks have painted feather-like U-forms over the cheeks (RBCM 65) or eyes (RBCM 10) and also express the relationship between humans and the sky world. RBCM 10 represents "the spirit of the north-west wind," according to Newcombe (1909: 30).

Jacobsen collected other Bella Bella masks that may be grouped with masks from the *dhuw<sup>3</sup>l<sup>4</sup>axa* series because of their particular imagery, even though they are not documented as belonging to that series. One of these is RBCM 11, a transformation mask that also graphically expresses a human-bird relationship. The outer mask represents an eagle. It opens to reveal a human face inside.<sup>33</sup> The eagle-human imagery suggests that the mask "was used to dramatize the dual eagle-human nature of Lkwi'tEme@" (Waite 1966: 278). Lkwi'tEme@ was an ancestor of the Mau'ak!as Wi'k!idExu (sea lion Wi'k!idExu) who descended at a place called La'ttsta in eagle form and then took off his eagle cloak to become a man (Boas 1932: 65). This interpretation is in line with a *dhuw<sup>3</sup>l<sup>4</sup>axa*

function because the supernatural beings represented in the Kwakwaka'wakw Lao'laxa (dhuw<sup>2</sup>laxa<sup>✓</sup>) "are much more clearly clan deities" than those of the ca'iq̄a (Boas 1897: 621).

One of these is the "Owl" (RBCM 70), a mask with a raised V-shaped crest on the top of the head, a heavy curved beak, and a moveable lower jaw. An owl mask appears in a Tlasula dance owned by a Kwakwaka'wakw (Gwasila) family:

In the Great Mask Dance, the dancer first appears wearing one of his masks, of which the owl is an example. He moves sparingly, posing like the bird with head thrust forward, round eyes staring straight ahead. Suddenly he crouches, drawing his head down between hunched shoulders, owl-like. He thrusts again, this time staring to one side, and again recoils. His movements are quick, separated by long moments of intense immobility. His song, sung by a seated chorus lined along the back wall of the house and accompanied by the striking of hardwood batons, mentions the owl. [Holm 1987: 108]

Perhaps RBCM 70 was used in a similar way in a Heiltsuk dhuw<sup>2</sup>laxa<sup>✓</sup> dance. Newcombe (1909: 30) groups the Owl mask with others "worn in certain clan dances."

Some of the masks discussed above as possibly from a grave or other exposed site can also be identified as dhuw<sup>2</sup>laxa<sup>✓</sup> masks on the basis of imagery as well as on the basis of form. The weathered "Sun" (RBCM 29) and "Moon" (RBCM 31, Fig. 23) masks are clearly associated with the heavens and, therefore, the dhuw<sup>2</sup>laxa<sup>✓</sup>. Drucker (1940: 215)

mentions a mask representing the moon in his description of the Xixis miLa ceremonies, of which the dhuwlaxa is a part. On the second night of the potlatch, when the novices dance, the chief's master of ceremonies calls down the spirit of the dancer:

So he shouts (for example), 'Come down, come down, you great Moon of Heaven!' . . . . Then a mask representing the Moon appears above the screen. The chief says to the master of ceremonies, 'Blow the sacred eagle down on it, and ask if this is really the Moon.' So he blows down toward the mask, and asks, 'Is this really you, great Moon of Heaven, whom we called?' The mask replies, 'hm, hm, hm, hm,' and waggles from side to side. The master of ceremonies announces, 'Yes, this is the one.' Now the musicians shout 'wai!' and the spirit vanishes.

The imagery of the weathered "Beak Nose" mask (RBCM 19) also implies a role in the dhuwlaxa. Many small crosses, or star shapes, have been cut into the forehead of this mask. Bancroft-Hunt and Forman (1979: 116) note that it is "similar to others which represent the sun" and that the nose shape is "the characteristic symbol of a hawk's beak." A row of small holes around the perimeter and a larger one at the top of the head perhaps once held feathers, symbols appropriate to the dhuwlaxa.

RBCM 15, too, can be associated with the dhuwlaxa ceremony. Although the surface of this mask is very worn, U-forms can still be detected on the forehead.<sup>34</sup> The mask's other characteristics are, however, different from the dhuwlaxa masks discussed above: an unusually wide

mouth with two rows of large teeth (indicated negatively with black paint) and raised cheek ridges (once painted with vertical red stripes) that extend from the sides of head, under the eye areas, to the sides of the nostrils. The Catalogue provides no information about this very weathered mask except that it is "old," but the wide mouth and cheek ridges are stylistically related to the type of Heiltsuk grotesque mask, that is thought to represent Pkvs (e. g., McM 1985.5, Fig. 18b). The "Monster-in-human-form dance (Pu'kus . . .)" is the seventh-ranked of the Oweekeno Glualaxa dances, according to Olson (1954: 248), so this mask may be considered a dhuw<sup>ʔ</sup>laxa<sup>ʌ</sup> mask.

In 1922, George Hunt examined the British Columbia Provincial Museum's (as it was then called) ethnographic collections and his comments on individual artifacts were recorded.<sup>35</sup> Hunt noted that RBCM 72 (Fig. 7b), the dhuw<sup>ʔ</sup>laxa<sup>ʌ</sup> mask that was once decorated with strips of copper, represents the "Chief of the Under Sea," the wealth-bringing Komokwa. Copper was a traditional manifestation of wealth (Macnair, Hoover, and Neary 1980: 147). The "Monster-under-the-sea dance (K!u'magwa)" was the eighth-ranked of the Oweekeno Glualaxa dances (Olson 1954: 248). "Spirit mask, belongs to summer dance [i. e., dhuw<sup>ʔ</sup>laxa<sup>ʌ</sup>], looks like one of Berry Pickers' masks" was Hunt's explanation of RBCM 21.<sup>36</sup> He called RBCM 61, a bird mask with a large, curved, articulated beak, "the

Thunder Bird Mask, Summer Dance." Another bird mask with a shorter, straighter moveable beak and very large ears (RBCM 58) he called "Raven that stole the Sea, used in the Summer Dance." Perhaps "Sea" is a mistake here and the mask is "the Raven, who first brought the sun to the earth, [which] is shown in sombre black" that was mentioned in the Daily Colonist article.

The badly-deteriorated frontlet discussed above, RBCM 1319, also "belongs to the summer dance," according to Hunt (1922). "First this is put on and then [the dancer] goes away and comes out with the wolf mask on." Hunt is referring to part of the dhuwláxa ceremony:

After the disappearance of the . . . headdress dancer and the sounding of the Tlasula horns announcing his imminent appearance, the attendants usher in a dancer, or group of dancers, whose function is to display the inherited privilege toward which the whole Tlasula dance is focused. If it is a single dancer, he may be conceived of as being the former headdress dancer supernaturally transformed into a creature central to a family myth. Some dances . . . feature groups of dancers and are re-enactments of mythical incidents or dances acquired from supernatural contact by an ancestor. [Holm 1972: 36]

According to Hunt, the wolf mask that followed the disappearance of the headdress dancer is RBCM 48. It therefore represents a supernatural creature important in the family history of its owners. Because RBCM 48 is in relatively good condition (it still has its red and black paint, copper eyes and teeth, and leather ears and

tongue), it may not have come from the same source as the frontlet RBCM 1319 and Hunt's comment may refer to this type of wolf mask rather than to RBCM 48 specifically. Two other wolf masks from Bella Bella were collected by Jacobsen: RBCM 14 and RBCM 18. They are a pair. Both have the same red, black, and blue paint; both have fur on the head; both are trimmed with copper, signifying wealth. Jacobsen no doubt knew the family histories that go with these masks - the Daily Colonist reporter wrote that "Several wolf heads have each their tradition" - but he left no information about them.<sup>37</sup>

Caíqa series masks were also collected by Jacobsen. This series is the Winter Ceremonial proper; it takes place in the winter season whereas the dhúw'láxa was originally a spring ceremony that followed the caíqa. (Changes in the ceremonies in modern times have resulted in the shortening and combining of the two ceremonial cycles.) Boas (1897: 431) explains that,

The object of the whole winter ceremonial is, first, to bring back the youth who is supposed to stay with the supernatural being who is the protector of his society, and then, when he has returned in a state of ecstasy, to exorcise the spirit which possesses him and to restore him from his holy madness.

The highest-ranked dance of the caíqa series is the tánis (hámacá), which enacts the abduction of the novice by Baxvbakválanusiwa, the Cannibal at the North End of the

World, the taming of the novice, and his return to civilized society.

In a letter to Newcombe dated October 8, 1904, Jacobsen mentioned that he had sold some "old . . . Hametza [hámacá] masks" from Bella Bella to the Provincial Museum. RBCM 9 (Fig. 25a), described as a "Raven" mask in the Catalogue, would have been one of these. The mask has a short, articulated beak with red lips, nostrils, and red U-shapes on the bottom of the lower jaw. With the exception of circles of white paint indicating the pupils of the eyes, the rest of the mask is black. Old floral-patterned cloth covers the back of the mask and pieces of red-dyed cedar bark are still attached to the top of the head. "The Raven mask is worn when taking the part of the slave of the cannibal spirit," according to Newcombe (1909:33). Thus, the mask represents Qoa'qoaXua-lanuXsi'wae, the slave of Baxvbakválanusiwa, the first mask worn by the hamáca novice in the dramatization of his taming. Boas (1897: 446-47) explains that the Kwakwaka'wakw hamátsa novice dances once without a mask and then disappears into the secret room (ma'wiL) at the back of the house:

Soon his cries are heard again, and he is seen coming out backward at the side of the ma'wiL. He now impersonates the slave of BaxbakualanuXsi'wae. Actually, it is not the same person who is wearing this mask, but somebody else who dances in his place. He crouches so that the long beak of the bird is close to the ground and turns his head with sudden jerks to the right and to the left.

Both his hands are hidden under his blanket and with them he pulls strings which make the jaw of the mask open and shut very rapidly, thus producing a loud clattering noise. As soon as the mask appears, the singers begin the following song: Wa! Everybody is afraid of the t'se'tse'aeqa mask of Baxbakualanuxsi'wae / Wa! Everybody is afraid of the t'se'tse'aeqa mask of Qoa'goaxualanuxsi'wae / His hooked-beak mask causes fluttering of the heart / His ho'Xhoku head mask causes fluttering of the heart.

Boas (1897: 447-48) goes on to explain that the next dancer "wears the mask of BaxbakuálanuXsi'wae himself, and dances and moves in the same position as the Qoa'goaxualanuxsi'wae" and that the third dance "is that of the ho'xhoku." It is not described in the 1897 text, but the fourth dance would be the hooked-beak, or Crooked-beak, mask.

An important set of red-cedar long-beaked masks, RBCM 5-8, represents Cannibal birds. Their fragile condition and unique appearance indicate that they are ancient and this has been confirmed by a tree-ring dating analysis of wood taken from RBCM 5. Dates of 1703, 1733, and 1876 resulted, with 1733 being statistically the most probable.<sup>38</sup> The carving of all four masks is unusually minimal; they are almost plank-like. Rounded brow/cheek ridges, raised oval eyes areas, and (on the Crooked-beak) cylindrical nostrils, are among the few carved details. The lower jaws are articulated. At the back of each one is a helmet-like projection that fits over the wearer's

head (the helmet section of RBCM 5 is missing). Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of these old masks is the complete absence of any colour other than black; they are painted all over with black pigment to which graphite has been added. This bears out the what Boas was told in 1923: "All masks worn in TsEtseika [c̄a'íqa] dances were painted black only." The Cannibal Bird masks collected by Jacobsen illustrate this old tradition and are rare examples of an ancient type of Heiltsuk c̄a'íqa mask.<sup>39</sup>

In the RBCM catalogue, RBCM 5, RBCM 6, and RBCM 7 (Fig. 25b) are called "Raven, Hawk." In Hunt's interpretation (1922), however, RBCM 5 represents the Hoqhoq.<sup>40</sup> The mask's long (approximately 168 cm.), slightly tapered beak is consistent with this identification. RBCM 5 can be compared to two unusual Kwakwaka'wakw Huxwhukw masks collected by Hunt in 1901 that also have long, articulated beaks and are predominantly black (AMNH 16/8553, AMNH 16/8425).<sup>41</sup> Their role in Kwakwaka'wakw ceremony was also unusual:

These two bird masks are rare versions of *huxwhukw*, a bird attendant of Baxwhakwalanuxsiwe' . . . [but] are not the same being as the *huxwhukw* that appears in the *hamatsa* performance. Instead, they represent a bird that reappears in the *tseka* as part of a tradition different from the *hamatsa*. . . . The behaviour of these birds is similar to that of the *hamatsa huxwhukw*; they all split their victim's heads open with their beaks and eat the exposed brains." [Jonaitis, ed. 1991: 218-19]

Perhaps RBCM 5 played a similar role in the Heiltsuk <sup>2</sup>caíqa series. RBCM 6 resembles the Hoqhoq mask but its beak is shorter and more rounded. It may represent Qoa'qoaXualanuXsi'wae, the slave of Báxvbakválan<sup>2</sup>usiwa. RBCM 7 has a long, straight beak that is square at the ends (Fig. 25b). Instead of the pronounced eye-cheek ridge of the other black masks, it has flared cheek areas. It may be a Báxvbakválan<sup>2</sup>usiwa mask. RBCM 8 has a recurved beak (the curved end is formed by attaching another piece of wood to the main plank), tubular nostrils, and a short lower jaw. It is called "Hawk or Thunder Bird" in the Catalogue but resembles the Crooked-Beak.

Jacobsen collected other masks that belong to the caíqa ceremonies. RBCM 13, a humanoid mask with pursed lips and concave cheeks, is described as "Winter dance mask" in the RBCM catalogue. A Sisiutl mask, RBCM 51, was also "used in the winter dance" according to Hunt (1922).<sup>42</sup> RBCM 62, a mask with a snout-like nose, wide mouth with moveable lower jaw, and two pairs of ears (human ears on the side of the head and large, wide U-shaped ears on the top) is called both a "Hamatsa mask" and "the Maker of the First Whistle" (Catalogue).<sup>43</sup> RBCM 24, a human face mask, is said to have been used in the "Cannibal dance." Newcombe (1909: 33) refers to this mask as "Cannibal face;" Hunt (1922) says it belongs to the "Cannibal dance, Winter dance" and that there "should be

two, stand about 18" apart, move by string."<sup>44</sup> RBCM 30, a bear mask with a wide mouth (with no teeth showing) and the remains of fur on its head, is called a "Cannibal bear mask" in the Catalogue and a "Grizzly bear" by Newcombe (1909: 33), who says that it was "worn in the Winter ceremonial." This would seem to be the Heiltsuk equivalent of "Na'nes Baxbakualanuxsi'wae [or] Bear of BábakuálanúXsi'wae," the seventh-ranked winter dance of "Kwakiutl proper" (Boas 1897: 468).<sup>45</sup> Boas (1897: 467) explains that "the Grizzly Bear dancer belongs to the <sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup> cáiq̄a series" and that grizzly bear dancers "are perhaps the most dreaded helpers of the ha'mats'a."

Bear mask RBCM 63, identified only as a "bear" in the Catalogue, appears to be a special type of grizzly bear and may be a <sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup> cáiq̄a mask. Its two distinctive, needle-like copper teeth suggest that a specific supernatural bear associated with wealth is portrayed. Perhaps this is the mask of the "grizzly bear [that] is given the credit of having provided the fertile valleys of the Province and honored accordingly" that Jacobsen described to the Daily Colonist reporter.

RBCM 26 (Fig. 26), a mask which depicts "Iakim" (Catalogue), belongs to the <sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup> cáiq̄a series. Its sharp teeth, deeply furrowed brow, and plumes of human hair give it a bear-like appearance. Hunt explains that this is a "Monster Fish." According to Boas (1897: 480), "the

Ia'k'im (badness) is a water monster which obstructs rivers, and endangers lakes and the sea, and swallows and upsets canoes . . . . The form in which it is represented is quite variable because all sea monsters are called by this term." RBCM 26, then, is probably the "particularly fierce-looking mask . . . the Devil of the River, who capsizes the canoes" that Jacobsen described to the reporter.

The "Dsonokoa" (Dzunukwa), or Wild Woman of the Woods, is represented by mask RBCM 16. Boas (1897:372) describes this supernatural creature:

She is represented as having enormous breasts and as carrying a basket, into which she puts children whom she steals in order to eat them. Her eyes are hollow and shine with a wild lustre. She is asleep most of the time. Her mouth is pushed forward, as she is, when awake, constantly uttering her cry, 'u, hu, u, u.' This figure belongs to a great many clan legends, and is often represented on house posts or on masks.

A Dzunukwa dancer took part in the Winter Ceremonial witnessed by Boas at Fort Rupert in 1895-96:

The next dancer was a Ts'o'noqoa, who entered dressed in a bearskin, which was attached to her mask. She rubbed her eyes and shouted 'ou, ou.' Then the people sang, and she went out again."  
[Boas 1897: 603]

Holm (1972: 33) notes that the Dzunukwa "may appear in either the Tlasula or the Tseyka, depending upon the origin of the dance privilege." In addition, one type of Tsonoqua mask was "strictly speaking, part of neither

[ceremony], but certain chiefs had the right to display it when they were asserting their rank and wealth." Also associated with the Dzunukwa is a mask fragment (RBCM 75) in the form of a wooden circle with a blue and red painted design and a corona of copper rays. It is described in the Catalogue as a "rayed circle to be worn around a face of wood to represent the sun." Its central mask - now missing - would, according to Hunt (1922), have been a Tsonoqua because "the Dsonoqua married the sun."

The masks discussed above are easily contextualized. Others collected by Jacobsen are not. Further research is necessary to determine the place of the "Beaver" (RBCM 12), and "Raven" (RBCM 52) masks in the Heiltsuk dance-dramas. RBCM 52 in particular is somewhat mysterious. It is a small (10 x 12.5 x 12.5), roughly carved mask painted red and black. A wide border surrounds a central face with a long, thin beak. The shape of the beak suggests an insect, rather than a bird, may be represented.

The purpose of this detailed discussion of the Bella Bella masks and frontlets collected by Jacobsen has been to demonstrate that his collection of ceremonial objects is remarkably comprehensive, illustrating both *dhuw<sup>3</sup>láx̄a* and *caíq̄a* prerogatives. In addition, even though Jacobsen's documentation is disappointingly rudimentary, the artifacts can be contextualized by augmenting the minimal Catalogue data with more complete information from

the ethnographic literature and from Hunt's 1922 gloss. Here again, though, Hunt's comments perpetuate the Boasian convention of imposing Kwakwaka'wakw interpretations on Heiltsuk objects.

Ritual objects collected by Jacobsen seem to indicate that he wished to present a wide and representative range of old and traditional ceremonial paraphernalia in the collection. Typically, many variations of each type of object are illustrated. The objects are just fragments of the vast Heiltsuk ceremonial system, but they encompass the variety and complexity of nineteenth-century (and perhaps even earlier) Heiltsuk ritual.

The fragments of dance costumes in the collection demonstrate this variety and complexity. Some of these are parts of frontlets or headdresses. RBCM 50 is a small carving of a head surrounded by a semi-circular border that is pierced with holes at the top and bottom.<sup>46</sup> Hunt (1922) interpreted it as "probably the ear or forehead of some other mask or else the front of a chief's headdress;" the Catalogue calls it a "headdress front, Thunder-bird crest." Two beautifully carved and painted wooden objects in the shape of pierced killer-whale fins with profile heads below are "crest helmet ornament[s]" or "killer-whale fins for attachment to head-pieces" (RBCM 53-54, Fig. 27a, Catalogue, Newcombe 1909: 31).

In addition, Jacobsen collected a crown-like headdress made of sixteen long, curved triangles of sheet copper sewn to a ring of red fabric (RBCM 84, Fig. 27b).<sup>47</sup> A circle of material bound with string is attached to the top of the copper "rays" to keep them vertical. This is a "dance head-dress with copper rays, representing bears claw crown of Tsimshian shaman" (Catalogue). It probably belonged to a healer (hailikila), one of the ranked dancers in dhuwláxa series. Drucker (1940: 211) explains that,

A Healer has the power to enter the room of any dancer, and can cause the inspiration ("put power on") or drive out the spirit of anyone. His insignia is a two-ply headband of cedar bark mounted with curved, upward-projecting spokes of copper (apparently similar in style to the bear-claw or goat-horn coronets of more northerly shamans).

Shamans' coronets like RBCM 84 were used by Gitksan and other shamans of the northern Northwest Coast (Barbeau 1973: 39-55). The shamanic reference encapsulates one of the fundamental concepts of the cáíqa series. For the duration of the sacred winter season, the cáíqa dancers have certain characteristics of true shamans. In the dances, they appear to have or control a spirit power obtained through contact with the supernatural (see Olson 1954: 250).

An undecorated length of hollow bone with a deep notch at each end, through which a string is wrapped lengthwise,

is another shamanic object (RBCM 257). According to the Catalogue, this is a "Medicine man's soul catcher." It may have been used by a true shaman to cure sickness:

Soul catchers were said to have been used by shamans in capturing and retrieving the soul of a person whose illness could be attributed to its loss or theft. The soul would be caught in the bone tube and stoppered there for its return.  
[Holm 1983: 119]

But Hunt (1922) says this soul catcher was "used to call the Spirit to come and give the Medicine man power" and this implies that it may have been a <sup>2</sup>caíqa series prop rather than a curing instrument.<sup>48</sup>

Hunt (1922) said that one of two dance aprons in the collection, a diagonally-woven cedar bark with three rows of deer-hoof jinglers (RBCM 93B),<sup>49</sup> would have been worn with a red cedar-bark neck ring like RBCM 93A. Jacobsen collected eleven other red-dyed cedar-bark rings and each has a different form and structure. Once again, the variations in a type of ceremonial object collected by Jacobsen evoke the rich imagery of Heiltsuk winter ceremonies, and remind us of Boas' influence on his collecting practices. Each ring belongs to a different dance of the <sup>2</sup>caíqa series but the Catalogue entries for several of the rings state only that they are made from "cedar bark dyed red to represent blood."<sup>50</sup> That the red cedar bark is a sacred symbol of the <sup>2</sup>caíqa series is perhaps alluded to in the statement that head ring RBCM 77

belonged to a medicine man, or doctor, because the <sup>2</sup>caíqa is also known as the Shaman's series. Hunt (1922) added the information that neck ring RBCM 93A was "put on when walking away in the dance" and both the neck ring RBCM 81 and the head ring RBCM 82 were "put on after the mask in the dance." He gave a little more information for RBCM 83: it is the neck ring of the "rich woman, Q'ominoqa . . . used in the winter dance."<sup>51</sup>

Most information is available for RBCM 92 (Fig. 28), a complex, fringed head ring made of many strands of twisted cedar bark that has three dog skulls attached to it. This is described as "olala's head ring . . . worn at Dog-Eaters dance" (Catalogue). The "Dog dance" (Awa'sElaL) is the twenty-third ranked winter dance of the Kwaguł (Boas 1897: 499),<sup>52</sup> but in Heiltsuk tradition, the "Dog Eating dance [nułam] constitutes a series distinct from both the Shaman's cycle and the dluwulaxa" (Drucker 1940: 210-11).<sup>53</sup> The use of the neck ring in the nułam is made clear in the following description of the Haisla version of the ceremony:

When the nułam whistles blow, the novice rushes into the woods, where he hides four days. . . . When he is captured, he is attired in a bearskin robe, a head ring with pendant dog skulls, and a neck ring. His face is painted black. . . . He dances back and forth on the beach before the village, now and then becoming frenzied at the sight of a dog, which he catches and eats. . . . He is taken through the houses for four days. He dances at the end of this time in the house of the head nułam dancer (and presumably potlatches to his society). For some time after he may converse

with no one but fellow members. [Drucker 1940:  
218-19]

Olson (1940: 176) explains that "the flesh of dog (as of humans) is regarded unclean or actually poisonous, and the ability of the dancers to partake of it with impunity is note-worthy." The number of dog skulls attached to the ring apparently indicates the number of dogs the dancer has eaten. Jacobsen was familiar with the nułam ceremony, which he called "Nullem-killa the Dog-eater."<sup>54</sup> He described it to the Daily Colonist reporter and he witnessed one of the last nułam performances at Talio. "I saw one man in South Bentinck Arm bite the throat of sixteen dogs in one day," he wrote, "He was blod all over his body . . . ." The description of the ceremony bears out his observation that "The dog eater or the Nullamkilla" was a "pretty toff seight."<sup>55</sup>

Five dance whistles or horns that Jacobsen collected are described in the Catalogue as "reed instruments." Each of these is different in form and tone. RBCM 127, a "hamatsa whistle of four notes," is a wide, flat whistle with two square holes on one side that can be compared to Kwakwaka'wakw hamatsa whistles "which represent the voices of the spirits." Many of these are double whistles and some have four "voices" (Boas 1987: 445-46). RBCM 128 is a long, flat tube and is also technically called a whistle. Other "reed instruments" are more properly

called horns and Jacobsen collected a number of these of different shapes. One has a tubular mouth piece and a long, tapering end (RBCM 130, called "terminal form" in the Catalogue); one is conical (RBCM 131, "lipped form"); one has a tapered mouth piece and a wide end (RBCM 129, "trumpet shaped"). The difference between whistles and horns is explained by Drucker (1940: 205, note 13) with reference to the Oweekeno:

The whistles used in the dluwulaxa differ from those of the Shamans' series; from descriptions they seem to have been long trumpet-like affairs. Natives refer to them in English as 'horns' to distinguish them.

This would seem to contradict Hunt's statement that the whistle RBCM 128 was for the "summer dance" (dhuw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>á<sup>3</sup>xá) whereas RBCM 131, a conical horn, was a "winter dance" instrument. According to Hawthorn (1979: 94), "whistles with reeds, which were bound together and fastened inside, were especially associated with the Klasila (dhuw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>á<sup>3</sup>xá), and their tone was easily recognized. A detailed discussion of the distinction is not part of this study. Rather, the various kinds of "reed instruments" collected by Jacobsen support the thesis that his collection was meant to be as representative as possible of the Heiltsuk ceremonial system.

One of the whistles in the collection, RBCM 101 (Fig. 29), is unlike those discussed above. It is in the form

of a little figure with wooden arms and legs attached to a flexible leather body. Its skull-like head is "carved to represent a corpse" (Newcombe 1909: 35). Its mouth is a large, square hole and there is a small round hole above the nose. This is an "Olala whistle, for women's winter dance" (Catalogue, Hunt 1922). In the Heiltsuk <sup>2</sup>caíqa series, the seventh-ranked dancer is the ulala and the fourth-ranked dancer is the lułat, the ghost dancer (Drucker 1940: 210, 208). Although the skull-like head and corpse-like articulated body of the whistle would seem to associate it with the latter, the name probably comes from a ceremony called the olala that was obtained by the northern tribes from the Heiltsuk. Haida headdresses and whistles "representing the Olala'" have the same characteristics as RBCM 101 (Boas 1897: 651-54) and the origin story of the Nisqa'a version of the ceremony equates the olala spirits with the <sup>1</sup>tańís (they are said to "eat men" and, like the <sup>2</sup>caíqa, the ceremony takes place in the winter). Furthermore, with the olala ceremony, the Nisqa' acquired "the use of large whistles" which resemble RBCM 101:

In his dances the olala of all the northern tribes use headdresses which represent a corpse. The whistles which are used to imitate the cries of the spirit are large and give a deep, hollow sound. They are all carved or painted with the design of the head of a corpse, either with hollow orbits or with closed eyes. Some of these whistles are attached to bellows. They are carried under the arms, hidden by the blankets,

and thus blown without being seen. [Boas 1897:  
652-53]

RBCM 101 is clearly such a whistle,<sup>56</sup> and may be the original Heiltsuk form of a prerogative that spread to the northern nations by intermarriage, war, and trade.

Like the other ceremonial objects in the collection, the three batons in Jacobsen's collection embody various types and forms that exist within one class of artifact. They were used in ceremonies, either carried by dancers or used to beat the rhythm of the songs. The largest and most complex (RBCM 106) represents, in abstract form, a killer whale.<sup>57</sup> It is simply a thick oval shape painted black with a white band going vertically around the centre. A slot at the centre top once held a carved fin (now missing) and a carved whale's tail rises from the back of the oval where the thin handle is attached. RBCM 125 is also a long oval baton with a thin handle, but it tapers toward the handle and lacks decoration except for a simple engraved ovoid design at the thinner end. RBCM 126 is different again: a baseball-bat shape with no decoration. Hunt said it was "used in the winter dance" and was "old," and this could be said of all of the batons; they appear worn and used.

The group of ceremonial rattles is as varied as the collection of "reed instruments" and batons. Five different types of rattles and a clapper are represented.

Two of the rattles are shaped like human heads with pursed lips, half-moon eyes, circular hollows on the cheeks, and cedar-bark tufts above each ear. The backs of the heads are painted with formline designs in black and red. Each is described as a "Heligya's rattle, represents the wood spirit" (Catalogue).<sup>58</sup> These rattles were used in the taming ceremonies of the hamatsa:

He bites pieces of flesh out of the arms and chests of the people. As soon as he arrives, the servants of the ha'mats'a, the he'lig.a (healers) or sa'laLila, of whom the Kwakiutl have twelve in all, run up to him, swinging rattles, the sound of which is supposed to pacify the ha'mats'a. This office is hereditary in the male line, and either four or six of them must accompany the ha'mats'a when he is in an ecstasy. They surround him in a close circle in order to prevent him from attacking the people and utter the pacifying cries 'hoi'p, hoi'p.' The rattles of the he'liga are always carved with a design which originally represented a skull. [Boas 1897: 438-39]

RBCM 116, another rattle, is described as an "eagle rattle, owl carved on breast" that was used in the winter dance (Catalogue, Hunt 1922). This is a round rattle with a human-like face carved on one side and, on the other side, an owl indicated by the painted design of the bird's body and a small carved bird's head at the top. It is possible that this is also a He'lig.a's rattle because Boas (1897: 439) makes the point that the design of these rattles "often degenerates into the representation of a conventional face, and in some cases it has simply a rounded shape, and an animal is carved on its face." This

description fits RBCM 116. In addition, there are stylistic similarities (e. g., the decorated flaring borders around the faces) between RBCM 116 and one of the He'lig'a rattles that Adrian Jacobsen collected for the Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin (MfV IVA-864, Boas 1897: 438, fig. 56). On the other hand, it could be a shaman's rattle. Holm (1987: 128) explains that "globular rattles were reserved for shamans' work and for the Winter Ceremonial, Tseyka, consistent with the idea that all the active participants in the Tseyka were 'shamans'" (see also Barbeau 1973).

As might be expected, other rattles from Bella Bella collected by Jacobsen take different forms. A copper rattle (RBCM 115) is not only made of the metal, but is shaped like a Copper and is therefore a symbol of wealth.<sup>59</sup> RBCM 113 is called a "rattle baton" in the Catalogue. It is composed of a long, tubular handle topped with a bird's thin, curved neck and finely-carved head. Hunt's (1922) information is that it depicts a raven and is one of two rattles that were used in a night-long winter dance performance: "When the dancer comes in he gives notice with the rattle." Another long-handled rattle, RBCM 112, is carved in the form of a hand holding a Copper that is painted with a simple formline design. (The other end of the handle is triangular.) Called a "Hamatsa rattle" in the Catalogue, it is strikingly

similar to a Kwakwaka'wakw staff (AMNH 16/6810) that Hunt collected from a Speaker of the Ławitsis tribe on Turnour Island, Johnstone Strait, in 1899. Although the staff is longer than the rattle, it also depicts a hand holding a copper painted with simple formline design. Further, the staff's handle is hollow and filled with pebbles so that it acts as a rattle (Jonaitis, ed. 1991: 86, fig. 2.15).

There is only one dance clapper from Bella Bella in the Jacobsen collection: RBCM 122 (Fig. 30a). It is in the shape of a killer whale with a human figure - a "mythical spirit-man according to Newcombe (1901:31) - on its underside and is said by Hunt (1922) to have been "used in the winter dance, the Mischief Makers dance." Clappers in the shape of killer whales are known to have been used in the Mitla dance of the Kwakwaka'wakw. UBCMOA A6368, for example, was said to have been "carried by Mitla while he was disrupting the singers." Hawthorn (1979: 102) explains that "the war spirit dancer, the male form of Mitla, came in balefully and sounded his clapper before he used his magical weapon." The dance that Boas called Me'iLa is perhaps the same ceremony. The Me'iLa dancer carries a clapper instead of a rattle (Boas 1897: 484) and the Kwakwaka'wakw origin story of the Me'iLa came from the Heiltsuk and Oweekeno (Boas 1897: 418, 413). (It tells of a young man named Me'iLa who went up to heaven ten times in one year, each time bringing something from

the upper world back to earth, and finally remained at the house of the moon.) Drucker (1940: 210, 214) equated the Heiltsuk miLa with the dhuwláxa but noted that "the term miLa was used to refer to the whole series of dances of which the dluwulaxa is a part" by the Xíxis. The Heiltsuk War dancer (winalaḷ), the third-ranked of the dhuwláxa (or miLa) series, "flies away in inspiration, and on his return goes about destroying property" (Drucker 1940: 210-11) and this characteristic seems in keeping with Hunt's designation, "Mischief Makers," for the dance in which the killer whale clapper was used. Jacobsen also collected a "Meitla's spiked club [that] represents Snake" (Hunt 1922), i. e., the Sisiyutḷ. The Sisiyutḷ was one of the "gift[s]" from heaven obtained by the ancestor, Me'iLa. The Sisiyutḷ-club from Bella Bella is similar to a Kwakwaka'wakw version of the Me'iLa's club that is pictured in Boas (1897: Pl. 38) but has a spike instead of a carved tongue and lacks the two horns on the top of the head.

As well as the club representing the Sisiyutḷ, there is a wooden club in the shape of a killer whale in the collection (RBCM 105, Fig. 30b). A stone blade inserted vertically through the club forms the whale's dorsal fin. An eagle's face is carved on the end of the handle. Hunt (1922) explained the two images: "this is from the killer whale family, must have married into the Thunder Bird."<sup>60</sup>

The club, called a "Copper Breaker's club," was used by chiefs to break pieces from Coppers, thereby demonstrating their wealth and prestige (for a discussion of the intricacies of the Copper-breaking conventions see Boas 1987: 354). Newcombe (1909: 31) wrote that the club is shaped like a "slave killer" because "formerly with similar clubs slaves were sacrificed, but in reality the breaking or cutting is now done with an iron chisel."<sup>61</sup>

Perhaps related to this club are a ceremonial wooden dagger (RBCM 109) and a wooden sword (RBCM 107).<sup>62</sup> The dagger has a dark patina and a broken handle, so it appears to be old. It is spike-shaped and, because Kwakwaka'wakw wooden figures of Copper-breaking chiefs or their attendants often hold pointed, dagger-like clubs (see, for example, Boas 1897: Pl. 19 and Jonaitis, ed., 1991: 84, fig. 2.14), this may be another form of "slave killer" or "Copper breaker." The ceremonial sword may have had a similar function even though, as Hunt said, it is "not Indian at all." (It is 140 cm. long and resembles a European-style broad sword with a central ridge, wide hand guard, and ornate pommel shaped like a heart topped by a diamond.) The artifact card for the sword reads "ceremonial sword, Dsnoqua" and, as noted above, one type of dzunukwa mask was the chief's mask that was worn by the chief by displaying wealth. One of the ways he did this was to buy, sell, give away, or break Coppers (Jonaitis

ed., 1991: 138). Besides being used as Copper breakers, daggers were used to cut the symbolic cedar bark at the beginning of the *caíqa* ceremonies and as weapons in the Warrior dance (Jonaitis, ed. 1991: 140), so it is also possible that RBCM 109 and RBCM 107 were used in these contexts.

Daggers were also used in the *tuxw'id* ceremony to stage the simulated spearing, decapitation, or disembowelment that were part of the complicated stagecraft of the *tuxw'id* dancer. A trick of the *tuxw'id* dancer is described by Boas (1897: 492):

Other t'o'X'uit . . . bring up the no'nLEmg.ila (making foolish), a small human figure with moveable head and arms. It dances about, and then one or two birds are seen to fly down from the roof and alight on its head. . . . The figure is . . . worked from under-ground.

RBCM 100 is a no'nLEmg.ila figure. Like all these figures, its forearms are articulated at the elbow, its face has two lines painted on the cheeks, its head is covered with tufts of human hair (most are now missing). Its body is dotted with mica spots which would shine in the light of the fire. The figure is actually made up of two separate parts; it is split all the way down the middle. Hunt (1922) explained that, "It is pulled apart on a string, the spit in the middle cannot be seen in the dark so the Indians cannot see how it is done. They keep pulling it apart and joining it up again." The figure's

legs end abruptly at the ankles, perhaps indicating that it was manipulated from under the ground or on some sort of platform.

Like all the ceremonial objects discussed above, the tuxw'id figure was a carefully-guarded prerogative. Its workings were secret and it was not to be seen by the uninitiated. This can be said of the majority of objects collected by Jacobsen: skeletal remains, memorials, grave objects, old artifacts, and valued ceremonial properties. How did he acquire them? In his reminiscences (1956: 19), Jacobsen explains his collecting methods:

to buy Indian Currio is not leike going into a store, most of my buing was done in the night and some time ofter most of the Indians had goen to bed. you see no Indian will sel any of his wolluabele Dans mask and let any of his neabor know any thing about it as all Danses are more leike a Religius ofair, and the greatest secret is keep of every thing, and if a man should be caught in selling some of his secret woden Dans mask Roteles ir any parapernalia belonging to the secret Danses he would be killet by the master of sermonies and the Indian Doctors. . . . for this reason I had to be soo very careful and not let the nexst fellow know what I bought, any ordinary haus article I of couce could buy in the Day time but when it cam Wooden masks Dans Rateles and wissels wich was all uset in the secret Danses I had to be soo careful. [Spelling as in the original]

As has been noted, "ordinary haus article[s]" made up a small percentage of Jacobsen's collection. The implication is that most of the artifacts were acquired under dramatic, clandestine circumstances such as he

describes. At least, this is the impression he wanted to create. Did he overstate the case in order to make his collecting activities appear exotic and dangerous, and the artifacts rarer and more valuable? Despite the influence of scientific ethnography that is visible in the contents of the collection, Jacobsen seems to have had a romantic and somewhat sensationalist view of artifact collecting. The former attitude betrays the influence of Boas; perhaps the latter is a legacy of Jacobsen's years with Hagenbeck.

It is interesting to note that Jacobsen's collection and his collecting strategy are fundamentally different from Swan's. Swan's collection is biased toward newly-made versions of old artifacts. Jacobsen was interested in old, 'authentic' artifacts and collected very few new artifacts. The Washington-based collector had little or no contact with Heiltsuk sources, depending on HBC agents for his objects and whatever documentation they have. Living in Bella Coola, Jacobsen was close to his sources.

Jacobsen's collection is in many ways similar to Boas and Hunt's collections. Jacobsen had learned about ethnographic collecting from his brother, Adrian, who had been instructed by the staff at the Royal Ethnographical Museum in Berlin, the institution where Boas first developed his ideas about Northwest Coast art and culture. Jacobsen's bias toward old, traditional and ceremonial artifacts can perhaps be explained by this background. It

mirrors Boas' scientific interest in thoroughly documenting the pre-modern arts and artifacts of the Northwest Coast. As Jacobsen's own writing reveals, though, he had a highly romantic view of Northwest Coast peoples and cultures. Perhaps this is why Jacobsen's documentation is minimal compared to the extensive Hunt-Boas documentation. On the other hand, Jacobsen's Heiltsuk collection is larger than that of Boas and Hunt and more extensive. Many of the artifacts are older. Perhaps more came from graves or uninhabited sites. While he may not have the same unique entree into First Nations communities that Hunt (and therefore Boas) had, Jacobsen did have a network of sources for old and valuable artifacts, as his own statement about his collection methods demonstrates.

Jacobsen's training and background, his Bella Coala connections, and his access to Bella Bella artifacts resulted in a uniquely extensive and comprehensive collection of Heiltsuk objects in the RBCM that has been discussed in considerable depth in this study. The detailed contextual analysis that has been possible for the ceremonial and crest objects collected by Jacobsen veils the fact that Jacobsen himself offered little information about the artifacts he collected, even though it appears that he knew something about their uses, meanings, and contexts. It is only by linking Jacobsen's

meagre information with more extensive documentation - mostly from Hunt and Boas, but also from Olson, Drucker, and other ethnologists and more recent scholars - that the astonishing comprehensiveness of Jacobsen's Heiltsuk collection has been demonstrated. We have seen that the majority of the artifacts refer specifically to an extensive range of historical Heiltsuk ceremonials. We have also seen that the extensive and detailed Boas-Hunt texts are crucial for understanding nineteenth-century (and, in case the case of the black *tánis* masks, possibly earlier) Heiltsuk ceremonial artifacts in minimally-documented museum collections such as Jacobsen's. But, his English-Tlingit background notwithstanding, Hunt lived in a Kwaguł community and appears to have interpreted Heiltsuk culture from a Kwakwaka'wakw viewpoint.<sup>63</sup> It is possible that, by equating Heiltsuk to Kwakwaka'wakw practices, he elided Kwakwaka'wakw and Heiltsuk arts and ceremonies. The dominance of the Hunt-Boas texts as explanatory tools results in a predominantly Kwakwaka'wakw model for the interpretation of Heiltsuk artifacts. Unique Heiltsuk ceremonial objects, such as the black Cannibal bird masks, are by necessity interpreted with reference to Kwakwaka'wakw contexts. The actual degree of equivalency between Kwakwaka'wakw and Heiltsuk ceremonies and ceremonial objects during the nineteenth century and earlier is not easily determined.

Charles F. Newcombe Collection

Dr. Charles Frederick Newcombe (1851 - 1924) of Victoria was a prolific artifact collector who worked on commission for many museums and had contacts throughout North America and Europe. Between 1895, when he first went to Haida Gwaii, and his death at Victoria after a collecting trip to Alert Bay in 1924, Newcombe gathered thousands of artifacts. He helped John Swanton of the JNPE make a Haida collection for the AMNH, made a large collection for George Dorsey of the Field Museum, and collected for George Mercer Dawson of the Geological Survey of Canada, Stewart Culin of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Brooklyn Museum, and Dr. Samuel Barrett of the Milwaukee Public Museum. Artifacts from Newcombe are in the ROM, the British Museum, the Peabody Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology at Harvard, the NMNH, and museums in Edinburgh, Sydney, Melbourne, Bremen (Low 1982, Cole 1985: 177-239, Jonaitis 1988: 198-200). He was in touch with scores of people involved in all aspects of the artifact trade. Boas, Hunt, Jacobsen, and Emmons were among his friends. The collector George Heye, the missionary Dr. R. W. Large, the southwestern trader Fred Harvey, and Professor T. W. McIlwraith of the University

of Toronto are just four examples of his numerous and varied correspondents (Newcombe Family Papers, BCARS).

Newcombe trained as a physician at the University of Aberdeen. After he graduated in 1874, he moved first to Oregon and then to Victoria, arriving in 1889. Although he is known now primarily as an ethnographic collector, natural history and botany were his passions and he was a dedicated collector of plants and specimens (Coull and O'Leary 1997). In Victoria, Newcombe worked briefly at the BCPM. In 1898, he produced a preliminary catalogue of the museums's holdings, which were then predominantly natural history specimens.<sup>64</sup> By 1909 the museum had acquired ethnographic collections from Jacobsen, the Victoria collector James Deans, and other sources. Newcombe was hired to arrange the objects according to tribe and to write a guide to the anthropological exhibits (Cole 1985: 226, 230; Newcombe 1909). Between 1911 and 1913, he collected on commission for the BCPM. Although by this time Newcombe had already bought thousands of artifacts in British Columbia and shipped them outside the province, and many other collectors had done the same, he still managed to amass a large and important group of artifacts for Victoria. According to Cole (1985: 230), "Newcombe was surprised to find a decent quantity of material of almost all kinds even in places, like the

Queen Charlotte Islands, which he thought were played out."

His proficiency in finding objects was a result of his exceptionally good sources for artifacts and information:

Newcombe's collecting was successful because he had help. . . . There were a number of white people upon whom he could call for aid in concluding sales over the winter, for ferreting out desirable pieces, or for securing additional information on specimens already collected. [Cole 1984: 40]

Jacobsen was an important source, as were missionaries and storekeepers in native communities, curio dealers in Victoria, and a network of First Nations friends and suppliers. Newcombe's most important associate was Charlie Nowell, a high-ranking Kwakwaka'wakw who lived at Alert Bay. Nowell worked as collector and interpreter for Newcombe for approximately thirty years (Ford 1941: 167, Cole 1985: 40-41).<sup>65</sup>

Because of Newcombe's wide-ranging contacts and the large number of objects that he was able to acquire, it is shocking to discover that only twelve artifacts in the RBCM's Newcombe collection are said to be from Bella Bella and vicinity. Several of these are unimpressive examples of Heiltsuk art and technology. The majority of the objects were made for sale. At least half of Newcombe's Heiltsuk collection was acquired from a single non-aboriginal source: Miss Kate E. Gaudin, a resident of

Bella Bella. The small number of objects, their lack of variety, the inconsequential nature of some of them, and the limited sources for artifacts would seem to indicate either that Newcombe was not interested in the Heiltsuk and had few contacts among them, or that Bella Bella people were unwilling to part with any more artifacts at the time.<sup>66</sup> The latter is the likely explanation. Nowell had connections with Heiltsuk chiefly families - in his biography, he talks about attending a feast at Bella Bella in the late 1930s (Ford 1941: 236-40) - and masks were acquired at Bella Bella by other collectors in the 1930s and afterward, proving that Heiltsuk families still kept treasured masks and other artifacts. (The RBCM's more recent collections are discussed later in this section.)

Kate Gaudin sold Newcombe two lidded boxes, two canes, a spoon, and a paddle in 1911. The two boxes (RBCM 9743-9744, which look new and for which Newcombe paid five dollars) are said to have been collected by Captain Gaudin (Miss Gaudin's father?) and this may have been the case for all the Gaudin artifacts. Because it is not known where Captain Gaudin operated, the Bella Bella provenance is arguably open to question. Newcombe purchased the objects at Bella Bella but Captain Gaudin may have acquired them elsewhere. That acknowledged, it can be said that the Gaudin objects appear to be typical Heiltsuk works made for sale in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. The painted designs of the boxes have the long eyes, the extremely non-concentric circles, the loosely-drawn, tulip-shaped U-forms, and the thin, sweeping formlines (including black secondary formlines enclosed by red primary formlines) that are found on many boxes thought to have been made at Bella Bella (see Holm 1990: 609-10). The same characteristics are evident in the black, red, and green design on the paddle (RBCM 2056) and, intriguingly, on another, almost identical paddle (RBCM 10027) that was accessioned years later and does not have a Bella Bella provenance. The two paddles (Fig. 31a) are undoubtedly a pair that was broken up when accessioned. Both were probably purchased in 1911 with the other Gaudin objects.<sup>67</sup> The painted wooden spoon (RBCM 9460) has the open red and black design, thin formlines, and free-hand single hatching (upper right to lower left) seen on numerous spoons made for sale at Bella Bella in this period.<sup>68</sup>

The two canes from Gaudin are similar to other carved canes made in the community. RBCM 9746, a T-shaped walking stick with a plain shaft topped by the carved figure of a beaver, recalls three roughly-carved walking sticks collected at Bella Bella between 1899 and 1901 from a shaman, Dr. Sam (ROM 23141-23142, ROM 23157, Black 1997: 164-65). The other Newcombe cane, RBCM 9745, is intricately carved and carefully polished and appears to

be a ceremonial cane or talking stick rather than a walking stick.<sup>69</sup> Its handle is formed by a wolf-like head that may belong to the body of a beaver carved on the cane's shaft. A thin, snake-like form curls around both the shaft and the beaver's body, ending behind the head, which can be interpreted as belonging to both the beaver and snake. (This visual pun is typical of Northwest Coast art, where images routinely have more than one meaning.)<sup>70</sup> RBCM 9745 was accessioned in 1961 with the Newcombe Family Collection. Since it is also from Gaudin, it was probably acquired in 1911 as well. In form and style it is analogous to a number of yew wood canes from Bella Bella with elaborate, ambiguous, and rather grotesque imagery (e. g., NMNH 89101, PS E3660, ROM 23143, see Black 1997: 177-78). The stylistic relationships explained above demonstrate that the objects acquired by Newcombe from Miss Gaudin at Bella Bella may very well have originated there.

RBCM 9732, an animal-form bowl, and RBCM 1856, a magnificent chief's settee (Fig. 7a), are said to have been acquired at Bella Bella in 1911. It is possible that they were also acquired from Gaudin, but since they are not catalogued as such it is more likely that Newcombe acquired them from other sources at Bella Bella that year.

RBCM 9732 is a small (18 cm. long) carved and painted bowl in the shape of a beaver. The bowl is carefully

shaped, with details of the animal's head, tail, and fur painted in black, red, and blue. On each side of the bowl is an incised and painted formline face with large ears. The thinly-applied pigment and unpainted background recall objects that Swan got from Bella Bella in the 1870s. One hundred years later, a similar bowl in the shape of a beaver - said to have be from Bella Bella - was accessioned by the museum (RBCM 16128).

The elaborately carved and painted settee, or chief's seat (RBCM 1856, Fig. 7a), was also acquired at Bella Bella in 1911. This remarkable work has been described in detail in Macnair, Hoover, and Neary (1980: 37, 149; see also Inverarity 1950: fig. 200, Vancouver Art Gallery 1967: no. 338, Bancroft-Hunt and Forman 1979: 30), so its beautifully-executed and complicated imagery will not be reiterated here. It has the same form and a similar style as the settee in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (MfV IVA 2475-2477) that Adrian Jacobsen commissioned from "the most renowned wood carvers among the Bella Bella" when he was unable to buy a similar seat that he had seen in the village when he stopped there in 1881 (Jacobsen 1977: 10). The name of the maker of the Berlin settee was not recorded, but it may be Richard (Dick) Carpenter (1841-1931), who was known as Captain Carpenter. This attribution is based on the fact that the Victoria settee was photographed - probably by Newcombe - in 1900 (Fig.

31b) and Newcombe's description of the image is "Kwakiutl carved seat ex. Bella Bella lighthouse, 1900" (CPN EC34).<sup>71</sup> The location shown in the photograph is therefore thought to be the Dryad Point Lighthouse just north of Waglisla. The lighthouse keeper at Dryad Point was Captain Carpenter. Perhaps he is the person that can be glimpsed, standing beside the settee, in the photograph. Further, Carpenter's name was apparently on the back of the settee when it was collected (Macnair, Hoover, and Neary 1980: 149). Both the Berlin and the Victoria settees are celebrated for their artistry. They are also important diagnostic keys to the identification of works made for sale at Bella Bella in the late nineteenth century in general and of Captain Carpenter's style in particular (Holm 1976: 41-42, Holm 1981: 176, Reid 1987: 232, Black 1997: 110-12).

Newcombe acquired nothing else for the BCPM from Bella Bella. He did, however, collect a few objects from China Hat (Klemtu), a mixed X̱ix̱is-Kitasoo Tsimshian community on Swindle Island, and from Goose Island, which is still an important Heiltsuk resource-gathering site. A kerfed cedar box (RBCM 1994) with vertical decorative grooves at each corner and a row of opercula shells inset into the sides of the lid came from Klemtu in 1911. A stone hammer (RBCM 2084) "used on small wedges, etc." and a sample of "Indian tea" or "ledum groen landieum" (RBCM 2076,

Catalogue) were collected at Goose Island in 1913. These simple objects contrast starkly with the elaborate settee from Waglisla. The disparity emphasizes the inconsistency of Newcombe's collection compared to the earlier large and relatively homogeneous Heiltsuk collections examined in this study.

In 1913 Newcombe also acquired a yew wood cane (RBCM 2312) from Bella Coola.<sup>72</sup> Like the cane purchased from Gaudin (RBCM 9745, discussed above), the Bella Coola cane is carved with a series of interwoven, grotesque figures. A carved human head forms the knob-like handle; the human's body extends down the shaft of the cane; at the bottom is an image of a whale. The body of a lizard-like animal snakes up the shaft. According to Newcombe this cane was carved at Bella Bella and is a "chief's stick (mila)," that is, a ceremonial cane used in the miLa ceremony, the nature of which has already been discussed. According to "Luguis of Alert Bay," the lizard-like animal represented on the cane is the "newt of the lakes, gwalas" (Newcombe artifact notes).<sup>73</sup> This ceremonial cane was probably collected and documented by Nowell because Lagius, a prominent Nimpkish chief who died in 1915, was Charlie Nowell's father-in-law (Ford 1941, Cole 1985: 187). The style of the cane, its subject matter, and its ceremonial function all support the assertion that it was made at Bella Bella, probably by Daniel Houstie, who was

an important Heiltsuk artist (see Black 1997: 119-29). RBCM 9745, the other yew-wood cane in Newcombe's collection, was probably made by Houstie as well. Because Heiltsuk artists such as Houstie were known and respected throughout the coast and Heiltsuk artifacts were widely dispersed through trade and intermarriage, it is not unusual that a cane made by a Bella Bella artist was collected at Bella Coola. As noted previously, there was considerable movement of art works from place to place, through marriage and trade, and artists worked in other communities beside their own.

In the Newcombe Family Collection, which came to the museum in 1961, are five objects said to come from Bella Bella. A small carved bust, a model totem pole, two spoons, and the top part of a leister spear were collected either by C. F. Newcombe or by his son, W. A. Newcombe, who worked with him and inherited his collections. It is not known if these items were obtained in the Bella Bella region, from other artifact collectors, or from Victoria curio dealers.

They are old and new objects, expertly-made and crudely-made art works, things made for sale and for indigenous use. The small, roughly-made carved bust appears to be a product of the early curio trade. The model pole was made for sale and was new when it was collected. One of the spoons is for every-day use; the

other is an elaborately carved and inlaid feast spoon. Together these five objects embody the range and contrasts characteristic of the Newcombe collections as a whole.

The wooden bust in the Newcombe Family Collection (RBCM 10275) is in the form of the head and torso of a woman. Small (22 cm. high) and undetailed, it is covered with distinct knife marks that suggest rapid carving. At one time it was painted blue. For some unknown reason it was subsequently covered with gold paint. In the mid-nineteenth century, Heiltsuk artists made small carvings like this to sell to traders. For example, there is another, better-carved Heiltsuk example in the museum's collection: a small (7.5 cm. high) ivory bust of a European man (RBCM 16497) that is said to have been collected at McLoughlin Bay in 1853 by Captain G. H. Inskip of the Royal Navy vessel, Virago, of whom it may be a portrait. Compared to RBCM 10275, the ivory carving is detailed and specific. The peculiarities of the sitter's hair style and dress - fashionable sideburns, bow tie, waistcoat, and coat with large buttons - were evidently of much interest to the artist. Such carvings are mentioned in the ship's log:

Two native brothers who had taken the name of Johnston carved on ivory and bone wonderfully well for untutored savages especially allowing for the tools they use all being of the heaviest description. They succeeded remarkably well in making several most excellent likenesses that would do credit to many a proferred hand. We supplied the material, generally a whale's tooth,

and their price was two shirts or dollars - perhaps an old jacket or pair of trousers - not mended would answer as well. [Catalogue]

Although it is quite different, the wooden bust in the Newcombe Family Collection may also be an early example of Heiltsuk tourist art. According to the Catalogue, its previous owner was Dr. William Fraser Tolmie. Tolmie was at Fort McLouglin in 1833 and 1834-35 (Tolmie 1963); possibly the carving (but not the blue paint and gilding) dates from that time. It would have been collected, not for its workmanship, but for what it illustrates about Northwest Coast cultural practices. Whereas the ivory bust documents what Heiltsuk people found exotic about the appearance of a British sea captain, Tolmie's wooden carving records an aspect of Heiltsuk appearance that Europeans found exotic. The woman represented has the flattened head that was fashionable among many coastal groups, including the Heiltsuk, until the practice died out in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

The carved wooden bust may be an early example of tourist art. The model pole (RBCM 10907) is a later example. Described as Heiltsuk in the Catalogue, it was collected at Namu where there was a large cannery where many Heiltsuk people worked during the fishing season.<sup>75</sup> But people from many other communities also worked at Namu

and, as the pole is not obviously Heiltsuk in style, a Bella Bella provenance for it is not certain.

Both the bust and the pole were made for sale to outsiders. The other three objects in the Newcombe Family Collection were likely made for Heiltsuk use. The two spoons (RBCM 10255), which appear to have been old when they were collected, are examples of Heiltsuk domestic art. The wooden one is undecorated and would have been used for day-to-day eating and food preparation. The mountain-goat horn example is elaborately carved, with many interlocking figures and inlaid with pieces of abalone, and would have been reserved for use by a high-ranking person at feasts.<sup>76</sup> The top part of a leister spear (RBCM 15419) is an example of Heiltsuk fishing technology and is the only such object in the Newcombe collections.

The documentation of the Heiltsuk objects in the Newcombe collections is disappointingly minimal, as the above discussion demonstrates. Even the attribution of the settee to Captain Carpenter is circumstantial. According to Cole (1985: 41), this lack of documentation is typical of Newcombe:

He worked very much in the manner of a natural history collector. He wrote little. His job was getting what the laboratory men might use.

In addition, Newcombe often obtained Heiltsuk material and information through a Kwakwaka'wakw source, as the interpretation of the Bella Coola chief's cane (RBCM 2312) by Nowell's father-in-law attests. Like the Boas-Hunt collections, therefore, the interpretation of Newcombe's material may have a Kwakwaka'wakw orientation.

Despite Newcombe's wide range of contacts and busy collecting schedule, his 1911-1913 Heiltsuk collection is oddly sparse and the objects are remarkably homogeneous. It is a contemporary collection of new objects made for sale and with no significant accompanying contextualizing documentation and in this regard resembles Swan's Heiltsuk collection rather than those of Powell, Boas and Hunt, and Jacobsen. But Swan purchased his artifacts in 1875 and Bella Bella had changed radically since then. Different artists were working in the community; fewer objects were available. In contrast to the homogeneity of the first Newcombe collection, the artifacts identified as Bella Bella in the Newcombe Family Collection, purchased by the museum in 1961, are a mix of periods, styles, and object types, each illustrating a different type of Heiltsuk production. For both parts of the Newcombe collection, the documentation is frustratingly meagre.

### Other Bella Bella Collections

The Newcombe and Newcombe Family collections added only a dozen artifacts to the Heiltsuk material purchased by the museum from Jacobsen in 1893. Not until the 1970s and 1980s did the RBCM acquire other Heiltsuk objects. Only two of the more recent acquisitions, a "black cod" mask (RBCM 16572) and a pair of painted paddles made by Captain Carpenter (RBCM 15832-15833), relate stylistically to objects in the earlier collections. The rest are quite different. Made in the twentieth century, they reflect the great changes in Heiltsuk society that occurred during that time. The documentation also reflects changes in the standards of museum documentation; the names of the sources at Bella Bella are recorded in every case. (With the exception of Captain Carpenter, however, the artists are still unnamed.) Even though the later acquisitions are relatively isolated objects in that they are not part of large collections, they contribute significantly to the museological record of Heiltsuk culture as evidence of individual styles and of changes in Heiltsuk art and culture in the twentieth century.

H. A. Ormiston Gift. In 1979, the family of H. A. Ormiston gave the museum two painted red cedar paddles (RBCM 15832-15833). Ormiston was the captain of the

lighthouse tender that serviced Dryad Point lighthouse and was given the paddles in 1928 by the lighthouse keeper there. He recorded that the lighthouse keeper had made them himself. Since we know that Captain Carpenter was the lighthouse keeper at Dryad Point at this time, the paddles constitute key evidence of this important Bella Bella artist's style.

Ronald L. Olson Collection. In 1979, the RBCM purchased two Heiltsuk masks from the Northwest Historical Corporation at Bellevue, Washington. They were originally acquired at Waglisla by anthropologist Ronald L. Olson when he conducted research in the community in 1935 (Olson 1955: 319; Catalogue).<sup>77</sup> One of them, RBCM 16572 (Fig. 32a), is a humanoid face mask with a grinning mouth with inset teeth, a straight nose with small nostrils, and round, knob-like eyes in circular sockets. Both the eye sockets and the area around the mouth are deeply recessed and bordered with distinct ridges. Details of the face are painted white, red, and blue, and a four-rayed star shape in the centre of the forehead is unpainted, but the mask is predominantly greenish black.<sup>78</sup> Long pieces of green string 'hair' are attached to the top of the head. The paper label on this mask reads "black cod." Its very long hair and greenish colour are reminiscent of the <sup>ʔ / ʋ</sup> dhuwlaxa mask illustrated by a drawing in Boas' "Bella

Bella Notes" (1923) that is described as "P'qis'k, some being like a man who lives deep down in salt water, possibly like a merman." The Black cod represented by mask RBCM 16572 shares some of the characteristics of the P'qis'k (Pgvis) and is clearly a supernatural underwater creature as well. This mask is the older of the two collected by Olson and was probably carved in the nineteenth century.

The other mask from Olson, RBCM 16571, is different in style. Because of its clean condition, it appears to be the newer of the two. It is a complicated construction in two parts. From the top of the humanoid face mask extends the upper half of a small human figure holding a wooden Copper in one hand and a ceremonial axe, or Copper breaker, in the other. A stick with a clump of bird down on the end indicates the Copper-breaking axe. The arm holding this implement is attached to the figure's shoulder by a spring so that, by pulling a string attached to the arm, the wearer could move the arm with its Copper-breaking implement down toward the Copper in a striking motion. This is a "boasting type" of dance mask according to the attached paper label. In other words, it depicts a chief or his agent breaking a valuable Copper, thereby announcing the chief's great wealth and shaming his rivals. In style, the mask is an unusual Heiltsuk type. The square shape and shallow carving, the rectangular

mouth, the straight brows, the large eyes that are painted rather than carved, and the simple but graphic colour scheme (red and black painted details against an unpainted background), are design conventions used in many Kwakwaka'wakw masks, particularly those by Hunt family carvers. They are also found in contemporary masks by Bella Bella artist Larry Campbell, one example of which (RBCM 14120) is in the museum's collection.

Both the Copper breaker and Black cod masks were obtained by Olson from Mrs. Sam Starr, one of his "excellent and willing informants" at Bella Bella (Catalogue, Olson 1955: 319). Mrs. Starr recounted a number of Heiltsuk traditions for Olson and the series of names she acquired at various stages of her life are part of his account (1955: 326). Members of the Starr family supported the Methodist mission at Bella Bella in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Black 1997: 34) but, as the information and masks that Olson got from Mrs. Starr attest, these Methodist connections did not prevent the family from retaining Heiltsuk cultural knowledge and traditional ceremonial objects. Disappointingly, Olson published nothing about the masks and their ceremonial contexts in "Notes on the Bella Bella Kwakiutl" (1955), the monograph in which he presented the results of his research at Waglisa. But the fact that he acquired them at all in 1935 is telling in itself, especially in light

of Newcombe's sparse 1911-1913 collection of Heiltsuk material. Waglisla had the outward appearance of a modern town in 1935 (Fig. 32b). The masks collected by Olson demonstrate that older objects were kept in the community despite the continuing demand for artifacts by collectors and despite the iconoclastic influence of the missionaries who were well established in Waglisla by this time.

David Campbell Collection. In 1978, the RBCM purchased a group of objects from a Vancouver dealer, Uno Langmann, that had originally been owned by a private collector named David Campbell. The group includes five dramatic, roughly-carved masks from Bella Bella. One of these, RBCM 16121, may represent a Dzunuḱwa. The mouth has the characteristic round shape and pursed lips of that creature. The background of the mask, however, is painted off-white rather than the usual black.<sup>79</sup> The other masks in the group, RBCM 16117-16120, are rectangular human face masks with the same high, arched brows, outlined eyes, and rough carving seen on RBCM 16121. Except for black, red, and white facial details, they are unpainted.<sup>80</sup> "C. Moody" is written in pencil inside three of them (RBCM 16117, RBCM 16119, RBCM 16121) and the others are undoubtedly from, or by, C. Moody as well.

Charley Moody is a well-known name at Bella Bella. A man of that name was a high-ranking Heiltsuk chief in the

early twentieth century. Olson (1955: 327, 329, 331) wrote that Moody Humchitt (Wa'wiyala), the highest-ranking chief at Bella Bella in his time, inherited important titles from the "the great chief Charley Moody."<sup>81</sup> A more contemporary C. Moody may have been the owner or maker of the masks, however. Their extreme roughness indicates degeneration in artistic craftsmanship and ceremonial knowledge and suggests a more recent date of manufacture than the era of the Chief Charley Moody mentioned by Olson.

A sixth mask in the Campbell group (RBCM 16116, Fig. 33a) is similar to the masks associated with C. Moody and was probably made by the same carver. It is painted white and has a red, down-turned mouth, small red nostrils, and black, arched eyebrows set high in the face. Its most distinctive feature is its painted, black hair which is styled with a centre part. According to the Catalogue, this is a "death mask," so perhaps it represents a ghost and was used in the Lu'LaL (ghost) dance. Andrew Wallace, from Kimsquit, a mixed Heiltsuk ('Isdaítxv)-Nuxalk village at the head of Dean Channel, was the mask's original owner (Catalogue).<sup>82</sup> The mask is seen in a photograph taken at Waglisla, possibly in 1941 (RBCM PN 22939, Fig. 34). It is one of a group of masks being worn or held by people who are probably the staff at the R. W. Large Memorial Hospital.

Howard Roloff Collection. Howard Roloff, a Victoria artifact dealer, purchased a large collection of older Heiltsuk masks from Mrs. Gertie White. The provenance of these masks is established by a photograph of the entire collection taken in the White's home at Bella Bella (PN 16085, Fig. 35) in 1969. Masks from the collection were sold by the dealer to various institutions and collectors. The RBCM purchased one of them, a humanoid face (RBCM 17941), in 1984.<sup>83</sup> The mask has a wide mouth with an articulated lower jaw. When the mouth is open, a row of carved upper teeth is exposed.<sup>84</sup> The painting on the face is crisp and elaborate, with short arched eyebrows, defined eyelid line, a long moustache, and a goatee, all indicated with black paint. Split U-shapes decorate the forehead and the cheeks; those extending outward on either side of the nose are cross-hatched.<sup>85</sup> The mask is not deeply carved: the nose is small, the cheeks are gently rounded, and the eyes are only slightly recessed. The date of manufacture of this finely crafted mask is unknown. It contrasts sharply with the rough but energetic masks signed "C. Moody" and may predate them.

In 1965, the museum acquired another of the masks (RBCM 12319, Fig. 33b) seen in the photograph of the Gertie White collection (Fig. 35) from a British Columbia artist, Mildred Valley Thornton. Thornton must have

collected it sometime after 1941 because it appears in the photograph of the R. W. Large Memorial Hospital staff showing off masks (RBCM PN 22939, Fig. 34). The photographs show that the mask originally had a corona, now lost. Like the other mask from the Gertie White collection, it has shallow carving and rounded planes, outlined eyes, split-U shapes on the forehead and the cheeks, and hatched decoration (single hatching above the eye brow and under the beak in the case of the Thornton mask). Both masks have moveable lower jaws. The Thornton mask has the beak of a bird but the face of a human and is therefore another example of the imagery of the *dhuwláxa* ceremonies.

Thornton no doubt acquired the mask at Waglisla. She spent years visiting coastal communities where she painted portraits of First Nations peoples and recorded their life stories. Chief Moody Humchitt and Andrew Wallace of Bella Bella were two of the people she painted (Thornton 1966: 10-12, 39-42).<sup>86</sup> From Wallace, Thornton purchased a mask:

Andrew brought out a lovely old Indian mask and wanted me to buy it - - said he didn't want anybody to have it who was not interested in the Indians. It was cumbersome to bring home, but is now one of my treasured possessions, having been carved with primitive tools, and painted with natural dyes. [Thornton 1966: 42]

RBCM 12319 may not have been the mask to which Thornton refers in this passage, but she did say that Wallace spent

his spare time "carving wooden spoons in the ancient designs" for sale (Thornton 1966: 42), so many of the twentieth-century painted wooden spoons that are typical of Bella Bella tourist production would have been made by Wallace. (Examples are RBCM 9460, ex. Gaudin; CMC VII-EE-39, inscribed "Mulligan spoon - expression of eternal friendship.)

In 1984, the RBCM purchased from Roloff a mask that had been owned by Chief Clarence Martin of Bella Bella (RBCM 17944). Martin is a prominent Heiltsuk traditionalist who has been active in the culture and language programs of the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre for many years. His mask displays yet another twentieth-century variation on Heiltsuk style. Compared to the rounded, intricately decorated masks from the Gertie White collection, it is strong and graphic, with well-defined planes and simple colouration. Predominantly black, the mask has a green eye area, unpainted mouth region, and brownish-red mouth and nostrils. Heavy black brows that turn up at the ends, two oval indentations in the centre of the forehead, sharp cheek ridges, round eyes, a hooked nose, and a mouth with pursed, protruding lips are its notable characteristics. The pursed lips suggest that a Dzunukwa is represented. The other details, however, are more typical of Bookwus masks and Martin's mask can be interpreted as a modern version of

the Heiltsuk grotesque masks collected in late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

R. Geddes Large Gift. In 1986, Dr. Richard Geddes Large gave the museum three engraved silver napkin rings that had been "used by his parents in Bella Bella" (Catalogue). This would have been between 1898 and 1910, when his father, the Dr. R. W. Large, was the Methodist missionary there. (For an account of R. W. Large's time at Bella Bella and the collection of Heiltsuk art he sold to the ROM, see Black 1997.) The napkin rings are skilfully engraved with the following designs: a long-beaked bird, possibly a raven (RBCM 18115); a killer whale or sea wolf with sharp, curved teeth and two dorsal fins (RBCM 18166); a bird with a hooked beak and pointed feathers, possibly an eagle (RBCM 18117). They are said to have been the work of Fred Johnson, who may have been a Bella Bella carver.

On the other hand, it is possible that the napkin rings were acquired elsewhere because all of the silver jewellery that R. W. Large sold to the ROM in 1901 was made by Kwakwaka'wakw carvers from Alert Bay and Fort Rupert, indicating that engraved silver objects were not readily available in Bella Bella at the time (Black 1997: 187-89). According to R. W. Large (1909: 9), there were only two silver carvers at Bella Bella during his tenure:

Fred Anderson, "a very good carver in silver and gold," and another, unnamed, artist. Anderson spent the summers working in Vancouver and Victoria, producing bracelets, rings, pins, earrings, and other articles for jewellers and curio dealers in the city. The work must have been profitable, because Anderson built a large, heavily-fenestrated house at Waglisla. (The house is shown in a photograph taken by R. W. Large, PN 16466; see Black 1997: 84).

A silver spoon made by Anderson was also given to the museum by R. Geddes Large in 1986. The bowl is engraved with a bird design and the end of the handle is carved in the shape of a bird as well. The elder Dr. Large may have acquired the spoon from Anderson at Bella Bella. Alternately, R. Geddes Large may have acquired it because, like his father, he also worked as a doctor at Waglisla. He was at the R. W. Large Memorial Hospital there in 1922 and 1924 (Large 1968: 98).

A carving of a Killer whale that was made at Bella Bella is also part of the R. Geddes Large. The carving is 53.5 cm. long, engraved with simple designs, and made of gypsum. (The material came from a barge carrying gypsum that had run aground near Bella Bella.) The carving illustrates an episode in the story of Soogwilis, a Kwakwaka'wakw hero from Blunden Harbour who had supernatural powers. The story tells how Soogwilis and

his wife, Kluquack, hunted and killed a white seal. Upon their return to their village with the skin of the animal, Kluquack was kidnapped by a killer whale. Soogwilis journeyed under the sea to the village of the killer whales where his wife was held captive and, with the aid of a sympathetic jelly fish, was able to rescue her. Figures of Soogwilis, Kluquack, the seal, and the jelly fish are all represented on the carving of the whale. The story of Soogwilis had particular meaning for R. G. Large because he published a book about it in 1951. The book is illustrated with paintings made by Charlie George of Fort Rupert when he was a patient at the Bella Bella hospital in his youth and that he gave to Dr. R. W. Large. According to the Catalogue, the gypsum carving of the Soogwilis story was given to R. G. Large "possibly by a Mr. Bell." A connection to Robert Bell, the head chief at Bella Bella, who was a noted carver, is an intriguing possibility.<sup>87</sup>

Contemporary Heiltsuk Art. The RBCM has a small collection of contemporary Heiltsuk work. It includes an engraved cedar panel by Gordon Gladstone (RBCM 13702); the above-mentioned mask by Larry Campbell (RBCM 14120); a small painted wooden spoon by Stephen Hunt, Jr. (RBCM 18383); a work on paper by Chester Lawson; and engraved silver jewellery by Stanley George (RBCM 15582, RBCM

18384), Eli Wallace (RBCM 15585-15586), and David Gladstone (RBCM 15038). The collection augments the historical collections discussed above and hints at the continuation of the Heiltsuk artistic tradition, but is not comprehensive enough to illuminate new directions in Heiltsuk art.

## Notes

1. The other purchases of "Indian curios" in 1892-93 were more modest. The artifact collector, James Deans, received \$298.65 for curios from the Queen Charlotte Islands and an outfit called Fell & Co. received \$75 (British Columbia 1894: 151).
2. According to Gunther (1977: xi), the Nuxalk stayed in Germany for two years. Haberland (1989: 185) writes that they left British Columbia in the summer of 1885, having signed a contract with Adrian on July 25 in Victoria, and returned to Victoria on August 16, 1886.
3. "Museum Collector to B. C. Pioneer: Adventures on Land and Sea of B. F. Jacobsen of Bella Coola," Province, August 21, 1932; "B. P. Jacobsen Passes Away," Times, June 18, 1935. For an outline of Jacobsen's life, see "Bernhard Phillip Jacobsen, Biography" in the Phillip Jacobsen file, RBCM Anthropological Collections. For an account of Jacobsen's life in Bella Coola, including long passages from his "Reminiscences" (Jacobsen 1956), see Kopas 1970: 219-37.
4. "From the Bella Bella," Daily World, Vancouver, May 16, 1891, p. 6. Interestingly, this article seems to confuse Bella Bella with Bella Coola because the people discussed in it, a Rev. Mr. Nicholls and Jacobsen, lived in Bella Coola, not Bella Bella.
5. "Museum Collector to B. C. Pioneer: Adventures on Land and Sea of B. F. Jacobsen of Bella Coola," Province, August 21, 1932.
6. Jacobsen probably met Boas in Berlin in 1883. Phillip was helping Adrian unpack and catalogue the artifacts collected on his 1881-83 trip and Boas was also working on the catalogue of the material for the Royal Museum für Völkerkunde. He met Hunt, who was already a friend of Adrian's from the 1881-83 trip (Cole 1985: 61, in Fort Rupert in 1885. In fact, Boas' interest in the Northwest Coast was sparked by the Jacobsens' work. Adrian's 1881-83 collection fascinated Boas and the visit of the Nuxalk to Berlin in 1885 convinced him that British Columbia would be a fertile place for research. After meeting the Nuxalk, he wrote that the "opportunity was thus given to cast a brief glance behind the veil that covered the life of these people, and some of the general problems of the region began to loom up" (Boas 1909: 307).

7. Writing from Port Essington on November 20, 1903, Jacobsen offered Newcombe two totem poles for \$20 each, a house frontal pole for \$65, and a lot of twelve or fifteen masks for \$50. Newcombe replied in a letter of November 28, 1903, ordering all of the above plus ten skulls which cost \$40. "I presume they are all Bella Coola," he wrote. Jacobsen wrote to Newcombe on January 12, 1904, saying that the Indians "keep all kinds of things for me" because he had purchased so much from them in the past. On October 8, 1904, he wrote to Newcombe from Port Essington saying that "the Indians are selling things now" and that "if not soon a collection is made all the good things will be lost." There are no letters from Newcombe responding to these promptings and Jacobsen may have found other buyers. BCARS. Newcombe Family Correspondence, Series A. Add. mss. 1077, vol. 4, folder 86.

8. The article states that Jacobsen "was offered a considerable sum for this material by collectors in Germany" but preferred to keep the collection in Canada for patriotic reasons. "Death Calls B. F. Jacobsen," Colonist, June 18, 1935. At least some of this material was sold by Newcombe on behalf of Jacobsen's widow, Helga, to George Heye for the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in 1936. BCARS, Newcombe Family Correspondence, Add. Mss. 1077, vol. 12 - file 62; vol. 21 - file 6; vol. 21 - file 18; vol. 41 - file 20.

9. Jacobsen explained that the Nuxalk tried to honour Mackenzie with a Peace dance when he visited their village near the present site of Bella Coola, but Mackenzie misunderstood their intention. Because six-foot-long spears with bone tips were used in the dance, he thought he was being attacked and left hurriedly. Jacobsen also explained that the Mackenzie Monument at Elcho Harbour should be located about three-and-a-half miles farther down river at the place where Mackenzie and his crew actually wrote on the rock. They did not stop at Elcho Harbour. Jacobsen, letter to Newcombe, September 14, 1934; "Mackenzie Greeted As Spirit By Indians," by B. F. Jacobsen as told to M. Dew [E. D. Wesley Maxwell], newspaper article in the Newcombe Family Papers, Series A, Add. mss. 1077, vol. 21, folder 5 (original source not recorded).

10. Jacobsen did not see dances after 1888 because they were banned by the Canadian government at that time and were no longer done openly. The last man-eating dance Jacobsen saw was at Talio, South Bentinck Arm. On that occasion the "Man eater" (tánis dancer) bit a number of people and "there was a lot of blood flowing." He describes the dancer's bearskin cloak, which had human

skulls sewn on it, and his cedar bark neck rings. He also mentions a Dog-eater performance (he calls it the Nutlamalla) that he saw in South Bentinck Arm. Jacobsen thought that he should write about what he had seen because "young people don't know about the dances any more." Jacobsen, letter to Newcombe, January 8, 1935. Newcombe Family Papers, Series A. Add. mss. 1077, vol. 4, folder 86.

11. "Curios of Savage Life," Daily Colonist, Victoria, April 15, 1893, p. 6.

12. The spelling in the article is erratic, which is understandable given Jacobsen's idiosyncratic spelling and the reporter's unfamiliarity with the subject matter. The chief's name is given as "Wakar." 'Ista is spelled "Esstead." Báxvbakválanusiwa is written "Bek Bek-koalla-Nesua," "Bek Bek-koallallesua, and "Kal-kokgua." The sons' names are "Kla-killit-lela," also written as "Kla Killetla," and "Gallwak." The Cannibal bird companions of Báxvbakválanusiwa, "Hou-How (he being the brain-eater) Kalboksua Meunis," are also mentioned in the story.

According to Olson (1955: 327), Wai'kes is the second-ranked chief name of the Blackfish Sept. The name means "Flow! great river," or "greatest river" and "Haisla, Owekino, and other tribes also have this title."

13. In MIS-W-021, the typed copy of the Anthropology catalogue, "Kwakiutl" has been changed to "Northern Wakashan." For most objects in the Jacobsen Collection there is a card in the Northern Wakashan card file.

14. RBCM 57 is described as a "Tlolacha" (dhu<sup>7</sup>wlá<sup>á</sup>xá) mask in the Catalogue. A wide, flat band with incised diagonal lines sits like a hat on top of the head and extends, bow-like, on either side, appears to be a red cedar-bark head ring. This feature may be more consistent with a čaiqa mask. A stylistically similar mask, RBCM 57, was probably collected at Rivers Inlet about 1900. A stylistically related mask which was auctioned at Christie's, New York, on December 5, 1966 (sale NW-8568, lot no. 50), was collected at Rivers Inlet about 1920. Despite this provenance, it is described in the auction catalogue as Nuxalk, not Oweekeno. Steven C. Brown, Curator of Northwest Coast art at the Seattle Art Museum, notes that:

It shares stylistic traits of both the Heiltsuk and Nuxalk traditions. Because of the intermingling of the two peoples in the area of Dean Channel and Kwatna, . . . the mask may have been made there, specifically at Kimsquit village between 1860-80. [Christie's 1996: 32]

15. The total refers to accession numbers, not individual items. It includes the Rivers Inlet objects but not seven throwing stones (RBCM 201-207) which are listed as Bella Bella, Nimpkish River, and so catalogued as Kwakwaka'wakw. Some accession numbers, e. g., templates for ovoid shapes (RBCM 641) and bows and arrows (RBCM 1035-1036), designate more than one object. Not all of the ninety-one items are still in the RBCM. Some, such as neck ring RBCM 88, dance apron RBCM 97, and bone disc RBCM 454, were not located. Three of the masks - RBCM 33, "Sea Spirit," RBCM 64, "Face of a Woman," and RBCM 68, "Eagle" - were taken to the Vatican in 1924 by Father Welsh of Victoria for an exhibit and never returned. Despite repeated efforts by the RBCM to recover them, they remain in the Monumento Musei e Gallerie Pontificie.

16. These are masks RBCM 15, RBCM 27, RBCM 34, RBCM 57, RBCM 69, RBCM 74. With the exception of RBCM 27, a roughly carved and minimally painted mask that is a distinctive Nuxalk type, and RBCM 69, a mask that is not clearly labelled in the record and is also a Nuxalk type, this reassignment of provenance can be questioned, as the previous discussion of RBCM 57 demonstrates.

17. RBCM 218, a coffin in the shape of a killer whale, is painted black and brown, as many Heiltsuk objects of the period were, and features a stylized face made up of round eyes above a wide mouth with teeth, a design motif that is found on a number of objects from turn-of-the-century Bella Bella. Two puppet-like figures with moveable forearms (RBCM 98-99) resemble Heiltsuk tokwit puppets in other collections.

18. A belt woven from cedar bark in a diagonal checker-board weave (RBCM 3226) was probably also part of Jacobsen's Heiltsuk collection. The Catalogue says it is the "old number 105, Bella Bella," which would put it in the sequence of numbers used for the Jacobsen material. The current RBCM 105 is a ceremonial club in the shape of a killer whale.

19. RBCM 233 is shown with curio-trade pieces in the RBCM's First Peoples exhibits.

20. In this, the most widely-distributed form of head deformation, the "head being well thrown back and supported firmly beneath, is pressed by means of lashings so that the forehead is flattened, but the sides of the skull are bulged outwards" (Newcombe 1909: 64). Jacobsen also collected Nuxalk skulls accessioned as "Salishan, flattened skull[s]" (RBCM 302-303). On September 6, 1904, he wrote to Newcombe about more examples: "I have just at

last received some more skulls and have now fourteen on hand. Some are from Bella Bella . . . . " He offered them to Newcombe for five dollars each and said that if Newcombe did not want them, he could sell them to American collectors (Newcombe Family Papers, BCARS). There was a great deal of general as well as anthropological interest in the tradition of head deformation at the time. This is reflected in Hagenbeck's request for a group of Kwakwaka'wakw with deformed heads to tour Germany and by a number of deformed skulls in the RBCM's collections. For example, "a greatly deformed" skull was given to the museum in 1892 (RBCM 292) and a flattened skull found in Sooke was given to the museum in 1895 (RBCM 291). With the participation of the relevant First Nations, the RBCM is returning these and all other human remains.

21. Boas and Jacobsen met at least twice on the Northwest Coast. In a letter to his parents on November 27, 1886, Boas mentioned that he had met Jacobsen at Comox and that they "spent several hours in conversation." Boas was glad for an opportunity to speak German. "We talked of Berlin," he wrote, and Jacobsen "told me of his intentions and points of view." In June, 1888, they met at Rivers Inlet and "were delighted to see each other again" (Rohner, ed. 1969: 66-67, 92).

22. According to Newcombe (1909: 30), the motifs are a killer whale (on the front) and a "mythical eagle, supposed to live in the mountains" (on the back). The attributes of these creatures and how they are represented in the designs are described. "Coffin, sides painted with animal designs" is the description in MIS.W.027.

23. According to George Hunt, the painted design represents "Cum-o-qui [Komokwa], rich man of the under sea world" (Anthropology Collections card file). The painting is in the style of Captain Carpenter.

24. Dawson described it as

A remarkable target-like white erection on one side of the harbour stated (on the painted board below it) to be in memory of 'Boston a Bella Bella Chief.' Part of the design on the target a couple of the curious Coppers of the Fort Rupert etc. Indians. [Cole and Lockner, eds. 1989: 446]

25. The village was Howeet, also spelled Howyat.

26. The ringed hat may be consistent with a Humpsit (Humchitt) affiliation for the chief known as Boston. A totem pole in the Raley collection at the UBCMOA (A17026)

that also shows a figure in a ringed hat is, according to Raley, a pole "belonging to the Humchitt tribe showing 'Lanemget'." Barbeau (1950: I, 399) calls the ringed hat "the Skeel or Lanemrait Crest." The term is Tsimshian, not Heiltsuk. The whale design on the box drum that hangs from the side of the disc suggests that Chief Boston was a member of the the Killer Whale division of the Heiltsuk. For a modern Heiltsuk view of this memorial figure and its importance to today's Heiltsuk, see Hogan 1998.

27. The crest images represented are identified as "Raven above, Sea monster below" (MIS-W-027). At the top of the pole is a bird's head encircled by a border of U-forms. Tall ear pieces carved with feather forms and what appears to be an image of the sun extend upwards. At the bottom, above the arch of the doorway, is a human-like face with a crown of U-shaped feathers. Between these two main images is a face design composed of two outward-facing profile heads with large, round eyes, mouths with teeth, and sharply curved beaks. The carved face above the door has three gill-like curves extending from the side of each eye and this would be consistent a sea monster. Alternately, the row of feathers above the eyebrows mean that this face can be interpreted as the up-turned tail of the bird whose face is at the top of the pole. In this alternate reading, the image in the centre of the pole would represent the Sea monster. Elements of the central image resemble the design on a mask, said to represent "Kwaku'ma, small owl," drawn by Boas (1923). The face of the owl is composed of two profiles that meet at the beaks, rather than at the eyes as they do on the pole.

28. According to Hunt (1922), this bowl "belongs to the Cannibal Dish story in Boas' book" and the "story belongs to the Kwakiutl" but he does not say in which book the story is to be found.

29. Mask RBCM 35 and frontlet RBCM 1319 are on display in the First Peoples exhibit, so could not be examined closely. The mask's pigmentation can be seen in an RBCM slide (CSN 35). Details of the frontlet must have resembled details of CMC VII 1392. Although this is an angular, not a circular, frontlet, it has similar motifs (a long-beaked raven with abalone-inlaid ears, a small head in high relief at the top, two hands projecting from the rim at the bottom) and is in good condition. Holm thinks CMC VII 1392 is Heiltsuk in style. A slide of it is included in the Heiltsuk section of Wright, ed., 1996.

30. Photographs of these masks are in Wright, ed., 1996.

31. Donald Ellis, personal communication, 1997.

32. Kai'net was the name of the Xixis village in Kynock Inlet. About 1875, most of the Xixis moved from their traditional villages to Klemtu or 'Qélc (Olson 1955: 344).

33. A whale is painted on the inside of the eagle's lower jaw and designs of wolf heads and paws are on the inside of the side pieces.

34. Paint protected the wood from the elements to some extent. Areas that were once painted, therefore, are different in texture and slightly raised compared to areas that were not painted.

35. In 1922, Boas was in Victoria with his wife. In a letter to his son he reported that "They gave me a room in the museum where I am going to write" (Rohner, ed. 1969: 276). If he did spend time in the museum, he may have contributed to Hunt's gloss on the ethnographic collection.

36. According to the catalogue card for RBCM 21 it is "supposed to be a spirit returning to earth again." Apparently, a label on the back of the mask says "Gahaheir (?)." I have been unable to determine what this means.

37. Hunt (1922) called RBCM 18 "xua'xuelik.a." Boas 1897: 488 is given as the reference, but this is incorrect.

38. Tree-ring dating analysis gave different results for ring width (RW) and maximum ring density (MRD). The similarity between the two sets of data was measured by a statistical test (Gleichlaufigkeit sign test) which produced the following correspondences: 1703 - RW 22%, MRD 53%; 1733 - RW 48%, MRD 50%; 1876 - RW 46%, MRD 43%. The conclusion was that "greater agreement appears for 1733 outside date than for 1876." Report of Forintek Canada Corp., Vancouver, for Mary-Lou Florian, Conservation Division, RBCM, 19 June, 1990. RBCM Anthropology artifact files.

39. The colour schemes of all of the caíqa series masks from Bella Bella collected by Jacobsen are subdued and dominated by black. RBCM 62 (and also RBCM 58) are black and brown; RBCM 9 and RBCM 30 are black and red with white; RBCM 13 and RBCM 24 are black and red; RBCM 51 is black and red with blue. They may illustrate a change over time in which the all-black convention for tanis masks was modified.

40. Hunt (1922) says it "belongs to Cannibal Winter Dance" and was "used with whistle."

41. There is some red paint on the lips, nostrils, and around the eyes. The eyes are inlaid with glass and the tops of the heads are covered with white feathers.

42. Boas (1897: 371-72) explains the Sisiyutł as follows:

Si'siuL, the fabulous double-headed snake, which has one head at each end, a human head in the middle, one horn on each terminal head, and two on the central human head. It has the power to assume the shape of a fish. To eat it and even to touch it or to see it is sure death, as all the joints of the unfortunate one become dislocated, the head being turned backward. But to those who enjoy supernatural help it may bring power; its blood, wherever it touches the skin, makes it as hard as stone; its skin used as a belt enables the owner to perform wonderful feats; it may become a canoe which moves by the motions of the sisiuL fins; its eyes, when used as sling stones, kill even whales. It is essentially the helper of warriors.

43. RBCM 62 displays the same style and black-and-brown colouration as RBCM 58, the mask of the Raven Who Stole the Sea (or Sun) and appears to be by the same carver. It is not known if the masks RBCM 62 and RBCM 58 had a ceremonial relationship as well as a stylistic one.

44. The reference given (by Hunt?) on the file card is Boas 1897: 498, which is the list of ranked winter dances of the Kwaguł. The specific dance is not named.

45. This dance has two songs, two whistles, a secret song, and red and white cedar bark rings (Boas 1897: 498). The Kwakiult proper are the Kwaguł of Fort Rupert.

46. It is approximately 15 x 16.5 x 5.7 cm.

47. R. W. Large collected two copper "horns" (ROM 27897 - 27898) at Bella Bella. They must have come from a similar headdress (Black 1997: 175).

48. The distinction is perhaps a false one. Holm (1983: 199) cautions that "Descriptions are meagre and contradictory, suggesting that there may be much more to their use than the term soul catcher conveys."

49. The other apron, RBCM 97, is made of blue cloth with red and white stripes. When the research for this study was done it could not be located.

50. RBCM 81, a neck ring with two fringes, has two bands of twisted bark, one a Z twist and the other an S twist, that are joined by a single wrapping of bark with a vertical pattern on the Z-twisted band and a horizontal pattern on the S-twisted band. In contrast, neck ring RBCM 83 is a single wide band with no fringes and neck ring RBCM 93A is a single narrow ring with two fringes. Another neck ring, RBCM 89, is different again, with two thin, twisted rings and three fringes. The head rings are also varied. RBCM 77 is a single band, while RBCM 91 is composed of two chevron-patterned bands of twining over a cedar slat foundation that are wrapped together at one side. The wrapping covers a bundle of loose cedar bark strands. RBCM 82 is made up of a large, thick ring with a smaller ring above it. Long fringes are attached to one side of the wide ring. Neck ring RBCM 88 and head rings RBCM 78-80 were not located.

51. This is the eleventh-ranked dance in Boas' list of the dances and songs of the Winter Ceremonial (1897: 499): "Q'o'minoqa, four songs, two whistles, red and white cedar bark, Rich woman." Boas says that "This order has reference, of course, only to the Kwakiutl proper," i.e., to the Kwagwł of Fort Rupert.

52. The dance has "red and white cedar bark" and "one song" (Boas 1897: 499).

53. The description of the ring as belonging to both the olala and the dog-eater's dance is confusing because the olala (ulala) is part of the čaiqa series.

54. "Curios of Savage Life," Daily Colonist, Victoria, April 15, 1893, p. 6.

55. Jacobsen to C. F. Newcombe, May 14, 1935. Newcombe Family Papers, BCARS.

56. RBCM 101 is on exhibit and it was not possible to ascertain how the sound is produced. The round hole may be by the mouth piece, with the sound emitting from the square hole that is the mouth (i.e., the voice) of the figure. Alternately, the leather body may act as a bellows.

57. It is 68.5 cm. long.

58. Rattles such as RBCM 120-21 were sold by Adrian Jacobsen to the Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin (MfV IVA-521, IVA-1353, IVA-1356-1357, IVA-1400, see Boas 1897: 435-39, figs. 51-53, 55). Boas (1897: 439-40) mentions that some of the rattles used by the Kwakwaka'wakw were

made by the Heiltsuk, but the one illustrated (MfV IVA-522), which "represent[s] the thunderbird on a round rattle," is different from those in the RBCM. For a Quatsino version and family history that explains how the owners acquired the right to use it, see Jonaitis, ed. 1991: 188, fig. 4.12.

59. A profile head is indicated on the body of the rattle by a painted or etched design of a single eye and a wide, toothy mouth that appears to be eating the rattle's handle.

60. Hunt also said that this was "Boas' Copper Breaker's club" and that the story was "in the book." It is not clear which text he is referring to. Inverarity (1950: fig. 145) thought that the carving on the end of the handle represented a hawk.

61. A similar club in the Portland Art Museum (PAM 457), also in the shape of a killer whale with an eagle's head on the handle, is said to be a "copy of an 18th century slave killer," but since it was collected in 1937, it could also be a copy of RBCM 105.

62. Another wooden dagger, RBCM 108, was not located and seems to have been missing since 1909. The accession book (MIS. W.027) says the ends of the guard were carved in the form of eagles' heads.

63. See Berman 1996 for a discussion of Hunt's ethnic and cultural affiliations.

64. In 1904, with almost ten years of experience in the field as a collector of ethnographic artifacts and natural history specimens, Newcombe applied for the job of curator but was unsuccessful (the job went to an inside candidate, assistant curator Francis Kermodé).

65. Newcombe paid Nowell a wage plus a yearly bonus of \$365.

66. Newcombe's collecting trips were primarily to Haida Gwaii, but among the great number of artifacts he collected were examples from every region of the coast. The BCPM did not appear to set a detailed agenda for collecting; the lack of Heiltsuk artifacts from Newcombe probably reflects his situation and interests rather than an institutional bias.

67. RBCM 2056 was accessioned in 1914. RBCM 10027 was entered into the Catalogue much later, as the museum number indicates.

68. ROM 23177, collected at the turn of the century, is an example of this common type of spoon. See Black 1997: 193.

69. For a discussion of walking sticks, ceremonial canes, and talking sticks in the context of Northwest Coast art, see Hoover 1997.

70. See Duff 1981 for a discussion of multiple meanings in Northwest Coast form.

71. Newcombe, "Register of Lantern Slides and Negatives," no. 11. Audio-Visual Collections, RBCM.

72. The cane cost four dollars. It may have been purchased from a man named Albert Hood along with a Nuxalk mask (RBCM 2313) for which Newcombe paid sixteen dollars. Newcombe called the mask "siutl" (artifact notes), indicating that it was used in the kusiut dances of the Nuxalk winter ceremonies. "The word kusiut is connected etymologically, according to native belief, with siut, the term for a supernatural being," according to McIlwraith (1948 II: 1). The mask has a moveable forehead and lower jaw, a crown of twigs, and red cedar-bark embellishments, and is typical of Nuxalk Thunder masks.

73. The Newcombe artifact notes also say that this creature is "not a crest in [the] south." See also Hoover (1997: 2).

74. Dunn (1844: 266) wrote that, in the communities he visited on route to Fort McLoughlin aboard the Beaver in 1836, some of the people had "a flattened forehead, but not the compressed head." Heiltsuk practice did not result in the radical "compressed head," or sugar-loaf shape, favoured by some Kwakwaka'wakw groups.

75. Olson (1955: 320) gives the name Na'mu for the Heiltsuk village that once occupied the site of present-day Namu. His information is that it may have been a summer fishing village rather than a year-round community. Heiltsuk curator, Pam Brown, documented Heiltsuk women's involvement in the Namu cannery in the exhibit "Cannery Days: A Chapter in the Lives of the Heiltsuk" (UBCMOA, 1993).

76. A greasy patina on the wooden spoon indicates use. The mountain-goat horn spoon was not located but is shown in CPN 133-134.

77. He visited Bella Bella again in 1949. Olson's work with the Heiltsuk was secondary to his study of the Haisla and Oweekeno.

78. The teeth and eyes are white. The nostrils, lips, mouth area, and a curved line on each side of the face are red. The brows and the moustache and beard appear blue. The star-like shape is a negative image in that it represents the background. Two solid U-shapes above it and two below it are the positive designs.

79. Other details are arched brows placed very high on the face and painted black, a black painted moustache, and black half-circles with red outlines that ring the sides and bottom of the face. Eyelid lines are painted on; pupils are drilled holes.

80. All have black eyebrows and red lips. RBCM 16117-16118 have wide moustaches indicated by vertical dashes. RBCM 16120 has a little moustache under the nose and black rectangles, like sideburns, at the sides of the face. RBCM 16117-16119 have red nostrils; RBCM 16120 has not. The eyes are painted white.

81. Chief Charley, or Charley Tihe, was an important second chief at 'Qelc in 1897 (DIA 1898: 480). Chief Charley Moody's titles went to his niece (his sister's daughter) upon his death because he had no sons or brothers living. Moody Humchitt succeeded Chief Charley Moody because he was married to Charley Moody's niece and, when she died, he potlatched and established his rights to the titles (Olson 1955: 331).

82. Two other objects in this collection are said to be from Bella Bella. An animal-form bowl in the shape of a beaver (RBCM 16128, mentioned above) is a "Bella Bella type" (Catalogue), but no further information is provided. A two-tone whistle (RBCM 16129) made of cedar bound with commercial cord and flannel has the names Jimmy Dawson and Jack Henry written on it and is thought to have come from Bella Bella as well.

83. The purchase was made under the terms of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act.

84. The motion of the jaw is controlled by a biting block on the back of the mask. A string that passed through a hole at the top of the mask was probably part of the mechanism for moving the mouth.

85. The crispness of the painting suggests that the paint has been restored.

86. This is the same Moody Humchitt (Wa'wiyala) that Olson (1955: 327, 329, 331) wrote about. Thornton (1966: 10-11) wrote about him, too:

Everywhere I went it was the same; everybody acknowledged that the chief [Moody Humchitt] was a very important man. [He was] the 'hyas tyee' man of the British Columbia coast . . . a 'big chief'. . . something special . . . of royal blood. . . [and] one of the last links with the historic past of his people.

In her profile of Humchitt, she notes that his potlatches were "famous for their size and wealth." She mentions that "His speaker's stick and a small rattle or two are the only relics he has retained from the old regime," and that the speaker's stick had been given to him by the Haida.

Andrew Wallace was originally from 'Isda, and told Thornton the story of the 'Isdaítxv displacement from that site. Wallace also had a speaker's stick; his had once belonged to an old Bella Bella chief (Thornton 1966: 41).

87. R. Geddes Large was born at Bella Bella in 1901. Chief Robert Bell died in 1904, when R. Geddes Large was only three years old (Black 1997: 107-10), but there may have been a family connection between the Chief and the Mr. Bell from whom the carving came. Alternately, the carving may have been given to R. W. Large, who passed it on to his son.

## CASE 4: CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

The collections of Heiltsuk artifacts discussed so far came to the museums mainly from amateur or professional artifact collectors. In contrast, the Canadian Museum of Civilization's Heiltsuk collection can be viewed as representative of a turn-of-the-century commercial collection. The majority of the artifacts that are catalogued as Heiltsuk in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) were purchased from a Victoria curio dealer, Andrew Alfred Aaronson. (For information about Aaronson and other Victoria dealers, see Hawker 1989, Hawker 1991.) It is likely that many Heiltsuk artifacts in other museums also came through Victoria curio dealers such as Aaronson and not directly from aboriginal sources, but the existence of the middle-man is not always noted. The records of the CMC's collection are unusually specific about this provenance. Perhaps typically of commercial collections, though, Aaronson's own sources of artifacts remain obscure.

The CMC has only a few documented Heiltsuk objects that did not come through Aaronson's store. Most were obtained by Harlan Smith at Kwatna Inlet and from a collector at Ocean Falls ('Isda). Another noteworthy aspect of the CMC's Heiltsuk collection are artifacts, collected by Barbeau, that were obtained in other

communities but originated in Bella Bella, or, alternately, were collected at Bella Bella but originated elsewhere. Two large Heiltsuk feast dishes collected from a family at Hartley Bay serve as examples of art works exported from Bella Bella and demonstrate the spread of Heiltsuk art and ceremonialism through marriage. Such movement of art works through dynastic alliances, and also through trade, warfare, sale, and other circumstances, makes the project of assigning origin somewhat problematic. Heiltsuk artistic styles accompanied Heiltsuk prerogatives; respected Heiltsuk carvers were commissioned to make regalia for families associated with the Heiltsuk through marriage or trade alliances. These factors make the idea of a pure Heiltsuk stylistic type problematic and underscore the difficulty of assigning geographic provenance on the basis of style alone.

#### A. A. Aaronson Collection

In April, 1898, George Mercer Dawson wrote to C. F. Newcombe asking him to inspect, value, and report on "a somewhat extensive collection of objects of Indian manufacture from British Columbia, belonging to Mr. A. A. Aaronson, Pawnbroker, of 75-79 Johnson Street" in Victoria. Dawson was interested in buying the collection for the Geological Survey of Canada's museum in Ottawa but

"some years" had passed since the geologist had seen Aaronson's collection in Victoria. He recalled that it as somewhat uneven in quality:

It comprises about five hundred objects and my remembrance is that a considerable proportion of these are particularly good specimens of their kind, while a number of others I consider somewhat trashy.<sup>1</sup>

Aaronson was asking \$2,500 for the lot, a relatively high price considering that the British Columbia Provincial Museum got Jacobsen's much more extensive collection five years earlier for \$1,097, only \$766 of which represented the price of the artifacts. Nevertheless, Newcombe photographed at least part of the collection, perhaps at Dawson's request (Fig. 36), and reported favourably on it. Dawson telegraphed Aaronson agreeing to purchase all the objects at the price quoted. He then asked Newcombe to assist in getting the collection checked, packed, and shipped to Ottawa.<sup>2</sup>

The accuracy of Aaronson's catalogue was a concern at the time. Dawson noted that "a number of articles were entered without locality" on his copy of the dealer's list. That is, they had not been collected in the field in the approved scientific manner. Dawson was anxious that everything be identified by language group in the accepted, Boas-influenced classification scheme of the period and Aaronson's documentation was not up to this

standard. Dawson asked Newcombe to look into the matter and assign provenances:

Where it is possible to remedy this want it would be very desirable to have this done, but at the same time I would much rather have an article without note as to locality than to have it localized merely by guess.<sup>3</sup>

Dawson's opinion was that no information at all was preferable to conjecture about provenance.

For a number of objects in Aaronson's collection, however, conjecture was apparently what he got. The Geological Survey's ethnographic material was transferred to the new Victoria Memorial Museum in 1911. Edward Sapir, then Director of the Survey's Anthropology Department, wrote to Newcombe asking for information about the collection.<sup>4</sup> "The catalogue belonging to Aaronson's collection was made by the late James Deans of this place; mostly from guess work," was Newcombe's reply. In his letter to Sapir, Newcombe distanced himself from the Aaronson collection and pointedly contrasted it with another collection that had better documentation:

I was not exactly instrumental in purchasing this collection, being merely employed by Dr. G. M. Dawson to examine and report upon it. In fact, I recommended the purchase of a collection belonging to Dr. A. W. Vowell, lately Superintendent of Indian Affairs for this province, in great measure because it had an authentic catalogue.

Nevertheless, he sent Sapir a copy of Aaronson's list "for what it is worth," which he implied was not much.<sup>5</sup>

Newcombe attributed the Aaronson catalogue to James Deans (1827-1905). Deans came to British Columbia from Scotland in 1853 to work as a farm labourer for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, a division of the HBC and worked at the HBC's Craigflower Farm until 1858 (Smith 1966). There, he became interested in the First Nations people who regularly travelled from all parts of the coast to trade at Fort Victoria and the growing community around it. "I learned enough Chinook to enable me to converse as well as to trade with the Indians," he wrote. He began to study First Nations oral histories and traditions, which he referred to as "folk lore." (Deans 1899: 6).<sup>6</sup>

After leaving the HBC, Deans became involved with artifact collecting. In 1876, he guided French collector Alphonse Pinart on a search of the middens and burial cairns around Victoria (Cole 1985: 123). In 1883, he travelled to Haida Gwaii with Swan, whom he considered a mentor and teacher in the study of Haida art (Deans 1899: 7). Boas hired Deans in 1892 to purchase Haida material for the World's Columbian Exposition (Cole 1985: 123, Deans 1899: 4-7) and the BCPM purchased a group of Haida objects from him in 1893, the same year that the BCPM purchased Jacobsen's collection (British Columbia 1894: 151).<sup>7</sup> Like Jacobsen, Deans was occasionally hired by the BCPM to work on their ethnographic exhibits (Cole 1985:226). George Dorsey of the Field Museum in Chicago

employed Deans as a guide on a controversial collecting trip to the British Columbia coast and Haida Gwaii in 1897 (Cole 1985: 175-76).

Throughout his career, Deans continued his interest in "folk lore." At the Chicago World's Columbia Exposition in 1893 he specialized in "telling quaint old stories" connected with poles on display, particularly those in a model of Skidegate that he had commissioned from Haida carvers. "Day after day, from morning to night," he boasted, "I had crowds of admiring listeners" (Deans 1899: 5). Even though he "had but little schooling" (Deans 1899: 5), he wrote and published on the topic of Haida culture. "How the Haida Dispose of their Dead," an article written for Boas, and Tales from the Totems of Hidery (1899), a book published in response to the public's interest in his lectures at the Chicago fair, are two examples of his writing. As Cole (1985: 123) points out, Deans was also "a frequent contributor of ethnological miscellanea to the American Antiquarian and other journals."<sup>8</sup>

Deans considered himself an expert source of information about Northwest Coast aboriginal cultures and he convinced the editor of Tales from the Totems of Hidery of his superior knowledge: "Mr. Deans has made an intimate study of the natives of the northwest region, and he is probably the only man in the world who is able to

translate their tales and interpret their totem marks and crests" (Deans 1899, no page). Others shared Newcombe's poor opinion of Deans' expertise. Although, as mentioned, he had written an article for Boas, the anthropologist apparently thought little of Deans' abilities. In 1897 Boas, Deans, and Dorsey happened to be in British Columbia at the same time and Boas suspected Deans and Dorsey of attempting to sabotage his own collecting by buying up all the artifacts and underhandedly trying to employ Hunt. Boas comforted himself with the thought that "Little Dorsey won't have achieved much with the help of the old ass, Deans" (Rohner 1969: 211-22, Cole 1985: 174).

Harlan Smith, who was also in British Columbia with the JNPE in 1897, had doubts about Deans' character. He wrote to Boas saying that Dorsey "has James Deans as a guide, and Deans knows every inch of this region but is a swindler in my opinion" (Jonaitis 1988: 193). Indeed, contemporary accounts show that Deans' behaviour in the field was sometimes inappropriate. During his tour of Haida Gwaii with Swan in 1883, the aboriginal members of his party blamed a period of bad weather on Deans' theft of a shaman's personal property. In 1897, First Nations groups and missionaries accused Dorsey and Deans of grave-robbing and vandalism of burial sites (Cole 1985: 42, 175-76).<sup>9</sup>

Deans' involvement with Aaronson's collection, therefore, raises questions both about the reliability of its documentation and the sources of the objects. Newcombe thought Deans was guessing about the meanings and sources of the objects. Other contemporaries would have supported his opinion.

On the other hand, Deans did know the British Columbia coast well, as Smith acknowledged. He had been interested in First Nations stories and artifacts for over forty years by the time he annotated Aaronson's collection, so he must have known something about the origins of the objects sold by the dealer. He may even have collected some, if not all, of the material himself. George MacDonald believes that the Haida objects in the Aaronson collection were collected by Deans (MacDonald 1996: 90, 101, 65).<sup>10</sup> In the material that Aaronson sent to Dawson, however, there is nothing to indicate who originally collected the artifacts (CMC, Aaronson Collection, 1-A-205, Box 205 F1). Only the following statement in connection with Aaronson's nos. 493 and 494 (Heiltsuk house posts VII-EE-26 and VII-EE-27) speaks about the collecting process:

These two totums I had great trouble in buying from them as they had been in possession of different generations for years. They cost me \$150 at Bella Bella, the freight to bring them to Victoria at that time being \$30 more.

It sounds as if negotiations were protracted and conducted at Bella Bella. This suggests that Deans, the travelling collector, was the original purchaser rather than Aaronson, the shopkeeper who probably stayed in Victoria. Deans would have visited Bella Bella on his trips to the northern coast and Haida Gwaii; we know he was there with Dorsey in 1897 because the pair took a coffin box and skeletons from two Bella Bella grave sites (Cole 1985: 174). On the other hand, in the description of object no. 392 (Tsimshian rattle CMC VII-C-341) is the statement, "For this rattle I have refused the sum of \$50," which sounds more like the dealer, Aaronson. It is possible that Aaronson purchased the collection from several people because six of the artifacts had been owned by Judge Sir Matthew Begbie of Victoria and, although no other names are mentioned, the varied geographic origins of the objects - Haida Gwaii, Fort Wrangel, Fort Simpson, Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, Barclay (Barkley) Sound, Nootka Sound, Clayoquot Sound, Nit Nat (Dididaht), Nanaimo, Victoria, Bella Coola, Bella Bella - imply more than one source for them.<sup>11</sup>

Only twenty-four of the more than five hundred items that appear on the CMC's inventory of Aaronson's collection are listed as Bella Bella. Two entries denote pairs of paddles (CMC VII-EE-14 - VII-EE-15, CMC VII-EE-16 - VII-EE-17), so there are twenty-six Bella Bella objects

in all.<sup>12</sup> We do not know which of these Dawson would have rated "particularly good specimens of their kind" and which he would have found "somewhat trashy." These hierarchical evaluations now seem arbitrary and rigid. Nontraditional arts are no longer disparaged as inauthentic and degenerate. Nevertheless, the Heiltsuk part of the Aaronson collection can still be conceptualized in terms of several opposing classifications that support Dawson's impression of variety, if not his value judgements. If Dawson's thinking was influenced by Boasian concepts, he valued old, traditional, ceremonial objects over newly-made, innovative, curio carvings. Artifacts of both types are represented in the Aaronson collection. There are nineteenth-century ceremonial masks of the classic *dhuwlá̓xa* type, a whale-form drinking bowl that may be a tourist carving but may also be a ceremonial object, a fish club illustrating traditional fishing practices, unusual ceremonial rattles and totem poles that may or may not have been made for sale, painted paddles of the standard tourist type by a known Bella Bella artist, and innovative carvings by unknown artists that were apparently made for the curio trade.

Two artifacts included in the count of twenty-four appear to have been catalogued as Heiltsuk by mistake: a hooked-nose mask listed by Aaronson as no. 42, "Dance Mask

representing the Thunderbird" (CMC VII-EE-1, Fig. 37) and an animal group listed as no. 362, "carving representing the Squirrel, Wolverine, and the Fish" (CMC-EE-2, Fig. 38). Both are described as Bella Coola on the dealer's original list but as Bella Bella on the copy of the list that Sapir used to assign museum catalogue numbers. They are therefore designated as Heiltsuk in museum records (CMC, Aaronson Collection, 1-A-205m, B205 F1). Sapir's copy (which may be the list that Newcombe sent him) does not appear to be a revised inventory. Except for a single change in the description of an artifact ("Pelican" is changed to "salmon" in the entry for VII-EE-4), the only differences between Sapir's and Dawson's lists are minor spelling and numbering variations. The change from Bella Coola to Bella Bella looks like a typing error.

Both the mask and the animal carving are stylistically similar to works accepted as Heiltsuk, however, so the change may have been a correction by Newcombe. With its recurved beak, wide toothy mouth, pronounced tubular nostrils, distinct cheek ridges, and prominent round eyes, the mask is a less elaborately carved and decorated version of a type of mask that, because of its exaggerated and unnaturalistic features, can be classified as grotesque. This type of mask is thought to be typically Heiltsuk (e.g., AMNH 16/4736, collected by Hunt 1899 and identified by him as "Histaitx ['Isdaitxv], Heltsuq;" MAI

5/9833; Ethnografiska Museet, Stockholm 04.19.21.ABC; ROM 23135 made by Bella Bella artist Daniel Houstie).<sup>13</sup>

In addition, its black and brown colour scheme enlivened by free-hand hatching and areas of unpainted wood can be found on other carvings from Bella Bella, particularly those by Houstie (see Black 1997: 119-29, 142-44).

Similarly, the animal group is closely related to animal carvings from Bella Bella (e.g., model totem pole ROM 28199, see Black 1997: 162, cat. no. 24) as well as to the other curious carvings in the Aaronson collection. Its distinctly adzed surface and predominantly blue and black colour scheme is particularly reminiscent of the animal carving CMC VII-EE-5 (discussed below). The change, whether accidental or deliberate, from Bella Coola to Bella Bella for these objects is in accord with the stylistic categories thought to be distinctly Heiltsuk: a type of grotesque mask and a type of figure carving.

Aaronson's (or Deans') descriptions of the iconography of the two objects support the Heiltsuk designation. Described as a "representing the Thunderbird," the hooked-nose mask does not conform to Nuxalk conventions of that being:

The Thunderbird . . . is represented by a black mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges forward, and the chin protrudes as far as the nose. [Boas 1898: 47, see also Stott 1975: 85]<sup>14</sup>

Rather, it resembles Heiltsuk grotesque masks which probably represent <sup>7</sup>pkvs. An example is the grotesque mask (AMNH 16/4736, mentioned above) that was identified by Hunt as "Basku's mask for Loa'laxa [dhuw'láxa], Histaitx ['Isdaítxv]."

Deans' description of the animal carving is mysterious: a "carving representing the Squirrel, Wolverine, and the Fish." The Squirrel has an unusually large, fish-like mouth and a tear-drop shape on its back that resembles a fin or insect-like wings. Even if this shape is meant to represent the tail, the animal's appearance is hard to reconcile with that of a squirrel. The Fish has the round eyes, large nostrils, and large buck teeth of a whale, and also, strangely, a pair of legs.<sup>15</sup> The Wolverine's U-shaped ears and hairy coat (indicated by knife work) are perhaps more consistent with its identification, but the image remains ambiguous. The stacked configuration of the animals - the Squirrel balances on the shoulders of the large Wolverine, which in turn has both feet planted on the back of the diminutive Fish - is reminiscent of at least one Heiltsuk model totem pole (ROM 28199 which also has a whale at the bottom). The lively and dramatic nature of the grouping, however, suggests that a story, rather than a series of crests, is being illustrated. The story of the pole was not

recorded, however, and a search of the literature failed to locate an oral history featuring these creatures.<sup>16</sup>

Information in the Aaronson catalogue is often confusing and almost always minimal. Two Heiltsuk masks are called, simply, "Man's mask" (CMC VII-EE-23) and "Indian mask representing Indian face" (CMC-EE-24).<sup>17</sup> From these unhelpful descriptions we may conclude that Deans was unfamiliar with Heiltsuk ceremonialism. He would have provided more information if he could; as we have seen, his ability to relate aboriginal "folk lore" and "quaint old stories" was a source of pride. The lack of data may imply that the masks were not acquired from a knowledgeable informant who could have explained them. The faded and eroded condition of the paint on both masks recalls the condition of the masks collected by Jacobsen. Remembering Deans' grave-robbing propensity, one is tempted to conclude that they came from caches or grave sites, although there is no documentary evidence for this provenance and no indication that Deans himself collected them.<sup>18</sup>

The masks CMC VII-EE-23 - VII-EE-24 (Fig. 39), like those collected by Jacobsen and sold to the BCPM, appear to be classical nineteenth-century dhuwlaxa masks. Each has a triangular mouth with pursed lips and a painted pattern of blue U-shapes on the cheeks and forehead.<sup>19</sup> Echoing the confusion between Nuxalk and Heiltsuk

provenance introduced by the documentation for the mask CMC VII-EE-1, the distinctive stylistic characteristics of CMC VII-EE-23 recall Nuxalk, rather than Heiltsuk masks. The rounded and slightly bulbous cheeks, hooked nose, prominent downward-sloping eyebrows, and large round eyes are common features of humanoid masks from Bella Coola. The lack of collection information, however, makes it difficult to assess the relationship of CMC VII-EE-23 to Nuxalk artistic traditions that is implied by its style of carving.

The amount of detail in Deans' catalogue of Aaronson's collection is uneven. For example, in comparison to the paucity of information provided about the objects discussed above, the images on a carved and painted wooden spoon (CMC VII-EE-12, Aaronson no. 215) are given a relatively detailed explanation:

At the back of spoon is the Sea Otter, and on the handle at the bottom is the He'Likilikila who descended from Heaven in the shape of a bird. Then a woman called L'-tlem-aka [Lo-tlem-aka on Sapir's copy] rose from under the earth to meet him, and became his wife. The next is that of the demon who split the mountain and let the river run through to the sea and formed the plain, which is now called Bella Bella. The upper one is a Sea Otter and an Eagle, which killed the Otter for saying he would kill all the people [in] Bella Bella.

The figures described are intricately carved and intertwined on the handle of the spoon.<sup>20</sup> The pigments used - black, red, light blue, and dark blue pigment

interspersed with unpainted areas - are those seen on carvings collected by Swan. This comparison indicates that the spoon may date from the mid-nineteenth century.

It is difficult to assess the reliability of Dean's description of the figures on the spoon. He'Likilikila is a Heiltsuk word. Olson (1955: 338) spells it he'likuXu and translates it as healers, or good shamans. Drucker (1940: 211) lists Hailikila, or healer, as one of the dances in the dhuwláxa (miLa) series and explains that,

A healer has the power to enter the room of any dancer, and can cause the inspiration ("put power on") or drive out the spirit of anyone. His insignia is a two-ply headband of cedar bark mounted with curved, upward-projecting spikes of copper (apparently similar in style to the bear-claw or goat-horn coronets of more northerly shamans).

In addition, Hai'alik.ila (Healer On Back) is mentioned in a Heiltsuk story about the chief's sons who visit the mountain house of the Cannibal:

The woman [who sits beside the trail to the house of the Cannibal] calls the cannibal and at the same time Raven, Ho'xuhoku, Crooked-Beak, Grizzly Bear, Q!a'minagas, No'nítseestalal, Q!we'q!wasElal, who live in the cannibal's house shout. Hai'alik.ila and La'laxwila sing their sacred songs. [Boas 1932: 52]

From this passage, it appears that a Hai'alik.ila is one of the supernatural residents in the Cannibal's house. The other terms used by Deans in describing the spoon are not easy to interpret. L'-tlem-aka may be a variant

spelling of a Heiltsuk name but does not appear in the Heiltsuk literature. The Mountain Demon is a term that Deans often uses in his descriptions of artifacts (he sometimes calls it the Devil). He mentions it in his explanations of a Tongass Tlingit beaded hat from Fort Rupert (Aaronson no. 105), a Haida mask (Aaronson no. 439), a totem pole from Fort Rupert (Aaronson no. 489), and a mask and three totem poles from Bella Coola (Aaronson nos. 438, 490-492). Both "Slalicum" and "Homo-kum" are given as the aboriginal name for the Demon (Aaronson nos. 105, 492). In the Heiltsuk context, it is unclear what Deans means by the Mountain Demon and with which geographic location the term is associated.<sup>21</sup> The Sea Otter which Deans says appears on the spoon is, like the Mountain Demon, an identification that is widely used in the Aaronson catalogue. Like the Mountain Demon, it too may be a convention used by Deans and not a term based on dependable ethnographic knowledge.

Deans' description of the spoon may not be specifically Heiltsuk, but the dramatic and eccentric figures on it conform to ideas about Heiltsuk style such as those expressed by Holm and Reid. Formally, they are comparable to the figures carved on the handle of a mountain-goat horn spoon that Holm classed as Heiltsuk because of its unusual images (Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 25). The "odd little beaked frog, or whatever he is"

resembles the He'Likilikila on the CMC spoon and the unusual figures have a similar grotesque quality.

Four curious carvings of animals in the Aaronson collection are also the kind of "funny little monsters" and "weird figures" that Holm calls typically Heiltsuk (Holm and Reid 1975: fig. 25). The carvings are distinctive and stylistically similar. They are all approximately the same size; all are painted black, blue, and red; all show natural or fantastic animals in dramatic situations.<sup>22</sup> Three of them (CMC VII-EE-4, CMC VII-EE-8, Fig. 40 - VII-EE-9, Fig. 41) were almost certainly made by the same (unidentified) Heiltsuk carver. CMC VII-EE-5 (Fig. 42b) may also be by that carver or by a closely-related artist. Deans may have commissioned them (he had successfully commissioned models from Haida artists for exhibition in Chicago) or they may have been made especially for sale in Aaronson's store. Many First Nations carvers, including Heiltsuk silversmiths such as Fred Anderson, spent the summers in town working for jewellers who sold the items mainly to the tourists who passed through Victoria in increasing numbers because of the popularity of steamer cruises to Alaska. Alternately, they may have been carved as a speculative venture for a number of markets by a Heiltsuk carver or carvers who wanted to get cash, an increasingly necessary commodity as

the traditional aboriginal economy gave way to the cash-based Western one.<sup>23</sup>

One of the motivations of the artist may have been to illustrate Heiltsuk stories for the delight and edification of his audiences, both Heiltsuk and non-Heiltsuk. The unusual figures, their expressive attitudes, and their unexpected combinations suggest that the carvings dramatize specific stories or allegories. Deans' explanations for two of them bear this out. CMC VII-EE-8 (Aaronson no. 352, **Fig. 40**) represents an upside-down bird balanced on the back of a four-legged animal. In this startling arrangement of figures, the bird's beak, folded wings, and tail point upwards; its head rests on the head of the animal; its back is supported on the animal's rump by a curious wing-like extension, shaped like back-to-back J's, that protrudes from the bird's shoulders. The four-legged animal has short, red, conical horns, a wide mouth with teeth, and an odd helmet-like raised area extending from the sides of the head, up over the eye, and down the front of the face where it forms the nose. The long front legs bend at the elbows and have red fingers or claws. The back legs are straight, short, and have small, hoof-like red feet. The bird is clearly a raven and the animal is goat-like, but Deans says that the carving represents

. . . an imaginary animal that existed years ago in Bella Bella who used to kill all the Indians.

The eagle on top alighted on him and picked out his eyes so that the Indians could kill him.

Deans' description implies that a specific origin story or moral tale is illustrated by the carving. Once again a search through the texts failed to yield a version of this story. Given the sparseness of the literature, however, this does not mean that the carvings are not connected to oral traditions in some way.<sup>24</sup>

A similar carving (CMC VII-EE-9, Aaronson no. 350, **Fig. 41**) also illustrates a story or moral tale about imaginary or supernatural beings, according to Deans:

Two carvings. The lower one represents an animal supposed to have existed many years ago in Bella Bella. He was very proud of himself and used to turn his head round to look at himself. The other one on top was also an imaginary being [al]so proud, came down from the clouds, alighted on his back, crept up his rectum and killed him.

A tradition about the long-beaked Hau'hau, one of the bird companions of the Cannibal, is that it kills by inserting its beak into its victim's anus. In a Nuxalk story, mountain-goat hunters were killed by the Hau'hau in this manner.<sup>25</sup> The Heiltsuk carving CMC VII-EE-9 shows a fantastical creature with very long arms standing on a four-legged animal whose head is turned to look at its long, erect tail. The lower figure's prominent nose and wide mouth, hairy body (indicated by black parallel hatching painted on the sides and legs), and hoofs (the

front ones large and arched, the rear ones small and grooved) indicate that a mountain goat is represented, although the tail is overly long for that animal.

Interestingly, a similar mountain goat is the subject of a little (27 cm. high) carving in the Museum für Völkerkunde und Volkskunde, Basel (IV.A.87, Fig. 42a) that came from the Oldman Collection with no documentation in 1907 (Haberland 1979: 151, fig. G-15). With unusually long horns and its head craned upwards, it is, in the words of Gunther, "an unusual and charming conception of a mountain goat" (1962: 96, fig. 316). It is similar in style to the CMC animal sculptures and is possibly by the same Heiltsuk artist.

The upper figure in the CMC group stands facing towards the back of the goat-like creature. Its feet rest on either side of the goat-like creature's head; its exaggeratedly long arms grasp the rump. The upper figure has a wide nose with prominent nostrils, a toothy mouth, a heart-shaped forehead, a hairy body (indicated by rows of red parallel lines on the back and arms), and a single long, blue, horn-like shape extending from the centre of its head along the length of its back. Its heart-shaped forehead recalls the head of the Mountain Demon on the spoon discussed above (CMC VII-EE-12). These visual associations invite speculation that the carving relates to the Heiltsuk story of the men who encounter the

Cannibal, Bǎxvbaqválanusiwa, and his Cannibal bird companions while hunting mountain goats and thereby obtain ceremonial prerogatives (e.g., Boas 1932: 46-53, Boas 1928: 49-65), but there is no literary evidence for the association between this story and the carving's imagery. Surely, though, a specific oral tradition is illustrated by the carving.

The two other carvings in this group of images of odd creatures are not as suggestive of dramatic stories as those already discussed. Instead, they show dog-like animals eating fish. One of the carvings, CMC VII-EE-4 (Aaronson no. 357), is clearly by the same artist who carved the animal groups CMC VII-EE-8 - VII-EE-9. The quality of the black, red, and blue paint is the same. Sculptural details, such as the paws and the shapes of the eyes, and painted details, such as the use of parallel lines to indicate fur, correspond exactly. In this carving, the dog-like animal has prominent incisors, short straight back legs with red feet that curve backward, extremely long front legs bent at the elbows, and long, red front paws. A thin, curved, red tail is nailed to the back and the animal can stand upright, balanced on the tip of the tail and the back feet (it can also rest on its elbows for a horizontal orientation). The animal has the characteristics of an otter. In its front paws it grasps a small, worm-like creature which it holds up to its open

mouth. The worm-like creature has round eyes, a wide mouth, long U shapes indicating fins on each side of the head, and a fin-like projection on its back like a whale or fish. What it is supposed to be is not clear. On Deans's list, the carving is described, mysteriously, as a "Sea Otter eating Pelican." On Sapir's copy, Pelican is changed to Salmon, which is a more likely - but possibly not definitive - reading.

The carving that Deans describes as an "Otter eating a Fish" (CMC VII-EE-5, Aaronson no. 349, Fig. 42b) is slightly different in treatment from the three carvings discussed above. Its surface is knife-worked rather than smooth; its colouring is more subdued; the figure has a more realistic appearance. The animal is shown standing over a fish with its head turned to one side as if it is ferociously guarding the catch. The dog-like animal has wide, U-shaped ears lined with a row of red dots, bulging eyes, a wide nose with curly nostrils, a wide mouth with prominent teeth, a protruding tongue, large paws with long claws, and a short, broad tail. It could be, as Deans asserts, an otter.<sup>26</sup> It could also be a wolverine, wolf or some other animal. Whatever it is, it is executed with an expressive naturalism that is unusual in Heiltsuk collections (and in Northwest Coast art in general). Here is another Heiltsuk style that is collection-specific.

The three other animal carvings from Bella Bella in Aaronson's collection are very different from the colourful, dramatic figures discussed above. They are smaller, less detailed, and painted only with chalky black pigment relieved with red details and unpainted areas. Nevertheless, they have some of the lively naturalness of CMC VII-EE-5 and the inventiveness of CMC VII-EE-4, CMC VII-EE-8 - VII-EE-9.<sup>27</sup> Two of them are little vignettes of nature: a mother bird atop a post beside a nest of four open-mouthed chicks ("a mother bird feeding its young," CMC VII-EE-3) and two disproportionately large eagles standing on a whale, one of them tearing a strip of flesh from the whale's back ("eagle living off dead whale," CMC VII-EE-6, **Fig. 43a-i**). "Indian ornament for inside of house" is Dean's description of the nesting birds. The other carving is obviously intended as a household decoration as well. The third carving in this group, CMC VII-EE-10 (**Fig. 43a-ii**), is a large-headed little human figure hunkered down on its stomach with its chin resting on its hands and its knees drawn under the body. It represents, according to Deans, "an Indian being down on his stomach for child's toy."<sup>28</sup> Deans clearly states that these figures were intended to be amusements. Like the other "funny little monsters" and "weird figures," they were probably made for the curio trade. This does not preclude them being enjoyed as decorative sculpture by the

Heiltsuk themselves. Most Heiltsuk people were living in Western-style houses by the 1890s and may have adopted Western-style interior decoration as well. An interesting comparison is the use of beaded wall hangings of the Victorian curio type for interior decoration in the Western-style homes of Iroquois, Athapascan, and Metis peoples. For example, a photograph of the home of Mrs. Dan Cadow, the aboriginal wife of a white trader at Rampart House, Yukon, reveals that Mrs. Cadow displayed exquisite examples of Kutchin-made beaded bags and wall pockets beside family photographs and an ornamental clock (Duncan 1989: 63, fig. 3.6).

Two pairs of painted paddles in the Aaronson collection appear to be curio trade items even though Deans says that they were "used in their war canoes and also for racing with different tribes." Deans called the smaller pair (CMC VII-EE-14 - VII-EE-15) "steering paddles," perhaps because they are short and wide and CMC VII-EE-15 has a slightly pointed end. They are painted with a bird's head design defined by thin, swelling form lines and a black border.<sup>29</sup> The larger paddles (CMC VII-EE-16 - VII-EE-17, Fig. 43b) are painted with a more complex and detailed version of the same design which represents, according to Deans, a raven. This motif is found on a number of paddles from the central coast, for example UBCMOA A1598, collected at Kitamaat by Rev. G. H.

Raley (Hawthorn 1967: 339, fig. 483) and ROM 23140, collected by the R. W. Large at Bella Bella between 1899 and 1901.<sup>30</sup> The latter is said to have been made by a Bella Bella carver known as General Dick (Black 1997: 163-64, cat. no. 25). A comparison between the paddles ROM 23140 and CMC VII-EE-16 - VII-EE-17 reveals that the designs and their execution are identical in most details. It is logical to conclude that the larger Aaronson paddles were made by General Dick as well.

Like the paddles, the fish club CMC VII-EE-11 is an article of Heiltsuk technology transformed into a souvenir. The handle of the club is plain, but the end is carved in the shape of an eagle holding a fish in its talons. The eagle's head ends in a series of snake-like coils. The red-scaled fish that the eagle holds in its talons shows, according to Deans, "that it is used as a fish club." Because of its paint (predominantly black and yellow) and clean condition, however, it is unlikely that the club was actually used. Rather, it was made to illustrate traditional fishing practices.

The purpose of the carving CMC VII-EE-7 is less clear. It is an unusual type of animal-form bowl in the form of a whale. The bowl is painted black, red, and white; the large, open mouth of the whale is lined with sharp teeth made from cedar pegs; the upper and lower teeth are separated by a horizontal strip of cedar that is stapled

to each corner of the mouth and to which the teeth are tied with string. The bowl's opening is in the whale's stomach rather than its back. Deans calls the vessel a "drinking bowl."

We know that elaborate ceremonial drinking boxes figured in Heiltsuk ceremonials. There is an example of one the R. W. Large Collection (ROM 27874/906.2.4, Black 1997: 171-72, cat. no. 48) and a carving collected by I. W. Powell during his trip to Haida Gwaii in 1879 appears to be one as well (CMC VII-B-110).<sup>31</sup> The vessel collected by Powell is in the form of a human figure wearing a large, three-tiered head ring and riding on the back of a killer whale or a whale-like creature. Barbeau (1953: 255, 259-60) calls this carving a "headdress or perhaps a puppet-like hand device" and interprets it as illustrating the story of "Nanasimgat, the Native Orpheus," an account that "was first collected among the Haida by James Deans in the 1870s [as] . . . . The adventures of Nuch-noo-simgat in search of his lost wife." (This is a version of the Soogwilis story.) The whale-like creature is called the Water Blower. Barbeau describes it as a "horned monster resembling a bull head fish."<sup>32</sup> Anthropologist Erna Gunther, who also refers to the carving as a headdress, says that the human figure is the Water Blower because it "is made so that water can be ejected from the top of his head" (1962: 78). In the CMC catalogue, the

description "headdress or hand puppet" has been changed to "water container for hamatsa dancer" because there is a tube extending from the back of the whale-like animal from which liquid could be blown, perhaps, or drunk. This function equates to the carving to ROM 27874/906.2.4, which Large described as a "dance drinking box." Further, on stylistic grounds, Peter Macnair and Alan Hoover of the RBCM classify the artifact as Heiltsuk rather than Haida (CMC catalogue, 1984 notation) and Bruggman and Gerber (1989: fig. 59) have published it as "of Heiltsuk origin." The whale-shaped "drinking bowl" in the Aaronson collection, therefore, can be interpreted as a type of drinking vessel used in Heiltsuk ceremonies. Like the paddles and fish club, it may have been produced as a reproduction that is an example of a traditional object. "It is a curiosity made to be sold to white men," in Gerber's opinion (1989: fig. 59).

Perhaps this is also the explanation of a group of inventive and rather bizarre wooden rattles in the Aaronson collection. There are five of these (three appear in Newcombe's photograph of Aaronson's collection). All are made from cedar and painted with black, brown, graphite, and reddish brown paint, with a considerable amount of wood left unpainted. All are in the same condition. The paint is worn and the colours are faded. All have long, straight tubular handles and are

constructed in two pieces, with the split where the halves join bisecting the image in the middle rather than at the sides. The forms and motifs are very similar as well; in some cases they are identical. Three of the rattles are oval in shape and carved to represent grotesque heads: CMC VII-EE-18 (Fig. 44a-i) is skull-like; CMC VII-EE-19 (Fig. 44a-ii) features a beaked creature with a little creature in its mouth and another on top of its head; CMC VII-EE-20 resembles a bear. Two are in the form of imaginary bird-like creatures: CMC VII-EE-21 (Fig. 44b) has a beaked head and a humanoid body; CMC VII-EE-22 (Fig. 45a) has an animal's head and a winged body. A variation of the same wide-formlined, face-like motif composed of two circles and ear-like U-forms is incised on the back of each rattle. The face-like designs on CMC VII-EE-19 and CMC VII-EE-21 are identical, and there are other points of exact correspondence in stylistic details. All of the U-forms are the same shape (wide at the base and tapering slightly towards the top), for example. The eyes of CMC VII-EE-19 and CMC VII-EE-22 are identically carved and those of CMC VII-EE-18 and CMC VII-EE-20 are the same.<sup>33</sup> These and other details indicate that all five rattles were made within a single period by a single artist.

The dramatic images on the rattles evidently depict specific beings in Heiltsuk cosmology. For most of them, Deans' commentaries are simple descriptions and add little

to our understanding of the iconography. Deans says that both the carved face on the front of the rattle CMC VII-EE-20 (Aaronson no. 388) and the incised design on the back of it represent "the Bear" and the characteristics of both faces support this identification.<sup>34</sup> His explanation for CMC VII-EE-18 (Aaronson no. 385, Fig. 44a-i), which looks to be a skull, is that it represents the Mountain Demon or Devil. The face-like design painted on the back of the rattle, he says, represents a Whale.<sup>35</sup> The rattle in the shape of a bird's head with a sharp, curved beak (CMC VII-EE-19, Aaronson no. 393, Fig. 44a-ii) is described as representing an Eagle. The small creature with a smiling, toothy mouth and long-fingered forelimbs that emerges from the bird's mouth is a Sea Lion; the little, knob-like head that rises from the forehead of the bird at the top of the rattle is an "Indian head;" the incised design on the back of the rattle is "his crest of the bear."<sup>36</sup>

The bird-form rattle (CMC VII-EE-21, Aaronson 398, Fig. 44b) that combines the body of a human and the head of a bird with a short, curved beak, represents an Eagle with a man's body, according to Deans. Once again, the round-eyed motif on the back of the human body is described as "his crest of [the] Bear."<sup>37</sup> It is impossible to know if Dean's descriptions of the images on

the rattles are deduced from their appearance or are based on some knowledge of their iconography.

Deans' explanation of the images on rattle CMC VII-EE-22 (Aaronson no. 408, Fig. 45a), however, is clearly based on Haida, not Heiltsuk, traditions. The rattle is in the shape of a bird's body with an animal's head. The animal has small ears on the top and a wide mouth with lips that are square in profile. On its back is the usual face-like design composed of circles, ovoids, and U-forms with wide formlines. There is a similar design on the underside.<sup>38</sup> Deans explains the images as follows:

. . . carving represents the head of the Wolf, on the back is the Anch-willo or the King of Fin Back Whales with the two fins; on the other side is the Bear. The story goes that long ago the Whales had a quarrel amongst themselves as to whom would be chief. They applied to the Eagle to be their chief but he would not have anything to do with them. Then they applied to the Beaver with the same result. Then they applied to the Raven God Ne-kilst-lass and he said he would settle the quarrel. He gave one of the number an extra fin saying that will be your King or Chief and that has been their crest ever since.

In Tales from the Totems of Hidery, Deans discusses the names of the killer whale, which he calls the finback whale (delphinus orca):

The Hidery name for it is scannah. Amongst the Hidery there are two sorts, scannah and auch-willo; the former has one dorsal fin while the latter is said to have seven, never less than five. According to the Hidery the auch-willo represents the highest rank, while the scannah represents the commonality. [Deans 1899: 62]

Deans then relates the same story about the whales' search for a king and the god Ne-kilst-lass' creation of the seven-finned killer whale called auch-willo that is used in the Aaronson list to explain rattle CMC VII-EE-22.<sup>39</sup> Ne-kilst-lass is the name for "a Supreme Being" known as the "Raven God," Deans explains. He uses the term Raven God because Raven "was a symbolization of the god Ne-kilst-lass, who in all his works of creation and providence assumed the forms and features of a raven" (Deans 1899:22, 24, 27-29, 62). Obviously, Haida names and concepts are used by Deans to explain the imagery on one of the Heiltsuk rattles. It is very likely that much, if not all, of the Heiltsuk material in the Aaronson collection is also interpreted in Haida, rather than Heiltsuk, terms.

Other than the Haida-influenced explanations of their images Deans' documentation reveals little else about the rattles. He states that two of them are "very rare" (CMC VII-EE-18, Aaronson no. 385 and CMC VII-EE-20, Aaronson no. 388). This may be true. While there are related rattles in the Museum für Völkerkunde und Völkskunde, Basel (IVA.131) and the AMNH (E/1568, Fig. 45b), and there may be others as well, the CMC rattles are uncommon and unusual.<sup>40</sup> Deans also provides the information that CMC VII-EE-20, the rattle in the form of a bear's head, "has belonged to great Chief." Whether or not this is

literally true, the forms of all of the rattles are based on Heiltsuk chiefly rattles. The round ones are similar to the round rattles used by shamans and ceremonial healers; the bird-form rattles correspond in several ways to the conventional Raven Rattles carried by chiefs. Raven Rattles take the form of a human figure with bent knees riding on the back of a bird with a hawk-like face incised on its chest; CMC VII-EE-21 combines the human and the bird in a single image.<sup>41</sup> The bird's body and wings on rattle CMC VII-EE-22 have the same form as those on many Raven Rattles. Both of the Aaronson bird-human rattles are incised with face-like designs on their under sides, as are conventional Raven Rattles. In addition, like the Raven Rattles, the Aaronson bird-form rattles express in concrete form the interconnectedness of human, bird, and animal worlds. CMC VII-EE-22 is both bird and animal. CMC VII-EE-21 is bird and human at the same time and the ability of one to transform into the other is expressed by a peculiarity in the form of the bird's legs. They can be read as bent at the ankles with the long talons grasping the handle, but they can also be seen as bending backwards at the knees, thus making it appear that the bird is wearing a human-shaped cloak which it can remove at will to return to its avian form. These associations can be read into the forms of the rattles, but in fact we know nothing about the rattles' Heiltsuk

contexts. We do not know if they are old family heirlooms that were sold because they were no longer used, artifacts taken from a cache or burial, or new curio objects.

As mentioned above, the only Heiltsuk objects on Aaronson's list that have information about their origins and the circumstances of their acquisition are two large totem poles (CMC VII-EE-26 - VII-EE-27, Fig. 46). "They cost me \$150 at Bella Bella, the freight to bring them to Victoria at that time being \$30 more," is Dean's notation. He paid a high price for the poles considering that in 1900 R. W. Large purchased two house posts (AMNH 16/8379 - 16/8380) from an abandoned house at 'Qélc for twenty dollars (Black 1997: 159).

Dean's description of the origin of the poles is imprecise. The implication is that they are exterior poles but, as is the case with the house frontal post that Jacobsen alleged came from a chief at 'Qélc (RBCM 3), they do not appear in photographs of the village.<sup>42</sup> This is unusual because it can be argued that most architectural poles in museum collections were photographed in situ or during the collecting process.<sup>43</sup> For example, Harlan Smith, C. F. Newcombe, and the Alaskan photographers, Winter and Pond, all photographed the house posts collected by Large while they were still standing at 'Qélc. Four posts from another house at 'Qélc that were collected by C. F. Newcombe in 1911 and then sold to

Stewart Culin for the Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn 11.696.1 - 11.696.4) were photographed in situ by Smith (AMNH neg. nos. 42852 - 42857). At approximately four meters high, the Aaronson poles are smaller than most house posts and exterior poles and they are unusually thin compared to house posts and exterior poles. (One of the few other examples of a Heiltsuk pole of these proportions is UBCMOA A6543, which is 3.3 m. high.)<sup>44</sup> Deans' assertion that the poles are generations old is also probably inaccurate. They do not appear to have been new when they were collected (the surface has been darkened by exposure to smoke or by age and abraded in places), but there is no evidence to indicate that they are as old and as traditional as Deans implies.

Barbeau expressed doubts that the poles had actually stood in front of a house at Bella Bella and functioned as traditional poles. "Such a pole as this [CMC VII-EE-26] and the other of the pair [CMC VII-EE-27] make one wonder as to their authenticity," he wrote, "as they could not represent the crests of the owner" (1950 II: 703-04). It is true that the images on the poles are unusual. They are more like what Holm called "funny little monsters" and "weird figures" than the Heiltsuk crests carved on other poles such as ROM 23188 - 23189 (963X149, 966X84.160), AMNH 16/8379 - 16/8380, and Brooklyn 11.696.1 - 11.696.4.

They are closer in appearance to the images on the wooden spoon, animal carvings, and rattles discussed above.

In fact, the poles have many of the same characteristics as the rattles: the same black and reddish brown colouration, the same treatment of design elements and carved details, similar grotesque figures such as the little human figure that crouches in the open mouth of a creature on CMC VII-EE-27 (described by Deans as a Sea Lion with the Demon coming out of its mouth). As well, the eyes of this creature and the eyes of bird on rattle CMC VII-EE-21 are treated in the same manner and the shapes and relationships of the U-forms and circles that indicate the wings on the back of rattle CMC VII-EE-22 and on the bird figure at the top of pole CMC VII-EE-26 are identical. There are many other instances of exact stylistic correspondance between the rattles and the poles. There can be no doubt that the poles were carved, at least in part, by the maker of the rattles.

Each of the poles has a complex series of unusual images. In Barbeau's opinion, these are not crest images. Deans, however, asserts that each pole is "a history of the different crests of the Indians who are dead and gone of past generations." He describes the images as follows:

. . . at the base of Totum an Indian by his nose of the Eagle tribe, the next is a young bear and his offspring, the next the Wolf, the Beaver, the Sea Lion with its tongue hanging out, Mountain demon holding an Owl. The Demon who broke the

mountain holding a rabbit and eagle on top. [CMC VII-EE-26, Aaronson no. 493]

. . . representing the Bear, the Beaver, Sea Lion and Raven with Bears Crest. The Sea Lion with open mouth out of which comes the Demon and the Sea Lion also holding in its paw the God of the Wind for protection and holding a Beaver, a seal, and Fin Back Whale. [CMC VII-EE-27, Aaronson 494]

Bear, Killer Whale, and Raven are Heiltsuk crests, but Barbeau is correct in judging the carvings on the poles to be unconventional versions of them. The majority of the images on the poles appear to be imaginative creations rather than crests. In most cases, Deans' explanations of the figures can be said to match their appearance.<sup>45</sup> Suspiciously, however, many of the same terms that appear in the descriptions of the wooden spoon, the animal carvings, and the rattles appear here, with the Mountain Demon once again figuring prominently in the account. This duplication makes Deans' descriptions appear to be formulaic. In addition, the descriptions of the figures are not necessarily specifically Heiltsuk, as demonstrated by Deans' use of Haida names and stories in his identification of the images on rattle CMC VII-EE-22.

Nevertheless, it is possible to make some Heiltsuk associations based on Deans' information. His description of the figure at the bottom of CMC VII-EE-27 as "an Indian by his nose of the Eagle tribe" may refer to a specifically Heiltsuk entity because the name Eagle Nose

is a version of a Heiltsuk chiefly name. Olson (1955: 327) translates the name WigwiLbahwai'kes as "Eagle's beak on Waikes" and lists it as the first-ranked Eagle name at Bella Bella. An oral tradition about the name was recorded by Boas (1932: 70). He recounts a history that explains how Ya'laLee (Goose Island) was created when Eagle dropped a whale into the sea and it became an island. Therefore, "all the people there belong to the eagle clan" and "Their chief is Wi'gwiłba Wa'k.as (Eagle-nose-big-river)".<sup>46</sup> Heiltsuk artist and historian David Gladstone (no date) asserts that Brooklyn Museum 11.696.1, a pole from 'Qélc in the form of a human figure with an eagle-like hooked nose holding a Copper on which a human figure is carved, represents Chief Eagle Nose.<sup>47</sup> Another, possibly complimentary, interpretation is that the Aaronson poles are a version of the pole described by Olson (1955: 336):

Moody Humchitt's mother's brother (of the Raven sept) had at Old Bella Bella a totem pole at his house which bore the following figures, reading from bottom to top: Eagle, Human face with raven's nose, Seal, Frog, Blackfish, Whale, Bear. . . . The order of figures seems largely arbitrary and could evidently be changed by the owner at will . . . . Moody could erect a pole like this if he chose to.

From the appearance of the poles and Deans' accompanying explanations, however, it is not possible to substantiate these readings.

The impossibility of identifying the unusual images on the Aaronson poles and of assessing the accuracy of Deans' identifications of them (as well as those on the rattles, animal carvings, and other artifacts) supports Halpin's assertion that the Boasian model for the interpretation of crest images is wrong (1994: 8). Boas and his followers, Halpin explains, interpret crests as "natural species used as heraldic emblems of social groups." They believe that strict rules of representation govern the images of crests in Northwest Coast art and that viewers who study and understand the rules of representation can learn to identify the crest animals. Halpin argues against this point of view. With reference to the Tsimshian, she reminds us that a profusion of recorded crest images exists on the northern Northwest Coast and that the images represent supernatural, not natural, beings:

Frogs and bears sprout wings, killerwhales migrate to inland lakes, wolves and ravens turn white, eagles and grizzlies merge into thunderbirds, humans spring up everywhere, and the entire 'system' transforms into one of hybrid and ambiguous creatures. [Halpin 1994: 12]

Further, these images of supernatural creatures are the specific property of chiefly lineages and their meanings can be related only by the owners of the narratives they illustrate. There is no general knowledge of the crests and there are "no natural prototypes" with which to compare the images (Halpin 1994:12). Halpin's

observations are particularly relevant to the grotesque and seemingly fanciful representations seen on the Heiltsuk artifacts in the Aaronson collection. While the Heiltsuk and Tsimshian crest systems differ, the essentially supernatural character of Heiltsuk images is obvious from those represented on the poles, rattles, animal carvings, and other objects. Deans' attempt to explain the meaning of these images, whether by "guess work" as Newcombe thought or by reference to some now unknown and probably Haida information, could not be successful in Halpin's interpretation. Any attempt to second guess Deans would fall into "the matter of identifying animal representations," a preoccupation of Boasian-influenced analysis which Halpin says is "somewhat ridiculous" (1994: 13). This is not to say, though, that Holm and Reid's idea that the Heiltsuk artists carved unusual figures "apparently for no reason but to amaze people with the artist's imagination" is sufficient to explain the poles' iconography (1975: 180-81). The meaning of the imagery on the poles in Aaronson's collection has been lost in the process of collection and cataloguing and cannot be restored through textural or formal analysis.

### Other Bella Bella Collections

Harlan I. Smith Purchases. Two of the artistic traditions that came to Bella Bella from elsewhere are glimpsed in the small group of Heiltsuk objects that were collected for the Victoria Memorial Museum by Harlan Smith, whom Sapir brought to Ottawa to work in the museum's anthropology division (Cole 1985: 267). Although Smith acquired only five Heiltsuk objects for the collections, they are of particular interest because they came from the old village sites of Kwatna and 'Isda (Ocean Falls).

A mask that Smith acquired at Kwatna in 1920, CMC VII-D-25 (Fig. 47), is catalogued as Nuxalk in the CMC records. Certainly, Nuxalk people had a presence at Kwatna Inlet but the Heiltsuk assert that Heiltsuk speakers also lived there. The movement of ceremonial prerogatives and their associated art forms from Kwatna to Bella Bella is illustrated by a history recounted by a Bella Bella resident, Mr. Windsor, and recorded by Boas. The story tells of the kidnapping of a Heiltsuk ('Uyalit<sup>ŷ</sup>v) chief named G.a'loyagamee by the people of Kwatna and how they extracted an enormous sum from the 'Uyalit<sup>ŷ</sup>v for the chief's release. The amount was so great that the Kwatna people feared they might be considered G.a'loyagamee's slaves because of it. "For this reason they gave him a box with dancing paraphernalia

in order to equal the O'yala.idExu ['Uyalit<sup>ǂ</sup>xv] in liberality and avoid being considered their inferiors." Among the prerogatives acquired by G.a'loyagamee in this manner was "the house with the grizzly bear posts, males in front, females in the rear, which had been obtained by a Kwatna man who went up into the mountains and obtained supernatural power." Windsor told Boas that the house was "used later on in Galts ['Qélc]" and that "It belonged to Ha'mdzit [Humchitt]" (Boas 1932: 166-67).

The mask collected by Smith is an indication of stylistic conventions in the Heiltsuk region as well as of the influence and movement of artifacts in and around the Heiltsuk territories. Delicately and naturalistically carved, it is formally closer to Heiltsuk than to Nuxalk style.<sup>48</sup> Only the slightly bulging eyes evoke Nuxalk stylistical conventions. The mask has some unusual features, the most arresting being that the 'whites' of the eyes are painted red. The painted designs on the mask, which include a crosshatched, tartan-like pattern overlaid with red horizontal stripes on the cheeks and forehead, are remarkably complex. Other features, such as the straight nose, almost rectangular ears, heavy black eyebrows, thin black moustache, black goatee, and open mouth are reminiscent of the Heiltsuk dhuw<sup>ǂ</sup>laxa masks in the collections made by Jacobsen and others. In addition, the mask has black, curl-like shapes across the forehead

that are similar to those on a mask collected by Large at Bella Bella from a man called Solomon (ROM 23136, Black 1997: 175-76, cat. no. 58).

The mask from Kwatna appears to be old. The wood is honey-coloured, pigment is missing in places, and there is a worn area, with a hole (made by a nail?) at the end of the nose. By the time Smith collected the mask, the people of Kwatna had moved into Bella Bella or other communities. It is arguable that their art style, as manifested by the mask, became one of the strains in Bella Bella art.

Frank K. Bennet Collection. Four objects from the Heiltsuk area acquired by Smith were obtained by him in 1923 from Frank K. Bennet, who lived at Ocean Falls.<sup>49</sup> Bennet got all of the artifacts from caches or graves. A plain, diagonal weave basket (CMC VII-EE-32) and an undecorated but elegantly-formed dance clapper (CMC VII-EE-31) came "From a box in a rock shelter, a mile or so north of Neekas Cove, directly west of the north end of Yeo Island, Ellerslie Channel." Bennet also sold Smith two box sides, or chest panels. In the original catalogue, CMC VII-EE-29 was called a "coffin," and this may be the appropriate identification of both panels. CMC VII-EE-29 was taken "from rock shelter, south east end of

Emily Peninsula" and CMC VII-EE-30 came "from near Jap Town, Ocean Falls."

The chest panels collected by Bennet are painted. If they were made in the area rather than obtained in trade, they constitute evidence of a regional Heiltsuk painting style. For many years, Bill McLennan of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology has been locating, photographing, and researching Heiltsuk painted chests and boxes as part of his "Transforming Image" project (in press). The large and complex topic of Heiltsuk painted chests and boxes is outside the parameters of this dissertation, but it is important to note here that very few documented Heiltsuk boxes and chests are found in the major Heiltsuk collections discussed in the preceding pages. This lacuna is remarkable because the production of painted chests and boxes is understood to have been a major industry at Bella Bella. Holm thinks that there was a kind of "box factory" at Bella Bella from which Heiltsuk chests and boxes were exported to all parts of the coast (1976: 42). Very thin formlines, hand-drawn tulip-shaped U-forms, nonconcentric circles, and thin parallel hatching in both black and red are some of the distinguishing characteristics of boxes that are thought to be made at Bella Bella. CMC VII-B-324, collected on Haida Gwaii by Newcombe ca. 1895, is one example of a box with this type

of design (MacDonald 1996: 119, Pl. 89). Box sides found in graves or caches, such as those taken from the 'Isdaítxv region by Bennet, often have denser and more complex designs, thicker formlines, heavier hatching, and central face motifs.

R. W. Large collected a different kind of carved and painted chest at Bella Bella between 1899 and 1906 (ROM 27847, Black 1997: 166-67, cat. no. 36). This chest is very weathered and worn and the paint is now almost all gone, so it appears to be very old. The elaborate and deeply incised design is the same as that found on many Northwest Coast boxes (Seattle Art Museum 86.278 is an example) and the style may represent yet another Heiltsuk artistic tradition. The box sides that Smith got from Bennet are, therefore, potentially critical pieces of the art historical puzzle of Heiltsuk box and chest painting because they point to a regional variation of Heiltsuk style.

Marius Barbeau Purchases. Another anthropologist who came to the Victoria Memorial Museum during Sapir's tenure was Marius Barbeau, who became a major figure in Canadian ethnology. Barbeau's Northwest Coast work was conducted mainly with the Haida and the Tsimshian-Gitksan-Nisga'a, but he did collect three artifacts for the Ottawa museum that are relevant to the Heiltsuk case.

One of them demonstrates that Heiltsuk production was exported to other First Nations communities. A plain, red cedar water bucket that was collected from a Tsimshian woman in 1915 was "made by a Wudste [Bella Bella] man long ago," according to Barbeau (CMC VII-EE-28). It is interesting to compare this water bucket to the decorated water buckets collected by Swan in 1885 (NMNH 20568) and R. W. Large between 1899 and 1901 (ROM 27881, Black 1997: 168, cat. no. 39) that are painted with formline designs that can be interpreted as typically Heiltsuk and were likely made for outsiders as examples of Heiltsuk household technology. The CMC bucket is undecorated and obviously made as a functional object. It is in no way recognizably Heiltsuk. Only Barbeau's documentation alerts us to its Bella Bella provenance. There must be many other objects, made at Bella Bella but collected elsewhere, that are neither documented as Heiltsuk nor stylistically identifiable as such and are therefore lost to the record of Heiltsuk art and material culture.

One of the artifacts collected by Barbeau illustrates the importing of art works, and presumably artistic influences with them, to Heiltsuk communities. Barbeau's Tsimshian colleague, William Beynon, collected a frontlet (CMC VII-EE-36) in 1927 at Klemtu, the Xixis-Tshimshian community on Swindle Island. The frontlet, which is carved in the form of a beaver chewing a stick, has the

conventional attachments of ermine-skin train, sea lion bristles, red flicker feathers, and abalone plaques. Beynon recorded that the frontlet belonged to Wakas, of Wudste (the Tsimshian name for Bella Bella), who was a member of the Eagle division. According to Olson (1955: 327), Wai'kes is a chiefly name of the Killer Whale (Blackfish) division at Bella Bella, so the chief Beynon refers to may have been Wigwilbahwai'kes (Eagle's Beak on Waikes, or Eagle Nose), which Olson lists as the first-ranked Eagle name at Bella Bella. The headdress was not made at Bella Bella, however. It "originally came from Gitxson's house of the Haida" and "It was carved there." Chief Wakas paid the Haida "three slaves and other things" for it. Barbeau explained that "This happened before the present Wakas," who was then about sixty years old.<sup>50</sup> The use by a major Heiltsuk Chief of a Haida frontlet serves as a reminder that all artifacts collected at Bella Bella did not necessarily originate there and are not necessarily expressive of a particularly Heiltsuk art style.<sup>51</sup>

The third Bella Bella-related artifact collected by Barbeau, a Raven Rattle (CMC VII-C-1394), constitutes a more complex case of artistic production and influences. The rattle passed through many hands before it was acquired for the museum in 1927. A man named Charles Barton got it from the brother of a Nisga'a man named

Frank Bolton. Museum records state that Frank Bolton "bought it at Victoria from a Wudste man over 35 years ago." Barbeau therefore recorded that "This particular rattle came from the Wudste (Bella Bella) and may have been carved there," but he did not believe this was the case. He suspected that the Heiltsuk vendor got the rattle from a Nisga'a source because, according to the information Barbeau was given, most Raven Rattles were made by Nisga'a carvers. Barbeau explains the images on the rattle in terms of a Nisga'a oral history related by Bolton.<sup>52</sup> Whether made by Nisga'a, Heiltsuk, or other carvers, Raven Rattles were widely traded on the Northwest Coast. Because, as Barbeau noted, the "figures carved on the rattles [were] not the crest of any clan," the rattles could be used by a chief of any lineage.<sup>53</sup> (The desire to trade artifacts to many different lineages and cultural groups may be the reason for the similarly generic crest imagery on chests and boxes that are thought to originate at Bella Bella but are found throughout the coast. The formline designs were general enough to be appropriate for use by most chiefly families.) The Raven Rattle collected by Barbeau is just one example of the complexity of artifact trade and exchange among Northwest Coast nations and it points out that separating Heiltsuk carving from that of other groups is difficult in many cases.

Lewis Clifton Collection. In contrast, two important animal-form feast bowls from Bella Bella are artifacts that are specifically Heiltsuk even though they were collected in a predominantly Tshimshian community. CMC VII-EE-37 and CMC VII-EE-38 (Fig. 48), large animal-form feast bowls (156 cm. and 125.5 cm. long respectively), were purchased from Lewis Clifton of Hartley Bay. According to Hawthorn (1967: 178), large feast dishes such as these commonly came in sets of four to represent the divisions of supernatural beings: undersea, sky, land, and forest. CMC VII-EE-37 is in the shape of a wolf and represents the "king of the animals" and CMC VII-EE-38 is in the shape of a sea lion (it is called a seal in the CMC catalogue) and represents "the king of the sea," so these feast dishes follow this convention. Clifton explained that "The feast bowls were used at the Feast of the Hereditary Chief (crowning as a chief)" and that they were first used in 1890 by his uncle on his mother's side, Chief Moody of Bella Bella. Following matrilineal rules of inheritance, Clifton had the right to use them when he was "crowned" (i. e., when he assumed a high-ranking chiefly title) in 1919. After that they were not used. They were stored in Clifton's house until an artifact dealer acquired them and sold them to the museum in 1972.<sup>54</sup>

The CMC feast bowls must be the same ones that Olson (1935, 1949: 21) refers as two huge dishes in the shape of a wolf and a sea lion that were given by the people of Bella Bella to the people of Hartley Bay when the latter attended a funeral potlatch at Bella Bella. It was explained to Olson that, because they were given away at a funeral feast, the bowls would never be copied again at Bella Bella. Nevertheless, the animal-form feast dishes remain specifically Heiltsuk even though the right to carve and use them has passed out of the Heiltsuk community.

Contemporary Heiltsuk Art. Records show that the CMC has an example of contemporary Heiltsuk art, a button blanket made by Lillian Gladstone and David Gladstone (b. 1955) in 1989 (CMC VII-EE-53, Fig. 49).<sup>55</sup> The red border of the blanket is decorated with crosses, Coppers, and triangular elements that represent a mountain. On the dark blue field of the blanket, a bird clasping a whale in its talons is pictured. Thunderbird and Whale are Lillian Gladstone's crests (Jensen and Sargent 1986: 46, Pl. XVIII). The use of two crests on the blanket refers to the Heiltsuk method of crest inheritance. David Gladstone explains that, in Heiltsuk culture,

They take crest affiliations from their fathers and mothers, depending on the names they have

received. Several names will get several crests.  
[Jensen and Sargent 1986: 41]

The Heiltsuk method of crest acquisition seems to combine northern Northwest Coast matrilineal conventions and southern coast patrilinear social structure. It is one of the factors that caused anthropologists to place the Heiltsuk in a medial position between the two main provinces of the Northwest Coast.

In this anthropological interpretation of the blanket's images, the art work illustrates a specific element of Heiltsuk culture. It is interesting to note, then, that this distinctly Heiltsuk statement by Heiltsuk artists is mounted in the Kwakwaka'wakw house display at the CMC. Deans glossed late nineteenth-century Heiltsuk art works in terms of Haida oral history; a Kwakwaka'wakw identity is transferred to a contemporary Heiltsuk work by the imprecision of museum display.

## Notes

1. G. M. Dawson to C. F. Newcombe, 17 April, 1899. CMC, Aaronson Collection, 1-A-205m, Box 205, File 1.
2. G. M. Dawson to C. F. Newcombe, 17 April, 1899. CMC, Aaronson Collection, 1-A-205m, Box 205, File 1.
3. G. M. Dawson to C. F. Newcombe, 7 July, 1899. CMC Aaronson Collection, 1-A-205m, Box 205, File 1.
4. Sapir met Newcombe when he did fieldwork on Vancouver Island in 1910. For a history of the ethnographic collections of the Geological Survey of Canada and the development of the National Museum of Man (now the CMC), see Hall 1983: 50-59.
5. Newcombe to Sapir, May 18, 1911. Newcombe Family Papers, BCARS; copy in CMC, Aaronson Collection, 1-A-205m, Box 205, File 1. Newcombe would have known Deans well because of their mutual interests in Victoria. In his discussion of a meeting between Newcombe, Dorsey, and Deans at Masset 1897, Cole (1985: 181) points out that "Newcombe knew Deans as 'the old prospector from Victoria' and as a colleague in the Natural History Society." It is clear that, whatever reservations Newcombe had about the documentation of the collection that Dawson purchased from Aaronson, they did not prevent him from doing business with the dealer. He accompanied Dorsey on a shopping trip to Aaronson's store in 1903 (Cole 1985: 197) and he may also have been involved in a purchase that C. T. Currelly of the ROM made at Aaronson's in 1912 (Cole 1985: 289-90).
6. "During those early days almost every Indian nation in Northwestern America, now British Columbia, and Sitka, now Alaska, was represented at the Fort" (Deans 1899: 6).
7. Deans worked on Haida Gwaii in 1869-70 and 1889 in jobs to do with mineral exploration or coal mining and he was particularly interested in Haida culture and art (Deans 1899: 82). He charged the BCPM \$298.65 for his Haida collection.
8. BCARS holds articles written by Deans, including: "Remains of an Ancient Civilization on Vancouver Island, British Columbia," "Reports on the Queen Charlotte Islands," "Settlement of Vancouver Island," and "Rustic Rhymes by a Rural Rhymster."

9. Cole's reference is to Swan's diary for 1883 and the Daily British Colonist, 28 and 29 September 1883, p. 2. Deans seems to have tried to maintain an appearance of scientific correctness in the collecting of artifacts and skeletal material. He was concerned about the charges concerning the 1897 expedition and wrote to Dorsey about them (Cole 1985: 175). In 1898, he proclaimed his responsible excavation methods in a letter to Boas and accused someone else - perhaps Harlan Smith - of digging holes on private lands and not filling in them in afterwards (Jonaitis 1988: 193).

In another instance, Deans was overbearing and rude in his treatment of the First Nations people who travelled to Chicago for the 1893 Exposition:

The Kwakiutl troop went back by Canadian Pacific Rail. . . . Deans, left behind at a dinner stop on the Prairies, wired ahead that the Indians be put off at the next stop, there to await him on the next day's train. Thereafter, according to Hunt, Deans "acted Bad to us. I did not like his way at all." The old Scotsman apparently lorded over his charges, not letting Hunt know what he was doing and telling everyone that Hunt was "one of his Indians." Indeed, Hunt felt that Deans "was worst than Indian." [Cole 1985: 133]

10. This is indicated by the following captions in Haida Art: "purchased from A. Aaronson collection in 1899 but probably acquired earlier at Masset by James Deans" (mask CMC VII-B-704); "acquired with the A. Aaronson collection in 1899, but probably originally collected by James Deans in the early 1890s on Haida Gwaii (maul CMC VII-B-908); "probably removed from a shaman's grave on Haida Gwaii before 1899 by James Deans for the A. Aaronson collection (bentwood box CMC VII-B-726); "possibly acquired by James Deans before 1899 for the A. Aaronson collection" (dance wand CMC VII-B-686).

11. The objects ex. collection Sir Matthew Begbie are: Haida paint pot VII-B-879; Haida mortar and pestle VII-B-838; Haida bowls VII-B-678, VII-B-698; Tsimshian dance headdress CMC-C-328; caribou horns from Chief Luke of Cowichan (378 on Aaronson's list, no catalogue number given). The majority of the Aaronson collection is from Haida Gwaii.

12. One object, a "carved Diver Bird off of totum pole" (CMC VII-EE-13), could not be located for this study. Records indicate that it has been "missing since 1979" (CMC card file). A woven cedar-bark mat (CMC VII-EE-25) was also not located and is not included in the count of

Bella Bella objects. It is listed as Bella Bella and either from the Aaronson collection or from James Fletcher (1887). It is not on Aaronson's list.

13. Mask CMC VII-EE-1 appears in a photograph of Aaronson's stock (RBCM PN 1275).

14. There are many examples of Nuxalk Thunder masks that match Boas' description in museum collections. AMNH 16/1443, CMC VII-D-414, CMC VII-D-167 are just three examples of this important Nuxalk prerogative which was "regarded as the most powerful and feared of the supernatural dancers" (Stott 1975: 83).

15. The tear-drop shape on the back of the "rabbit" can be interpreted as a fin or wings, but also as the ears of a rabbit. In Nuxalk cosmology, Rabbit is one of the creatures that lives in the house of the Thunderbird and it is sometimes represented in Nuxalk art (e. g., mask AMNH 16/1454, Boas 1898: Pl. XI, fig. 3).

16. A story about Raven and Squirrel is told in Boas 1928: 35 and Boas 1932: 19.

17. CMC VII-EE-23 appeared in the exhibition, "Yakutat South" (Wardwell 1964: 23), and in the film, "The Loon's Necklace" by Crawley Films (1948). CMC VII-EE-24 is reproduced in Dickason 1972: 45, fig. 26.

18. Much of the pigment on both masks has faded or worn away. On CMC VII-EE-1, although the black eyebrows and red lips, nostrils, and ears are still distinctly painted, the blue face painting is almost all gone. The eye area may have been painted white and the eye itself left unpainted. On CMC VII-EE-23, black pigment remains on the eyebrows and moustache, but the red on the mouth and nostrils has faded and the blue pigment (bluing, or Rickets Blue) has almost disappeared.

19. On CMC VII-EE-24, the more elaborately painted mask, two massive U-forms extend outwards from the mouth and chin on each cheek and a large U-shape runs diagonally from each nostril, over the eye and eyebrow, to the forehead. The U-forms at the sides of the face are unusually well defined because they are carved as well as painted. There is a small hole at the top of the forehead, as is often the case with dhuwłáxa masks, and a series of holes on each side rim.

20. The Sea Otter's legs are incised on the back of the bowl but its mouth forms the bowl-handle join and grasps the He'Likilikila - a figure with a human-like body and a

beaked head - between the legs so that the column of figures on the handle appears to rise out of the mouth of the Sea Otter. The He'Likilikila clasps the small figure of L'-tlem-aka; its short, pointed beak covers the top of L'-tlem-aka's head. The Demon is a small human-like figure with a heart-shaped forehead crouching on top of the He'Likilikila. The Eagle, with his red-toed feet propped jauntily on the Demon's shoulders and the little Sea Otter in his hands, is at the top of the handle.

21. Both 'Qélc and Waglisla are located on flat areas at the base of hills and near the mouths of small rivers, so either location can be interpreted as a plain created by a river running from the mountains. In fact, translations of the name Waglisla are: "part of the beach that is flooded by a river, a river delta, the running of river water over a part of the beach" (Rath 1981: II 648).

22. CMC VII-EE-4 and CMC VII-EE-9 are 35 cm. high. CMC VII-EE-8 is 38 cm. high. CMC VII-EE-5 is 30 cm. long.

23. As previously noted, the introduction and ramifications of the cash economy at Bella Bella are discussed by Harkin (1988: 286-94).

24. Most of the literature on Heiltsuk oral traditions was written by Boas (1916, 1923, 1928, 1932). More recent compilations are by Susanne Storie and Jennifer Gould (1973, 1973a).

25. A mountain-goat hunter who was sleeping near a fire awoke to see a long beak rising from the ashes and realized that his sleeping companions were, in fact, dead. "The beak . . . entered the anus of one of his friends. Then he knew that it was the Hau'hau who had killed his friends" (Boas 1898: 100).

26. In the CMC card file, "Otter" is changed to "Dog."

27. CMC VII-EE-3 is 19 cm. long. CMC VII-EE-10 is 13 cm. long. The size of CMC VII-EE-6 was not available.

28. There is a rectangular, unpainted area with parallel black hatching in the centre of the figure's back. The back of the carving (the figure's buttocks and the soles of its feet) is unpainted, so the carving may have been meant to stand upright as well.

29. CMC VII-EE-14 is mistakenly catalogued as CMC VII-EE-14 A, B. The measurements of the smaller pair are unknown as the paddles were unavailable when this study was done.

30. Some of characteristics of the painted design are: an unpainted wood background; black areas at the tip and lower edge; large black spit-U form where the handle meets the blade; a wide black line bordered by thin red lines at the end of the handle; very thin black formlines enclosing thin red formlines and red split U-shapes; a long, solid red ovoid at the end of bird's beak; a very thin sliver of unpainted wood between the end of the bird's beak and the black area at the end of the blade; a long eye shape, the lower line of which curves up at edges of the long ovoid of the pupil; a pupil shape that is attached to top of the eye ovoid.

31. The whale-shaped canteen is 34.4 cm. long. ROM 27874/906.2.4 is 51.2 cm high. CMC VII-B-110 is 41 cm. high.

32. Barbeau's description and interpretation is repeated by Dickason (1972: 70, fig. 49).

33. The eyes of CMC VII-EE-19 and CMC VII-EE-22 have deeply-indented triangular corners and large, round pupils with incised outlines. Those of CMC VII-EE-18 and CMC VII-EE-20 have large, black pupils in the centre of round orbits.

34. Some of the characteristics of CMC VII-EE-20 are heavy, rounded eyebrows, U-shaped ears on top of the head, a pug nose with curly nostrils, a series of U-shapes on each cheek, and thick lips. The motif incised on the back has round eyes, a mouth with teeth, and large U-shaped ears on top of head.

35. CMC VII-EE-18 has large, round, sunken eyes and a large mouth with thin lips that are drawn back to reveal two rows of teeth. The design verso is composed of two abutting profile heads with round eyes, long beaks with teeth, and U-forms above and below.

36. The bird represented on CMC VII-EE-19 has prominent nostrils. The creature in its mouth has a wide, smiling mouth with a single row of large teeth. It holds its long-fingered paws under its chin. The knob-like head on top of the rattle has tubular eyes that look upward, arched brows, and a wide, curved mouth tops the rattle. The motif incised on the back of the rattle is has round eyes, an oval mouth with teeth, and two large, ear-like U-forms at the top.

37. The bird on rattle CMC VII-EE-21 has lidded eyes. The arms of the body are bent at the elbows and rest on the thighs. The legs are angled backwards and bent at the

ankles. The long talons grasp the handle. The round-eyed motif incised on the back of the body has the usual wide formlines, oval mouth with teeth, and large U-shaped ears.

38. The long, straight wings of the bird's body on rattle CMC VII-EE-22 are composed of two U-forms. The bird's legs are drawn up under the body. No teeth show in the mouth of the animal and the lower lip protrudes slightly, giving the creature a cat-like look.

39. The story appears in Deans (1899: 62) as follows:

Long ago the scannahs could not agree amongst themselves, so in order to preserve peace, they agreed to have a king over them. So they sent a deputation to the walrus, asking him to be their king. This he refused to be. Then they sent to the dolphin and several others with the same result. When they could not get a king they applied to the god Ne-kilst-lass for help. To their request he relied, 'you shall have neither one nor other of those. This I will do for you. I will take one of your number who shall be your king, and as a distinguishing mark he shall have seven dorsal fins and his name forever shall be auch-willo.'

40. Basel IVA.131 is clearly by the same artist as the Aaronson rattles. It is painted with reddish brown and black pigments. It has recessed, round eyes and a wide, toothy mouth similar to the skull-like rattle CMC VII-EE-18; heavy, rounded eyebrows like the bear rattle CMC VII-EE-20; and a series of U's incised in the eyebrows that are similar to the striations on the bear's cheeks. A photograph of this rattle is in Wright, ed., 1996.

41. Brooklyn 05.588.7292, collected by C. F. Newcombe, is an example of a conventional Raven Rattle from Bella Bella. It is generic, rather than specifically Heiltsuk in style (Jacknis 1991a: 260, fig. 277).

42. Neither does there appear to be a photograph of VII-EE-13 (Aaronson 348), described in Deans' list as "Carved Diver Bird off of totum pole." This artifact was not examined for this study. A note in the CMC catalogue reports that it has been "missing since 1979."

43. For a discussion of the relationship between photography and artifact collecting, see Black 1992.

44. Like the CMC poles from Bella Bella, UBCMOA A6543 is a column of expressive figures. It appears to be of the same vintage and had, until recent restoration, a similar dark patina. Some of the same conventions of representation are followed. For example, the upside down whale at the bottom of the UBCMOA pole has a squared dorsal fin, and the whale in the centre of the pole has an immenseley open mouth through which the talons belonging to the raven above it protrude. See Hawthorn 1967: 345, fig. 487.

45. There are three mistakes in the descriptions. An image of Wolf does not appear on pole CMC VII-EE-26. The representation of Raven on CMC VII-EE-27 is not accompanied by a "Bears Crest." The creature on CMC VII-EE-27 that holds the Beaver is not identified (perhaps this is the Bear's crest).

46. Another oral tradition that mentions a chief with an eagle's nose is also recorded by Boas:

. . . the eagle came from the north with his sisters . . . and his speaker, looking for a village site. . . . Finally he went to La'tsata. He liked the place and ordered his speaker to make a stone salmon trap with convergent dams in the mouth of the river. Then he called himself Wa'k.as (Real River). He became a man but he could not change his eagle beak. [Boas 1932: 65]

Chief Great River is mentioned by Boas and Hunt (1906: 424-26).

47. One of the poles, Brooklyn 11.696.2, may also have had the recurved nose of Eagle. The separate beak that was nailed on is now missing. Barbeau (1953: 225, fig. 190, 191) says that both Brooklyn 11.696.1 and 11.696.2 represent "Thunderbird and man."

48. The mask is reproduced in Gerber (1989: 51) as "either Bella Coola or Heiltsuk."

49. Frank Burnett was the source of a collection of painted curio-type animal-form bowls, a model canoe, and a carved figure group from Bella Bella at the UBCMOA. Burnett also was at Ocean Falls and one wonders if the name Burnett was changed to Bennet in error by the Victoria Memorial Museum.

50. All Barbeau quotes are from the CMC Catalogue.

51. See Black 1997: 83-89 for a discussion of objects in the ROM's R. W. Large Collection that were collected at Bella Bella but originated elsewhere.

52. The story tells how hunters who were out on a lake in a canoe saw a little bird coming out of a whirlpool. The bird looked exactly like the birds depicted on Raven Rattles. There was "a man on the back of the bird, a frog on the tail of the bird, biting the tongue of the man." When it rose up out of the water and shook itself, the bird made the sound of the rattle (CMC catalogue).

53. The imagery on the Raven Rattles was always the same. Only the head of the bird figure changed depending on who commissioned the carving (an Eagle man would have a bird with the head of an eagle and the bird on the rattle of a Raven man would have a raven's head).

54. The information about the feast bowls is from the CMC Catalogue.

55. The border and field images on the CMC blanket by David Gladstone and Lillian Gladstone are the same as those the artists used on a blanket made in 1985 (Jensen and Sargent 1986: 46, Pl. XVIII). For an informative historical and personal statement by David Gladstone about the history and meaning of button blankets at Bella Bella, and a photograph of Lillian Gladston sewing a button blanket, see Jensen and Sargent 1986: 39-42.

CHAPTER III  
SORTING THE INVENTORY

A Museum Picture of Heiltsuk Art

Only four of many museum collections of Heiltsuk art and artifacts have been examined in this study, but the four are key collections for any analysis of Heiltsuk art and its history. Because of their large size, the distinctive qualities of many of the artifacts in them, and the prominence and authority of the museums that house them, it is essential to understand the collections of the NMNH, AMNH, CMC, and RBCM and their role in shaping what is known outside of Bella Bella about historical Heiltsuk art. Close examination of these significant collections is also key to evaluating what constitutes documented Heiltsuk art objects and the mechanics of museum representation of Heiltsuk culture. In this final section, information presented previously is reviewed and synthesized.<sup>1</sup>

The scope and complexity of the four collections camouflage their arbitrary nature. None of the institutions had a particular interest in Heiltsuk art as a distinctive category of Northwest Coast culture. None had a systematic program for collecting artifacts and related ethnological and historical information from Bella

Bella. Instead, they amassed Heiltsuk material in rather haphazard ways over a period of more than a hundred years for a variety of reasons, from a variety of sources, and with a variety of accompanying documentation.

Surprisingly, given the concurrence in time and subject of the collections, there are few areas of correspondence between them. Differences in the collectors' agendas, their ethnographic knowledge, their access to Heiltsuk sources, and other personal variables resulted in divergences in content. Contradictory illustrations of types and forms of Heiltsuk material art and artifacts are presented. Even contemporaneous collections differ in composition and the objects in them are frequently radically divergent in style. A consistent, comprehensive representation of Heiltsuk material culture has not been constructed.

#### Comparative Analysis

The variety and size of the four collections make it difficult to compare them systematically. Points of comparison appropriate for some of the Heiltsuk collections may not be relevant to others. Nevertheless, general comparative categories can be identified that are drawn from the makeup of the collections and are also conventional art historical categories: time periods and chronologies (dates and histories), origins (collectors

and sources), media and style (objects), and texts (documentation). These themes are embedded in the way that we look at Western art objects. Applied as general organizing principles to Heiltsuk collections in museums, they generate incomplete narratives of Heiltsuk culture but tell us a great deal about the museum enterprise.

Dates and Histories. The majority of objects in the four collections studied were acquired in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The kinds of objects that were collected in this period, and those few that were acquired before 1875 and after 1900, present contrasting pictures of art production at Bella Bella.

Although Bella Bella has been an important and much-visited trading centre since Fort McLoughlin was built in 1833, and Heiltsuk communities were important centres before that, few Heiltsuk objects in museum collections predate the 1870s. Only one example of an artifact collected during the Fort McLoughlin period (1833-43) has been mentioned: the small, carved ivory bust representing a European man that Tolmie probably acquired at Fort McLoughlin between 1833 and 1835 (RBCM 16497). This carving demonstrates that Heiltsuk artists were working for the non-aboriginal market as early as the 1830s. With its careful detailing of European dress and physiognomy, the ivory bust is analogous to examples of Haida argillite

carving, made for sale, representing Western figures (e. g., RBCM 6672, RBCM 15712).<sup>2</sup> Since the Haida examples date from the early 1840s (Macnair 1984: 81), a decade later than the ivory carving collected by Tolmie, it may be that Heiltsuk carvers were among the first producers of this type of tourist art. Given the importance of Fort McLoughlin as a commercial centre, the probable interest of traders and visitors in the artifacts of the region, and the recorded involvement of Heiltsuk artists in the artifact trade, the scarcity of documented Heiltsuk objects from this period is puzzling.

Forty years passed between Tolmie's acquisition and the first major Heiltsuk museum collection, Swan's, which was accessioned in 1875 by the NMNH. As noted above, the evidence that Swan's collection provides for what appears to be a thriving curio production at Bella Bella during this period challenges common assumptions about the historical growth of the Northwest Coast curio trade and about the prevalence of traditional, made-for-use objects in early collections. The curio trade of the 1870s was part of the socio-economic changes of that decade. By then, populations from the entire Heiltsuk territory - greatly reduced by smallpox in the 1860s and under increasing pressure from non-aboriginal government and business interests - were settling in McLoughlin Bay. In this period the cash economy became dominant. The

commercial artifact trade was well established at 'Qélc, and possibly at other Heiltsuk communities, as Swan's designation "imitation(s) of old relics" for a significant portion of his collection illustrates. It was clearly an important aspect of the new economy and evidence of a changing way of life.

In the 1880s, the Methodist mission was established at 'Qélc and the majority of Heiltsuk people settled at McLoughlin Bay. Western fashions in dress, personal names, and modes of living were adopted; a sawmill was established; many people pursued commercial ventures. Very few objects in the collections made during the 1880s, however, reveal that this was a period of great change for the Heiltsuk. For example, Powell emphasized the rapid and radical modernization of the village in his account of his visit to 'Qélc in 1881, only one year after the arrival of the first resident missionary, but his Heiltsuk collection (accessioned by the AMNH in 1880-85) focuses on old and traditional objects. Some of these may have been collected before the mission was established, either during Powell's brief visits to 'Qélc in 1873 and 1879, or from middle-men. It is most likely, however, that the emphasis on older, traditional objects in Powell's collection is the result of rapid changes in the community. Artifacts that could no longer be used openly under the new order were traded for items, including

money, that were part of 'Qelc's transformation. Emmons' Heiltsuk collection for the AMNH, which was accessioned in 1888, is also made up of generic, older artifacts. These objects may have been out of fashion in a Methodist village, but they epitomized the fashion in scientific collecting of the time.

Other collections from our sample that were made in the 1880s are more varied and therefore more obviously both the products of the changing Heiltsuk community and the instruments of change. The collection from Swan that was accessioned by the NMNH in 1884 includes, along with old and much-used specimens, objects that appear to have been newly made. The latter are evidence of an already-established market for museum specimens that must have contributed to the growing cash economy, governed to some extent what was produced, and shifted the role of artists in the community. The MacMurray collection, accessioned by the AMNH in 1946 but probably collected in 1886, contains old objects as well as new ones made for the curio trade, and examples of technology as well as examples of ceremonialism. The term "iktas," with its romantic connotations of exoticism (see p. 172), condensed these categories of history into homogenous, archaizing representations of the primitive 'other.'

When the Jacobsen, Aaronson, and Boas-Hunt collections were accessioned by museums in Victoria, Ottawa, and New

York in the 1890s, Methodist missionaries had been working at Bella Bella for more than ten years. Reserves had been allotted by the government and the outward signs of traditional Heiltsuk society and culture had almost disappeared. 'Qelc was being vacated as the major Heiltsuk residential site in favour of Waglisla. Bella Bella was now officially Methodist and, outwardly at least, a model Christian community in the Western style. Paradoxically, the more the village modernized in appearance, the more collectors focused on ceremonial objects typical of the pre-Christian period. The paradox is typical of the philosophy behind anthropological collecting at the time, which emphasized the importance of salvaging remnants of an idealized aboriginal past. This is certainly the case for the Jacobsen and the Boas-Hunt collections which document aspects of historical Heiltsuk culture but ignore the Heiltsuk realities of the 1890s. Aaronson's collection is somewhat different. Like Swan's collection of more than twenty years earlier, it is heavily weighted to inventive and apparently newly-made objects and therefore offers a glimpse of a different and more modern aspect of Bella Bella material culture. Nevertheless, through its documentation which stresses traditional use and Haida myths, Deans' catalogue seeks to give the impression of early - even pre-contact - generalized, Northwest Coast culture.

Comparatively few Heiltsuk artifacts were accessioned in the twentieth century by the four museums. Those that were accessioned, and very likely collected, after 1900 are diverse in content. They include engraved silver napkin rings that once belonged to R. W. Large and his wife and were probably acquired when they lived at Bella Bella between 1899 and 1910; carvings that Newcombe got in 1911-13 from the Gaudin family; paddles given to Ormiston in 1928 by the lighthouse keeper at Dryad Point; masks collected by Olson during his fieldwork at Waglisla in 1935; a mask purchased in 1984 by an artifact dealer, Roloff, from a family at Waglisla.<sup>3</sup> Many of these artifacts are examples of Heiltsuk curio carving but, again, there is little co-relation between the date of collection and the 'authenticity' of its contents because the twentieth-century collections also contain older, traditional objects like the Black cod mask collected by Olson in 1935 (RBCM 16572).

That new tourist art and older ceremonial carvings alike were collected in the twentieth century demonstrates both that curio production remained an important source of income and that Heiltsuk families did not sell all of their traditional artifacts during the collecting boom of the 1880s and 1890s. In addition, more recent carvings like the RBCM masks attributed to C. Moody and collected by Campbell (RBCM 16117-16121) can be interpreted as

transitional, providing a link with art works made by contemporary Heiltsuk artists, such as Larry Campbell and David Gladstone.

This sense of progress through time, though, is the exception that proves the rule that Heiltsuk art and culture in museums is primarily a late nineteenth-century event. A notable aspect of the composition of the museum collections studied is that they contain very few examples of modern Heiltsuk work. The RBCM has silver jewellery by David Gladstone (RBCM 15038), Stanley George (RBCM 15584, 18383), and Eli Wallace (RBCM 15583, 15586), as well as a mask by Larry Campbell (RBCM 14120) and a carved cedar panel by Gordon Gladstone (RBCM 13702). The CMC has a button blanket by David Gladstone and Lillian Gladstone (CMC VII-EE-53). These are exceptions. In museum collections, there is paltry evidence of contemporary Waglisla.

Collectors. A key point made in this study is the significance of collectors' biases and agendas as factors in the shaping of museum inventories of Heiltsuk artifacts and, therefore, a view of Heiltsuk art history and historical culture. In most cases, museums did not prescribe the composition of the collections they received. Some collectors did get minimal instruction about what to collect. The NMNH communicated general

guidelines and desiderata to Swan; the AMNH let Powell know what they were interested in receiving; Boas provided Hunt with lists of desired artifacts. Despite this, the collections reflect mainly personal strategies and circumstances and not museum programmes. Further, they appear not to have been edited by the receiving museums. The AMNH purchased whole shipments from Powell and Emmons, for example, and the BCPM took Jacobsen's collection as a single lot. Although Dawson thought that the collection Aaronson offered to the Ottawa museum was uneven, he appears to have purchased it in its entirety.

Among the collectors discussed, Boas was unusual in that he was a trained scientist in the employ of a museum. The others were freelance or commissioned collectors with tenuous connections to the institutions that purchased their material and little or no training in ethnography. Swan, for example, despite his ambition to be recognized as an expert on aboriginal culture, was an untrained, part-time operative whose collections reflected his own circumstances and limited resources. Aaronson was an established and active artifact trader who sold artifacts to museums and collectors acting for museums, but whether or not this market affected what he acquired is not known. The material in which he dealt must have come from an extensive network of sources; he himself appears to have had no pretensions to expertise. Deans, who may have been

the source of at least some of the artifacts that Dawson purchased from Aaronson for the National Museum of Canada, was an eccentric man with a sincere but untutored interest in First Nations culture.

Powell was also untrained in ethnography and a part-time collector. Despite the enormous number of Northwest Coast objects he sold to the AMNH and other museums, and despite his exceptional access to First Nations communities and artifacts due to his position as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he appears to have had no scientific collecting programme. The AMNH let him know that used, functional artifacts were preferred to newly-made objects. His official reports, however, indicate that Powell's penchant for old and traditional material reflects a government position. Old, traditional objects were supposed to be anachronisms in the progressive, modernizing First Nations societies that were promoted by the churches and by the DIA, and were therefore expendable and available for sale. (Celebration of the idea of 'progress' at Bella Bella is particularly clear in Powell's 1881 report.) In this reading, Powell's collection is the unplanned result of his role in the DIA rather than evidence of any scientific project or directives from the museum.

Many collectors who corresponded with Boas and knew him from encounters in British Columbia were influenced by

the anthropologist's ideas about what kinds of artifacts ought to be preserved in museums and how they should be documented. For example, Boas passed over the missionary village of Bella Bella and the products of modern Heiltsuk carvers in favour of older works that appeared to reveal a traditional, even pre-contact, culture. This antiquating focus can be seen in the collections of Hunt, Emmons, and Jacobsen. As Boas' agent and colleague, Hunt carried out the anthropologist's collecting programme as comprehensively as he could. Emmons, a professional collector with close ties to aboriginal communities in Alaska, did the kind of in-depth ethnographic documentation, language recording, and oral history research that Boas promoted. Jacobsen's preference for 'primitive' cultures and secret, ceremonial objects may reflect a personal interest but it also points to an anthropological strategy. He had learned about ethnographic collecting from his brother, Adrian, who had been schooled at the Berlin museum where Boas got his ethnographic training. Jacobsen knew and admired Boas and the importance placed by Boas on documentation is no doubt reflected in Jacobsen's efforts to record First Nations stories that he had heard and ceremonial life that he had witnessed. Newcombe was a prolific, practised collector with many contacts in both the aboriginal and museum communities. Boas was one of those contacts and Newcombe

must have been well aware of the high value that the anthropologist put on scientific collection data. Unlike Boas, though, Newcombe was interested in modern as well as older material, and the artifacts he collected and sold to museums often came unaccompanied by extensive ethnographic annotations.

The range of collectors who contributed to the Heiltsuk inventory discussed in this study include a tourist (MacMurray), an anthropologist (Olson), a missionary and life-long north coast resident (R. G. Large), a private collector (Campbell), and a major artifact dealer (Roloff). They exemplify the variety of agents that have assembled museum collections of Heiltsuk artifacts. Their varied occupations and interests underscore the unplanned and unsystematic nature of museum representations of Heiltsuk material culture.

Sources. Most of the twentieth-century collectors discussed had a direct connection to Bella Bella. R. G. Large was born at Waglisla during his father's tenure as the Methodist medical missionary and later returned to work for a time at the Bella Bella hospital; Olson was one of the few anthropologists who did fieldwork at Waglisla; Ormiston frequented the area because of his work. Because these and other twentieth-century collectors were familiar with the Heiltsuk people and their community, the primary

sources of the artifacts are known. R. G. Large got the napkin rings (RBCM 18115-18117) from his father, who probably got them from the artist, Fred Johnson. Ormiston had a professional connection with the source of the paddles RBCM 15832-15833, the lighthouse keeper at Dryad Point (Captain Carpenter). Olson got two masks (RBCM 16571-16572) from a Bella Bella resident, Mrs. Sam Starr, who helped him with his research into Heiltsuk society and culture. Roloff got masks that he sold to the RBCM directly from Bella Bella residents (RBCM 17941, 17944).<sup>4</sup> Campbell purchased the masks RBCM 16117-16121 from a Vancouver dealer, but the ultimate source was C. Moody of Bella Bella.

Of the nineteenth-century collectors of Heiltsuk artifacts, only Jacobsen appears to have had a prolonged, first-hand knowledge of Bella Bella. He lived at Bella Coola and his familiarity with the central coast and its people is corroborated by his apparent uncommon access to old, ceremonial Heiltsuk artifacts. Powell had direct knowledge of Bella Bella, having stopped there briefly in 1873, 1879, 1881, and 1898 while on coastal surveys in his capacity as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, but his relationship with the community was superficial compared to Jacobsen's. The other nineteenth-century collectors in our sample had only minimal direct experience with the Heiltsuk people and scant knowledge of the principal

Heiltsuk community of Bella Bella. Swan, for example, appears to have known little about the British Columbia coast in general and Bella Bella in particular. The extent of Emmons' knowledge of Bella Bella and the Heiltsuk is unknown but it was certainly secondary to his Tlingit interests. Although Newcombe was a prolific collector with extensive coastal knowledge and contacts, there are few Heiltsuk artifacts in his RBCM collection and he appears to have had little contact with the community. There is no evidence that Aaronson went to Bella Bella. Deans, to whom the catalogue of Aaronson's CMC collection is attributed and who may have collected some or all of the artifacts, spent most of his time in the field in Haida Gwaii. If he visited Bella Bella he did not record it. MacMurray, as a tourist cruising up the British Columbia coast on the way to Alaska, would have had little or no contact with Bella Bella and the Heiltsuk.

How much Boas knew about Bella Bella and the Heiltsuk is an intriguing question, particularly since so much of the information about Heiltsuk objects in the AMNH and other museums is based on either his, or on Hunt's, direct explanations or has been established by analogy to Boas' Kwakwaka'wakw texts. It appears that Boas did not visit Bella Bella when he was in British Columbia in 1886 and that he bypassed the village in 1888. In 1894 he stopped

briefly at Klemtu but apparently not at Bella Bella. His colleagues on the JNPE, Smith and Farrand, worked at Bella Bella in 1897 but the extent of Boas' participation in the Heiltsuk research at that time is not clear. It was not until 1923, when he recorded the oral histories published in Bella Bella Texts and Bella Bella Tales, that Boas spent a prolonged period at Bella Bella. Boas depended on Hunt for ethnographic data about the Northwest Coast First Nations. Hunt must have had various relationships, including ceremonial and family connections, with the Heiltsuk, and it is likely that he had access to Heiltsuk information. He does not appear to have spoken Heiltsuk, however, and the exact nature of his connections with Bella Bella have not been recorded. Compared to the remarkably extensive Kwakwaka'wakw archive Hunt compiled for Boas, his Heiltsuk work is limited.

Of the nineteenth-century collectors only Jacobsen, who knew the central coast well, mentioned the source of some of the Heiltsuk artifacts he collected. He said some of the carvings he sold to the BCPM came from burials in the vicinity of Bella Bella (eagle monument RBCM 225, human figure RBCM 229, frontlet RBCM 1893). Where other nineteenth-century artifacts that are catalogued as Bella Bella or Heiltsuk came from is open to question. It is not known if the Heiltsuk artifacts in Powell's collection were actually collected at Bella Bella. They may have

come from Victoria curio dealers, from Heiltsuk people living in Victoria and other centres, from the HBC, from other First Nations communities, from missionaries, or from other secondary sources. Because Swan's artifacts came from the HBC and were shipped from Port Simpson, their Bella Bella provenance is less specific than it appears. Newcombe's Heiltsuk material may have been purchased at Bella Bella (the Gaudin material probably was) but it could also have been acquired elsewhere. Similarly, the Heiltsuk artifacts that Emmons collected may have been acquired in Alaska, Victoria, or other locations, rather than at Bella Bella. The sources of Aaronson's collection are not known, either. He may have commissioned people to collect for him or purchased items from aboriginal people visiting or living in Victoria, artifact collectors, the HBC, travellers, and other sources. MacMurray could have purchased the "iktas" at Bella Bella if the ship on which she was touring stopped there. On the other hand, they could have been acquired anywhere along the route.

Even Boas got Heiltsuk artifacts from middle-men rather than purchasing them himself at Bella Bella. The AMNH poles from 'Qélc (AMNH 16/8379-16/8380), for example, were purchased from R. W. Large, who bought them from a Heiltsuk family in need of cash. Curiously, no artifacts are documented as having been collected by Boas'

colleagues, Farrand and Smith, when they were at Bella Bella in connection with the JNPE. Despite the cultural documentation provided by Hunt, it is not clear where he got the Heiltsuk artifacts that he sent to the AMNH, either.

Objects. Swan's desire to compile a major ethnographic collection, his dependence on HBC sources, and his enthusiasm for all aspects of aboriginal culture - including newly-made examples of First Nations arts - resulted in a unique collection of Heiltsuk objects. It includes the old ("ancient relics") and the new, artifacts made for use and works made for the artifact trade ("imitation[s] of old relics"), the ceremonial and the secular, found objects and commissioned art works. Swan did not differentiate; he wanted to get as many objects as possible in order to be competitive in the collecting field. He appears to have accepted what the HBC provided.

Like Swan's, the collections made by Aaronson and Newcombe are inclusive. Evidence suggests that they did not exercise selective strategies, but purchased whatever they could get. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Swan, Aaronson, and Newcombe - all of whom made inclusive collections - acted as middle-men and were dependent on other sources for their material. Swan got his Bella Bella collection from the HBC; Aaronson may have

got his from Deans or from others who supplied his store; Newcombe acquired an important group of Heiltsuk objects from Gaudin. Dependence on intermediaries with diverse sources may be one reason for the varied nature of the objects they acquired. For example, Dawson judged Aaronson's collection to be uneven in quality. This may reflect the fact that some of the objects from the dealer are ceremonial objects made in the traditional style and some are newly-made and stylistically novel curio carvings. The Heiltsuk objects that the BCPM purchased from Newcombe also constitute a varied lot. Most are unimpressive examples of Heiltsuk art and technology but his collection includes the elaborately carved and painted settee that came from the Dryad Point lighthouse (RBCM 1856).

The inclusive collecting strategy revealed in Swan's and Aaronson's Heiltsuk collections is not apparent in other collections in our sample. Boas and Hunt were selective. They wanted only old, traditional artifacts and favoured ceremonial objects such as masks and cedar bark regalia. Detailed collection information and explanations of function and usage were also emphasized. A well-documented, encyclopedic collection of ceremonial artifacts with accompanying data was the ideal.

Powell selected, or was presented with, Heiltsuk objects that had been used for traditional purposes and

illustrated traditional life. Similarly, the copper and brass bracelets (AMNH E/1811 and following), shell necklaces (AMNH E/895-E/896), and fish club (AMNH E/1932) that Emmons said were from Bella Bella are examples of the material culture of a past time. Jacobsen was also biased toward old, traditional artifacts; nothing newly-made is apparent among the Heiltsuk objects he collected. His collection, like Powell's, is weighted toward ceremonial objects. Interestingly, the types of souvenirs - a "wand totem" or speaker's staff, a model canoe (AMNH 16.1/2359 - 16.1/2460) - purchased by MacMurray on her cruise to Alaska are analogous to those in the Powell and Emmons collections even though, presumably, they were tourist goods. Models, which are typical of (although not restricted to) tourist production, and full-scale objects that could be used in ceremonial contexts are represented in all three collections.

This analogy points out how difficult it is to differentiate between novelties and traditional artifacts and emphasizes the arbitrariness of any such distinction. Because these categories have been the basis for many art historical analyses of aboriginal art in the past (e. g., Graburn, ed., 1976), this point undermines a conventional way of thinking about First Nations art. The categories are used here as an aid to comparing the various

collections under discussion rather than as a rigid taxonomy.

A brief look at the types of objects in the balance of the collections discussed illustrates further the heterogeneity of the sample and stresses that there is little concordance in major museum collections of Heiltsuk art and artifacts. Different types of conventional curio carving were collected (the paddles from Ormiston [RBCM 15832-15833] and silver napkin rings from R. G. Large [RBCM 18115-18117] are examples) but unconventional carvings like R. G. Large's Killer whale carving made from gypsum (RBCM 18120) are also present. Each of the twentieth-century collectors acquired different types of masks. Mrs. Starr provided Olson with two masks of different styles, one of which (the Black cod mask, RBCM 16572) appears to be older than the other. The masks that Roloff purchased from Bella Bella residents are stylistically dissimilar, again perhaps because they were made in different periods. (One of the masks, RBCM 17941, probably dates from first half of this century; the other, RBCM 17944, appears to be a more recent production.) The roughly-carved masks thought to be by C. Moody or made for him (RBCM 16117-16121) may be contemporary with RBCM 17944, but the styles are incongruous.

There is little overlapping of content in the four museum collections. Jacobsen, Emmons, and Swan acquired a

large number of copper and brass bracelets but even these apparently common artifacts are not found in all the collections. Collections that emphasize old, traditional, ceremonial artifacts tend to feature different varieties of this class of object. Jacobsen's collection, for example, has a high proportion of dhuwláxa masks and the Boas-Hunt collections do not. Instead, the latter have 'grotesque'-type masks not found in Jacobsen's collection. The complex cedar bark neck and head rings collected by Hunt have no exact counterparts in Jacobsen's collection. There is no Black cod mask like the one collected by Olson in any other collection, and so on. Similarly, there is little correspondence in the collections that showcase curios or carvings made for the artifact trade. The lively animal carvings and distinctive house posts are unique to Aaronson's collection, for example (CMC VII-EE-3 - VII-EE-10; VII-EE-26 - VII-EE-27).

This methodological study insists on the importance of detailed analysis and comparison of museum collections, rather than isolated examples of Heiltsuk objects, for the development of a Heiltsuk art history. Using this methodology, stylistic differences are revealed that raise questions concerning the specificity of regional sub-styles within Heiltsuk territory. Although similar objects are found in some of the collections (two human-bird masks in Swan's collection have a counterpart in

Jacobsen's, for example),<sup>5</sup> there is little overlapping of types and styles. The dhuw<sup>2</sup>l<sup>2</sup>á<sup>2</sup>xá masks in Jacobsen's collection are one example of a stylistically homogeneous group. Another is Swan's collection of newly-made carvings that are specific to Bella Bella in the 1870s. On the basis of style, some can be assigned to a single artist or a closely related group of artists. They constitute a recognizable Heiltsuk style that may be the key to attribution of similar but undocumented objects in other collections. The animal carvings and house posts in the Aaronson collection and the objects that Newcombe acquired from Gaudin are additional - but quite different - examples of distinctive Heiltsuk styles. Among the older artifacts, a similar multiplicity of manners can be detected. One instance of stylistic diversion is that the designs on the burial box sides collected by Bennet in the region of 'Isda (CMC VII-EE-29 - VII-EE-30) differ from those found on other boxes and chests from the Bella Bella area.

Documentation. Boas insisted that ethnographic objects should be provided with cultural context through careful documentation of their functions, methods of use, aboriginal names, and other information. In 1898, at the beginning of his American career, Boas was unable to provide this kind of information for Powell's AMNH

Heiltsuk collection. Boas' catalogue of Powell's material includes ambiguous, confusing descriptions and minimal explanations of the artifacts. Problems concerning provenance arise (with regard to the large canoe, for example). Similarly, the four Heiltsuk masks that Boas collected for the AMNH in 1894 (AMNH 16/781-16/782, 16/962-16/963) have enigmatic documentation as well as minimal and sometimes confusing explanations. Lack of documentation is related to the circumstances of collection. It is questionable that any of the documentation involved was recorded at the time of Powell's visits to Bella Bella. Information about the house posts from 'Qélc (AMNH 16/8379-16/8380) comes, not from Boas, but from R. W. Large and from photographs taken by Smith and by Newcombe at Bella Bella.

In many cases, Hunt was able to provide the type of information Boas prescribed. He attempted to convey the ceremonial tradition in which the Heiltsuk objects were used, followed aboriginal taxonomy, noted Heiltsuk terminology, and recorded the Heiltsuk-speaking tribes to which the objects belonged. The complexities of Heiltsuk culture are suggested by this documentation. In addition, some of the information from Hunt that Boas published in his Kwakwaka'wakw texts relates directly to Heiltsuk masks that Hunt collected. On the whole, though, the AMNH Heiltsuk collection is difficult to integrate with the

vast Boasian archive of data and the actual museum records for the Boas-Hunt collection are rudimentary compared to that archive.<sup>6</sup> This circumstance has effectively removed the Heiltsuk from a major compendium of cultural records and has contributed to the erroneous perception that Heiltsuk art and culture are peripheral.

The comparative lack of information in the Boas-Hunt archive is particularly important because no other Heiltsuk documentation is as complete as that provided by Hunt for Boas. The documentation included with the Heiltsuk objects that Emmons sold to the AMNH is helpful but concise, giving aboriginal terminology and notations about how and by whom the artifacts were used. Jacobsen mentions the uses of the masks and cedar bark regalia and says that some of the carvings came from grave sites but, overall, there is little information about Heiltsuk culture in his catalogue. Newcombe and MacMurray offer only minimal documentation for the Heiltsuk artifacts they collected. The Swan and Aaronson collections of Heiltsuk artifacts are similar in many respects, as we have noted, and the resemblance extends to their documentation. Swan's catalogue is fragmentary and the information is problematic. For example, he gives contrasting explanations for the poles from Bella Bella and Bella Coola that were included in the 1884 shipment of artifacts for the New Orleans Cotton Exposition (NMNH 74743-74747)

and he uses Haida terminology to describe supposedly Heiltsuk artifacts (e. g., rattles NMNH 20584-20585). According to Newcombe, Aaronson's catalogue was suspect. Deans had done it using guess work, he said. Newcombe's assessment is supported by the unhelpful descriptions of many of the artifacts. The identifications of the creatures represented in the some of the apparently whimsical animal carvings such as CMC VII-EE-9 are mysterious, for example. From the descriptions, it is impossible to know if the interpretations of images are deduced from their appearance or are based on some knowledge of their iconography. Nothing at all is recorded concerning the house posts and rattles (CMC VII-EE-26 - VII-EE-27, CMC VII-EE-18 - VII-EE-22). The vague catalogue information suggests that its author was unfamiliar with Heiltsuk traditions.

Twentieth-century collectors were more explicit than earlier collectors about their sources, but in many ways their catalogues are no less rudimentary than those of their predecessors. It is recorded that Ormiston got paddles RBCM 15832-15833 at the Bella Bella lighthouse, but the name of the man from whom he got them is not given. Olson identified masks RBCM 16571-16572 and recorded the name of their owner but, considering that the anthropologist acquired them while he was at Bella Bella collecting ethnographic information, the documentation

that came with the masks is surprisingly minimal. Similarly, R. G. Large provides names of carvers and sources, and explains the genesis of the gypsum killer-whale image (RBCM 18120), but his comprehensive knowledge of Bella Bella and the context of the artifacts is missing from the record. Many of the Heiltsuk artifacts that came to the RBCM comparatively recently came from dealers and are poorly documented. We know that one of these, a mask that Roloff purchased (RBCM 17941), was originally part of an extensive family collection of masks because a photograph of the entire group was taken before it was dispersed, but this kind of context for a Heiltsuk artifact is rare.<sup>7</sup>

A notable aspect of the documentation of many of the collections under consideration is the tendency to interpret them in terms of cultures other than the Heiltsuk. The descriptions accompanying Swan's 1884 collection frequently elide Heiltsuk and Tsimshian. Jacobsen conflated the Heiltsuk and the Oweekeno. Aaronson (or Deans) used Haida words to explain Heiltsuk artifacts. Emmons' explanations involve Tlingit descriptions and MacMurray's Bella Bella artifacts were actually catalogued as Tlingit, probably because they were collected on a cruise to Alaska. Boas used Nuxalk terms to describe the masks collected by Powell.

The tendency to describe Heiltsuk culture using terms taken from another culture is epitomized in the Boas-Hunt collections. Hunt saw Heiltsuk artifacts through the lens of his own Kwakwaka'wakw environment. Boas lumped the Heiltsuk with the Kwakwaka'wakw because of language classifications (Heiltsuk and Kwakwala are related Northern Wakashan languages.) Not only are both Boas' and Hunt's collections in the AMNH labelled with Kwakwaka'wakw terms, Heiltsuk artifacts are included with Kwakwaka'wakw artifacts in Boas' publications (Boas 1897, 1909).<sup>8</sup> Because Boas was so influential, collectors such as Jacobsen also tended to elide the Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw.

Twentieth-century collectors do not continue this practice but the erasure of the Heiltsuk as a cultural group distinct from the Kwakwaka'wakw continues in museum storage and exhibits. For example, the UBCMOA Heiltsuk case is shared by Haisla and Owekeeno artifacts. The CMC includes the button blanket by Lillian Gladstone and David Gladstone (CMC VV-EE-53) in the Kwakwaka'wakw house exhibit in the Grand Hall.<sup>9</sup> Rather than an eccentricity in exhibit design, this can be understood as part of the complex tradition of Heiltsuk representation in the museum context that has been revealed in part by this study.

The commercial interaction between collectors and institutions is one aspect of the collections that is

rarely apparent in museum documentation. In some cases, prices of collections are accessible in the records. We know what was paid for Jacobsen's and Aaronson's entire collections and what many of the individual objects in Swan's collection cost, for example. This information provides insight into the relative values placed on ethnographic artifacts at the time as well as the nature of the collectors' businesses. Information about the prices paid for artifacts is not included with the anthropological records of the other collections studied.

This separation of financial information from ethnographic data removes the artifacts from a key social context: the commercial trade between collectors, museums, and First Nations. It masks the objects' status as merchandise in order to present them as "pure" ethnographic samples, which they were not, and it erases the mechanics of collecting. For example, we do not know if Powell traded goods and services for artifacts or purchased them outright and we do not know if the DIA had any role in the transactions. We do not know if Hunt, Newcombe, Jacobsen, Olson, and others actually purchased the artifacts they collected. These and other details of acquisition have been separated from accession records, breaking a conceptual link between the artifacts in museums and the community from which they came.

Another link between the communities and the artifacts in museums that is often missing from the records is the identification of Heiltsuk artists. R. G. Large recorded that Fred Johnson made the napkin rings that once belonged to Large's parents and that Fred Anderson made the silver spoon that he gave to the RBCM (RBCM 18115-18117, 18114). Even though many of the Heiltsuk art works discussed were new when collected and perhaps even commissioned from Heiltsuk carvers, no other historical artists are mentioned in the records of the four museums.

The paddles from Ormiston and the settee collected by Newcombe were acquired at the Dryad Point lighthouse just north of Waglisla and can therefore be attributed to Captain Richard Carpenter, who was the lighthouse keeper.<sup>10</sup> Carpenter is one of the artists named by R. W. Large as having contributed to the collection that the missionary doctor sold to the Ontario Provincial Museum in 1901. The paddles and the settee conform in many ways to Carpenter's known style, epitomized by such works as a painted chest in the Large Collection (ROM 23113, Black 1997: 165-66, cat. no. 34) and a carved and painted plaque in the R. W. Large Memorial Hospital, Waglisla, that are known to be by Carpenter. Other artists can be identified using R. W. Large's information as well. Paddles CMC VII-EE-16 - VII-EE-17 are almost identical to a paddle that Large said was made by General Dick (ROM 23140, Black

1997: 162, cat. no. 25). Paddles RBCM 4057-4058 display the distinctive style of Daniel Houstie, another artist who was mentioned by Large. (For more information about the lives and art styles of Captain Carpenter, General Dick, and Daniel Houstie see Black 1997.) Attribution on the basis on style attempts to restore the human face and the artistic milieu that have been removed through the collecting process.

In summary, it can be said that the documentation of all four of the major museum collections of Heiltsuk art chosen for this study is indeterminate. The artists, meanings, and ultimate sources of the Heiltsuk objects are, for the most part, unknown. The generalizing and simplification produced by the collecting practices of Swan have been codified in museum categories and labels, as has the imprecise and confusing terminology concerning the provenance of the large canoe that Powell sold to the AMNH. It is not even clear who labelled Swan's collections as Bella Bella or where many of the Heiltsuk artifacts were actually collected. There is no indication of where Emmons and Hunt got the artifacts that they characterized as Bella Bella and Heiltsuk. The documentation for Powell's collection gives no indication of why any of the Heiltsuk objects in it are identified as such. The documentation of Aaronson 's collection is said to be suspect.

Many problems with provenance and documentation are revealed when Heiltsuk collections are closely analysed. Nevertheless, museum collections are the fundamental sources for information about Heiltsuk art forms and styles. As this study clearly demonstrates, any consideration of these forms and styles, must be undertaken against a background of collections analysis. This strategy has ramifications beyond the Heiltsuk case, as it is probable that all museum inventories are similarly constructed.

#### Toward a Heiltsuk Art History

The problems in Heiltsuk art history that have been revealed in this study of four key Heiltsuk collections underscore how crucial the inventory methodology is. When we look critically and in detail at collections of Heiltsuk work in museums, we discover the process by which Heiltsuk inventory was constructed and the many agendas and meanings it has embodied. We find that concepts of Heiltsuk art and its history are fluid.

For the Heiltsuk inventory, conventional art historical frameworks may be inappropriate. Art historical categories - such as dates and histories, collectors, sources, objects, and documentation - fail to produce a comprehensive picture, even though the

collections to which they are applied are extensive. While Holly's concept of the post-text, mentioned in the introduction, is useful for framing Heiltsuk collections, other relationships that an art work has are less applicable to the Heiltsuk case. This becomes clear when we consider the source of Holly's idea. It is influenced by the work of theorist Mieke Bal who lists three systematic relationships that are conventionally attached to a work of art:

. . . the cotext or the literary and artistic environment [of the art work] . . . the historical context that frames it, and . . . the preceding artistic tradition, the pre-text. [1991: 189]

Bal's concepts are elusive in the case of Heiltsuk art because the chaotic and arbitrary process of collection and classification has obliterated much of the evidence for them.

Bal identified context as one of the relationships that an art work has. Context allows for consideration of the cultural foundation of an art work and circumvents the simplistic convention that art 'represents' culture, insisting on a more complex understanding of art as generator and sustainer of thought and values. In terms of aboriginal art and artifacts, context can be defined as the relationship of the work to the cultural environment. The literary and artistic environment referred to by Bal (as quoted by Holly) can be interpreted as philosophical

and ceremonial expressions of that cultural environment. The variety of cedar-bark rings collected by Hunt, the dhuwlaxa masks collected by Jacobsen, and other series of objects that have been analysed in this study allude to the complex relationship between Heiltsuk art works and the beliefs that sustain Heiltsuk life. Here again, though, the processes of collection and museum classification intervene. In many cases, poor documentation makes it difficult to reconstruct all but the most simple contexts for Heiltsuk objects in museum collections. In some cases, Heiltsuk works are provided with Haida or Kwakwaka'wakw, rather than Heiltsuk, contexts.

Context is hinted at by the type of representation, and one way of sorting the Heiltsuk inventory is iconographically, by image type. It is clear that there are classes of objects that are identifiably Heiltsuk. For example, there is a class of Heiltsuk 'grotesque' masks, a type of naturalistic human face mask associated with the dhuwláxa series of dances, a particular type of seemingly anecdotal figure carving, a distinctive box imagery, and so on. Not all Heiltsuk objects fit into these neat categories, though. The museum inventory we have inherited has many disjunctions and contradictions.

The stylistic co-text that museum collections provide for Heiltsuk objects is inconsistent. One intriguing

example of stylistic disparity is found in the inventory of Heiltsuk house poles: the house frontal pole collected by Jacobsen in 1893 (RBCM 3), the Bear Mother and Killer Whale house posts collected in 1900 by R. W. Large (ROM 963X149, ROM 966X84.160, AMNH 16/8379 - 16/8380), and the four house posts which Culin acquired from Newcombe in 1911 (Brooklyn 11.696.1 - 11.696.4). Each set of posts is stylistically different from the others. The Brooklyn posts are wide and rather shallow in cross section, with proportionally large heads and dramatic, deeply-cut features. The ROM and AMNH posts are thinner, rounder, and more shallowly carved. The RBCM frontal pole illustrates a completely different style. With its rounded profile and shallow, over-all carving, it resembles poles from Talio (e. g., CMC VII-D-400) and Bella Coola (e. g., CMC VII-D-18) more than it resembles the poles from 'Qélc. As has been noted, the ROM, AMNH, and Brooklyn posts were photographed at 'Qélc before they were collected, so we know that they originated there. Intriguingly, RBCM 3 appears in no historical photograph of 'Qélc and its origin remains a mystery. It would not be considered a Heiltsuk pole on stylistic evidence alone, but Jacobsen recorded that he purchased it from a chief at Old Town. Because it is so close to Nuxalk style, it is tempting to see this as an example of 'Isdait̓x̓v style but there is no documentary evidence for this and it is very

different from the ROM and AMNH Killer Whale posts, which Moses Knight said were 'Isdaítǔv in origin (Drucker 1940: 209).<sup>11</sup>

Disjunctions of style and form are found throughout the Heiltsuk inventory. One way of making them logical within an art historical framework is to see them in terms of temporal differences, to search for what Bal calls the pre-text. That is, to look for evidence of stylistic change through time. Steven C. Brown explains that

By sorting out the oldest documented objects from those known to have been made in the nineteenth century and later, we can identify a stylistic progression that can assist in attributing undocumented artifacts to comparative timeframes. [1998: 5]

Brown notes, for example, that many early Northwest Coast works are "relatively small and structurally compact," that there is stylistic elaboration through time, and an overall tendency toward thinner formlines (31, 48-50). In some cases, this kind of analysis can be applied to Heiltsuk artifacts. RBCM 5-8, the large, black Cannibal Bird masks with no carved or painted detail appear to be very early examples of táńis masks. Bird masks that have more surface carving and are painted with various colours, such as RBCM 61, appear to be later examples. Conversely, older nineteenth-century face masks, such as Vancouver Museum AA123, are more finely carved and painted than twentieth-century masks, such as those associated with C.

Moody (RBCM 16116-11621). In one case, there is an elaboration through time, in the other a degeneration. However, we have discovered that Swan's 1875 collection contains many examples of newly-made objects of the curio variety, while the Hunt-Boas collections which are later have a high proportion of older, more traditional objects. Whichever temporal sequence is chosen - the biological model of birth, maturation, and degeneration, or the evolutionary model of simplification progressing to elaboration - is difficult to impose on the Heiltsuk inventory.<sup>12</sup>

Holm's indicators of Heiltsuk style, such as the shape of the eye or the unexpectedness of "funny little monsters," were discussed at the beginning of this study. A detailed stylistic analysis of the entire Heiltsuk inventory cannot be done here, but it has been demonstrated that the current codified conception of Heiltsuk material culture is appropriate only to selected works in museum collections known to have originated in Bella Bella and vicinity. Many Heiltsuk works in museums do not conform to the commonly accepted descriptions of Heiltsuk style.

A parallel inventory of undocumented Heiltsuk works has nevertheless been created on the basis of stylistic analysis alone. The styles of Heiltsuk artists such as Carpenter and Houstie have been recognized and codified.

Many attributions based on carefully-analysed stylistic evidence, particularly to individual artists such as Carpenter, have been made (McLennan, in press).

Objects and/or prerogatives that originated at Bella Bella but were collected elsewhere (such as feast bowls from Hartley Bay, CMC VII-EE-37 - VII-EE-38, and the ceremonial cradle from Village Island, UBCMOA A7877) have been noted. Art works travelled from Bella Bella to communities throughout the coast because of marriage alliances, potlatches, and war. Heiltsuk artists were widely known and respected for their carving and painting skills and would have been commissioned by non-Heiltsuk chiefs to make regalia and other objects. This movement of objects and artists makes it difficult to isolate styles. Formal similarity does not necessarily indicate provenance. Indeed, in current treaty negotiations, attribution has everything to do with provenance and nothing to do with style.

Today, attributions are fluid and often politically or historically defined. An example is the contested identification of a figure group in the Glenbow Museum (AA 2059). The carving depicts two human figures, one with a frog in each hand, riding on the back of a large frog. It was collected by Sir William Wiseman, a British traveller, in the 1860s and the Glenbow Museum purchased it at auction in New York in 1982. Originally called Haida, it

was assigned by Museum staff to the Heiltsuk on stylistic grounds. A stylistically similar figure group in the CMC, representing Nanasingat riding on the head of the whale-like Water Blower (CMC VII-B-110), has also been pronounced Heiltsuk, rather than Haida.<sup>13</sup> Bruggman and Gerber write that, although the carving was acquired on Haida Gwaii, "certain stylistic elements . . . indicate that it is of Heiltsuk origin" (1989: fig. 59). Recently, the Glenbow figure group was copied on a large scale by Haida artist Jim Hart. Hart's monumental sculpture is titled Frog Constellation. For Hart, the frog imagery of the Glenbow piece, rather than its style or form, indicates a Haida connection (UBCMOA 1995). The figure group has gone from Haida to Heiltsuk and back again, illustrating a certain porousness in the categories. Questions about the relevance of attributions - and about traditional art historical categories in general - are raised, but not answered.

The role that historical Heiltsuk art plays in the life of the Heiltsuk today requires a different reading of museum collections and their histories. With treaty negotiations and plans for the repatriation of art and artifacts under way, new post-texts for the works are being created both within and outside of museums.

### For Further Research

The development of a critical inventory of Heiltsuk works is a necessary first step for a Heiltsuk art history. Consideration of other museum collections of Heiltsuk art and artifacts will show that each one is primarily the work of a single collector and that they come from different sources. The Brooklyn Museum's small Heiltsuk collection, for example, was purchased from Newcombe in Victoria in 1905 by American anthropologist Stewart Culin.<sup>14</sup> The UBCMOA Heiltsuk collection has a high proportion of artifacts acquired by a Methodist missionary who lived in Bella Bella, Dr. George Darby, who may have acquired the objects over the extended period of his residence (1912 - 1959).<sup>15</sup> The Heiltsuk objects in the NMAI were purchased by George Heye from a wide variety of sources, including curio shops, over a long period of time, and in many locations, including First Nations communities. Heiltsuk objects in the British Museum and in the Vancouver Museum come from a variety of individuals. The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde's Heiltsuk collection from Jacobsen has been mentioned. Each of these collections has a particular bias because of the circumstances of its collection. Systematic work on inventories will reveal the individual nature of the Heiltsuk collections and greatly increase our understanding of the Heiltsuk art in museums.

This study began with a discussion of Heiltsuk style by Holm and Reid over twenty years ago (1975). Their descriptions of Heiltsuk style were impressionistic and subjective. Holm went on to codify aspects of Heiltsuk style (e. g., Holm 1976, 1981, 1990), as did Macnair, Hoover, and Neary (1980), but there has been no systematic study of the subject to date. In-depth stylistic analysis of Heiltsuk art, therefore, remains an urgent area of research. Using the inventory methodology demonstrated in this study, core groups of objects that are known to be from Bella Bella can be isolated. Descriptions of the techniques, materials, methods, and forms of these documented art works will result in a better knowledge of historical Heiltsuk styles. Through this process of formal analysis, the oeuvres of known Heiltsuk artists will be expanded and new Heiltsuk artists recognized. Regional styles within Heiltsuk territory can perhaps be isolated, and the influence of Heiltsuk style in the territories of other First Nations traced. As well, influences from outside that have been incorporated into Heiltsuk art forms and styles will be identified. Current attributions should be checked and reconsidered in light of documented works. New attributions will be made.

When the full corpus of documented and attributed Heiltsuk work is sorted by date, a better picture of the development of Heiltsuk art will emerge. (As mentioned,

Steven C. Brown's 1998 study of the evolution of Northwest Coast styles is a model for chronological analysis.) Sorting by type of object will reveal more about the process of collecting, the preferences of collectors, the history of the Heiltsuk artifact trade, and the social and economic realities in the community. Connections between works of art in museums and Heiltsuk domestic and ceremonial life are sure to emerge. For example, variations in the types and styles of dhuw<sup>2</sup>laxa<sup>1</sup> masks through time may illuminate changes in that ritual complex.

There is tremendous scope for research into the documentation and collection history of Heiltsuk works. Is there more information about objects from Bella Bella in missionary archives, anthropologists' field notes, museum records, and personal papers? For this study, a survey of sources was undertaken and some relevant information discovered, but there remains a wealth of unexplored sources of information about Heiltsuk objects.

No documentation that is discovered in the archives, though, can offer a Heiltsuk perspective on Heiltsuk art. Heiltsuk researchers and curators (some of whom have been cited in this dissertation) will create a new Heiltsuk art history that will be relevant to the contemporary Heiltsuk Nation in a way that museum collections and their associated art-historical categories are not. The

authoritative voices of Heiltsuk elders, artists, politicians, and cultural historians will articulate the proper Heiltsuk words for objects, the categories of art and knowledge, the histories that are embedded in things, and the uses of objects today. Treaty negotiations and the subsequent return of art works, now in museums, to Waglisla appear to be a certainty. If the Nisga'a agreement is the model, the meanings of attribution and ownership will change. Artifacts found in the community - not artifacts found elsewhere but assigned to the community on stylistic grounds - will be the ones that are on the table (see Canada, British Columbia, Nisga'a Nation 1998: 223-229).<sup>16</sup> Confident attributions of provenance based on style will become problematic; specific histories will be crucial.

The current study is concerned exclusively with Heiltsuk art and artifacts in museums and is more about collecting and categorizing than it is about Heiltsuk culture. On a recent tour of the RBCM ethnographic collections, a First Nations person objected to the use of the terms 'collections' and 'collectors,' thinking that these words misrepresented and dignified the activity of amassing objects.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps she has a point. And yet, scenarios of seizure and theft do not apply across the board. As the process of acquiring objects, and how we talk about it, has ramifications for the objects' post-

text and colours the relationship between museums and First Nations, perhaps we need to re-think the whole history of artifact collecting. In this dissertation, I have looked critically at the history of four museum collections of Heiltsuk art. I hope that the methodology demonstrated and the conclusions reached will contribute both to the study of Heiltsuk art history and to the critical evaluation of museum collections and their uses.

## Notes

1. As this section offers a synthesis of information presented previously, citations have not been repeated.
2. These argillite figures are reproduced in Macnair and Hoover 1984: 79, 86 (figs. 66, 73).
3. Catalogue numbers are as follows: napkin rings from Large, RBCM 18115-18117; paddle from Gaudin, RBCM 2056; boxes from Gaudin, RBCM 9743-9744; canes from Gaudin, RBCM 9745-9746; paddles from Ormiston, RBCM 15832-15833; masks from Olson ex. Mrs. Sam Starr, RBCM 16571-16572; mask from Roloff ex. Mrs. Gertie White, RBCM 17941.
4. RBCM 17944 came from Chief Clarence Martin. RBCM 17941 came from Mrs. Gertie White.
5. The catalogue numbers are NMNH 129510, NMNH 20575, and RBCM 55.
6. There may be more documentation relevant to the Heiltsuk artifacts in the unpublished Boas-Hunt material, but examination of this extensive body of material is outside the scope of the present study.
7. If an object is on the market for a long time, the information about its origins often gets lost or scrambled. The confidentiality of commercial transactions is another reason for the common lack of documentation for objects from dealers or from auctions.
8. Further information about them may be buried in the Boas archives.
9. Haisla masks are also included, although partially masked by a cedar screen.
10. Captain Carpenter's son, Fred, was an expert boat builder and may have worked with his father. The variation in style between such carvings as the elaborate incised and painted settee and the relatively simple painted paddles can be explained by Captain Carpenter's personal circumstances (he is said to have been affected in later life by a disease that decreased his motor functions) or by the participation of Fred in his father's carving business.

11. Another question that arises with reference to the Heiltsuk poles is the origin of the third Killer Whale house post, of the same form as ROM 966X84.160 and AMNH 16/8380, that appears in a photograph that was sent to Viola Garfield, an American anthropologist, by the daughter of the man who had collected it somewhere on the Northwest Coast in the early part of the century. It was installed at the collector's home on Bainbridge Island, Washington, but blew down in a storm and was lost (Viola Garfield Collection, see Black 1992). The existence of this third Killer Whale post raises interesting questions. The house at 'Qélc appears to have had the usual four house posts supporting the two main transverse beams of the structure, and all of these are in the AMNH and the ROM. Perhaps the third Killer Whale post came from another Heiltsuk community, one that was abandoned when the people moved into Bella Bella. The Killer Whale posts are 'Isdaítǵv, according to Knight (Drucker 1940: 209). Did the people make new posts at 'Qélc that were the same as the ones they had left behind in their previous home in 'Isdaítǵv territory? Alternately, was a copy of the Killer Whale posts made for sale to the American collector?

12. See Gerbrands 1969 for a classic discussion of stylistic sequence in aboriginal art.

13. CMC VII-B-110 has been discussed above. Heiltsuk attributions for both Glenbow AA 2059 and CMC VII-B-110 were influenced by Alan Hoover and Peter Macnair of the RBCM (then the BCPM), who wrote letters to the Glenbow and CMC in April, 1984, expressing their opinion that the works in question were Heiltsuk rather than Haida. These letters are noted on the catalogue cards of the objects.

14. Culin purchased a Raven rattle (Brooklyn 05.588.7292), a skull ladle (Brooklyn 05.588.7297), four house posts from 'Qélc (Brooklyn 11.696.1 - 11.696.4), and the "slave killer" club which is mistakenly catalogued as Kwakwaka'wakw (Brooklyn 05.588.7289). See Jacknis 1991a.

15. Many of these objects appear in Hawthorn 1967.

16. For the purposes of the Nisga'a treaty, a 'Nisga'a artifact' is any object created by, traded to, commissioned by, or given as a gift to a Nisga'a person or community, or an object originating in a Nisga'a community or site (Canada, British Columbia, Nisga'a Nation 1998: 223-229).

17. Tseshaht Band visit. Personal communication to Martha Black, January 30, 1998.

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APPENDIX A  
 NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
 JAMES G. SWAN'S BELLA BELLA COLLECTION

Concordance of information from:

Cat. no.: NMNH accession file 4686; invoice; NMNH  
 accession file 5260, 1875; Bella Bella list;  
 Centennial Exposition Collection; NMNH accession file  
 15690, 1875; Bella Bella list; New Orleans Cotton  
 Centennial Collection, 1884

Swan's list: Financial records series; Swan Papers, Reel  
 7, C.1.1.-C.1.2

Printout: NMNH Department of Anthropology, Bella Bella  
 records printout, 1994 (Swan's 1875 material is  
 accession no. 4730.)

Card file: NMNH Department of Anthropology, information on  
 card or on old exhibit label, where different from  
 printout information

CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION COLLECTION, 1875

(Prices listed are Swan's [cost?] price/the price paid by  
 the NMNH)

Cat. no.: 20550 or 20571

Swan's list: 1 wood mask, eagle beak, copper [unreadable]  
 eyes, mouth, and shell teeth, with parchment cape  
 attached to it (imitation of old relics) \$5.00/\$6.00

Printout: 20571, mask with appendage

Card file: head-dress . . . Indians near Bella Bella, worn  
 in native dances, supposed to represent hooyeh, the  
 crow . . . [description given]

Cat. no.: 20551 [?]

Swan's list: a cradle or rocking chair

Printout: Tsimshian seat

Card file: Fort Simpson, ornamented with the Thunder Bird

Cat. no.: 20553

Swan's list: 1 large painted box (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.25/\$1.50

Printout: square box for packing

Cat. no.: 20554  
 Swan's list: 1 small wooden paint box (imitation of old  
 relics) \$.50/\$.60  
 Card file: provision box, Bella Bella (Kwakiutl).  
 Trocadero, July 1885

Cat. no.: 20555  
 Swan's list: 1 cradle (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.00/\$1.25  
 Card file: papoose cradle [dimensions and description  
 given]

Cat. no.: 20556  
 Swan's list: 1 painted cradle (imitation of old relics)  
 \$2.25/\$2.75  
 Printout: papoose frame and bed

Cat. no: 20558  
 Swan's list: 1 carved wooden dish in use (imitation of old  
 relics) \$.75/\$.87  
 Printout: Dinner dish, ornamented

Cat. no.: [?] 20559-20561, 20564 [numbers not given on  
 1875 invoice]  
 Swan's list: 1 painted dish (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.00/\$1.20; 2 painted dishes (imitation of old  
 relics) \$1.00/\$1.20  
 Printout: 20560, 20561 - dinner dish[es] square  
 Card file: 20559 - Peabody 1887; 20564 - dinner dish, boat  
 shaped. Trocadero 1885

Cat. no.: 20563  
 Swan's list: 1 carved dish with shells (imitation of old  
 relics) \$2.00/\$2.50  
 Printout: Dinner dish, square

Cat. no.: 20565, 20566  
 Swan's list: 2 small wooden dishes in use (imitation of  
 old relics) \$.75/\$.87  
 Card file: 20565 - dinner dish, boat shaped.  
 Peabody 1886; 20566 - dinner dish, boat shaped.  
 Trocadero 1885

Cat. no.: 20567  
 Swan's list: 1 wooden water bucket with ladle  
 (imitation of old relics) \$.37 1/2 /\$.45

Cat. no.: 20568  
 Swan's list: 1 painted water bucket and bailer imitation  
 of old relics) \$1.00/\$1.20  
 Printout: water bucket  
 Card file: water bucket and ladle

Cat. no.: 20576-20579 [?]  
 Swan's list: 4 wood masks (imitation of old relics)  
 \$6.50/\$7.80 (3@ \$2.40, 1@ \$3.00)  
 Printout: 20576-20578, Dancing mask[s]  
 Card file: 20579, Dancing mask, Port Simpson

Cat. no.: [? four of:] 20584, 20585, 20586, 20587, 20588,  
 20589, 20590, 20591 [Cat. nos. given on neither Swan's  
 Bella Bella nor Port Simpson lists, which seem to be  
 conflated on the printout and cards]  
 Swan's list: 4 painted rattles; 4 rattles or castenets  
 (imitation of old relics) \$3.75/\$6.00  
 Printout: 20584 - Medicine man's dance rattle; (Skaga  
 sisha); 20585 - Shaman's dance rattle (Skaga sisha);  
 20586, 20587 - Chief's rattle; 20588 - Chief's clapper  
 Card file: 20584 - Medicine man's dance rattle (Skaga  
 sisha), Bella Bellas, Fort Simpson [dimensions and  
 description given]; 20585 - Shaman's dance rattle  
 (Skaga sisha), Bella Bellas, Fort Simpson [dimensions  
 given]; 20586, 20587 - Chief's rattle, Bella Bellas,  
 Fort Simpson [dimensions given]; 20588 - Chief's  
 clapper, Bella Bellas, Fort Simpson; 20589 - Rattle  
 used at Dog Feast, Bella Bella, Exchanged: Mrs. John  
 Crosby Brown, 1887; 20590 - Used at Dog Feasts, Bella  
 Bellas, Fort Simpson [dimenions and description  
 given]; 20591 - Carved wooden clappers, Bella Bellas,  
 Fort Simpson, Not in collection

Cat. no. : 20592, 20593  
 Swan's list: 2 canoe models with 5 paddles (imitation of  
 old relics) \$1.25/\$4.50  
 Printout: model[s] of canoe  
 Card file: model[s] of canoe, 20593 unfinished

Cat. no.: 20594  
 Swan' list: 1 seal spear with inflated seal bladder  
 (imitation of old relics) \$.50/\$.60  
 NMNH notation: seal spear "not received"  
 Card file: float

Cat. no: 20596  
 Swan's list: 1 stone hammer (ancient relics) \$.50/\$1.00  
 Card file: maul, Kwakiutl, Bella Bella. Exchanged - E. H.  
 Giglioli, 1895

Cat. no.: 20599-20601  
 Swan's list: 3 stone mallets, ancient relics \$1.50/\$1.80  
 Printout: 20599 - not listed; 20600 - stone flattened  
 sides mallet; 20601 - flattened pestle or rubber  
 mallet

Card file: 20599 (with 20598) - stone pestle, Fort Simpson  
20600: stone, flattened sides mallet

Cat. no.: 20603-20604  
Swan's list: 2 stone chisels (ancient relics) 1.00/1.25  
Printout: stone chisel[s] set in new wooden handle

Cat. no.: 20606-20607  
Swan's list: 2 stone troughs for mixing paints  
(ancient relics) \$1.00/\$1.25  
Printout: 20606: mortar, paint; 20607: paint mortar for  
one color

Cat. no.: 20608  
Swan's list: 1 gambling stone "chunkee" (ancient relics)  
\$.25/\$.30  
Printout: chunkee stone

Cat. no.: 20609  
Swan's list: 1 whale bone for preparing stuff for weaving,  
(ancient relics) \$.50/\$.60  
Printout: whalebone implement  
Card file: for preparing bark fibre for weaving

Cat. no.: 20613  
Swan's list: 1 carved horn dish (imitation of old relics)  
\$2.50/\$3.00

Cat. no.: 20617-20619  
Swan's list: 3 long handled carved horn spoons (imitation  
of old relics) \$2.50/\$3.00  
Printout: black horn spoon[s]  
Card file: [20617] mountain goat horn spoon, long curved  
handle [dimensions given]

Cat. no.: 20620, 20621  
Swan's list: 2 short handled carved horn spoons (imitation  
of old relics) \$1.25/\$1.50  
Printout: black horn spoon[s]  
Card file: black horn spoons, short handle, plain

Cat. no: 20626  
Swan's list: 1 set deer hoofs, used in dancing (ancient  
relics) \$1.25/\$1.50  
Printout: rattle  
Card file: rattle, Bella Bellas, Fort Simpson [with  
dimensions and description]

Cat. no: 20627  
Swan's list: 2 copper bracelets (ancient relics)  
\$2.50/\$2.50  
Printout: copper bracelets

Cat. no.: 20628, 20629  
 Swan's list: 2 painted bailers (imitation of old relics)  
 \$.75/\$.87  
 Printout: [20629 only] painted wooden bailer

Cat. no.: 20630  
 Swan's list: 1 wooden mallet (for tent pegs?) (imitation  
 of old relics) \$.12 1/2 /\$.15  
 Printout: tent pin/mallet, wood

Cat. no.: 20631  
 Swan's list: 1 bone borer (imitation of old relics)  
 \$.12 1/2 /\$.15  
 Printout: bore borer or awl

Cat. no.: 20632  
 Swan's list: 2 brushes (imitation of old relics) \$.25/\$.30  
 Printout: paint brushes

Cat. no. : 20634, 20635  
 Swan's list: 1 wood comb and 2 sticks for painting face  
 (imitation of old relics) \$.12 1/2 /\$.15  
 Printout: file: sticks for face painting  
 Card file: [comb only] Chimsayou Indians, Bella Bella  
 [dimensions and description given]

Cat. no.: 20636  
 Swan's list: 1 painted fan used in dancing; 1 rattle used  
 in dancing (imitation of old relics). \$.50/\$.60  
 Printout: wooden fan used in dances

Cat. no.: 20640  
 Swan's list: 1 bone spinner (ancient relics) \$.25/\$.30  
 Printout: spinning whorl

Cat. no: 20641  
 Swan's list: 1 stone adze, purportedly made of [jade?]  
 (ancient relics) Price included with 20642  
 Printout: stone adze for finishing inside of canoe

Cat no.: 20642  
 Swan's list: 2 adzes, iron adze (ancient relics)  
 \$1.00/\$1.20  
 Printout: iron adze

Cat. no.: 20642 ?  
 Swan's list: 1 iron adze (imitation of old relics)  
 \$.50/\$.60  
 Printout: iron adze

Cat. no.: 20644

Swan's list: 1 wood burner and sticks with tow  
(imitation of old relics) \$.12 1/2 /\$.15

Printout: fire making tools

Card file : Bilhula Indians (Salishan stock), Bella Bella  
[dimensions and description given]

Cat. no.: 20646

Swan's list: 1 set gambling sticks with skin, tow, and  
parchment (imitation of old relics) \$5.00/\$6.00

Printout: gambling tools in leather case

Cat. no.: 20649, 20650

Swan's list: 2 wooden halibut hooks (imitation of old  
relics) \$.50/\$.60

Cat. no.: 20651, 20652

Swan's list: 2 wood halibut hooks, bone prongs  
(imitation of old relics) \$.50/\$.60

Printout: halibut hooks, bone prongs

Cat. no.: 20654

Swan's list: 4 wooden fish hooks (imitation of old relics)  
\$.50, \$.15/\$.60

Printout: wooden fish hooks, bone points

Card file: fish hooks (4) [dimensions and description  
given]

Cat. no.: 20655

Swan's list: 1 cedar fish line (imitation of old relics)  
\$.50/\$.60

Printout: cedar bark fish line

Cat. No.: 20663

Swan's list: 1 large painted wooden spoon (imitation of  
old relics) \$.25/\$.30

Card file: large painted wooden spoon. Exchanged: Baron  
Ludwig Ambrozy, 14 Singerstrasse, Vienna, 1905

Cat. no.: 20664-20668

Swan's list: 5 small plain wooden spoons (imitation of old  
relics) \$1.00/\$1.20

Printout: 20665-20668: small wooden spoon[s]

Card file: 20664 - Working Man's School, 1895

Cat. no.: 20669, 20670

Swan's list: 2 plain wood spoons (imitation of old relics)  
\$.50/\$.60

Printout: plain wooden spoon[s]

Cat. no.: 20671  
 Swan's list: 1 large horn spoon (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.50/\$1.80  
 Card: large horn spoon, carved handle, for drinking water.  
 Fort Simpson

Cat. no.: 20680, 20681  
 Swan's list: 2 cedar mats (imitation of old relics)  
 \$.75/\$.87; 2 cedar mats for packing \$.50/\$.60  
 [Fort Simpson list - 20680: 1 native (unreadable)]  
 Printout: [20680 only] cedar bark mat  
 Card file: 20680 - exchanged 1885; 2068 - matting woven of  
 cedar bark, natural color and black plaid. Peabody  
 1887.

Cat. no.: 20682-20685  
 Swan's list: 4 cedar baskets (imitation of old relics)  
 \$.87/\$1.00  
 Card file: 20682 - Exchanged - Rev. J.C.C. Bewton, 1895

Cat. no.: 20686  
 Swan's list: 1 cedar collar (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.00/\$1.20  
 Printout: cedar collar  
 Card file: collar or necklace [dimensions and description  
 given]

Cat. no.: 20690, 20912  
 Swan's list: 1 bow with 4 arrows (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.50/\$1.80  
 NMNH notation: bow "not received"  
 Printout: [20912 only] box for arrows; 20690 is inverted  
 double reed (K'oa-k'omolaka'la) (sound-maker)  
 [whistle]  
 Card file: 20694, Bella Coola from Bella Bella, 4 arrows  
 with shell points

Cat. no.: 23523-23546  
 Swan's list: 24 painted paddles (imitation of old relics)  
 \$7.20/\$9.60  
 NMNH notation: "not received"  
 Printout: 24 canoe paddles, Clallam, Washington  
 Card file: 23543 - exchanged, Leiden Museum, May 1899

Cat. no.: - -  
 Swan's list: 4 dancing whistles (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.50/\$2.00

Cat no.: - - -  
 Swan's list: 1 goat spoon (imitation of old relics)  
 \$.25/\$.30

Cat. no.: - - -  
 Swan's list: 2 salmon spears (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.25/\$1.50  
 NMNH notation: "not received"

Cat. no.: - -  
 Swan's list: 2 head bands (imitation of old relics)  
 \$1.50/\$1.75.  
 NMNH notation: "not received"

NEW ORLEANS COTTON CENTENNIAL COLLECTION, 1884

Cat. no.: 74743  
 Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 1 \$22.00  
 Printout: totem pole model (accession date 1862)  
 Card file: totem pole model. Collector's comment: . . .  
 heraldic carving made by the Bella Bella Indians, B.C.  
 The combination is a pictograph which illustrates the  
 artist's idea of some mythical legend. As a general  
 thing these legends are rendered differently by each  
 artist, either in delineation or combination and  
 unless the artist himself gives the explanation the  
 story is difficult to be correctly obtained. J.G.  
 Swan, Dec. 1, 1884

Cat. no.: [?] 74744  
 Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 2 \$21.00  
 Printout: totem pole model (accession date 1862)

Cat. no.: [?] 74745  
 Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 3 \$15.00  
 Printout: totem pole model (accession date 1862)  
 Card file: totem pole model, Bella Bella (Kwakiutl).  
 Ancient legend: old wolf and young wolf in the mouth,  
 four human figures, doctor's guardians, in the images.  
 Upper form *hoorts* - bear and summation is the *koot* or  
 fish eagle (hawk).

Cat. no.: [?] 74746  
 Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 4 \$12.50  
 Card file: totem pole model, Bella Bella (Kwakiutl).  
 Trocadero, 1885

Cat. no.: [?] 74747  
 Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 5 \$8.00  
 Printout: totem pole model, accession date 1862

Cat. no.: [?] 74748  
 Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 6 \$8.00

Cat. no: [?] 74749  
Swan's list: 1 large totem, marked No. 7. \$8.00

ON BB PRINTOUT, NOT ON SWAN'S LISTS:

Cat. no.: 20569  
Printout: Mask, helmet. Swan, accession no. 5260, 1876

Cat. no.: 20570  
Printout: Helmet, old woman and bird mask. Swan, accession  
no. 4730, 1875

Cat. no.: 20573  
Printout: Dancing mask for chiefs. Swan, accession no.  
4730

Cat. no.: NMNH 20575  
Printout: Dancing mask for chief. Swan, accession no. 4730

Note: Port Simpson and Bella Bella masks and rattles are  
conflated.

Masks not given catalogue numbers on Port Simpson list  
(accession no. 5260): 3-faced mask; monkey mask; old  
woman's mask

Rattles not given catalogue numbers on Port Simpson list  
(accession no. 5260): 2 rattles; rattle; dancing rattle  
chief's rattle

APPENDIX B  
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

"Catalogue" refers to the AMNH's computerized records. Descriptions, materials, and dimensions are given for every entry. "Record Book" refers to the AMNH accession lists. Where "Label" is noted, it is the text of the wall label in the Northwest Coast Hall display. "Accession file" refers to letters in AMNH archives.

BISHOP-POWELL COLLECTION

Accession No. 1869-90-94, H.R. Bishop Gift

Cat. no.: 16/391

Catalogue: Headdress part, HAUXHAWXQUEGAN.

Record Book: Part of a head dress. Undoubtedly HAUXHAWXQUEGAN. One of the spirits of the Cannibal, who, during the season of the winter dancing, has the right to bite pieces of flesh from the bystanders. During this ceremony he wears certain ornaments of red cedar-bark. The dance in which the present object is used represents the imitation of the cannibal by the spirit. Probably Heiltsuk.

Cat. no.: 16/594

Catalogue: Moon mask. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/595

Catalogue: Mask, KWILL-KOSHITTO. Heiltsug

Record Book: KWILL-KOSHITTO, the TLOGOTS of the BILHUTA, belonging to the Thunderbird Dance. Heiltsuk.

Cat. no.: 16/596

Catalogue: Mask, Winged Forest Demon, NUKHANOHIH SKALNAULTL. Heiltsug

Record Book: NUKANOHIH SKALNAULTL, or the Winged Demon of the forest, probably NOA QAUA, the spirits who give the thoughts to MASMATANIX, who in his turn transfers them to man. Heiltsuk.

Label: Mask of a Forest Spirit

Cat. no.: 16/597

Catalogue: Mask, PAKWUSH. Heiltsug

Record Book: PAKWUSH, mythological monkey evidently BEKUSH - man, particularly a spirit living in the sea. Eyebrows moveable. Heiltsuk

Cat. no.: 16/598  
Catalogue: Mask. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/599  
Catalogue: Mask. Heiltsug. Exchanged - Carnegie Museum,  
1898

Cat. no.: 16/600  
Catalogue: Mask. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/601  
Catalogue: Printout: Mask, Wolf. Heiltsug  
Record Book: Mask, Wolf. Heiltsuk. "No tribe"

Cat no.: 16/602  
Catalogue: Not catalogued as Heiltsug  
Record Book: Rattle, PAKUSH, mythological animal, like a  
monkey. Anciently believed to live in the mountains.  
Evidently WEKUSH - man. Heiltsuk  
Label: Rattle used in ceremonies of the secret societies.  
It represents a mythical being with a land otter on  
its back.

Cat. no.: 16/696-700  
Catalogue: Paddles. Heiltsug  
Record Book: Paddle[s]. Heiltsuk

Cat. no.: 16/741  
Catalogue: Model boat, with accessories. Heiltsug

Cat. no. 16/742  
Catalogue: Box, food. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/743A&B  
Catalogue: Box with cover

Cat. no.: 16/744  
Catalogue: Gambling set. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/745  
Catalogue: Gambling set (case only). Heiltsug

(No Accession Number)  
Cat. no.: 16.1/1445  
Catalogue: Gambling sticks (70). Heiltsug

## FRANZ BOAS PURCHASE

Accession No. 1869-90-105A

Cat. no.: 16/781

Catalogue: Mask, Double, Man and Killer [whale]. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Double mask. Killer [whale] and man. Used by  
 gens HALG'ENOK (Delphinus Orca). Collected at Bella  
 Bella. Heiltsuk

Cat. no.: 16/782

Catalogue: Catalogued as Tsimshian  
 Record Book: Mask, KOMOKWA's slave. Used by gens HALGENOK.  
 Collected at Bella Bella. Tsimshian

## GEORGE T. EMMONS COLLECTION

Accession No. 1894-15

Cat. no.: E/1811, 1812, 1822

Catalogue: Copper bracelets [plain, squared profile], EEAK  
 KEESE. Bella Bella

Cat. no.: E/1815, 1816

Catalogue: Copper bracelets [twisted], KEESE. Bella Bella

Cat. no.: E/1820, 2305, 2306, 2664

Catalogue: Brass bracelets [twisted], KEESE. Bella Bella  
 Record Book: E/2305 - Brass bracelet, KEESE, from Bella  
 Bella, made of twisted brass wire which was procured  
 from Europeans, worn by both men and women as an  
 ornament and traded up the coast

Cat. no.: E/1825, 1828, 2301

Catalogue: Brass bracelets [incised 'twist' design],  
 KEESE. Bella Bella

Cat. no.: E/1824, 1829, 2225-2227, 2302-2304

Catalogue: Brass bracelets [incised line and triangle  
 design] KEESE. Bella Bella  
 Record Book: E/2303, 2304 - Brass bracelets, KEESE, from  
 Bella Bella, ornamentally cut in lines, worn by both  
 men and women as an ornament and traded up the coast,  
 the brass was procured by the natives from the  
 Europeans.

Cat. no.: E/1827, 1831  
 Catalogue: Brass bracelets [plain, rounded profile] KEESE.  
 Bella Bella

Cat. no.: E/1895, 1896, 1932  
 Catalogue: Printout: Bracelets

Cat. no. E/895, E/1895  
 Catalogue: Dentalia shell necklaces. Bella Bella

Cat. no.: E/1932  
 Catalogue: Wooden club, carved with animal. Bella Bella  
 Record Book: Club, KEKH-KHU-QUOY-AH

#### FRANZ BOAS PURCHASE

Accession No. 1895-4

Cat. no.: 16/962  
 Catalogue: Catalogued as Kwakiutl  
 Record Book: Face mask, Kwakiutl, Bella Bella. Purchased  
 in Victoria

Cat. no.: 16/963  
 Catalogue: Mask, Cannibal Spirit, BAXBUKUALANUXSINOE.  
 Bella Coola Record Book: Mask representing the Cannibal  
 spirit BAXBAKUA LANUXSINOE. Bella Bella (In a pencil  
 notation, Bella Bella has been changed to Bella  
 Coola.)

Cat. no.: 16/961  
 Catalogue: Not catalogued  
 Record Book: Mask, purchased in Victoria. Exchanged with  
 Emmons. 1932-3.

#### GEORGE HUNT COLLECTION

Accession No. 1899-50, JNPE

Cat. no.: 16/4730  
 Catalogue: GWETALALA mask, for LAO'LAXA  
 Record Book: GWETALALAL mask, or Haida dancing mask.  
 LAO'LAXA. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/4731  
 Catalogue: see below  
 Record Book: Mask parts, two skulls

Cat. no.: 16/4731A-D  
 Catalogue: Mask, Speaker. GUMISILA, LELOLALAL mask for  
 LEO'LAXA. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: GUMISILA or LELOLALAL mask for LEO'LAXA with  
 mouth pieces and skull. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/4732  
 Catalogue: Head ring of GUMILILA for TS'E'TS'AEGA.  
 Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Four headrings of GUMISILA for TS'E'TS'AEGA.  
 Heiltsuk

Cat. no.: 16/4733  
 Catalogue: Neck ring, GUMISILA for TS'E'TS'AEGA. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: see 16/4732

Cat. no. 16/4734  
 Catalogue: Head ring with carvings. GUMISILA for  
 TS'E'TS'AEGA. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: see 16/4732

Cat. No.: 16/4735  
 Catalogue: Neck ring of GUMISILA for TS'E'TS'AEGA.  
 Heiltsug  
 Record Book: see 16/4732

Cat. no.: 16/4736  
 Catalogue: Mask, BAKU'S, for LOA'LAXA. Heiltsug. Histaitx

Cat. no.: 16/4737  
 Catalogue: Mask, TO'ONO'GOA, for LAO'LAXA. Heiltsug.  
 Ewisitsx

Cat. no.: 16/4740  
 Catalogue: Mask, BEKU'S, for LAO'LAXA. Nu'luwitx of the  
 Heiltsug  
 Label: Mask of a spirit of the sea. The lateral  
 attachments represent ears.

Cat. no.: 16/4741  
 Catalogue: Head ring of Goat Hunter's TAWI'XILAKU, for  
 TS'ETSAEGA. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/4743  
 Catalogue: Head ring, TAWIXILAK'S. TAWI'XILAKU for  
 TS'ETSAEGA. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: TAWIXILAK'S head ring. Used whole on  
 festivals. Belongs to 4741

Cat. no.: 16/7744  
 Catalogue: Neck ring for 4743

Cat. No.: 16/4745  
 Catalogue: Q'OMINAGA, TS'EMGWALAGAS. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Q'OMINAGA, from TS'EMGWALAGAS. First dance  
 after the hemlock wreath. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/4746  
 Catalogue: Neck ring, Q'OMINAGA, TS'EMGWALAGAS. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: This is the neck ring for 16/4745

Cat. no.: 16/4747  
 Catalogue: Head ring, Q'A'MINAGAR. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Used in dance following 16/4745, 16/4746

Cat. no.,: 16/4748  
 Catalogue: Neck ring of Q'A'MINAGAR  
 Record Book: Used in dance following 16/4745, 16/4746

Cat. no.: 16/4749  
 Catalogue: Anklets, TS'EMGWALAGAS. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Anklets for 16/4745, 16/4746

Cat. no.: 16/4798  
 Catalogue: Mask, Speaker. GWETALALEL for LAO'LAXA.  
 Heiltsug  
 Record Book: GWETELALEL mask. Number two speaker or Hider  
 dancing mask. LAO'LAXA of Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/4805, 16/4805A  
 Catalogue: Mask mouthpieces, GUMISILA. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Mouths for mask GUMSILS. Frightens the people  
 and turns the watchers' mouths different ways

Cat. no.: 16/4806  
 Catalogue: Mask, GUMISILA. Heiltsug  
 Record Book: Speaker of the GUMISILA, 16/4731

#### FRANZ BOAS PURCHASE

Accession No. 1900-15, R. W. Large Collection

Cat. no.: 16/8379  
 Catalogue: House post - Bear  
 Accession file: Northeast corner house post from House No.  
 1, Old Town

Cat. no.: 16/8379  
 Catalogue: House post - Killer whale  
 Accession file: Northwest corner house post from House No.  
 1, Old Town

## GEORGE HUNT COLLECTION

Accession No. 1901-32. JNPE

Cat. no.: 16/8413

Catalogue: Whistle, Q'OMESILA. Heiltsug

Cat. no.: 16/8414

Catalogue: Whistle, BEKU'S. Heiltsug

## JUNIUS W. MACMURRAY COLLECTION (1886)

Accession No. 1946-63, Mrs. J. Marion Wright Gift

Cat. no.: 16.1/2359

Catalogue: Catalogued as Tlingit

Record Book: Staff. Tlingit. See following entry

Cat. no.: 16.1/2460

Catalogue: Miniature wooden canoe, said to be Bella Bella

Record Book: IKTAS collected by J.W. MacMurray on Alaska trip, 1886 includes the following from Bella Bella -  
cane ("wand"), totem, three baskets, large masked figure, canoe

APPENDIX C  
ROYAL BRITISH COLUMBIA MUSEUM

B. FILLIP JACOBSEN COLLECTION

Except where indicated, all entries were originally listed as Kwakiutl and changed to Northern Wakashan in Mis.W.021. For some entries, colours are noted in Mis.W.027 and/or Mis.W.021. Artifacts were accessioned by type.  
Information for all entries: Mis.W.027: Collected F. Jacobsen, 1893, Bella Bella

Mis.W.027: Anthropological Collections. Ethnography  
Artifact Catalogue Sheets

Mis.W.021: Copy of Anthropology Catalogue (typed)

Card: Northern Wakashan card file

Newcombe 1909: Published catalogue

Cat. no.: 3

Mis.W.027: Totem pole. Raven above, sea monster below with door

Card: Stood in front of a house at Bella Bella - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922?

Newcombe 1909: Heraldic or Totem pole . . . . was formerly in front of a chief's house of the Bella Bella tribe of the Kwakiutl Indians (pl. XVII, p. 29).

Cat. no.: 4

Mis.W.027: Carved figure. Man who first brought copper to Indians

Newcombe 1901: Represents a mythical ancestor who is believed to have first brought copper to the Bella Bella Indians. He is wearing a chief's hat with extra discs, and holds a ceremonial "copper" (in wood) shaped like a shield (p. 30).

Cat. no.: 5

Mis.W.027: Mask. Raven, Hawk

Mis.W.021: Raven, black

Card: Belongs to the Cannibal Winter Dance. Used with a whistle. The lower jaw of the mask is moveable. Hohoq - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922.

Cat. no.: 6

Mis.W.027: Mask. Raven, Hawk

Mis.W.021: Raven, black

Card: Belongs to the Cannibal Winter Dance. Used with a  
whistle - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 7

Mis.W.027: Mask. Raven, Hawk

Mis.W.021: Raven, black

Cat. no.: 8

Mis.W.027: Mask. Hawk or Thunderbird

Cat. no.: 9

Mis.W.027: Mask. Raven mask

Card: Used in Cannibal Dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert,  
1922

Newcombe 1909: The Raven mask is worn when taking the part  
of the slave of the Cannibal spirit (p. 33).

Cat. no.: 10

Mis.W.027: Mask. Tlaolacha

Mis.W.021: red alder (M.L. Florian)

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks, mostly of human  
type, used in various clan dances . . . No. 10 is  
the spirit of the north-west wind (p. 30).

Cat. no.: 11

Mis.W.027: Mask. Eagle, Face inside

Newcombe 1909: Nos. 61 and 68 are eagle masks. The former  
displaying a human face inside when the mouth opens  
(p. 30).

Cat. no.: 12

Mis.W.027: Mask. Beaver

Mis.W.021: red alder (M. L. Florian)

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . No.  
12 a beaver (p. 30).

Cat. no.: 13

Mis.W.027: Mask. Winter dance mask

Cat. no.: 14

Mis.W.027: Mask. Wolf

Mis.W.021: Identical to No. 18. Red alder (M. L. Florian)

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . Nos  
14, 18 and 48 wolves (p. 30).

Cat. no.: 15

Mis.W.027: Mask. Old

Mis.W.021: Locality changed to Bella Coola [not on storage list] Copy made 1958, Henry Hunt [either RBCM 14 or RBCM 15]

Cat. no.: 16

Mis.W.027: Mask. Dsonokoa, large with hair

Mis.W.021: Changed to Bella Coola

Cat. no.: 18

Mis.W.027: Mask. Wolf

Mis.W.021: Identical to No. 14

Card: xua'xuelik.a (Boas, USNM Annual Report for 1895: 488, No. 22) - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . Nos 14, 18 and 48 wolves (p. 30).

Cat. no.: 19

Mis.W.027: Mask. Beak nose

Mis.W.021: Changed to Bella Coola. Attributed as Bella Bella by P. L. Macnair, May 20, 1975. Red alder (M. L. Florian)

Cat. no.: 21

Mis.W.027: Mask. Spirit, Tloalacha, old

Mis.W.021: red alder (M. L. Florian)

Card: Spirit mask, belongs to summer dance - looks like one of Berry Pickers' masks - Geo. Hunt, Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe? Label on back: Gahaheir [?] supposed to be a spirit returning to earth again

Cat. no.: 24

Mis.W.027: Mask. Cannibal dance

Card: Cannibal Dance. Winter Dance. Should be two. Stand about 18" apart. Move by string - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922. See Boas, USNM Annual Report for 1895: 498, No. 3

Newcombe 1909: Other masks worn in the winter ceremonial . . . the cannibal face (24) (p. 33)

Cat. no.: 26

Mis.W.027: Mask, Iakim [originally spelled Lakim, changed in same hand to Iakim]

Mis.W.021: Takim. Like bear

Card: Takim (Iakim) Monster fish

Cat. no.: 27

Mis.W.027: Mask. Nontlom

Mis.W.021: Bella Coola type?

Cat. no.: 29

Mis.W.027: Mask. Sun

Mis.W.021: red alder (M. L. Florian)

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . 29  
the sun (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 30

Mis.W.027: Mask. Cannibal bear

Newcombe 1909: Other masks worn in the Winter ceremonial .  
. . grizzly bear (30)

Cat. no.: 31

Mis.W.027: Mask. Moon, old

Mis.W.021: red alder (M. L. Florian)

Card: Very old. Belongs to Sun dance

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . 31  
the moon (page 30)

Cat. no.: 33

Mis.W.027: Mask. Sea Spirit

Taken to Vatican by Father Welsh, 1924 (Monumenti Musei e  
Gallerie Pontificie)

Cat. no.: 34

Mis.W.027: Bella Coola [?]

Cat. no.: 35

Mis.W.027: Mask, Tlaolacha, very old, from grave

Mis.W.021: red alder (M. L. Florian)

Cat. no.: 48

Mis.W.027: Mask. Wolf

Card: Re. RBCM 1319, circular frontlet - Raven in centre,  
human faces around. According to Geo. Hunt, 1922, this  
wolf mask is worn by dancer in Summer Dance: . . . she  
goes away and comes in with the wolf mask (48) on -  
Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . Nos  
14, 18 and 48 wolves (p. 30).

Cat. no.: 50

Mis.W.027: Headdress front. Thunder-bird crest

Card: Old mask. Probably the ear or forehead of some other  
mask or else the front of a chief's headdress with  
ermine skin behind - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 51

Mis.W.027: Sisiutl mask. Representing two-headed snake

Newcombe 1909: The mythical snake, the sisiutl, is seen in  
51 (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 52  
Mis.W.027: Raven mask. Small

Cat. no.: 53  
Mis.W.027: Killer-whale head-dress. Dorsal fin for  
attachment to head-piece  
Newcombe 1909: killer-whale fins for attachment to head-  
pieces (53 and 54)

Cat. no.: 54  
Mis.W.027: Killer-whale head-dress. Dorsal fin for  
attachment to head-piece  
Newcombe 1909: killer-whale fins for attachment to head-  
pieces (53 and 54)

Cat. no.: 55  
Mis.W.027: Tlolacha mask. Large . . . central hole for  
nostril  
Mis.W.021: main wood and two ears yellow cedar (M. L.  
Florian)  
Newcombe 1909: Two large masks used in clan dances, one .  
. . (55) the nose of which is missing, was probably a  
half-human bird (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 57  
Mis.W.027: Tlolacha mask. Large, moveable mouth  
Mis.W.021: According to P. L. Macnair, Bella Coola  
Newcombe 1909: Two large masks used in clan dances, one  
(57) of a man with mouth askew, as if suffering from  
facial palsy . . . (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 58  
Mis.W.027: Raven mask. Large ears. Moveable mouth  
Card: "Raven that stole the Sea" - used in the Summer  
Dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922  
Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . No.  
58 a raven (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 61  
Mis.W.027: Eagle mask. Moveable mouth  
Mis.W.021: red alder (M. L. Florian)  
Card: This mask is the Thunder Bird mask. Summer Dance -  
Geo. Hunt, Fort Rupert, 1922  
Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . Nos.  
61 and 68 are eagle masks, the former displaying a  
human face inside when the mouth opens (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 62

Mis.W.027: Hamatsa mask, Prominent nostrils and teeth

Mis.W.021: "The maker of the first whistle" . . .  
moveable lower jaw

Cat. no.: 63

Mis.W.027: Bear mask. Prominent nostrils and teeth

Mis.W.021: copper teeth

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . Nos.  
63 [is] a bear (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 64

Mis.W.027: Mask. Face of a Woman

Taken to Vatican by Father Welsh, 1924 (Monumenti Musei e  
Gallerie Pontificie)

Cat. no.: 65

Mis.W.027: Tlaolacha mask

Mis.W.021: face, small mouth, painted design on cheek

Cat. no.: 68

Mis.W.027: Mask. Eagle

Taken to Vatican by Father Welsh, 1924 (Monumenti Musei e  
Gallerie Pontificie)

Cat. no.: 69

Mis.W.027: Bella Coola?

Cat. no.: 70

Mis.W.027: Owl mask

Newcombe 1909: . . . a number of masks worn in certain  
clan dances, illustrating family traditions . . . Nos.  
56 and 70 are owl masks (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 72

Mis.W.027: Tlaolacha mask

Mis.W.021: copper strips gone from nose and chin

Card: Chief of the Under Sea - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert,  
1922

Cat. no.: 74

Mis.W.027: Salishan Nutlmatl mask. Moveable lower jaw

Mis.W.021: protruding nose covered by strip of copper.  
Changed to Bella Coola

Card: Came from Deer - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 75

Mis.W.027: Sun's Rays circlet. Wood circle, copper rays

Newcombe 1909: a rayed circle to be worn round a face of  
wood to represent the sun (p. 30)

Cat. no.: 76

Mis.W.027: Bow-shaped rod

Cat. no.: 77

Mis.W.027: Head ring. Medicine man's. Cedar bark

Mis.W.021: Medicine man's changed to Doctor's

Cat. no.: 78 - 80

Mis.W.027: Head ring. Cedar bark dyed red to represent blood

Cat. no.: 81

Mis.W.027: Neck ring. Red cedar bark

Card: Put on after the mask in the dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 82

Mis.W.027: Head ring. Red cedar bark

Card: Put on after the mask in the dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 83

Mis.W.027: Neck ring. Red cedar bark

Card: Rich woman's Q'ominoqa. Used in the Winter Dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922. See USNM [1895] p. 499, No. 11

Cat. no.: 84

Mis.W.027: Dance head-dress with copper rays, representing bears claw crown of Tsimshian shaman

Newcombe 1909: The crown of copper claws, 84, is of the same form as the Tsimshian Shaman's head-dress of grizzly bear's claws. It was collected at Bella Bella, and said to have been worn by the leader of a certain dance

Cat. no.: 88

Mis.W.027: Neck ring. Red cedar bark

Cat. no.: 89

Mis.W.027: Neck ring. Red cedar bark, dyed red to represent blood

Mis.W.021: Loops of cedar bark cord fringe and feathers

Cat. no.: 91

Mis.W.027: Head ring. Cedar bark dyed red to represent blood

Mis.W.021: Cedar bark twine intertwined over cedar slat foundation

Cat. no.: 92

Mis.W.027: Olalas head ring. Cedar bark. Worn at Dog-Eaters dance

Card: Olalas head ring worn at Dog Eater's dance.

Awa'sELal. Cedar, three dog skulls attached - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922. USNM 1895, p. 499, No. 23. For description of Dog Eaters Dance see Jacobsen, Colonist

Cat. no.: 93A

Mis.W.027: Neck ring. Cedar bark dyed red to represent blood

Card: (worn with cedar bark apron hung with hoofs 93-2) Put on when walking away in the dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 93B

Mis.W.027: Dance apron

Cat. no.: 97

Mis.W.027: Dance apron

Cat. no.: 98

Mis.W.027: Salishan dance figure. Woman's face, arms and hands jointed. Collected F. Jacobsen, Bella Coola

Mis.W.021: Human hair in tufts on head. Cedar  
Newcombe 1909: Nos. 98 and 99 figures, representing the spirits of a dead man and woman, are said to have been used in the Olala Dance. They are like the Nontlemgyia of the Kwakiutl (p. 45)

Cat. no. 99

Mis.W.027: Salishan dance figure. Man's face, arms and hands jointed. Collected F. Jacobsen, Bella Coola  
Newcombe 1909: Nos. 98 and 99 figures, representing the spirits of a dead man and woman, are said to have been used in the Olala Dance. They are like the Nontlemgyia of the Kwakiutl (p. 45)

Cat. no.: 100

Mis.W.027: Nontlemgyila figure. Of wood, jointed arms. Split in centre

Mis.W.021: human hair on head

Card: Montlemgyita figure. Belonged to the Winter Dance. Tox'wet or Woman's Winter Dance. It is pulled part on a string, the split in the middle cannot be seen in the dark so the Indians cannot see how it is done. They keep pulling it apart and joining it up again - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, Sept. 1922

Newcombe 1909: Nontlemgyila. In the tochuit dance the dancer performs certain conjuring tricks. One of them is to bring up a small, human figure and make it dance

about. This is the Nontlemgyila (making foolish); it is worked by hidden strings. Some tribes call this dance the Olala (p. 33)

Cat. no.: 101

Mis.W.027: Olala whistle. Black leather body, wooden head  
Card: Olala whistle, for women's winter dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe 1909: The leather whistle, No. 101, with a head carved to represent a corpse, is said to belong to this dance [Hamatsa or Cannibal Dance] (pl. XIX, fig. 40, p. 35)

Cat. no.: 102

Mis.W.027: Hamatsa's secret room. Wide cross-piece and long pole covered with cedar bark

Card: See Geo. Hunt, "Notes on Kwakiutl Indians," Sept., 1922, p. 16

Cat. no.: 103

Mis.W.027: Meitla's spiked club. Represents Snake

Cat. no.: 105

Mis.W.027: Copper Breaker's club. Killer whale design

Card: Killer whale and Thunder Bird club. Story in book. Boas' Copper Breaker's club. The difference is, this is from the Killer Whale family, must have married into the Thunder Bird - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe 1909: Slave killer, Eagle handle, killer whale body with stone dorsal fin (pl. XIX, fig. 4, p. 34). . . . carved to represent a killer-whale with a stone dorsal fin, is used at the copper-breaking ceremony. With it the Chief pretends to sacrifice the "copper," as formerly with similar clubs slaves were sacrificed, but in reality the breaking or cutting is now done with an iron chisel (p. 31)

Cat. no.: 106

Mis.W.027: Baton. Represents killer whale

Cat. no.: 107

Mis.W.027: Ceremonial sword

Card: Ceremonial sword. Dsnoqua. This is no good. It is not Indian at all - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 108

Mis.W.027: Dagger. Not to be found - April, 1909

Cat. no.: 109

Mis.W.027: Ceremonial dagger. Wood. Spike-shaped

Cat. no.: 112  
 Mis.W.027: Hamatsa rattle

Cat. no.: 113  
 Mis.W.027: Rattle baton  
 Card: Raven's head upper end. Rattle. Man stands in the dancing house with it. There should be two. Dances in the night. Everyone dances till morning. This is the Winter dance. When the dancer comes in he gives notice with the rattle - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 115  
 Mis.W.027: Copper rattle

Cat. no.: 116  
 Mis.W.027: Eagle rattle. Owl carved on breast  
 Card: Winter dance

Cat. no.: 120  
 Mis.W.027: Heligya's rattle. Represents wood spirit

Cat. no.: 121  
 Mis.W.027: Heligya's rattle. Represents wood spirit

Cat. no.: 122  
 Mis.W.027: Hand clapper. Carved and painted, represents killer whale  
 Card: Used in the Winter Dance. The Mischief Makers Dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922  
 Newcombe 1909: Another noise-making instrument is a well-carved clapper, No. 122, painted black and red, showing the oft-repeated killer-whale above a mythical spirit-man below (p. 31)

Cat. no.: 125  
 Mis.W.027: Baton carved on thick end

Cat. no.: 126  
 Mis.W.027: Baton. Plain  
 Card: Old - used in winter dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 127  
 Mis.W.027: Hamatsa whistle of four notes, two holes on top, cedar

Cat. no.: 128  
 Mis.W.027: Reed instrument. Cedar, flat  
 Card: Flat cedar reed instrument. Summer dance - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

- Cat. no.: 129  
 Mis.W.027: Reed instrument. Lipped form, trumpet shaped
- Cat. no.: 130  
 Mis.W.027: Reed instrument. Cedar, terminal form
- Cat. no.: 131  
 Mis.W.027: Reed instrument. Cedar, lipped form  
 Card: Reed instrument. Cedar. Lipped form. Winter Dance -  
 Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922
- Cat. no.: 148 [according to card, 150]  
 Mis.W.027: Nootka. Cape  
 Mis.W.021: Nootka changed to Northern Wakashan [in  
 Mis.W.021, all Bella Bella designations changed to  
 Northern Wakashan]
- Cat. no.: 157  
 Mis.W.027: Ceremonial hat. Spruce root, three extra discs
- Cat. no.: 159 - 160  
 Mis.W.027: Bracelet[s] of native copper. Heavy and plain  
 Mis.W.021: Native copper changed to Copper alloy - P.  
 Ward, 1973
- Cat. no.: 162 - 164  
 Mis.W.027: Bracelet[s] of thin native copper
- Cat. no.: 165  
 Mis.W.027: Bracelet, of brass, plain  
 Mis.W.021: Brass alloy - P. Ward, 1973
- Cat. no.: 174-176  
 Mis.W.027: Copper ornament[s]. Four-rayed stars
- Cat. no.: 179  
 Mis.W.027: Comb of wood, plain
- Cat. no.: 182  
 Mis.W.027: Pad of cedar bark, deforming infant's heads
- Cat. no.: 183-184  
 Mis.W.027: Small copper[s] with etched faced design
- Cat. no.: 196  
 Mis.W.027: Gambling sticks. Pencil shaped, highly polished  
 with incised lines  
 Mis.W.021: fifty-two, dark brown . . . in pouch of red  
 blanket

Cat. no.: 197

Mis.W.027: Gambling sticks. Pencil shaped, highly polished with incised lines

Mis.W.021: Sixty light and one dark stick, rounded ends .  
. . . in case

Cat. no.: 201-207

Mis.W.027: Throwing stone[s]. Nimpkish River. Corners rounded and lower surface flattened. Used in game resembling quoits

Mis.W.021: Kwakiutl - Nimpkish

Cat. no.: 220

Mis.W.027: Coffin. Sides carved and painted with animal designs

Newcombe 1909: Above the case is a large chief's coffin, No. 220, carved and painted in red and black. The front, fig. 39, shows a killer-whale design with the head occupying most of the upper half of the field and the body the centre of the lower half, a pointed flipper being seen on each side of it. The symbol of the dorsal fin is placed on each side of the head, and that of the tail fluke in each of the corners. The reverse side, fig. 38, shows a mythical eagle, supposed to live in the mountains. Like the mountain raven of the Kwakiutl, it has a large feathered crest on the head. This is seen in the upper corners. The V-shaped design in the centre is the beak, and below is the upturned tail of the bird. The tips of the wings are seen in the lower corners and just inside of these are curved lines, which are said to symbolize the claws (pl. XVIII, fig. 38 - 39, p. 32)

Cat. no.: 221

Mis.W.027: Child's coffin of cedar, painted design

Card: Man with hand: Cum-o-qui, Rich man of the under sea world - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 225

Mis.W.027: Eagle monument . . . from grave

Card: Used by all Kwakiutl tribes - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 229

Mis.W.027: Grave figure. Human of wood

Mis.W.021: Grave figure model

Cat. no.: 233

Mis.W.027: Carving in wood. Grizzly bear and frog

Cat. no.: 257

Mis.W.027: Medicine man's soul catcher. Hollow bone, split ends

Card: Used to call the Spirit to come and give the  
Medicine man Power - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 262

Mis.W.027: Charm stone. Flattened sphere, face on two sides

Cat. no.: 301

Mis.W.027: Flattened skull. Bulged to left

Mis.W.021: sutures nearly ossified

Newcombe 1909: The Kwakiutl skull, No. 301, from Bella Bella is of the ordinary type, with lateral budging [discusses two techniques of head deformation]. In this case are also plaster busts taken from life, of Indians belonging to the Haida, Bella Bella [1378 - male and 1379 - female], Thompson River and Shuswap tribes. These were presented by the AMNH, NY.

Cat. no.: 327

Mis.W.027: Box cover of cedar bark matting

Card: Design of black squares

Cat. no.: 334

Mis.W.027: Stone mortar incised design of a seal hunt

Cat. no.: 344

Mis.W.027: Cradle, side strips for lashings of skin, carved

Cat. no.: 355

Mis.W.027: Grease ladle. Horn, mountain sheep. Hawk design

Mis.W.021: grease ladle, sheep horn, hawk design on bowl

Cat. no.: 360

Mis.W.027: Spoon. Horn of mountain sheep, plain

Mis.W.021: Grease spoon, sheep horn, plain

Cat. no.: 375

Mis.W.027: Grease spoon of mountain goat horn

Cat. no.: 376

Mis.W.027: Carved grease spoon of mountain goat horn, killer whale and mountain spirit

Cat. no.: 377-378

Mis.W.027: Grease spoon[s], mountain goat horn, carved

Cat. no.: 392-393

Mis.W.027: Soap berry spoons. Long, narrow, carved handle[s]

Cat. no.: 404

Mis.W.027: Grease dish. Canoe-shaped, for oolachan grease

Cat. no.: 409

Mis.W.027: Carved grease dish. Small, oval, wooden bowl

Cat. no.: 437

Mis.W.027: Feast dish. Cannibal birds heads. Beak form handle

Mis.W.021: Carved in shape of Cannibal bird's head., beak as handle. Triangular open mouth forms bowl

Card: Belongs to the Cannibal Dish story in Boas' book. Story belongs to the Kwakiutl - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 438

Mis.W.027: Feast dish. Carved in form of two-headed snake

Mis.W.021: Sisiutl

Card: Used for drinking out of - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe 1909: The Sisiutl feast-dish, No. 438, on top of the case, belongs to the same class [as No. 437, in the form of a mythical bird] it represents a two-headed serpent [like many of the masks it represents a being belonging to a clan tradition] (pl. XVIII, fig. 37, p. 32)

Cat. no.: 446

Mis.W.027: Household chest and lid. Sides carved and painted. Killer whale

Card: This is a very good carving. He is called a good carver who does the carving so that none can read it unless they are very clever in the stories of the tribes. They have bets very often on it - Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 449-452

Mis.W.027: Bone spindle whorl[s]

Newcombe 1909: String is made ny twining strands of nettle fibre by rubbing them on the thigh and then twining them together by means of a small spindle-whorl; the latter of whale bone, such as nos. 449 to 452, or of stone (p. 37)

Cat. no.: 454

Mis.W.027: Carved bone whorl. Frog on one side, mountain spirit on other

Mis.W.021: Lost on loan in Vancouver, 1936

Cat. no.: 458

Mis.W.027: Head of loom

Cat. no.: 461, 462

Mis.W.027: Bark choppers of wood. Large

Mis.W.021: to soften red cedar bark

Cat. no.: 463-466

Mis.W.027: Bark beaters of whale bone. Under surface with ridges

Mis.W.021: to beat the yellow cedar to make baskets with [463]

Cat. no.: 496

Mis.W.027: Woman's spade of wood. Long, narrow and pointed

Mis.W.021: from Newcombe's original cards - Bella Coola - O.Q., 1982

Cat. no.: 627

Mis.W.027: Indian red paint for boxes and facial decoration

Newcombe 1909: See Carving and Painting, p. 35-36

Cat. no.: 632, 633

Mis.W.027: Eye patterns for painting, ends pointed

Newcombe 1909: See Carving and Painting, p. 35-36

Cat. no.: 634-640

Mis.W.027: outline patterns for joints, wings, etc. Ends rounded

Newcombe 1909: See Carving and Painting, p. 35-36

Cat. no.: 641, 1 - 14 [15?]

Mis.W.027: Eye and skull patterns for painting. Ends pointed and rounded

Newcombe 1909: See Carving and Painting, p. 35-36

Cat. no.: 642-644

Mis.W.027: Paint brush[es]. Porcupine bristles in wooden handle

Newcombe 1909: See Carving and Painting, p. 35-36

Cat. no: 645

Mis.W.027: Box for paint brushes. Of cedar. Symbolic design on lid

Newcombe 1909: See Carving and Painting, p. 35-36

Cat. no.: 646-650

Mis.W.027: Paint sticks. Thin, flat, carved, polished

Newcombe 1909: See Facial Decoration, p. 39

Cat. no.: 654

Mis.W.027: Stone mortar. Central perforation, one end flattened vertically

Cat. no.: 682, 683

Mis.W.027: Stone maul[s]. One end small, deep groove  
Newcombe 1909: See Men's Industries, p. 35

Cat. no.: 684

Mis.W.027: Stone maul. Carved, deeply grooved for lashings

Newcombe 1909: See Men's Industries, p. 35

Cat. no: 685, 686

Mis.W.027: Mauls

Newcombe 1909: See Men's Industries, p. 35

Cat. no.: 702

Mis.W.027: Fish net of nettle fibre. Large mesh

Cat. no.: 710

Mis.W.027: Haidan. Halibut hook with carved wooden shank

Cat. no.: 715-720

Mis.W.027: Halibut hook[s] made from hemlock knots

Cat. no.: 1035, 1036

Mis.W.027: Bow and arrows [1035 - four arrows; 1036 - seven arrows

Cat. no.: 1040

Mis.W.027: Northern canoe model with vertical cut water and sloping stern

Cat. no.: 1041

Mis.W.027: South and west coast canoe model, sloping bow, vertical stern

Cat. no.: 1319

Mis.W.027: Head-dress front. In centre, Raven. Human faces around . . . from grave

Mis.W.021: amalite (head-dress front). Red alder (M. L. Florian). Grave at Bella Bella

Card: Belongs to the Summer dance. First this is put on and then she goes away and comes out with no. 48, the wolf mask, on -Geo. Hunt of Fort Rupert, 1922

Newcombe 1909: Amongst the paraphernalia used at the feasts at which dances are given . . . head-dresses, with trains of ermine skins, represented by the very old circular front (1319), from which all the mother-of-pearl has been lost. . (p. 31)

## CHARLES F. NEWCOMBE COLLECTION

Cat. no.: 1856

Chief's seat. Collected CFN, 1911, Bella Bella

Card: Chief's seat. Thunderbird. Second half is Sea  
Monster Co-mo-qua. The Thunder Bird caught the Sea  
Monster. Lower part is Killer Whale - Geo. Hunt of  
Fort Rupert, 1922

Cat. no.: 1994

Box. Collected CFN, 1911, China Hat. Cedar sides in one  
piece. Opercula in lid

Cat. no.: 2076

Indian tea. Collected CFN, Goose Island, 1913

Cat. no.: 2084

Hammer. Collected CFN. Goose Island, 1913

Cat. no.: 2312

Cane or Talking stick, yew. Human figure, lizard (?),  
whale. Collected CFN at Bella Coola, 1913. Stick was  
carved at Bella Bella.

Card: Chief's stick (miLa) \$4.00. Stick and mask No. 2313  
[Thunder mask, alder, 3 pieces; mask - siutL]  
purchased from Albert Hood? Chief's stick ex. Bella  
Bella. The figure like crocodile = newt of the lakes -  
Gwalas, not a crest in the south, according to Laguis  
of Alert Bay, 1913

Cat. no.: 2056

Paddle. Purchased from K. E. Gaudin by CFN, 1914 [1911?]  
Bella Bella

Card: Carved whale ?

Note: RBCM 10027 (no data) appears to be mate of 2056

Cat. no.: 9460

Spoon. Collected CFN, Bella Bella, ex. Miss K. G. [Kate E.  
Gaudin ?] Maple. Flat handle. Painted design . . . whale

Cat. no.: 9732

Dish. Carved beaver. Collected C. C. W. [CFN?], 1911,  
Bella Bella

Cat. no.: 9743

Box, toat and lid. Cedar. Sides in one piece . . .  
Collected CFN. Purchased from Miss Kate E. Gaudin, June 6,  
1911. Ex. Capt. Gaudin collection. Bella Bella?

Cat. no.: 9744  
 Box, toat, cedar. Sides in one piece . . . Collected CFN.  
 Purchased from Miss Kate E. Gaudin, June 6, 1911. Ex.  
 Capt. Gaudin collection. Bella Bella?

Cat. no.: 9745  
 Walking stick. Carved beaver and snake. Collected CFN from  
 Gaudin, 1911 [?]

Cat. no.: 9746  
 Walking stick. Carved beaver on handle. Collected CFN from  
 Gaudin, 1911, Bella Bella

Cat. no: 10255  
 Spoon. Mountain goat horn with abalone inlay. Man,  
 mythical man with long tongue, man. Collected CFN. Bella  
 Bella. Accessioned 1961

Cat. no.: ?  
 Wood spoon, greasy. Collected CFN, Bella Bella.  
 Accessioned 1961

Cat. no.: 10275  
 Carved figure, female. Painted wood, gilded. Collected  
 CFN. Ex. Tolmie collection. Accessioned 1961. Kwakiutl  
 changed to Northern Wakashan.

Cat. no.: 10907  
 Model totem pole. Thunderbird, two whales. Collected:  
 Newcombe, Namu

Cat. no.: 15419, renumbered 10909A  
 Spear (leister) , white alder, red cedar shaft. Collection  
 W. A. Newcombe, c. 1940? Accessioned 1961

#### OTHER COLLECTIONS

Cat. no.: 3226  
 Strip of woven cedar bark. Old No. 105, Bella Bella  
 [Jacobsen Collection?]

Cat. no.: 13059  
 Canoe fragment. Painted wood, sewn with native rope.  
 Collected Mrs. W. H. Cross from Kwatna River Burial  
 Island, 60 miles from Bella Coola [Bella Coola or Bella  
 Bella?]

Cat. no.: 15832, 15833  
 Paddle. Given to H. A. Ormiston in 1928 by the lighthouse  
 keeper at Dryad Point [Captain Carpenter] who was a native  
 of Bella Bella and who had made them himself. Ormiston

was Captain of the lighthouse tender. Ex. H. A. Ormiston's son, C. Ormiston, 1978

Cat. no.: 15934

Mask, alder. Ex. collection Raoul Rockwell, 1954; ex. Langman, 1977. Pencilled inside mask: Bella Bella, Tal-Tem-Mich [see Olson, Notes on BB Kwakiutl, pp. 325-37 re. Taltamix]

Cat. no.: 16116

Mask. Ex. collection D. Campbell; ex. Langman, 1978. Death mask from Andrew Wallace (Kimsquit) Bella Bella, Eli Wallace's father

Cat. no.: 16117, 16119

Mask. Ex. collection D. Campbell; ex. Langman, 1978. Signed C. Moody

Cat. no.: 16118, 16120

Mask. Ex. collection D. Campbell; ex. Langman, 1978. Probably by C. Moody

Cat. no.: 16121

Mask, alder. Ex. collection D. Campbell; ex. Langman, 1978. Signed C. Moody

Cat. no.: 16128

Bowl, beaver. Ex. collection D. Campbell; ex. Langman

Cat. no.: 16129

Whistle, cedar. Ex. collection D. Campbell; ex. Langman, 1978. Written on it - Jimmy Dawson, Jack Henry

Cat. no.: 16497

Portrait bust of a European, ivory. Collection Capt. G. H. Inskip, R. N., The Virago, Port McLoughlin, 1853. [See log of the Virago.]

Cat. no.: 16571

Mask, Copper Breaker. Yellow cedar with red cedar stick. Ex. Mrs. Sam Starr. Collected Ronald L. Olson, Bella Bella, 1935. Paper label - Dance mask, boasting type  
Card: By father of Stanley George?

Cat. no.: 16572

Mask, Black Cod. Red cedar, string. Ex. Mrs. Sam Starr. Collected Ronald L. Olson, Bella Bella, 1935

Cat. no.: 17941

Mask. Ex. Gertie White. Collected Howard Roloff, Bella Bella, 1984

Cat. no.: 17944

Mask. Ex. Clarence Martin. Collected Howard Roloff, Bella Bella, 1984

Cat. no.: 18114

Silver spoon by Fred Anderson, Bella Bella. Gift of Dr. R. G. Large, 1986

Cat. no.: 18115, 18116

Silver napkin rings by Fred Johnson. Used by Dr. and Mrs. R. W. Large at Bella Bella. Gift of Dr. R. G. Large, 1986

Cat. no.: 18120

Carving, gypsum, killer whale. Illustrates Soogwillis story. Carving given to Dr. R. G. Large, possibly by a Mr. Bell

#### CONTEMPORARY ART WORKS

Cat. no.: 13702

Wooden plaque by Gordon Gladstone, Bella Bella, 1970. Donated by Lt. Gov. Nicholson

Cat. no.: 14120

Mask by Larry Campbell, 1973. Made in Victoria

Cat. no.: 15038

Silver brooch (Eagle) by David Gladstone, 1973

Cat. no.: 15584

Silver brooch (Whale) by Stanley George. Acquired Bella Bella, 1967. Ex. Miss Frances M. Partridge

Cat. no.: 15585

Silver Brooch (Eagle with shield) by Eli Wallace. Acquired Bella Bella, 1960s. Ex. Miss Frances M. Partridge

Cat. no.: 15586 a,b

Silver Brooch (Eagle with shield) by Eli Wallace. Acquired Bella Bella, 1965. Ex. Miss Frances M. Partridge

Cat. no.: 18383

Spoon by Steven Hunt, Jr. Painted wood. Purchased from the artist, 1986

Cat. no.: 18384

Silver bracelet by Stanley George, 1984 or 1985. Thunderbird

Cat. no.: ?

Work on paper by Chester Lawson

APPENDIX D  
CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

A. A. AARONSON COLLECTION

Purchased 1899 by G. M. Dawson, Geological Survey of  
Canada

Cat. no.: VII-EE-1 (A 422)  
Mask representing the Thunder Bird. Bella Coola, changed  
to Bella Bella on Sapir's copy of A's list.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-2 (A 362)  
Carving representing the Squirrel, Wolverine, and the  
Fish. Bella Coola, changed to Bella Bella on Sapir's copy  
of A's list.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-3 (A 347)  
Carved Indian ornament for inside of house presenting a  
mother feeding its young.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-4 (A 357)  
Indian carving representing Sea Otter eating Pelican.  
Pelican changed to Salmon on Sapir's copy of A's list.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-5 (A 349)  
Carving Otter eating a Fish. Otter changed to Dog in card  
file.

Cat. no: VII-EE-6 (A 356)  
Indian carving representing Eagle living off dead whale.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-7 (A 360)  
Carved drinking Bowl representing Whale.

Cat. no: VII-EE-8 (A 351)  
Carving of an imaginary animal that existed years ago in  
Bella Bella who used to kill all the Indians. The eagle on  
top alighted on him and picked out his eyes so that the  
Indians could kill him.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-9 (A 350)  
Two carvings. The lower one represents an animal supposed  
to have existed many years ago in Bell Bella. He was very  
proud of himself and used to turn his head round to look  
at himself. The other one on top was also an imaginary  
being [al]so proud, came down from the clouds, alighted on  
his back, crept up his rectum and killed him.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-10 (A 355)

Carving representing an Indian being down on his stomach for child's toy.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-11 (A 342)

Fish club carved to represent an Eagle and also painted with a fish showing that it is used as a fish club. The Eagle also has a fish in his claws.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-12 (A 215)

Wooden spoon from Bella Bella. At the back of the spoon is the Sea Otter and on the handle at the bottom is the He'likilikila who descended from Heaven in the shape of a bird. Then a woman called L'-tlem-aka rose from under the earth to meet him, and became his wife. The next is that of the demon who split the mountain and let the river through to the sea and formed the plane which is now called Bella Bella. The upper one is a sea otter and an eagle. The eagle killed the sea otter for saying he would kill all the people in Bella Bella.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-13 (A 348)

Carved Diver Bird off of totum pole [missing since 1979].

Cat. no.: VII-EE-14, VII-EE-15 (A 366)

Pair of steering paddles same as the last pair [i. e., VII-EE-16, VII-EE-17].

Cat. no.: VII-EE-16, VII-EE-17 (A 365)

Pair of painted paddles used in their War Canoes and also for racing with different tribes. Painting represents the Raven.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-18 (A 385)

Indian rattle very rare represents the Mountain Demon or Devil on front and a Whale at the back.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-19 (A 393)

Indian Rattle carving represents Sea Lion inside Eagle's mouth, Indian head on top, and his crest of the Bear on back.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-20 (A 388)

Rattle very rare and has belonged to great Chief. Both sides representing the Bear.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-21 (A 398)

Rattle representing an Eagle with man's body and his crest of the Bear in the centre.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-22 (A 408)

Indian Rattle carving represents the head of the Wolf, on the back is the Anch-willo or the King of Fin Back Whales with the two fins; on the other side is the Bear. The story goes that long ago the Whales had a quarrel amongst themselves as to whom would be chief. They applied to the Eagle to be their chief but he would not have anything to do with them. Then they applied to the Beaver with the same result. Then they applied to the Raven God Ne-kilstlass and he said he would settle the quarrel. He gave one of the number an extra fin saying that will be your King or Chief and that has been their crest ever since.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-23 (A 417)

Man's mask.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-24 (A 436)

Indian mask representing Indian face.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-26 (A 493)

Large Totum, 13 feet high, very old and fine specimen of their large totums taken from their houses from the outside at Bella Bella. These totums I had great trouble in buying from them as they had been in possession of different generations for years. They cost me \$150 at Bella Bella, the freight to bring them to Victoria at that time being \$30 more. The carving presents at the base of Totum an Indian by his nose of the Eagle tribe, the next is a young bear and his offspring, the next the Wolf, the Beaver, the Sea Lion with its tongue hanging out, Mountain demon holding an Owl. The Demon who broke the mountain holding a rabbit and eagle on top. The whole being a history of the different crests of the Indians who are dead and gone of past generations.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-27 (A 494)

Wood Totum, 13 feet, representing the Bear, the Beaver, Sea Lion and Raven with Bears Crest. The Sea Lion with open mouth out of which comes the Demon and the Sea Lion also holding in its paw the God of the Wind for protection and holding a Beaver, a seal, and Fin Back Whale. Same as last history of their family etc.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-52 (formerly VII-X-24)

Bird mask. Originally catalogued as Haida; changed to Bella Bella (attribution according to Alan Hoover and Peter L. Macnair, RBCM in letter to Judy Hall, CMC, 12 April, 1984).

## FRANK K. BENNET COLLECTION

Acquired 1923 by Harlan I. Smith from Frank K. Bennet,  
Ocean Falls.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-28

Water bucket, "'u'mt, made by a *Wudste* (Bella Bella) man  
long ago, over 70 years ago, of red cedar, purchased from  
. . . woman, 'm]'s.

Cat no. 29: VII-EE-29

Painted box side from rock shelter, S. E. end of Emily  
Peninsula.

Cat. no. 30: VII-EE-30

One side or end of a small painted box from near Jap Town,  
Ocean Falls.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-31

Clapper from a box in a rock shelter, a mile or so N. of  
Neekass Cove, directly W. of the N. end of Yeo Is.,  
Ellerslie Channel.

Cat no.: VII-EE-32

Bag basket from a box in a rock shelter, a mile or so N.  
of Neekass Cove, directly W. of the N. end of Yeo Is.,  
Ellerslie Channel.

## OTHER COLLECTIONS

Cat. no.: VII-EE-36 [VII-EE-35?]

Frontlet collected at Klemtu, 1927 by Charles Beynon for  
Marius Barbeau. Beaver headdress (*hal.aidem.stso'l*),  
belonging to Wakas, of *Wudste* (Bella Bella). It belongs to  
the *Larski.k* (Eagles). Headdress originally came from  
*Gitxon's* house, of the Haidas. It was carved there. The  
purchase price three slaves and other things. This  
happened before the present Wakas. Present Wakas 60+  
(age).

Cat. no.: VII-EE-37, VII-EE-38

Feast bowls in the shape of a wolf (VII-EE-37) and a sea  
lion (VII-EE-38). Collected from Lewis Clifton of Hartley  
Bay in 1972 by a dealer, Harvey Menist. According to  
Clifton, bowls first used in 1890 by his uncle, on his  
mother's side, Chief Moody of Bella Bella. The feast bowls  
were used at the Feast of the Hereditary Chief (crowning  
as a chief). The Wolf bowl represents the king of the  
animals; the Seal bowl represents the king of the sea, sea  
lion. "The bowls were first used at the crowning of my

uncle, Chief Moody, in 1890 and when I was crowned in 1919. Since then I have never used the bowls. They have remained in my house." - Lewis Clifton, Hartley Bay, 1972.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-39

Wooden spoon with painted design. Inscription: "Mulligan spoon, expression of eternal friendship." Ex. Ellis, Laurence, 1971.

Cat. no.: VII-EE-53

Button blanket by Lillian Gladstone and David Gladstone, 1989. Eagle and whale design.

Cat. no.: CMC VII-C-1394

Raven rattle collected from Charles Barton [Beynon?] in 1927 by Marius Barbeau. Nass River (Angede) Chief's rattle. A rattle (*hase'x*) of *hasem-semhalait*: chief's rattle. This particular rattle came from the Wudste (Bella Bella) and may have been carved there. Nistsuit, a brother of Frank Bolton, a Nisga'a, bought it at Victoria from a Wudste man over 35 years ago.

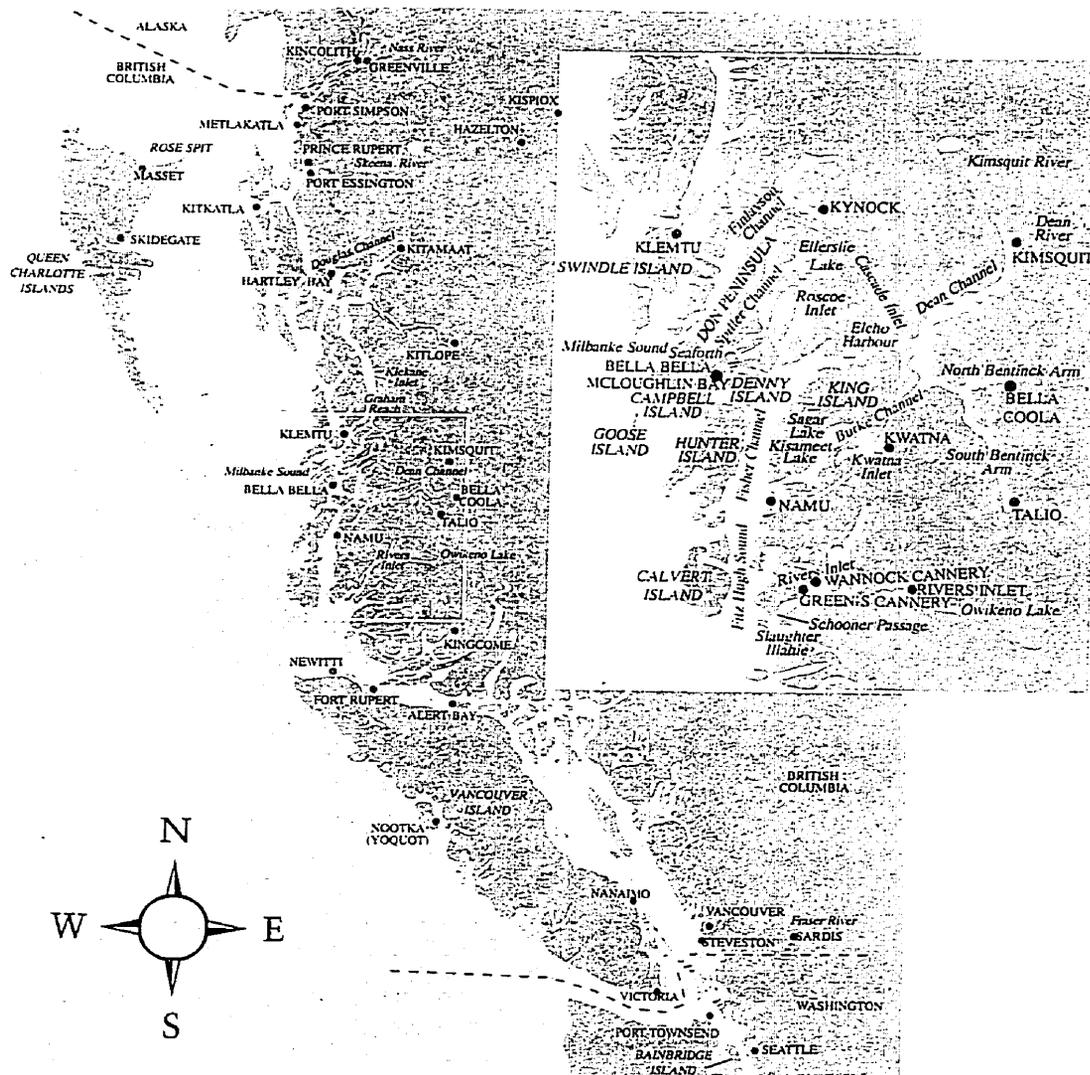
Cat. no: VII-D-25

Mask. Collected by Harlan I. Smith at Kwatna Inlet, 1920.

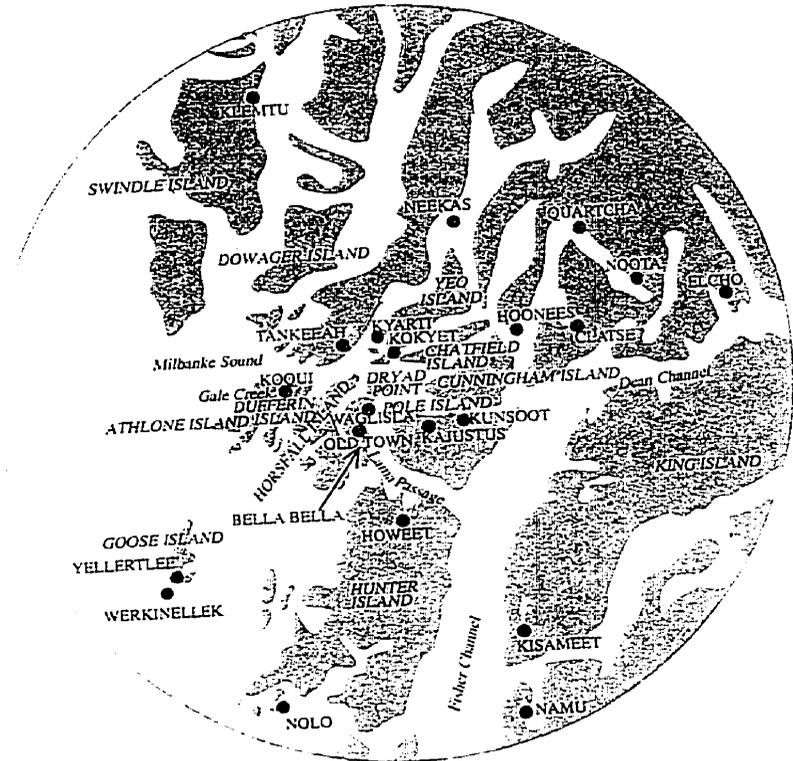
APPENDIX E  
ILLUSTRATIONS



Map 1



Map 2



Map 3



**Fig. 1**



Fig. 2

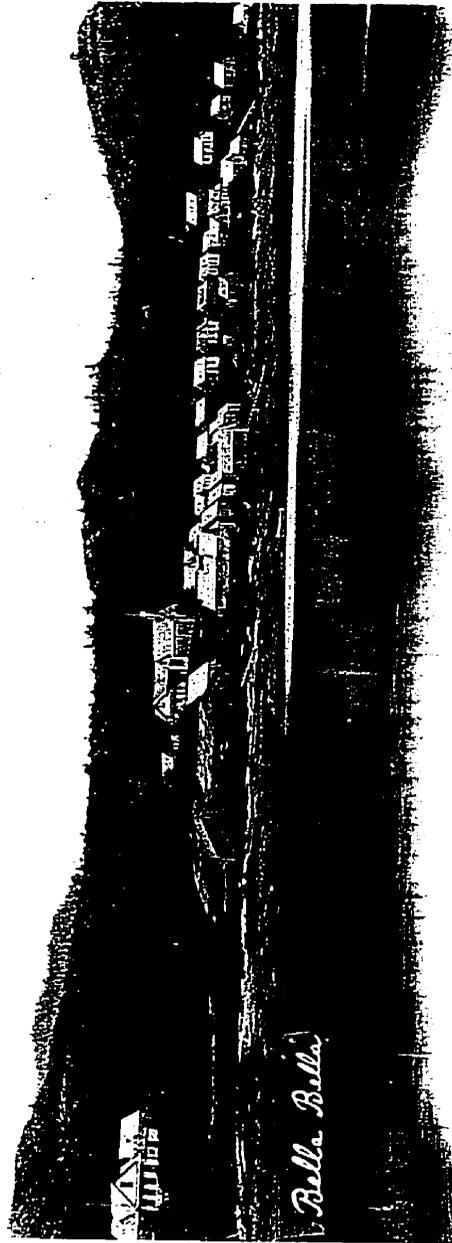


Fig. 3

FIG. 4



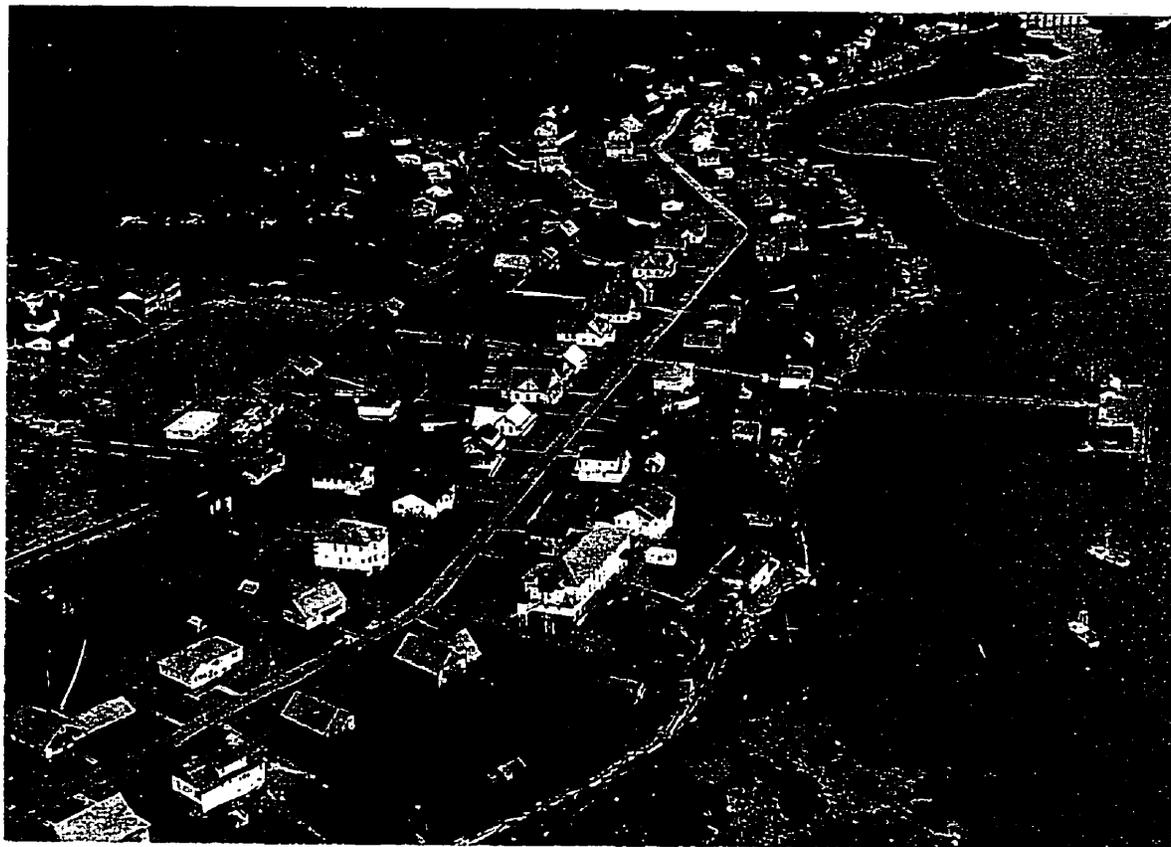


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7a (Top); 7b (Bottom)

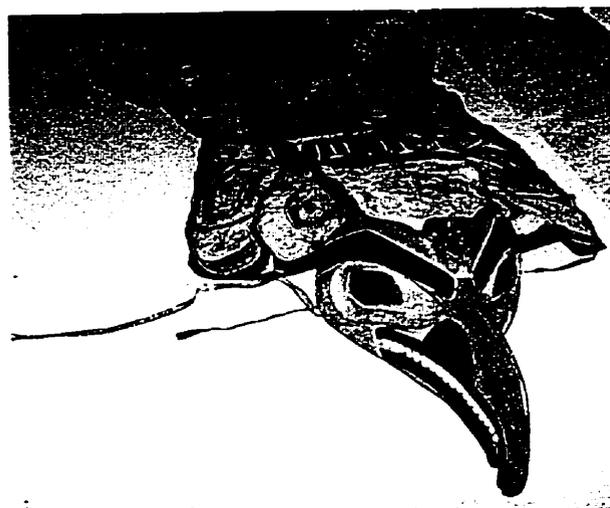


Fig. 8a (Top); 8b (Bottom)



Fig. 9

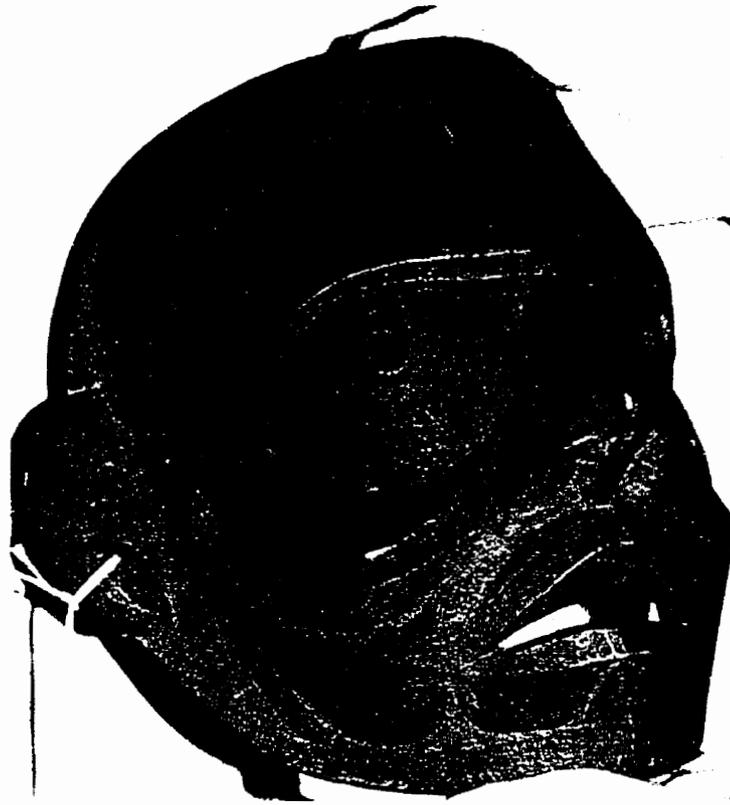


Fig. 10a (Top); 10b (Bottom)

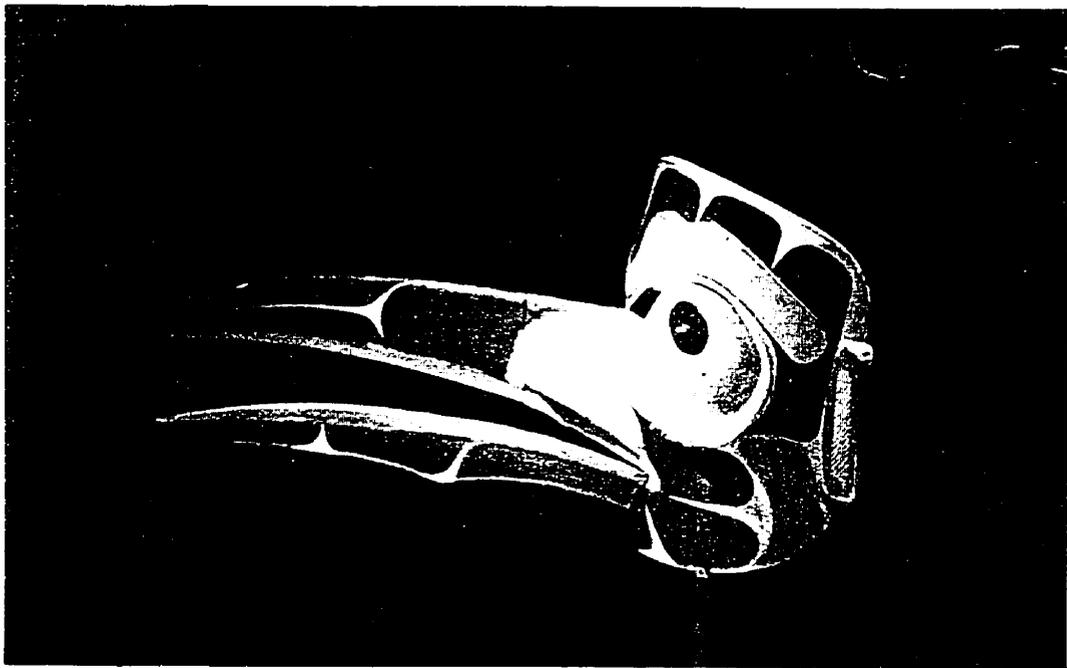
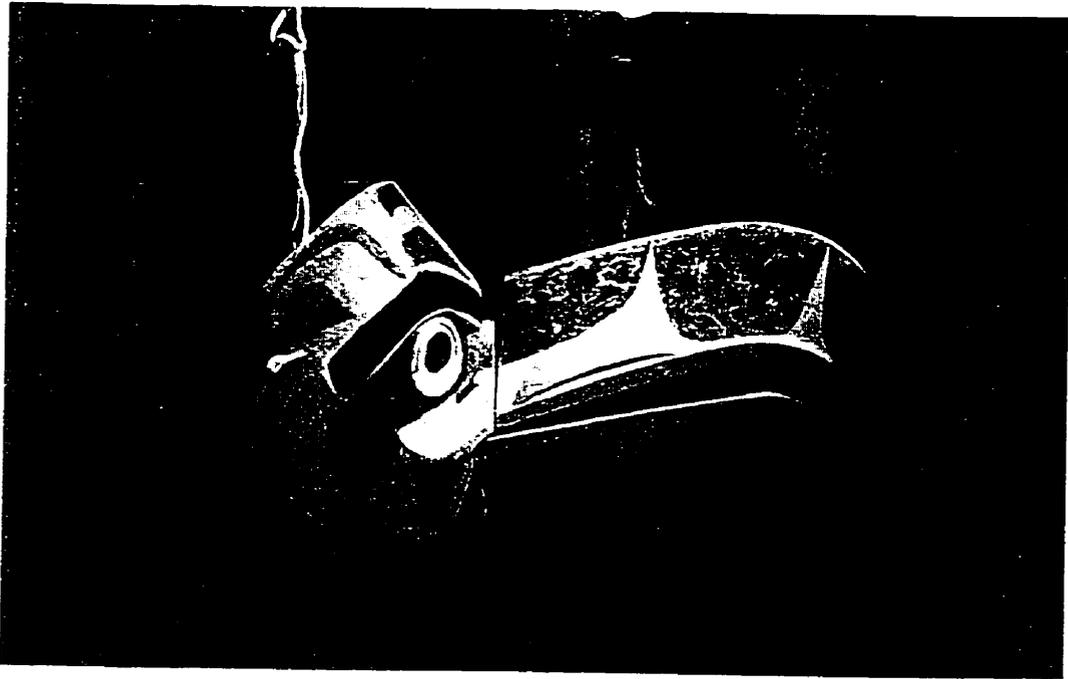


Fig. 11a (Top); 11b (Bottom)



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15a (Top); Clockwise from bottom left:  
Fig. 15b-i, 15b-ii, 15b-iii, 15b-iv

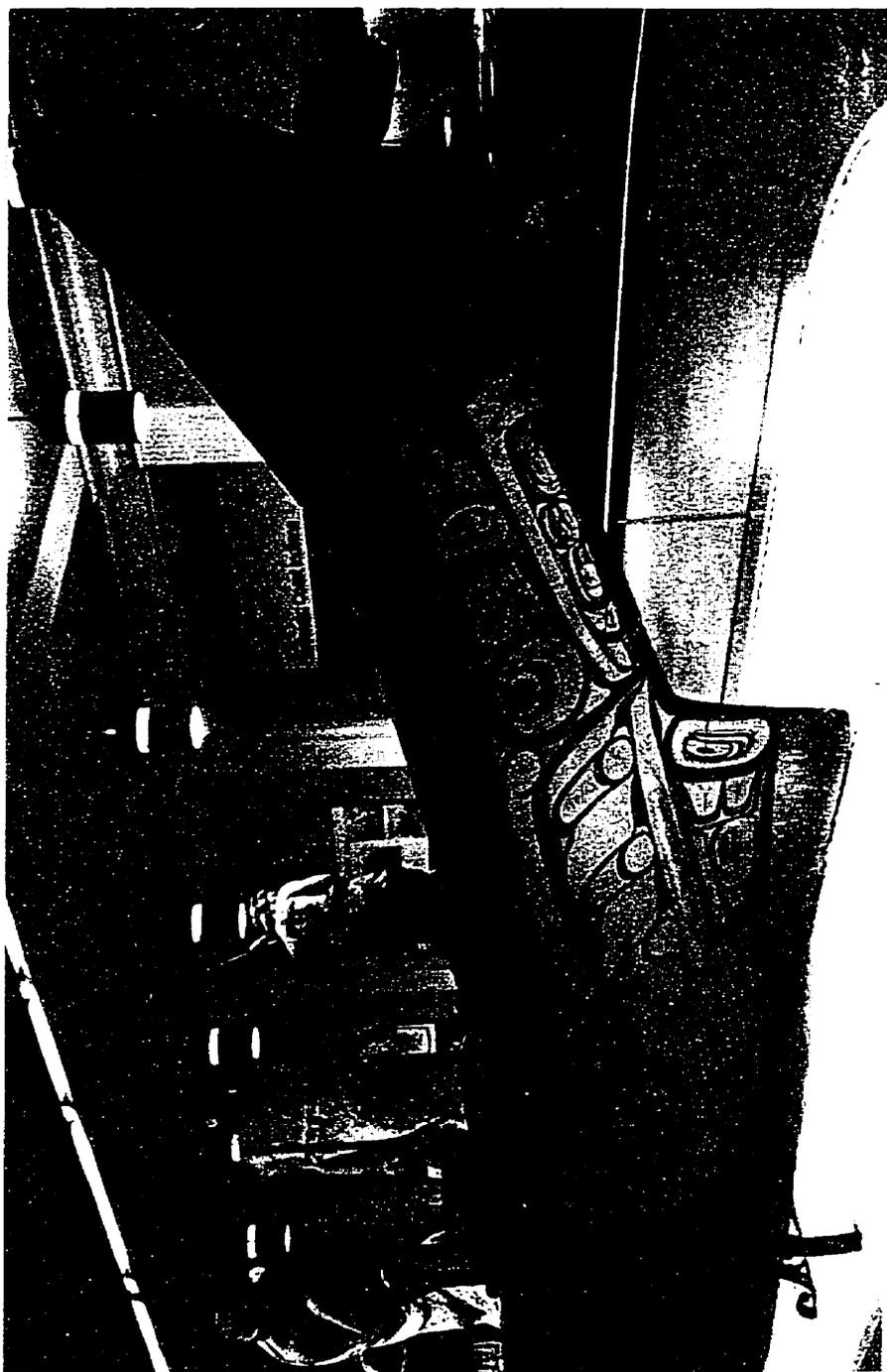


Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18a (Top); 18b (Bottom)

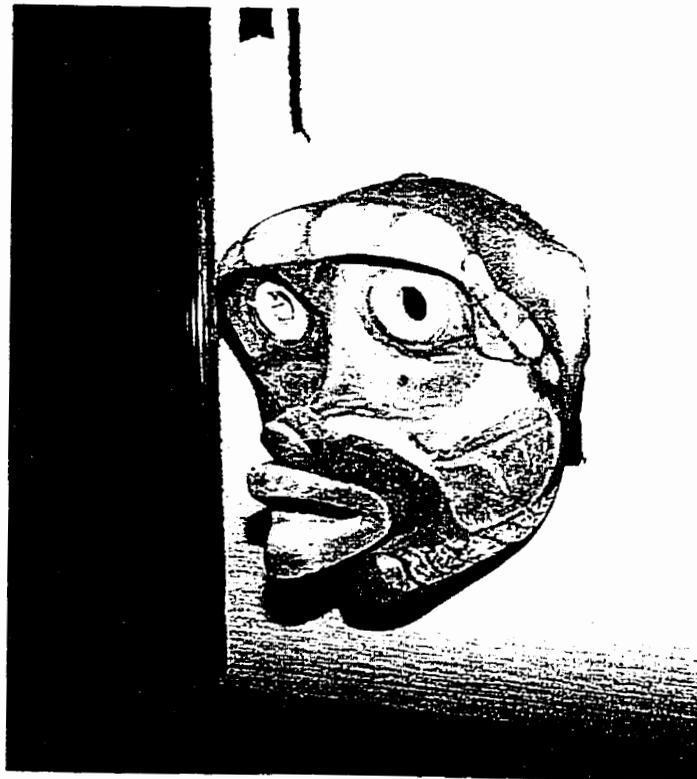


Fig. 19a (Top); 19b (Bottom)



Fig. 20a (Top); 20b (Bottom)

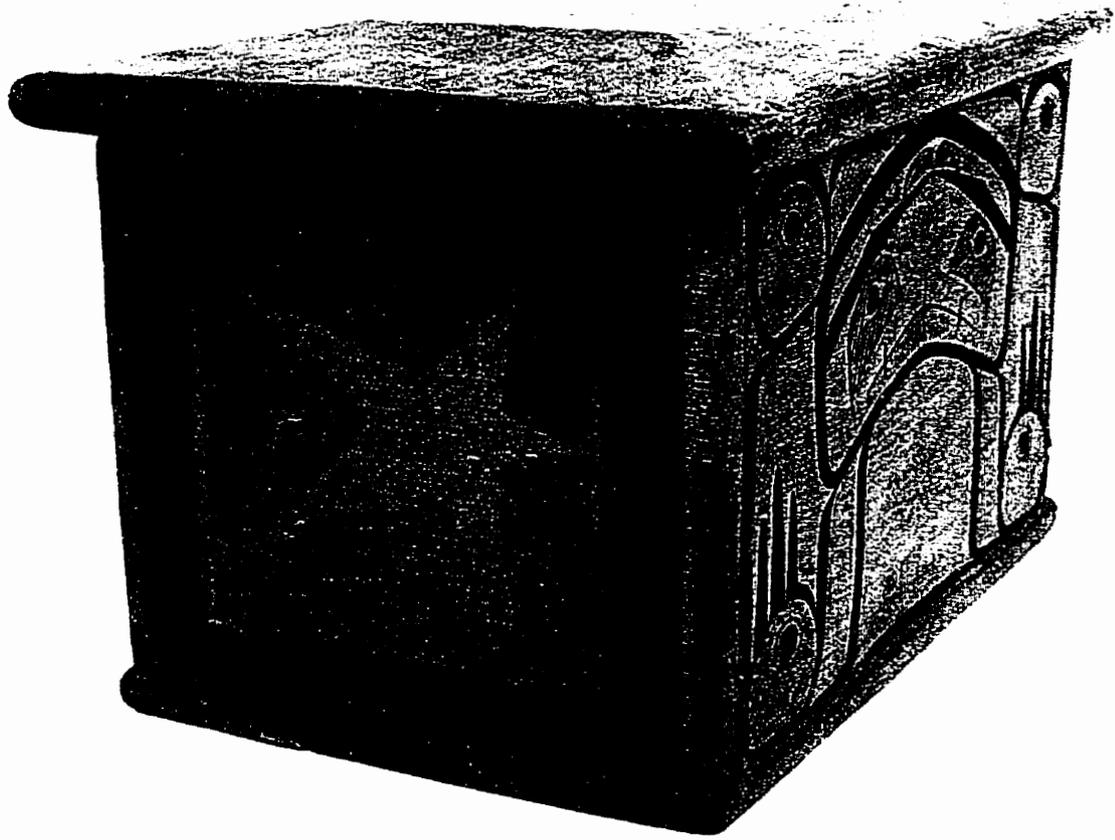


Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

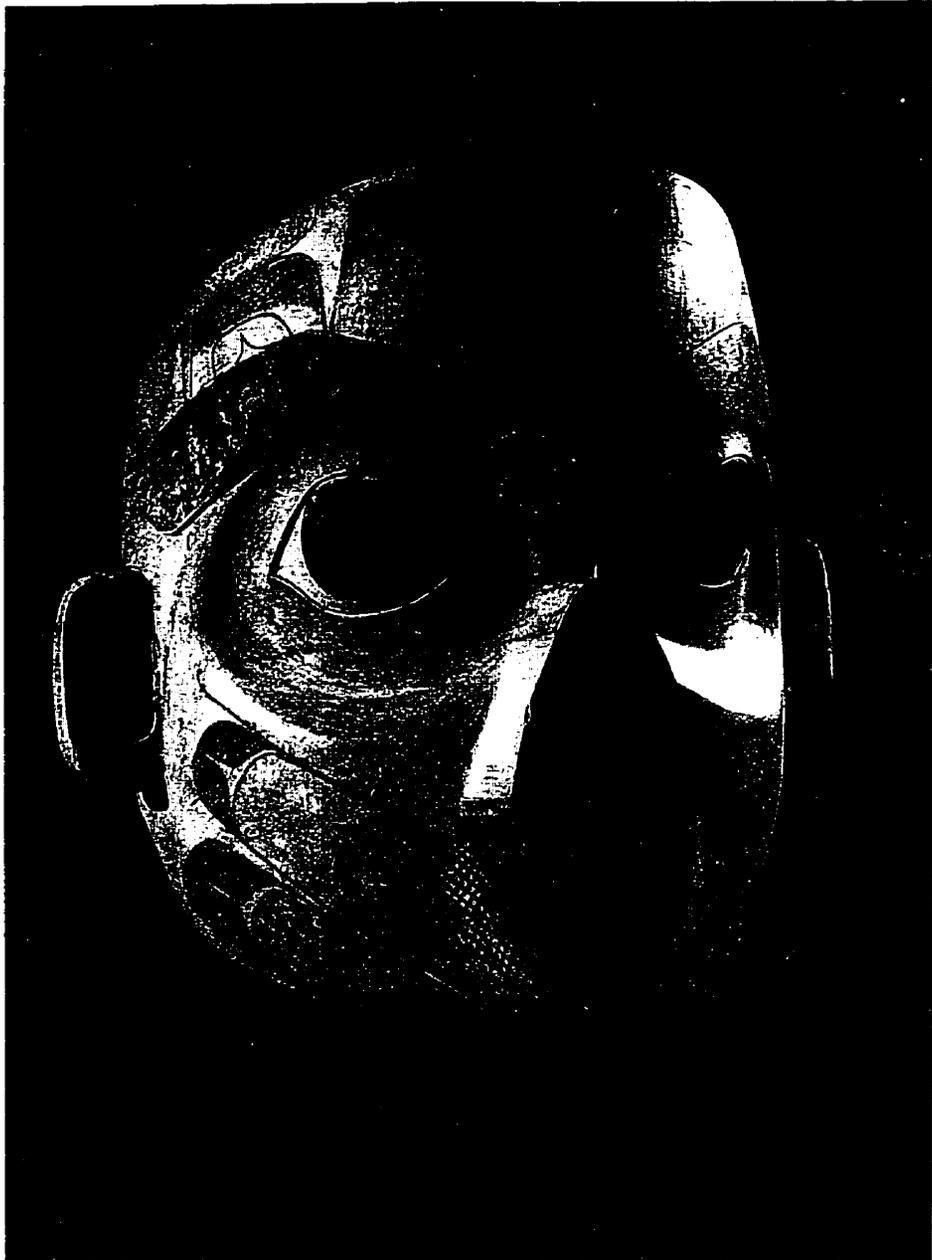


Fig. 24

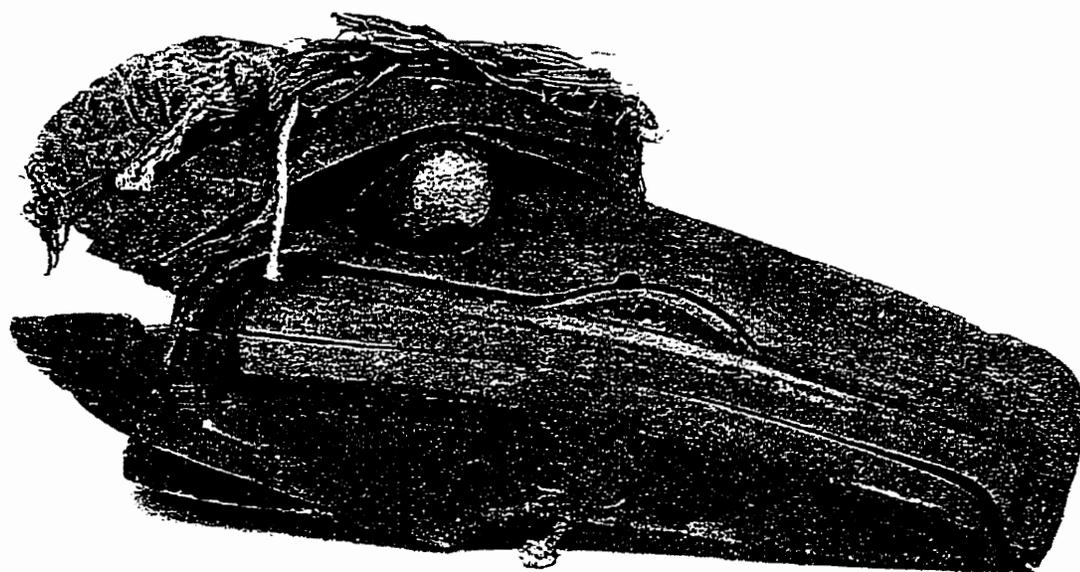


Fig. 25a (Top); 25b (Bottom)

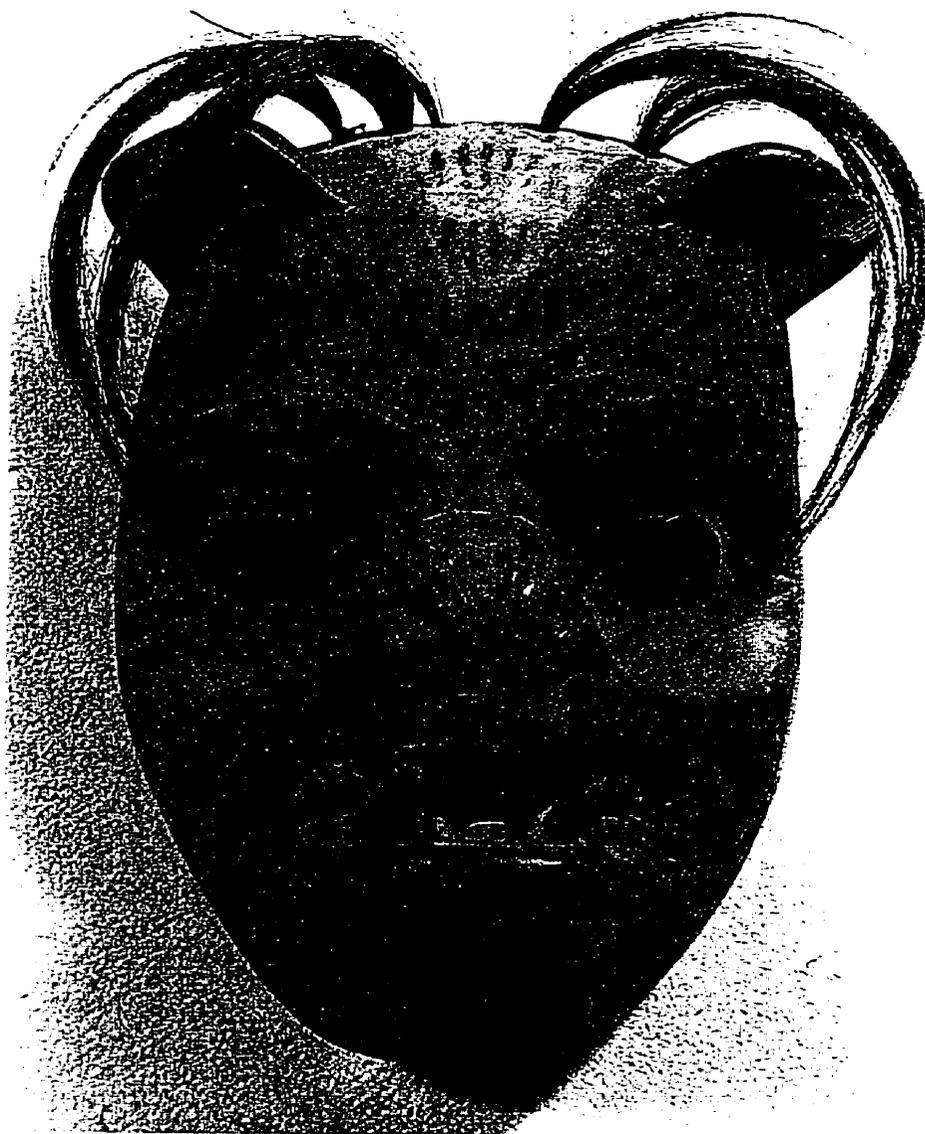


Fig. 26

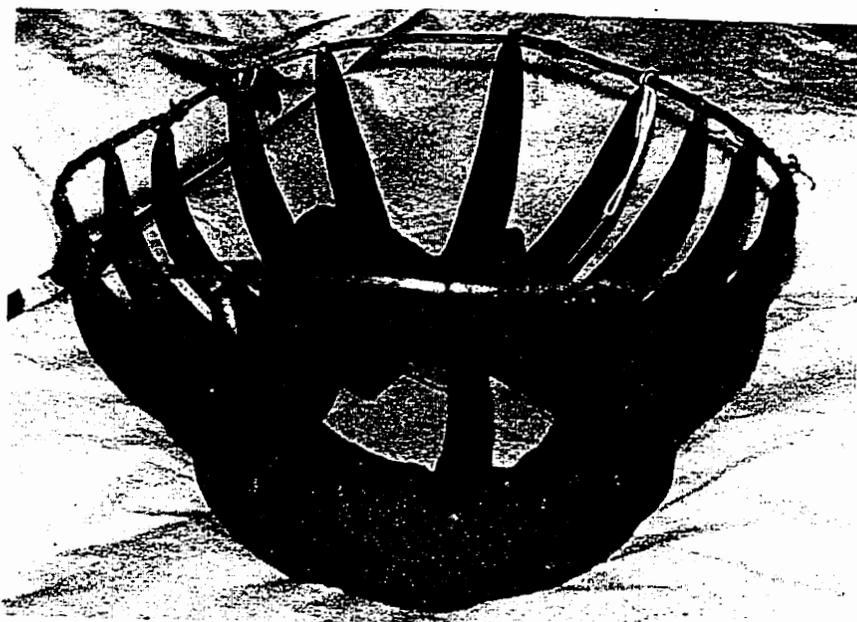
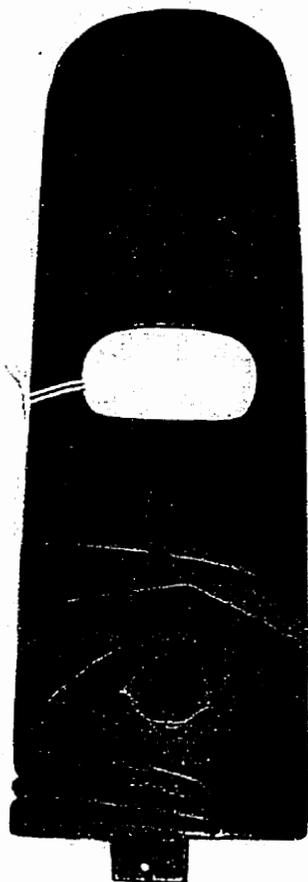


Fig. 27a (Top); 27b (Bottom)



Fig. 28



Fig. 29

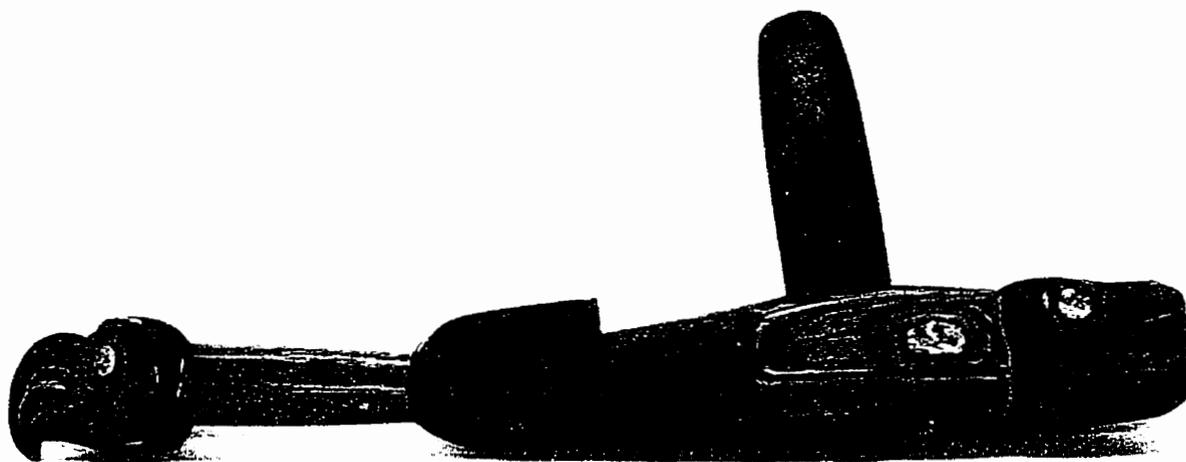
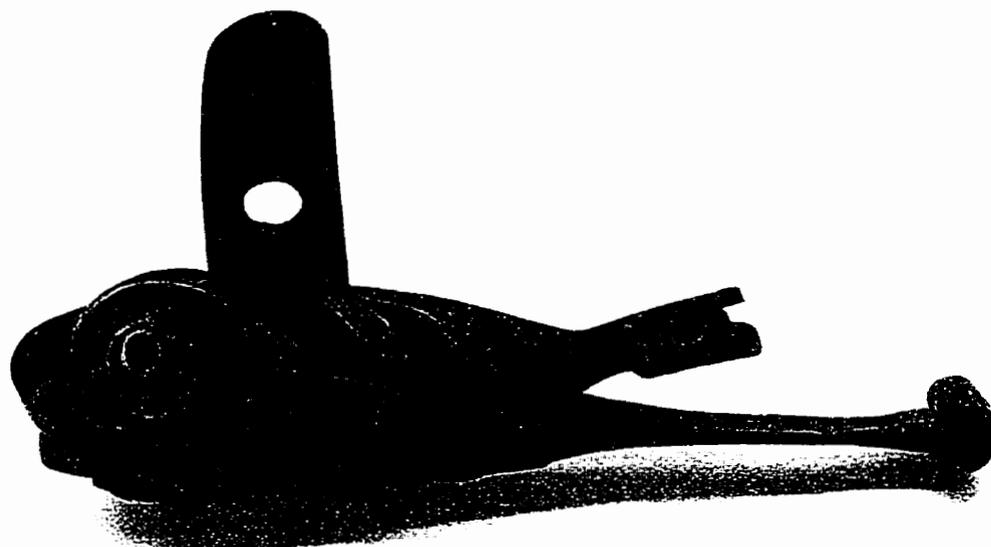


Fig. 30a (Top); 30b (Bottom)

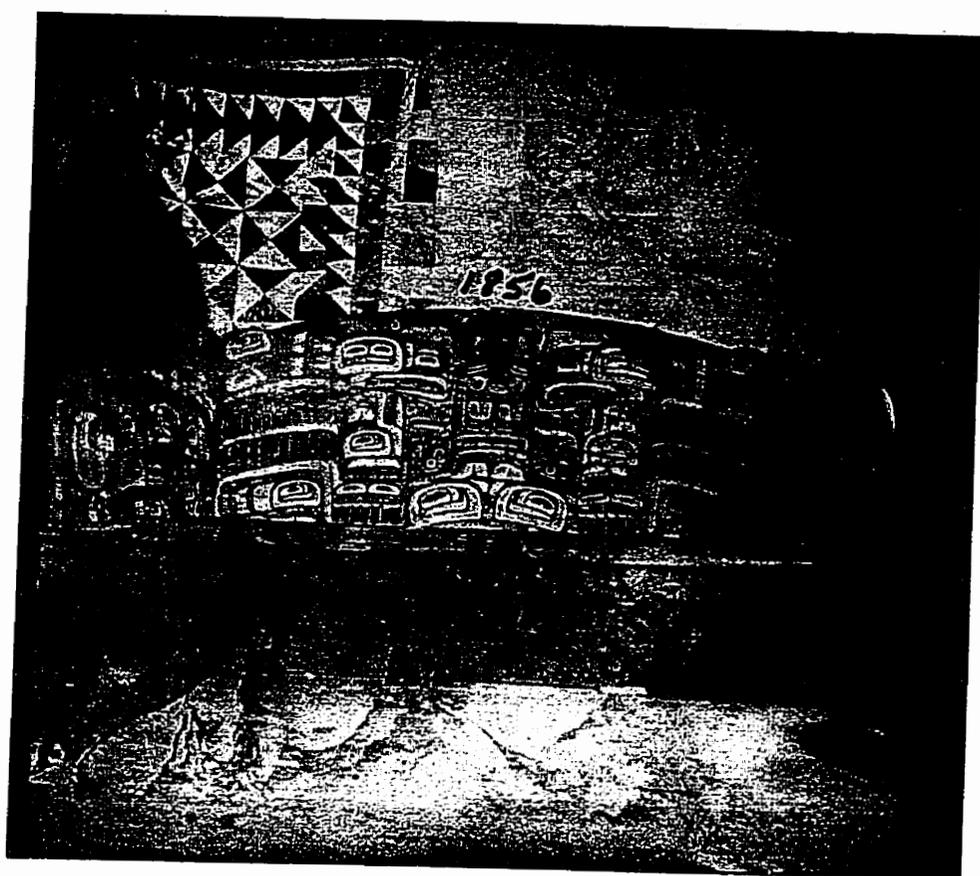


Fig. 31a (top); 31b (Bottom)

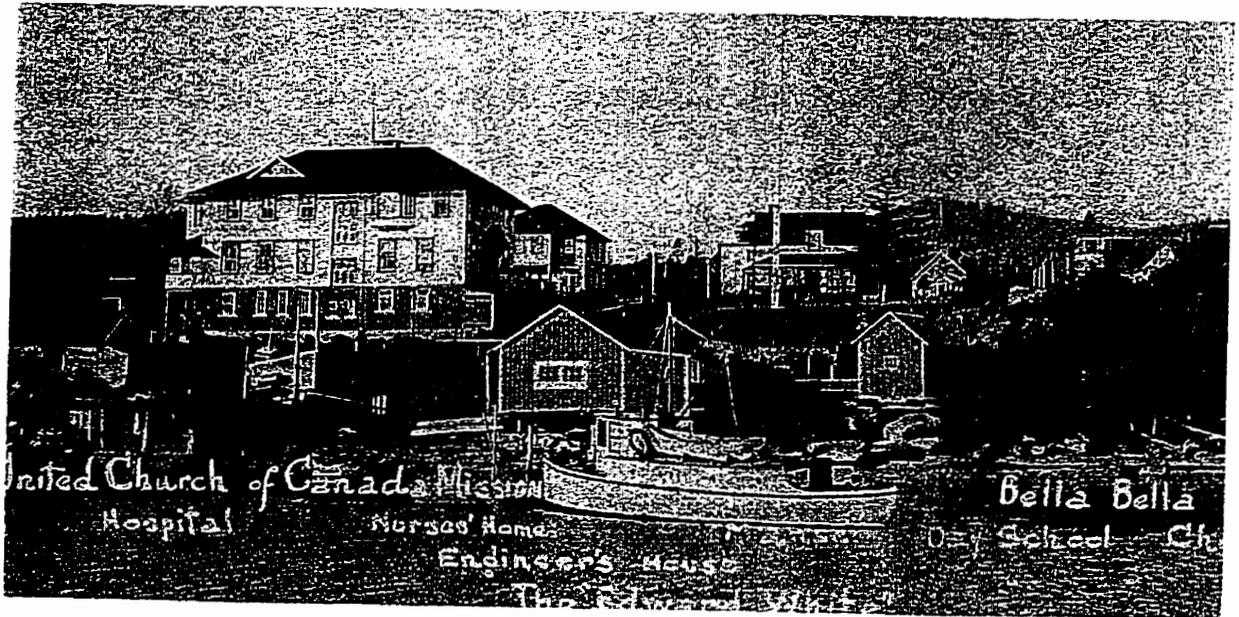
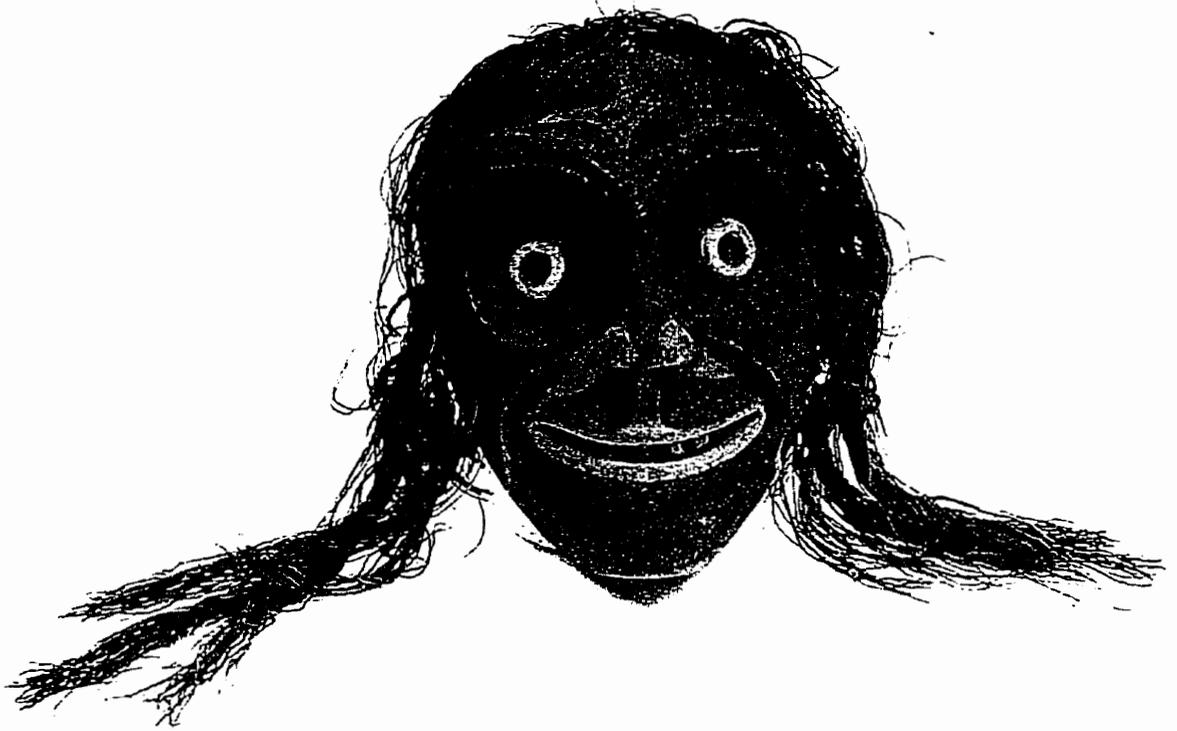


Fig. 32a (Top); 32b (Bottom)

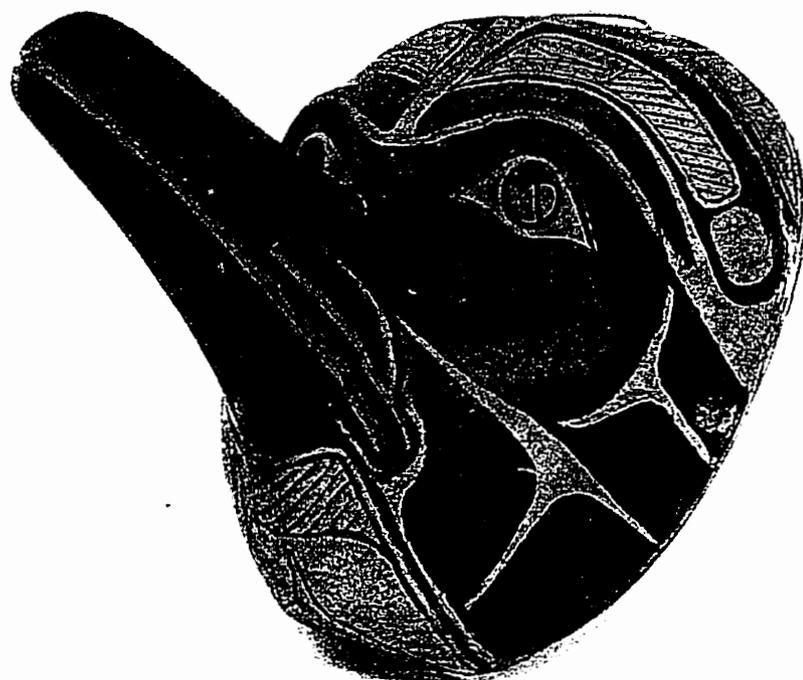
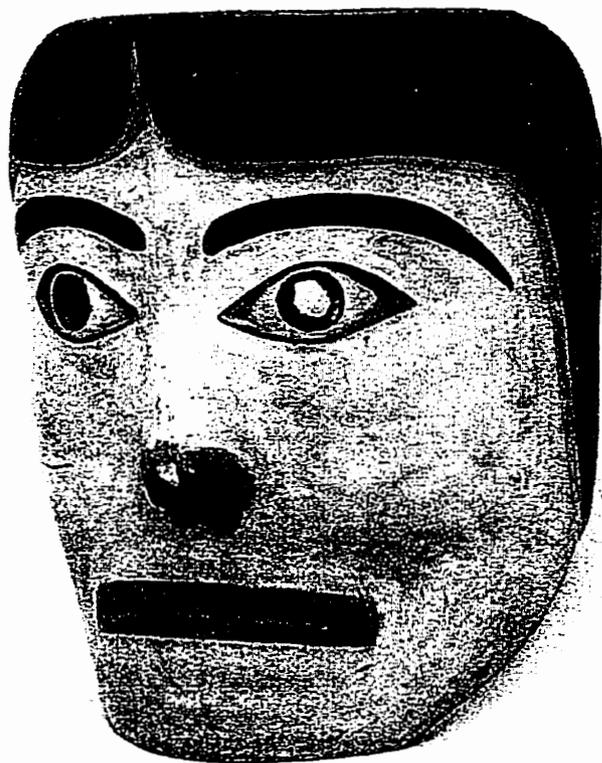


Fig. 33a (top); 33b (Bottom)



Fig. 34

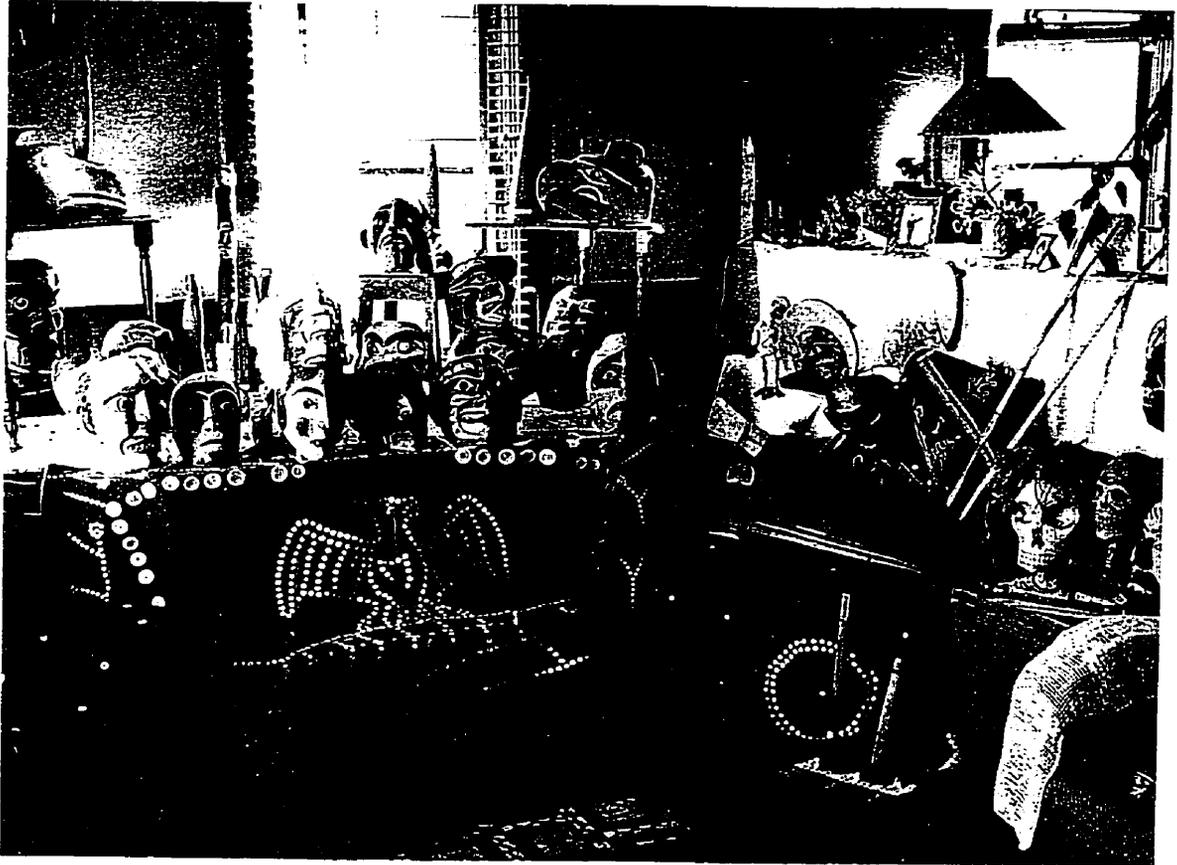


Fig. 35

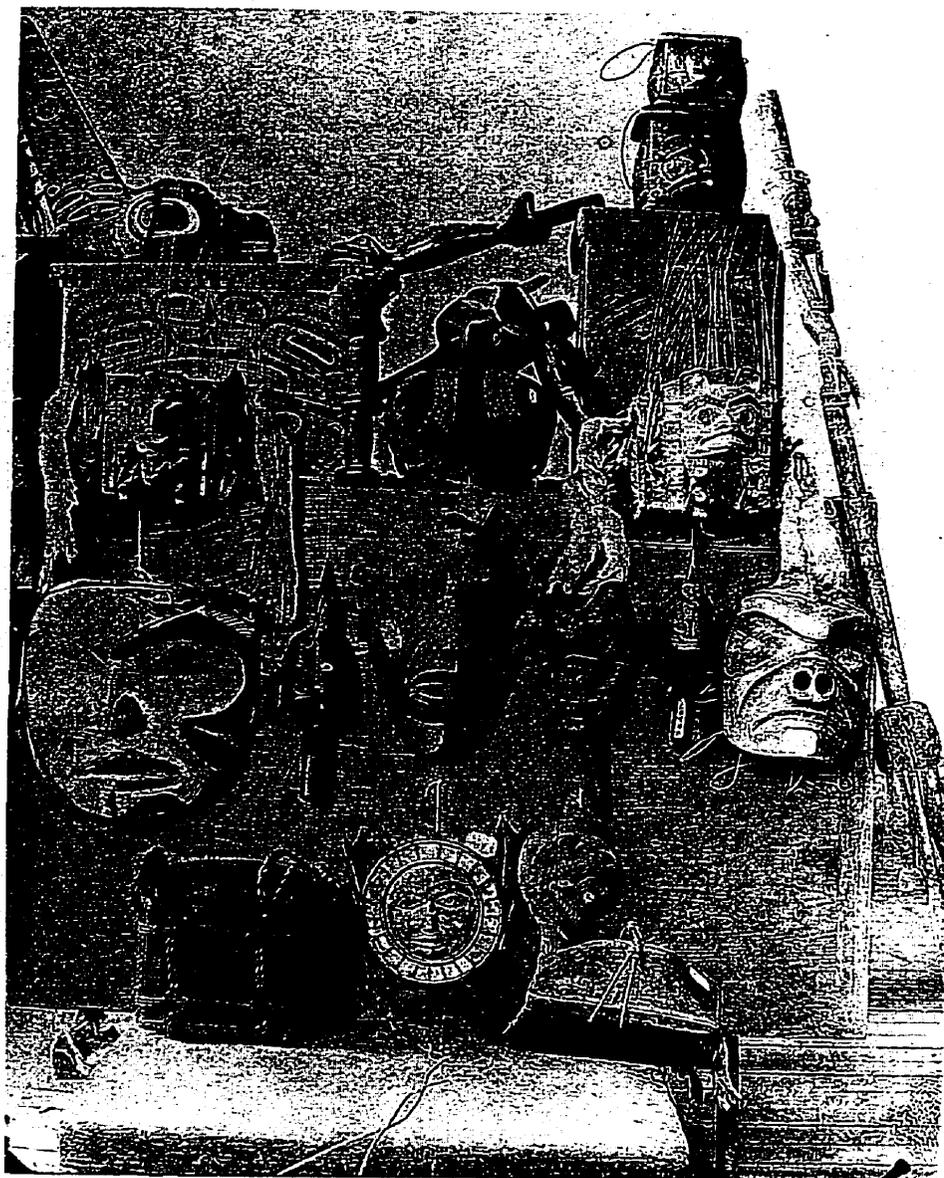


Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38

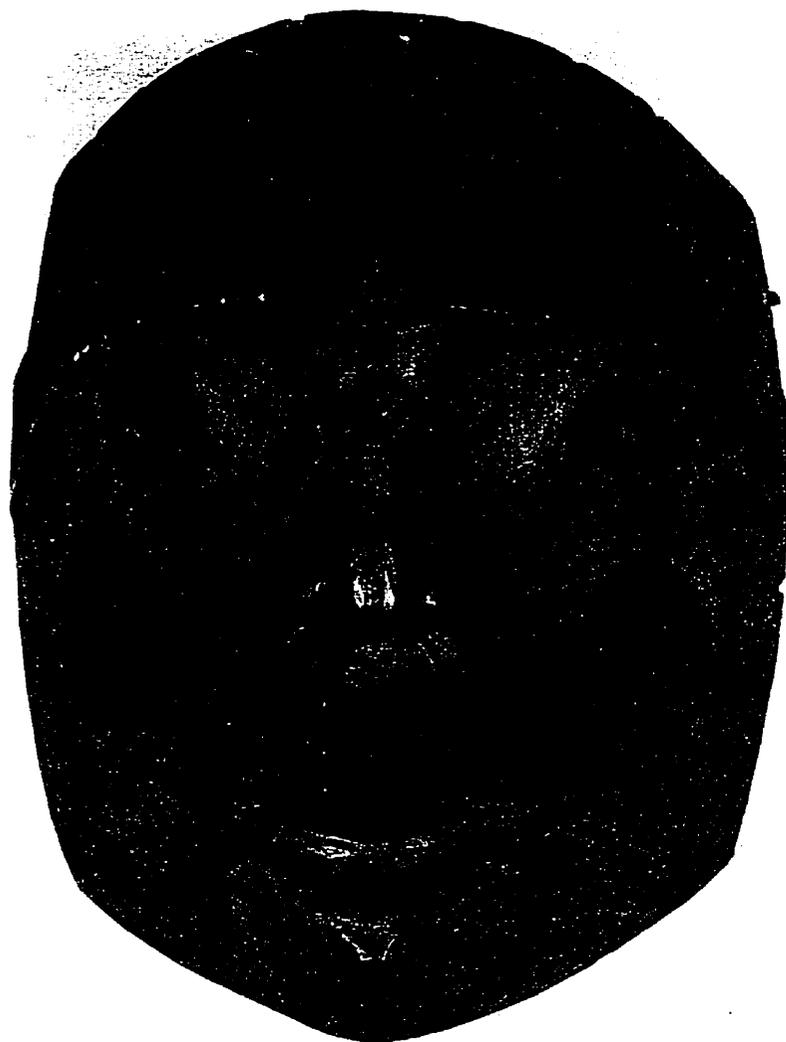


Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42a (Top); 42b (Bottom)

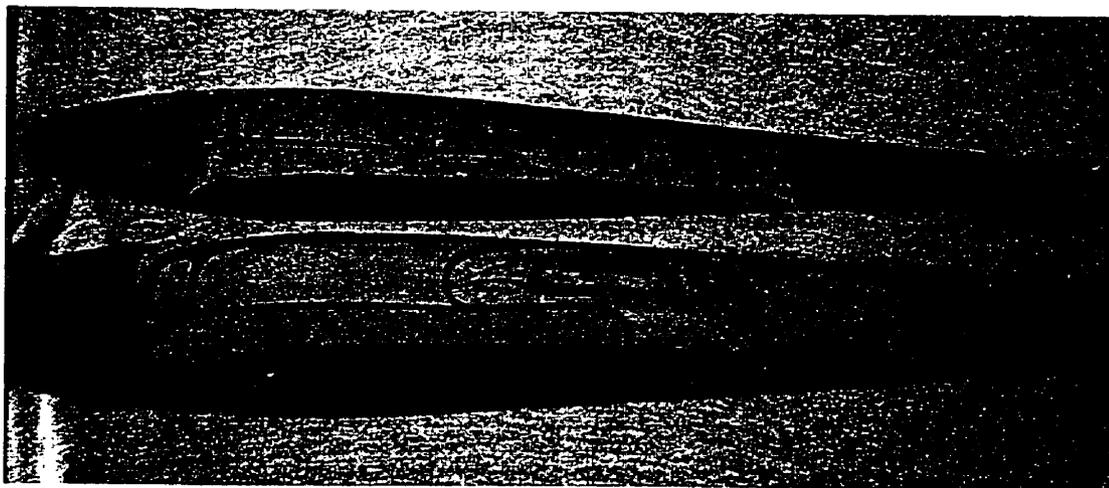
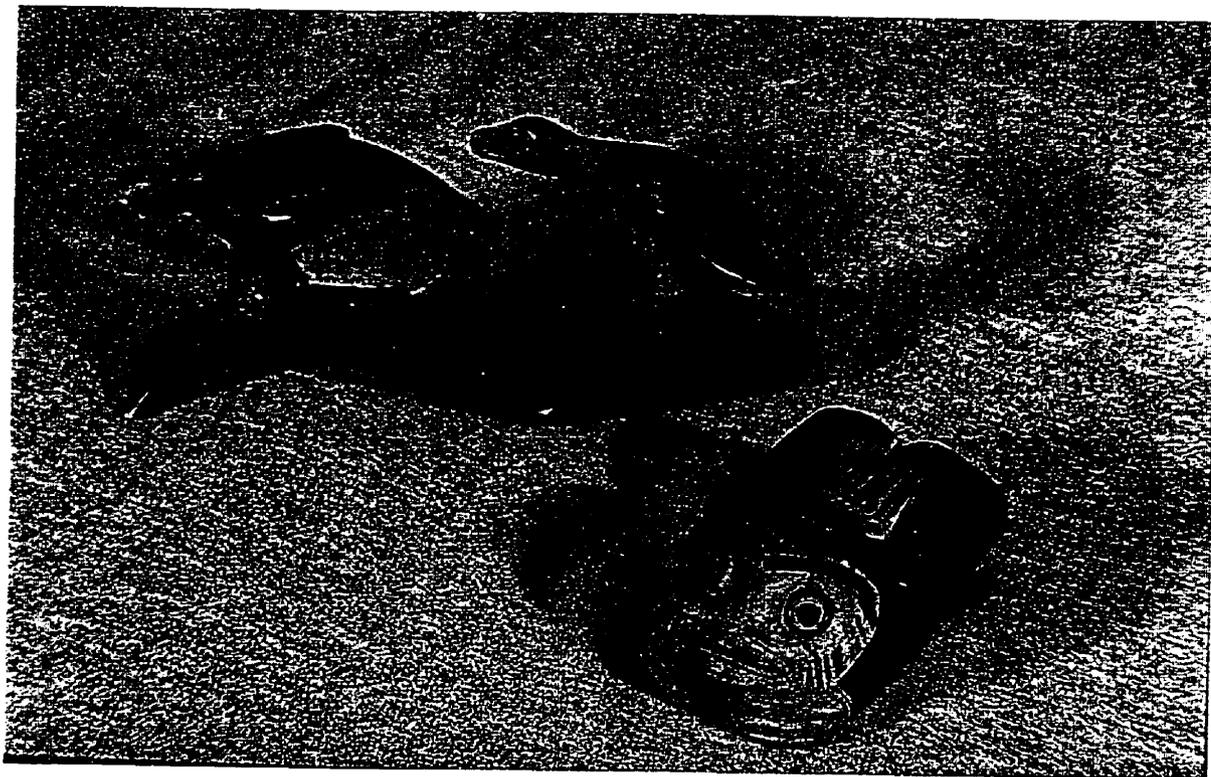


Fig. 43a-i (Top left); 43a-ii (Top right); 43b (Bottom)

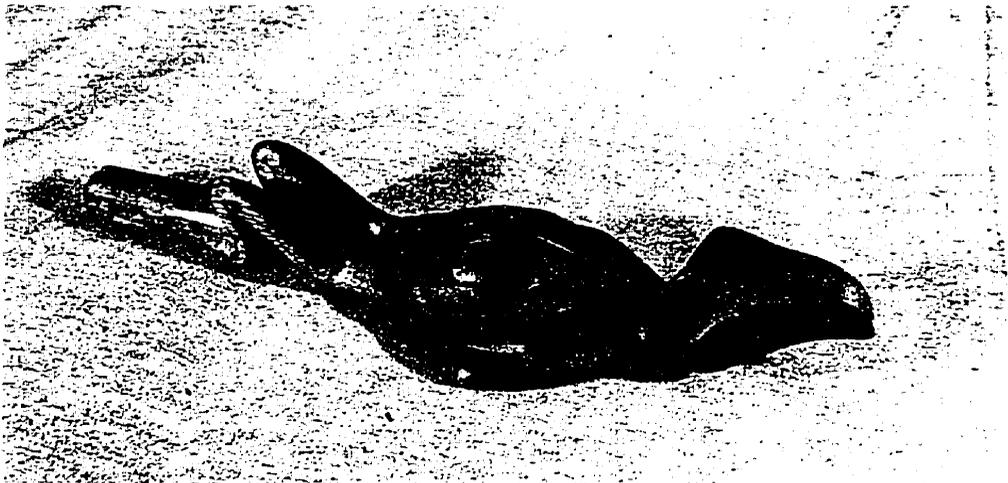
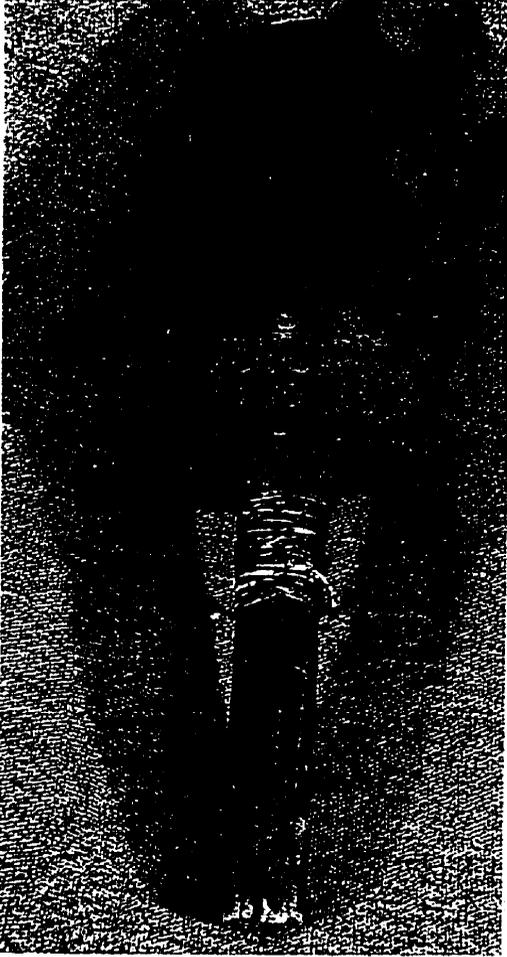


Fig. 44a-i (Top left); 44a-ii (Top right); 44b (Bottom)

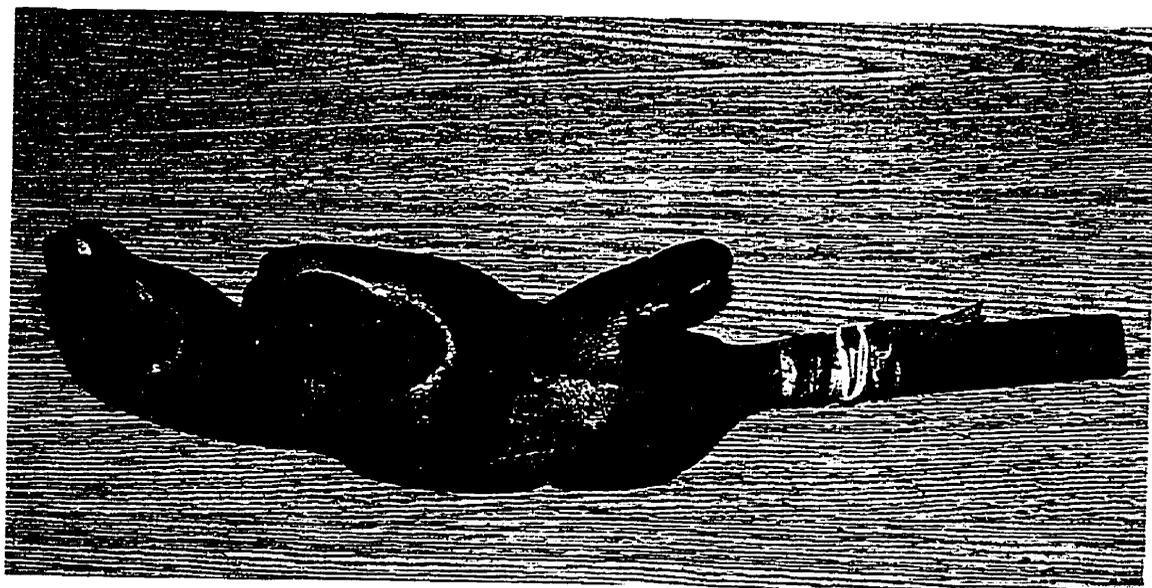
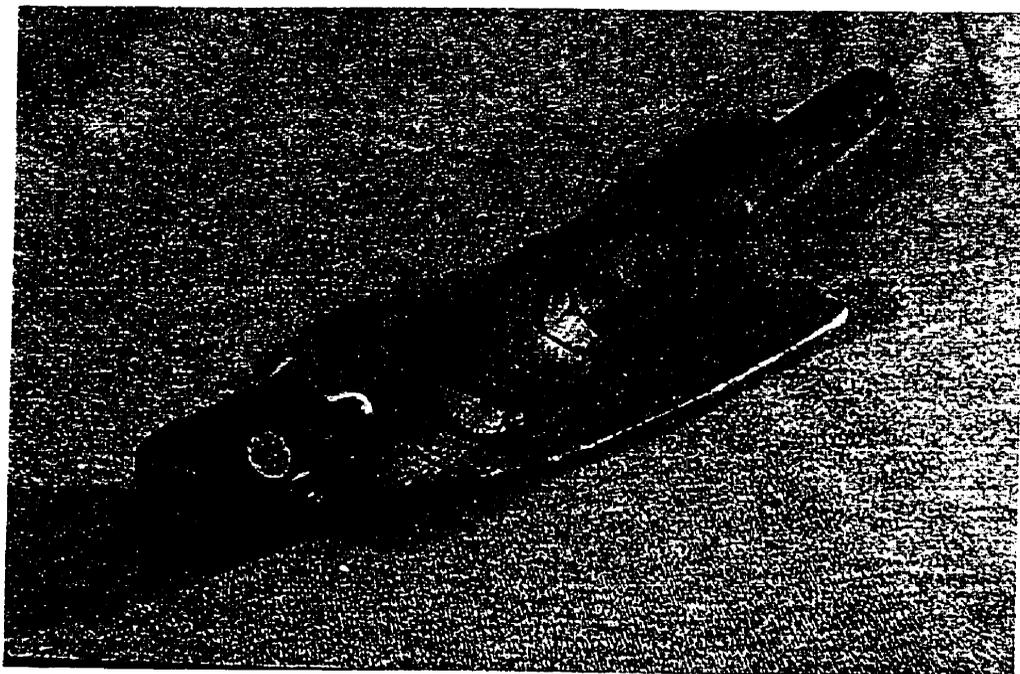


Fig. 45a (Top); 45b (Bottom)



Fig. 46



Fig. 47

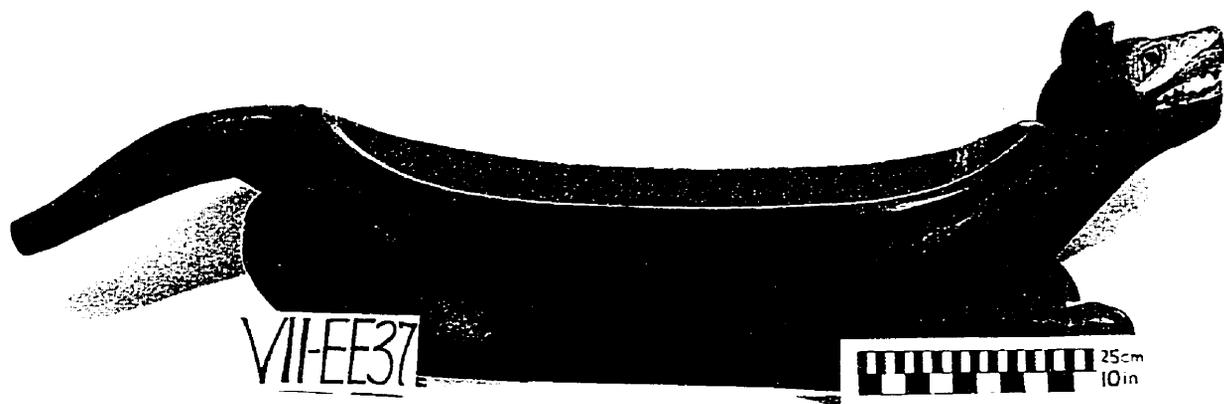


Fig. 48

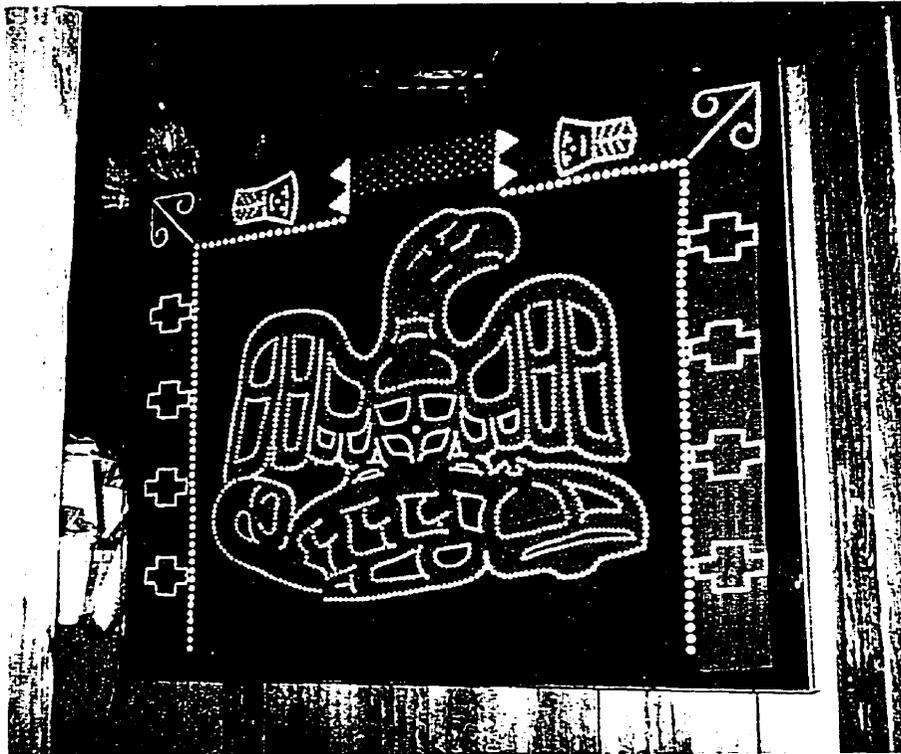
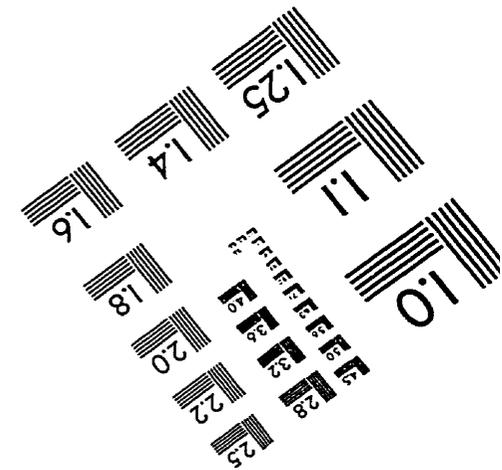
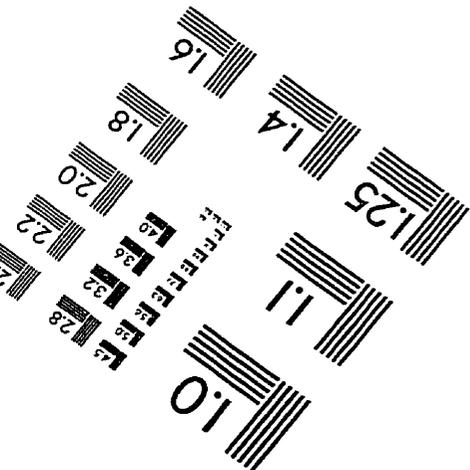
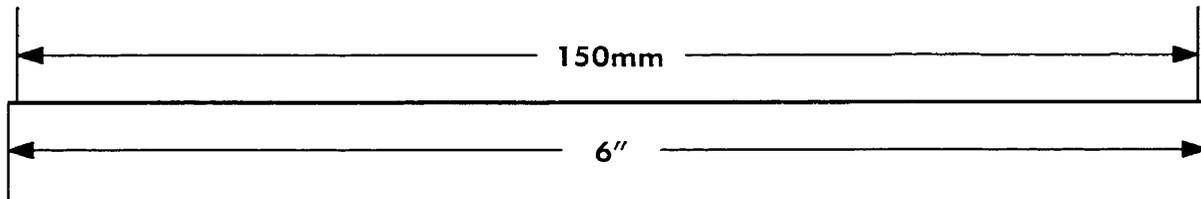
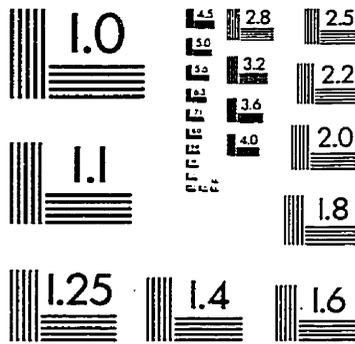
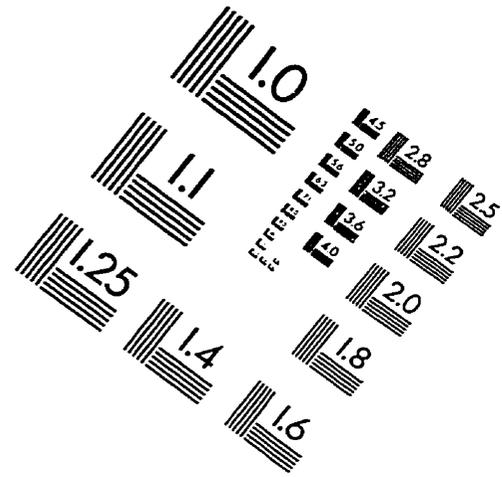
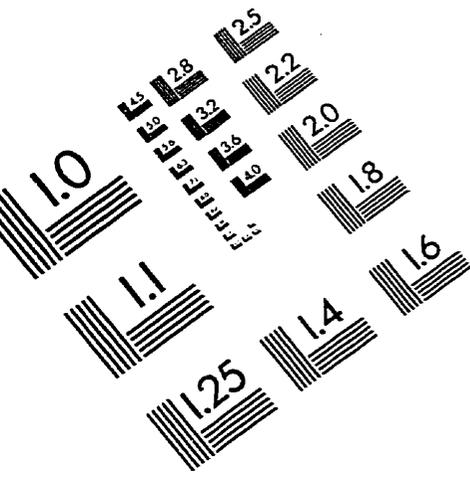


Fig. 49

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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