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Types and Markets: Photography and Masks Among the Nuxalk in the Twentieth Century

Joanne P. Carrubba

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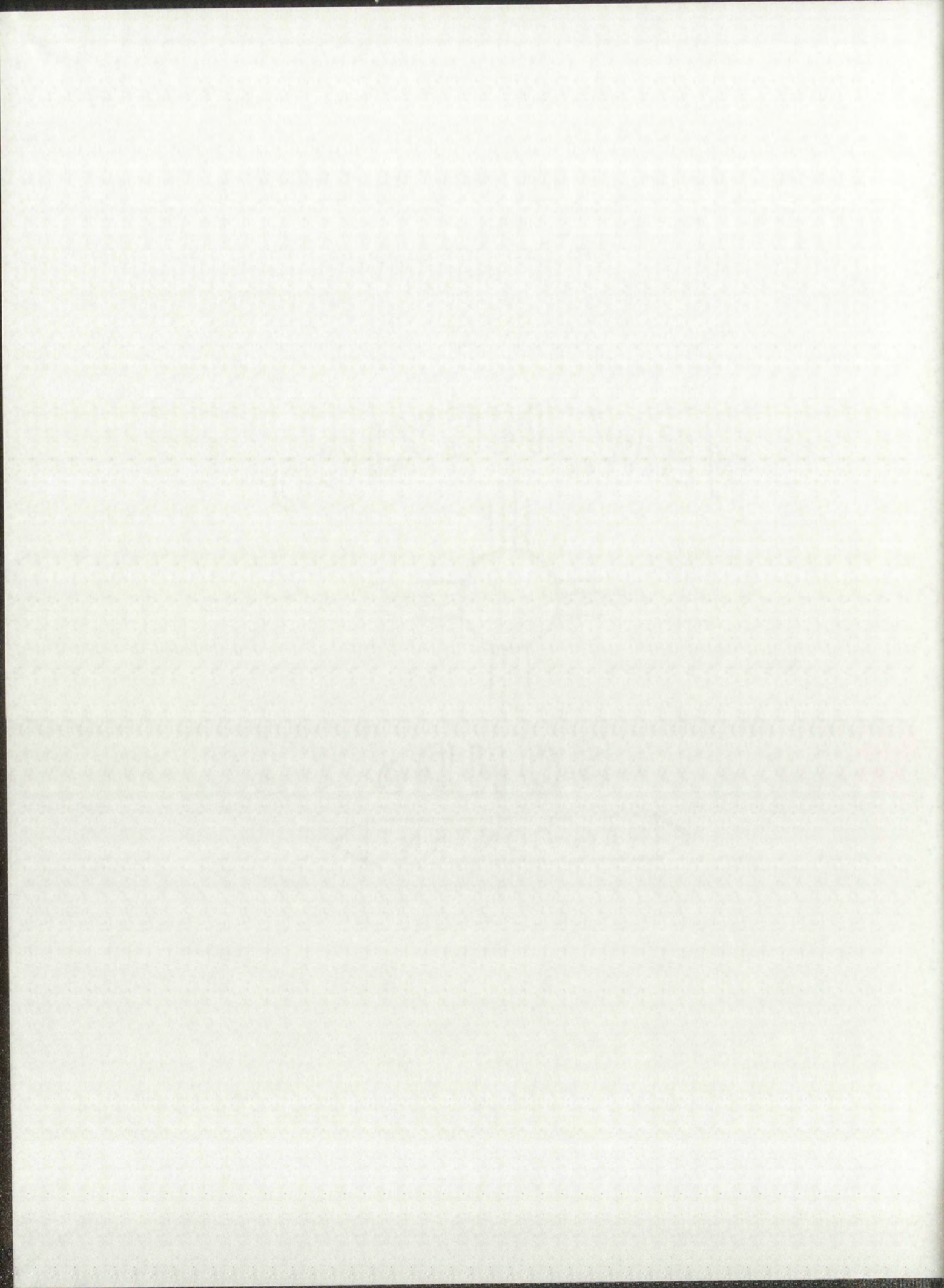
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**Types and Markets:
Photography and Masks Among the Nuxalk in the Twentieth Century**

By

Joanne P. Carrubba

B.A.F.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 1997

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Master of Arts
Art History**

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2001

Photography and Glass Among the Navaho in the Twentieth Century
Types and Materials

iii

Joanne P. Carrisella

B.A.F.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 1997

Master of Arts
Art History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July, 2001

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, Ruth McPherson, who taught me the importance of laughter, and who always believed in me. Thank you, Gram. You are always with me.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my dear mother, whose love and support have always been my strength and inspiration.

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I would like to thank my parents for their love and support, which was invaluable while writing this thesis, and in graduate school in general. I would also like to thank my sister for sharing her graduate school experiences with me and making me laugh, Tyler for his threats to sabotage this so I would have to stay, and Mike for coming to see the final act. All of my friends offered much needed support, shoulders to cry on, and Saturday nights at the Pulse to get me through writing. Perhaps the biggest thanks goes out to Jason, who attempted to help me fix my computer when it melted down in mid-thesis. I love you all.

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I would like to thank the following people for their help and support in the completion of this project. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. [Name], for his guidance and support throughout the project. I would also like to thank my colleagues, [Name] and [Name], for their assistance in the laboratory. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their love and support.

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JOANNE P. CARRUBBA

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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By

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and Letters

June 2001

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ABSTRACT

Nuxalk mask making styles changed throughout the twentieth century for various reasons. The ideas of transition, transformation, and the market are central to the establishment of these alterations. Mask making is one response to acculturation and one means of cultural survival; masks are an outward form of cultural pride.

The nineteenth century brought increased contact and trade between Native groups and Euro-Americans. Missionaries, more settlers, and tourists came to the Northwest Coast, all of whom wanted to see and experience the authentic Natives of the region before they disappeared. These groups were quickly followed by anthropologists who wanted to study and catalogue Native people and their material culture before authenticity, in their view, disappeared under the onslaught of acculturation. Authenticity was generally viewed by anthropologists as being anything Native made or associated with Native culture that could be traced to pre-contact times and had uses within Native culture above and beyond market value. For tourists, authenticity had a slightly different association and generally meant an object which had been made by, and often sold by, a Native person, and one which appeared to be made by hand. The idea of the hand-made object also included ideas of preindustrial labor, which was valued within the Arts and Crafts movement. Settlers and missionaries held views of authenticity which coincided

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with the previous two, but the idea of the value changed. For settlers, an authentic Native object or person was one in which there was no evidence of acculturation, and these people and objects could be used to explain the need for Euro-American settlement of the land, as Native people were seen as primitive and in need of civilization. Missionaries added to this the need for the eradication of Native religions and saw the selling of objects associated with these religions as the first step in the conversion to Christianity. The idea of the "Vanishing Race," combined with the stereotype of the "Noble Savage," colored all interracial interactions at this time. It is arguable whether or not these stereotypes have ever completely died out among the Euro-Americans who still visit the Coast.

Photography was used widely by all of the above-mentioned groups and aided in reinforcing the stereotypes of Native people. It was also used to create a typology that established the difference between Native and non-Native. Images showing Nuxalk people in ceremonial regalia, generally wearing masks, produced to meet the fascination of the Euro-Americans with Native ceremonialism, emphasize these differences. Photography seems to have had a very different use among the Nuxalk themselves. These differences include a marked pride in themselves, Euro-American dress, and the images often offer no markers of culture such as ceremonial regalia.

This thesis divides Nuxalk masks into four types, not because these are the only possible types of masks, but because these are the types made by Joshua Moody, a Nuxalk artist whose work is emphasized here. Moody's masks show changes which cannot be explained merely by differences in the aesthetics of the maker. The earliest masks in this study show less painting than the later ones. In addition, earlier masks have

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fewer moveable parts and appendages. Such more elaborate masks show the influence of the neighboring groups of the Nuxalk, such as the Kwakwaka'wakw.

Later twentieth-century masks suggest the effects of inter-tribal as well as inter-racial trade on the Northwest Coast. Artists who are not Nuxalk but are from other Northwest Coast groups also made Nuxalk-style masks. Trade in ideas and styles among the groups of the Northwest Coast has caused a continuous fluidity of style. Therefore, late twentieth-century Nuxalk carving is explored here, which provides a stopping point for this examination of a continuing cultural production. An in-depth examination of the artist Glenn Tallio, one of the best known and most prolific twentieth-century Nuxalk carvers, suggests issues faced by contemporary carvers.

Nuxalk carving has changed throughout the twentieth century, but it remains an important part of the continuation of Nuxalk culture. Masks are vital to the idea of transformation within Nuxalk ceremonial dances and they also help to preserve that ceremonialism in the face of pressure to acculturate. The manner in which Nuxalk masks have become a part of both the tourist and the fine arts markets and their demand as object d'art has changed some of their original meaning within Nuxalk culture, such as a change from internal ceremonial objects to external market commodities. Thus, an examination of Nuxalk masking from the late-nineteenth century to the present establishes both continuities and discontinuities in this important art form.

lower frequency parts and spreading. 2. All three classes make show the influence of

the neighboring groups of the 2-axis and a cyclic R-lexeme.

1. The two-dimensional mass is not in the class of inter-lexical or intra-

lexical trade on the vertical axis. Areas where the lexical is not from other

Northwest Coast groups also made lexical-lexical mass. There is also and significant

the groups of the Northwest Coast are covered a continuous field of style. Therefore,

late twentieth-century lexical copying is explored in a high level of linguistic

for this examination of a continuing cultural production. A detailed examination of the

artist Glenn Tiller, one of the best known and most prolific Northwest Coast

artists, suggests that the lexical copying is not a simple matter

lexical copying has changed the way the Northwest Coast artists see the world in

important part of the continuation of Northwest Coast culture. Artists were not the idea of

transition within Northwest Coast art and the lexical copying is not a

reaction in the face of the style is not a reaction. The reaction is not a lexical

have become a part of the lexical and the lexical copying is not a lexical

object that has changed some of their own language. A high level of linguistic

change from formal or minimal objects to lexical copying is not a lexical

examination of lexical copying from the Northwest Coast artists. The lexical

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Introduction

The Nuxalk, known as the Bella Coola until recently, are a Northwest Coast group whose carving style combines the bold contours of their southern neighbors the Kwakwaka'wakw and the bulbous forms of their northern neighbors the Heiltsuk. Nuxalk art has not received as much scholarly attention as that of their neighbors, partially because they are a smaller group with fewer works surviving from the past.

A survey of the changes and continuity of the Nuxalk masking tradition provided in this study will establish the reaction to contact and colonization of the area. It is important to investigate the cultural strategies employed by Native groups when faced with massive and culture-threatening upheavals such as the incursion of Euro-Americans into the Northwest Coast. These incursions brought diseases, forced acculturation and conversion to Christianity along with new technologies and artistic media. The reactions of the Native group into whose territory the others came affected the continuity and discontinuity of their cultural traditions.

This thesis is an attempt to establish a continuum of Nuxalk masks through the course of the twentieth century. The questions raised within it relate to the influence of non-Native contact on Nuxalk mask making as well as the influence of the trade of masks and ideas among the tribal groups of the Northwest Coast. Both continuity and change are apparent throughout the history of Nuxalk mask making surveyed here. From the masks of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, which are the earliest examined in this thesis, to the masks of the late-twentieth century, Nuxalk masks have changed, especially in the addition of paint and moveable parts. They have also stayed

the same in basic function and shape, showing pride in culture and the importance of the outward signifiers of that culture.

The late-nineteenth century brought an influx of European, American and Canadian visitors to the Coast. Although there had been contact since the seventeenth century, it was often sporadic until the late-nineteenth century brought far more visitors to the region. Also, the previous visitors to this area did not generally stay, as did the new travelers coming to the region. This period brought missionaries, traders, ethnographers and tourists, as well as permanent settlers to the Coast. All remarked on the landscape and the people, and they found the arts of the area remarkable for their technical advancement and their forms and styles.

The various people coming to the Northwest Coast had different agendas and varying reasons for contact with the Native peoples of the area. They also brought with them a variety of problems, such as disease and forced conversion to Christianity. The Native people of the Coast learned to deal with these in a number of ways while working to keep their cultural traditions intact. As James Clifford stated:

Many Northwest Coast communities have survived and resisted the violence visited on them since the mid-nineteenth century: devastating diseases, commercial and political domination, suppression of the potlatch, forced education in residential schools and by missionaries. Despite enormous damage to indigenous cultures and continuing economic and political inequality, many tribal groups and individuals have found ways to live separate from and in negotiation with the modern state.¹

¹ James Clifford, Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 109.

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James Clifford, *Identity and Modernity in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 102.

The indigenous peoples of the Northwest learned to deal with the incursions of Anglos into their lands and with the culture the non-Natives bought with them without completely losing their own culture. They held onto their diverse cultures while faced with tremendous pressure from the outside to become Euro-American.

Scope of the Study

This study will begin with an examination of the effects of contact on the Nuxalk themselves, as well as the rest of the Northwest Coast. The impact will be measured especially with respect to the arts of the Nuxalk and the importance of those arts not only to cultural but also to economic survival. The arts became a means of employment, not only for carvers, but also for interpreters of and dealers in those carvings. Due to an influx of tourists and ethnologists, professional or otherwise, the Nuxalk began to sell carvings of masks and other objects as a means of making money. These carvings were also a way to indicate difference. By creating and selling cultural products, the Nuxalk, like other Northwest Coast people, were declaring themselves to be separate from the Anglo audience that was buying these objects. The masks, then, became signifiers of culture which mean different things to the makers and the buyers. To the Anglos who were buying these masks, either for personal or museum collections, as souvenirs or objects of scientific study, they signified a difference that is "other" and primitive. To the Native people making them, they signified continuity of culture and a difference of which one should be proud. The items which could be seen as tourist kitsch, then, became ways in which culture was continued and preserved.

The indigenous peoples of the Northwest learned to deal with the incursions of whites
into their lands and with the culture the non-Indians brought with them without
completely losing their own identity. This study will look at their culture and how it
withstood the pressure from the outside to become Euro-American.

Scope of the Study

This study will begin with an examination of the early contact between the Northwest
Indians and the whites as well as the role of the Northwest Coast. The impact will be measured
especially with respect to the area of the Northwest and the importance of those areas not only
to cultural but also to economic survival. The area became a focus of competition not
only for caribou, but also for fisheries and other resources. Due to an
increase of population and the need for more land, the Northwest Indians began to sell
caribou and other objects as a means of making money. These caribou were
also a way to indicate difference. By creating and selling cultural objects, the Northwest
Indians were able to distinguish themselves from the whites and to separate themselves
from other Northwest Coast peoples who declared themselves to be separate from the
Anglo audience that was buying the objects. The objects then became significant
cultural items which meant difference in the market and the objects to the whites who
were buying the objects either for personal or museum collections. As a result of
objects in scientific study, they signified a difference that is today's and primitive. To
the white people making them, they signified a continuity of culture and a difference of
which one should be proud. The items which could be seen as objects which then
became ways in which culture was contained and preserved.

An examination of the uses of photography among the Nuxalk, both by Euro-Americans who came as curiosity seekers and by the Nuxalk themselves as a means of establishing their cultural pride, will follow. The Euro-Americans who came to photograph the Nuxalk did so for a variety of reasons. Many came as professional photographers who wanted curiosities to sell to tourists, settlers, and the curious audience on the East Coast. The photographs of Native peoples of the Northwest Coast filled the need for the exotic other and fit the romantic stereotype of the vanishing race of primitive peoples. To an industrializing Euro-American culture, the Nuxalk, and other Native peoples, were a symbol for their own cultural development from pre-industrialized to industrialized societies, and pointed to the need for assimilation.

Anthropologists were also motivated by the idea of a pre-industrial, primitive society and wanted to study the Native peoples of the Northwest Coast before they "vanished." The photographs taken by the anthropologists were used to establish Native "types" and to prove the difference and inherent inferiority seen in Native cultures. These photographs often dehumanized the subject and spoke to the beliefs of the colonizers concerning the colonized. Photographs of masks, and of people wearing them, will be used in this survey to determine a definition of otherness, the Native type used by Euro-Americans coming to the Coast, as well as to establish the link with the masks discussed in this survey.

It must not be believed, though, that the Native people did not use photographs as well. A few examples of Native uses of photography will be surveyed and will demonstrate the way in which the Nuxalk subjects of these photographs used them to show pride in themselves and their culture. It is from these photographs that much of the

An examination of the uses of photography among the Inuit, both by Euro-
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demonstrate the way in which the Inuit subjects of these photographs used them to
show pride in themselves and their culture. It is from these photographs that much of the

information about Nuxalk culture in the early twentieth century can be gained, and it is possible to see the effects of assimilation as well as the resistance to that assimilation.

This thesis was generated by five Nuxalk masks from approximately 1930 in the collection of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology of the University of New Mexico. Joshua Moody gave these masks to the anthropologist Stanley Newman while Newman was in then Bella Coola doing fieldwork on the Bella Coola language. The records of the Maxwell Museum state that Moody was a former ceremonial specialist as well as a carver who had converted to Christianity. He was supposed to destroy these masks because he would no longer be using them. Rather than destroying them, Moody gave them to Newman to take back to New York, and Newman eventually donated them to the Maxwell Museum.² Research trips to various other museums failed to reveal more masks made by Moody.³

The early masks discussed in this survey, which date from about 1880 until about 1930, including those made by Moody, show an increasing use of painting. The names of the masks, or at least those given to the anthropologists such as Stanley Newman, show the influence of Euro-American culture. These names, such as Goddess of Spring instead of Bringer of Spring, and Goddess of Gossip instead of Keeper of the Masks, reflect a sensibility based on European ideas. Rather than acknowledging that these beings are spirits, they are described as gods and goddesses.

The masks also show the influence of the neighbors of the Nuxalk through the increased use of paint and changes in form. The masks became more rounded and the

² Maxwell Museum of Anthropology of the University of New Mexico records for accession numbers 85.7.1-5.

³ The museums visited included the Canadian Museum of Civilization, which houses T. F. McIlwraith's and Harlan I. Smith's collections.

information about the mask is found in the early 19th-century accounts and it is

possible to see the mask in the collection of the British Museum.

This mask was found and by the British Museum in 1850 in the

collection of the British Museum of Anthropology of the University of New Mexico.

Just as Moody gave these masks to the anthropologist, Henry Peckham while Peckham

was in the field he was being referred to the British Museum. The remains of the

Mask of the Aztecs, which is now in the collection of the British Museum as well as a mask

which had been found in a museum. He was supposed to deposit these masks in the

British Museum but he was not doing that. He was giving them to the

British Museum. However, in his trip to visit the museum, he was

made by Moody.

The mask was discovered in the market in Mexico in about 1880 and about

1930, the mask was made by Moody. It is an ancient mask of Mexico. The names of

the mask or at least those who are to be anthropologists such as Peckham, Peckham

the influence of the mask is not clear. The mask is in the collection of the British

of Peckham and Peckham. It is a mask of the Aztecs. It is a mask of the Aztecs.

enabling the mask to be seen in the British Museum. It is a mask of the Aztecs.

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The mask also shows the influence of the Aztecs through the

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amount of paint increases, more closely approximating Kwakwaka'wakw forms due to increased contact and trade among Native groups in the region. Although no transformation masks will be studied in this survey, such masks began to appear with increasing frequency at the turn of the nineteenth century. This is due to the growing influence of the Kwakwaka'wakw, the southern neighbors of the Nuxalk from whom the Nuxalk got their Kusiut Society. Transformation masks play a large part in the ceremonies of the Kwakwaka'wakw and a lesser one in the ceremonies of the Nuxalk. They have been omitted from this survey because it was felt that the majority of writings on the Northwest Coast focus on these types of masks and other types need to be examined.

The middle of the twentieth century brought many changes to Nuxalk mask making. Two mid-twentieth century masks in the collection of the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria, British Columbia are made in the Nuxalk style by artists who were either Coast Salish or Kwakwaka'wakw.⁴ This demonstrates the translation of styles and ideas that has been taking place on the Coast for a long time.

Many of the objects carved in this era were created for sale to tourists and other Anglo visitors to the Coast. Carvers from other groups responded to the market demand for masks in the Nuxalk style by making masks that were in that style. Few Nuxalk carvers were working by the mid-twentieth century and the art form was not as viable as in the early-twentieth century. The Nuxalk carvers who were active in this period aided in the survival of the Nuxalk style, even though they carved for outside sale as a general rule. The fact that masks were being made helped to ensure the survival of

⁴ Royal British Columbia Museum collection numbers 16162 and 14850.

Nuxalk cultural forms. The carvers working in this period were the teachers of the carvers of the next generation.

The late-twentieth century has seen a revival of sorts in Nuxalk mask making led by full-time carvers such as Glenn Tallio. These carvers have, in turn, trained others and aided in reviving tribal and outside interest in Nuxalk masks. Also in the 1980s, the Nuxalk reclaimed their tribal name and began holding a larger Winter Ceremonial season.

Although many masks were carved for sale, they all remained a part of Nuxalk cultural heritage. The very act of carving was an act of resistance to assimilation and a declaration of cultural pride. It is interesting that symbols of resistance became popular among the tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers who were coming to the Coast. For the Anglos, the masks were symbols of an exotic "other," one that must be assimilated or killed, but for the Nuxalk and the other people of the Coast, masks were symbols of cultural pride and resistance.

The Importance of Souvenirs

Early in the history of contact, by the seventeenth century, the Europeans who came to the Coast wanted souvenirs of the exotic Native cultures to bring back with them. Masks were some of the most popular of the souvenirs. The people who collected them were unsure if the masks were truly traditional or if objects were modified in form by the market prestige gained by association with foreign exotic arts, although not all were

...the late twentieth century has seen a revival of interest in traditional masks, not only in their original form but also in their role as a means of communication. This revival has been particularly evident in the field of costume design, where masks have been used to create a sense of mystery and drama. In the past, masks were often used to represent deities or spirits, and their use was closely tied to religious and cultural practices. Today, however, masks are used in a wide variety of contexts, from theatrical performances to modern art installations. The resurgence of interest in masks is a reflection of a broader cultural movement that seeks to reconnect with traditional forms of expression and to explore the power of the human face.

Although many masks were created for specific purposes, they have often become part of a larger cultural heritage. The very act of wearing a mask is an act of resistance to assimilation and a declaration of cultural pride. It is interesting to note that the symbols of resistance become popular among the tourists, missionaries, and ethnographers who were coming to the Americas. The masks were symbols of an exotic "other," one that must be assimilated or killed out for the benefit of the other people of that area. This is a complex and often controversial issue, as it raises questions about the ownership and representation of cultural heritage. While some argue that masks are a form of artistic expression that can be shared and appreciated by all, others believe that they should be protected and preserved as a part of a community's identity.

The Importance of Souvenirs

Early in the history of contact with the Americas, the Europeans who came to the continent sought souvenirs of the native cultures to bring back with them. Masks were some of the most popular of these items. The people who collected them were unsure if the masks were truly traditional or if objects were added in order to be market prestige gained by association with local events and although not all were

making this distinction.⁵ It is the souvenir that authenticates the experience of the viewer, while offering a measurement of the normal by throwing the normative relationship into relief.⁶ In this case, the “normal” would be the European or Euro-American idea of culture and cultural objects. The souvenir is the measure of the experience and the item brought back to tell of the trip to the exotic other. Susan Stewart describes the souvenir:

Just as authenticity and interiority are placed in the remote past, the exotic offers an authenticity of experience tied up with notions of the primitive as child and the primitive as an earlier and purer stage of contemporary civilization.⁷

The souvenir as marker of authenticity shows the experience of the traveler to be authentic and marks an experience of the other. The object, then, becomes the evidence of a cross-cultural experience and offers imagined access to a world of difference not otherwise accessible to a European or Euro-American viewer.⁸

Simultaneously with the collection of authentic souvenirs of the experience of being among the Native peoples of the Northwest Coast, the colonial domination of the area, which included the forced conversion to Christianity and the suppression of “traditional” Native cultures, occurred.⁹ Many of the objects that made up the material cultures of the Native peoples were used to create a claim to the land and its previous inhabitants by the Euro-America colonizers, thereby allowing the colonial government

⁵ Nelson H. H. Graburn, “Introduction: Arts of the Fourth World,” in *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*. Nelson H. H. Graburn, ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1976: pp. 1-32), p. 2.

⁶ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁸ Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, “Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, eds. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999: pp. 3-19), p. 3.

⁹ I have placed the word “traditional” in quotes due to its problematic nature. I am using it in this case to indicate the domination of Euro-American and Euro-Canadian culture over the cultures of the Native peoples of the Coast.

and the settlers to define themselves as native and to create national emblems.¹⁰ It is through the collecting, studying and classifying of the material culture of the indigenous peoples of the land that the settlers claim hegemony and the right to settlement and domination. Souvenirs are used to prove the “primitiveness” of the previous inhabitants, and the need for the more cultured colonizers to take over the land and put it to better use.

There is also a liminal space created by contact and colonization in which the colonized and the colonizers meet and share ideas. There transculturation takes place. It is what Mary Louise Pratt has called the phenomenon of the contact zone, “the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.”¹¹ Within this contact zone the market for masks and other cultural objects which caused the transformation of production from items created mainly for internal use to items created for external sale to people outside the culture was formed. Also within this zone, the rush to collect objects made by a supposed dying culture was created.

The tourist market and late nineteenth-century ideas of leisure came into play on the Northwest Coast at this time. The development of tourism as an industry on the Northwest Coast led to the development of ethnic tourism or activities that engaged tourists in the experience of cultural events and situations that were distinct from their own.¹² With ethnic tourism the idea of the souvenir as the marker of difference and the

¹⁰ Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/ Colonial Culture*. (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1999), p. 12.

¹¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

¹² Erve Chambers, *Native Tours: The Anthropology of Travel and Tourism*. (Prospect Height, IL: Waveland Press, 2000.), p. 100.

and the subjects to define themselves as natives and to create national identities. It is through the collective struggle and class formation of the indigenous peoples of the land that the state claims legitimacy and the right to settlement and domination. Sovereigns are held to prove the "authenticity" of the previous indigenous and the need for the more cultured colonizers to take over the land and put it to better use. There is also a limited sense created by colonial contact in which the colonized and the colonizers meet and share their. There is a sense of nation as place. It is when Mary Kay Pratt has called the phenomenon of the contact zone "the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict." Within this contact zone the market for masks and other cultural objects which caused the transformation of production from being made solely for internal use to items created for export to other people outside the culture was formed. Also within this zone, the right to land objects made for export, including culture, was created. The restricted and limited sense of nation came into play on the Northwest Coast at this time. The development of tourism as an industry on the Northwest Coast led to the development of ethnic tourism or activities that engaged tourists in the experience of cultural events and situations that were distinct from their own. Within some tourism the idea of the sovereign as the maker of decisions and the

¹⁰ Nicholas Thomas, *Exoticism: Language and Colonial Difference* (London: Johns & Hopkins, Ltd., 1993), p. 12.
¹¹ Mary Kay Pratt, *Native Contact: The Northwest Coast and the Invention of a Colonial Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), p. 1.
¹² Kaye Bannock, *The Northwest Coast: The Art of the Northwest* (Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1990), p. 100.

authenticator of the trip to the exotic place becomes important. This can also be seen as cultural tourism in which the traveler ventures to the foreign land to see and interact with Native cultures that are vanishing and give the visitor, much in the same manner as ethnic tourism, a chance to see at least some portions of indigenous culture.¹³ But, unlike ethnic tourism, the tourist is not expressly going to stay among the Native people of an area. Ethnic tourism is, in other words, the act of "going Native." This attitude reflects the general cultural imperialism that went hand-in-hand with the imperialist policies of the colonial governments in Canada and the United States in the late-nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries. Tourism then becomes, in Lucy Lippard's words, "a form of transformation, even cannibalism—the consumption of other places, other cultures, or the digestion of their powers. Tourists make ordinary places extraordinary by their presence, but travel changes the traveler as well; it is a speeded-up counterpart of ordinary life."¹⁴ The tourists who came to the Coast were cannibalizing a version of Northwest Coast Native life that was perceived to be traditional and were taking some of that home with them to be shared with friends and relatives.

¹³ Valene L. Smith, "Introduction," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Second edition. Valene L. Smith, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989: pp. 1-17.), p. 4-5, 10.

¹⁴ Lucy R. Lippard, *On the Beaten Track: Tourism, Art and Place*. (New York: The New Press, 1999.), p. 5.

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¹¹ Victor J. Smith, "Introduction," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, second edition,
Victor J. Smith, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 1-17, p. 4-5, 10.
¹² Lucy R. Lipard, *On the Beaches: Travel, Tourism, and Place* (New York: The New Press, 1993), p.

Chapter 1: Contact and Change Among the Nuxalk

The Nuxalk are found in the Central Northwest Coast, and their immediate neighbors are the Kwakwaka'wakw and the Heiltsuk. They speak a variant of the Coast Salish language, often called Bella Coola Salishan,¹⁵ which differs from other Salishan dialects because of its geographical isolation.¹⁶ There are no other Salishan-speaking groups in the area immediately surrounding the Nuxalk.

Currently, the Nuxalk Nation is located about nine hundred eighty-one kilometers north of Vancouver. The town of Bella Coola, the main community of the Nuxalk Reserve, is relatively small with a population under one thousand people and is mainly a fishing community. In the summer, a ferry brings tourists who choose not to make the long drive through the mountains. The majority of these visitors come to fish along the Bella Coola River.

The pre-contact population here numbered well into the thousands. By 1922, when T. F. McIlwraith did his field work in Bella Coola, the population was slightly more than three hundred people and was concentrated in one village on the north bank of the river, the same main village that is in existence today.¹⁷ Anthropologist Franz Boas stated that Nuxälk was the name of the lower villages of the valley, while McIlwraith indicates that Nuxälk was the Native name for the Bella Coola Valley and Nuxälkimx the

¹⁵ Laurence Thompson and M. Dale Kinkade, "Languages," in the Handbook of North American Indians Number 7, The Northwest Coast. Wayne Suttles, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990: pp. 30-51), p. 33.

¹⁶ Dorothy I. D. Kennedy and Randall T. Bouchard, "Bella Coola," in Handbook of North American Indians No. 7, Northwest Coast. Wayne Suttles, ed. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990: pp. 323-339), p. 323.

¹⁷ T. F. McIlwraith, The Bella Coola Indians, Volume 1. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 5.

The Naxals are found in the Central-Northern Cordillera and their immediate neighbors, but the bulk of the population is in the Cordillera Occidental, which differs from other Cordilleran dialects because of its geographical isolation.¹⁰ There are no other Cordilleran speaking groups in the area immediately surrounding the Naxals.

Formally, the Naxal dialect is a variety of the dialect spoken in the north of Yampou. The town of Bella is the main community of the Naxals. Bella is a relatively small town with a population under one thousand people and is a fishing community. In the summer, a large number of people leave Bella to fish along the river that flows through the mountains. The majority of these visitors come to fish along the Bella-Coola River.

The population of Bella is small and well known to the Naxals. When I visited Bella to do field work in Bella, the population was slightly more than 1,000 people and was concentrated in one village on the river bank. The river, the same main village that is in existence today. Although a few people stated that Bella was the name of the town, others stated that Bella was the name of the town. Bella was the name of the town. Bella was the name of the town. Bella was the name of the town.

¹⁰ Lawrence Thompson and Dale E. Johnson, "Language, in the Cordillera of Yampou, Papua New Guinea," *The Journal of Linguistics*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 1-10, 1974. Thompson and Johnson also discuss the Naxal dialect in their book, *The Naxal Dialect of Yampou, Papua New Guinea*, pp. 1-10, 1974. Thompson and Johnson also discuss the Naxal dialect in their book, *The Naxal Dialect of Yampou, Papua New Guinea*, pp. 1-10, 1974.

name of the inhabitants of the valley.¹⁸ In the late-twentieth century, the Bella Coola renamed themselves the Nuxalk, thus reclaiming their own heritage as well as their name.

Reasons Behind Masks and Mask Making

Like the other groups of the Northwest Coast, the Nuxalk engage in a Winter Ceremonial season that runs roughly from November to March. In this season, potlatches, or large feasts, are given to celebrate the raising of a pole, building of a house, naming of a child, and various other acts, as well as the retelling of the creation stories of the Nuxalk.¹⁹ Masks are made primarily for the ceremonies that take place during this time. It would seem that in the past, as is the case today, artists were specific people who were commissioned to create masks for the ceremonies. Artists were trained and initiated into the secret societies, and the prerogative to be an artist was inherited through family lines.²⁰

Although women also were initiated into the secret societies, generally after menopause, the artists and the masked dancers were more often men. Women did dance in the ceremonies, often wearing frontlets or headdresses, but seldom seem to have worn full-face masks. One of the few recorded instances of a woman wearing a mask among the Nuxalk is the Thunder Dance, in which a woman in a mask and a blanket introduces and narrates the dance.²¹ Part of this could be omission on the part of anthropologists and

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁹ Kennedy and Bouchard, "Bella Coola," p. 333.

²⁰ Steven C. Brown. Native Visions: Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Century. (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1998), p. 47.

²¹ Glenn Tallio quoted in Spirit Faces: Contemporary Native American Masks from the Northwest. Gary Wyatt, ed. (San Francisco: Chronicle Book, 1995), p. 38.

...of the inhabitants of the valley... in the last few centuries, the Bolla (and

...to maintain themselves by their own hands, but on the other hand, as well as their hands

Reasons Behind Masks and Mask Making

Like the other groups in the Himalayas, the people of the valley have a strong
...Ceremonial occasions are usually from 20th to 25th of the month. In the season

...the people of the valley are engaged in a series of public meetings and
...making of a shield and various other articles as well as the making of the wooden masks of

the Nizak. Most of the masks are made primarily for the cowboys that take part during the
...time. It would seem that in the past, as in the case today, when we speak of people who

were considered to create masks for the ceremonies. After we were asked and invited
...into the secret society, and the permission to do so was granted through family

lines.²⁰
...Although some of the masks are made into the secret society, mostly when

...metaphorically, the masks are the masks which were made often used to wear in the dance
...in the ceremonies, often wearing a kind of headgear, but as in the case to have worn

full-face masks. One of the few, the masks of a woman, which is worn among
...the Nizak is the Thunak Dance, in which a woman in a mask and a blanket introduces
...and dances the dance.²¹ Part of the dance is performed on the part of the audience and

²⁰ Ibid. p. 11.
²¹ ...
²² ...
²³ ...
²⁴ ...

other Euro-American recorders of the ceremonies. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries there was a rush by anthropologists and other scholars to record aspects of Native life that were seen to be disappearing. Many scholars recorded only those ceremonies and material culture items that were seen to be exotic or that they were permitted to attend. Native groups often excluded Euro-American viewers from some ceremonies in order to preserve their culture and protect their privacy. Another reason women might not have worn masks with any frequency may have been to protect their unborn children from contact with ceremonial items considered powerful.

Men wore masks depicting male figures, but they also wore ones with female faces. The wearing of female masks by male dancers involved a gender change, if only for the period of the dance or ceremony. This change also denotes a transfer of identity from the being represented by the mask to the wearer of the mask, a transference that is only possible if the wearer and his audience believe that he becomes the being represented.²² This fact is true for all types of masking, not only those involving gender changes. The wearing of female masks by male dancers also allows men to indulge in a set of behaviors that would otherwise be taboo for them. These behaviors include cross-dressing, flirting with other men, and doing the tasks associated with the female gender, such as cooking and caring for children. Through these behaviors, they help to define gender roles and expectations of the society by inventing and establishing a social identity.²³

²² Joseph H. Wherry, *Indian Masks and Myths of the West*. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1969), p. 217.

²³ John W. Nunley, "Men as Women," in *Masks: Faces of Culture*. John W. Nunely and Cara McCarty, eds. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. in association with the St. Louis Art Museum, 1999: pp. 159-170), p. 177.

Nuxalk society is based on an important three-way relationship between social organization, mythology, and ceremonialism.²⁴ Within this triad, masks play an important role for they portray the crests of the families, mark rank in society and membership in the ceremonial societies, and embody stories related to the acquisition of family crests. Masks are, therefore, central to Nuxalk society because they demonstrate correct behavior through positive and negative examples and because they are central to claims of lineage and societal position. Ceremonial occasions, most of which involved, and continue to involve, the wearing of masks, also served to mobilize "the [basic social, economic, and political] unit and encouraged a sense of membership in that unit [that] reinforced the existing social organization."²⁵

The Kusiut Society is the major ceremonial society within Nuxalk life. The society's ceremonies are based on relationships with supernatural beings, called Siut, in the land above, Nusmat'a.²⁶ Dances performed by members of this society take place during the Winter Ceremonial season. Preparations for the dances begin in September, and the dances last from November to March.²⁷ Membership in the society is restricted. The members must have a "duly validated ancestral prerogative" to dance one of the Kusiut dances, especially since the "importance of the society depends on the belief of the uninitiated in the supernatural powers of its members."²⁸ Therefore, the power of the society, and the masks it uses, lies in the belief of the transformation that takes place in the dances. Once again, the idea of transformation is central to the use of masks in

²⁴ Margaret A. Stott, *Bella Coola Ceremonialism and Art*. (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 21. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975), p. 6

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 7, 14.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Kasut dance is based on an intricate face-way relationship between social
 and individual members. Within this face-way relationship, the
 importance for the dance lies in the family circle, and in society and
 membership in the ceremonial circle, and nobody moves outside the acquisition
 family circle. What is further central to Kasut dance is the demonstration
 of social behavior through positive and negative examples and the social
 claims of lineage and social position. The ceremonial circle, and the social
 and claims to involve the women in dance, also serve to reinforce the social
 economic and political, and also a sense of kinship in that unit that
 reinforced the existing social organization.

The Kasut Society is the major ceremonial society within Kasut. The
 society's ceremonies are based on relationships with supernatural beings called *shin* in
 the land above. Dances performed by members of this society take place
 during the winter (or spring) season. Preparations for the dances begin in September
 and the dances last from November to March. Membership in the society is restricted
 to the members that have a family affiliation. An essential requisite to carry out the
 Kasut dances, especially since the importance of the society depends on the belief of
 the members in the supernatural powers of its members. Therefore, the power of the
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 the dances. Once again, the idea of kinship is central to the use of masks in

²⁰ Margaret A. Scott, *Kasut Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 10.
²¹ Ibid., p. 11.
²² Ibid., p. 12.
²³ Ibid., p. 13.
²⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

ceremony and the belief in the power contained within them. Much like men wearing the masks of women and thereby becoming women, the men who wear the masks of the supernatural beings of the dances become those beings for the duration of the ceremonies.

The masks are associated with either origin stories or stories that explain the manner in which the ancestors of the wearer of the mask came to possess the crest represented on the mask. Therefore, the right to wear the masks is inherited, and the masks, even those that tell stories related to the Kusiut Society, are associated with crest imagery. Like the origin stories the masks represent, the masks deny as much as they affirm by showing only certain aspects and characters within the story. They also assume the existence of other masks to tell the story. They do not exist in isolation from one another;²⁹ all masks used in a particular dance are interconnected. Masks are always made as part of a whole, be that the whole of the dances of the Kusiut Society or the whole of the set of masks made by a chief on the occasion of a potlatch. All of them, no matter what the ceremony, portray a transformation of human to supernatural or ancestor.

The Effects of Contact on the Nuxalk

The first European contact on the Northwest Coast occurred in the eighteenth century when the Dane Vitrus Bering led a Russian-financed expedition looking for furs. This was quickly followed by the Spanish, who had been sent to explore the coast.³⁰ By the nineteenth century, the fur trade was well underway, causing an increase in the wealth

²⁹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), p. 144.

³⁰ Aldona Jonaitis, *From the Land of the Totem Poles: The Northwest Coast Indian Art Collection at the American Museum of Natural History*. (New York: American Museum of Natural History with Seattle: University of Washington Press and Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1988), p. 20.

community and the belief in the power contained within them. Much like many other
masks of indigenous identity becoming worn by the men who wear the masks of the
superhuman beings of the dance become those being for the duration of the ceremonies.
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¹⁰ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Nuxalk of the Mackenzie* (London: University of Washington Press, 1968), p. 10.
¹¹ Alison Lurie, *The Secret of the Forest* (New York: Basic Books, 1980), p. 10.
¹² American Museum of Natural History, *Journal of the Expedition of Lieutenant Henry T. Allen to the
University of Washington Press and Vancouver and British Columbia, 1858-1859* (1958), p. 20.

of the tribal groups of the Coast, which in turn caused increased ceremonial activity among these wealth-based societies. With the fur trade came the trade in objects made by the Native peoples of the Coast. The nineteenth century also brought an influx of European peoples into the area, including colonists and missionaries in force, soon followed by anthropologists. It is this contact, combined with the disease that had been brought with the earliest visitors, that proved most damaging to the Native people. The smallpox epidemic of 1862, for example, caused a population loss as great as ninety percent in some areas of the Coast, which offset any population gains made through increased trade, expansion of wealth, and improved access to food sources.³¹ The introduction of large-scale missionary activity in the 1870s speeded the erosion of Native social traditions, and the new markets and motivations for art production diminished the authority of elders already eroded through losses due to disease.³²

Before the incarnation of the Northwest Coast as a tourist destination, it was a destination for anthropologists and collectors who attempted to harvest the objects and record the cultural traditions of the Native people of the Coast before they disappeared as it seemed fated. Collecting began in force with the Anti-Potlatch Law passed in 1884 by the Canadian government.³³ The law was spottily enforced until its reversal in 1951 but, when it was enforced, the government and the Indian agents tended to remove all ceremonial objects from the offending village and sell them or give them to national or provincial museums. By 1923 when T. F. McIlwraith was working among the Nuxalk under a temporary contract for Edward Sapir, an anthropologist from the National Museum of Man in Canada, now the Canadian Museum of Civilization, most of the

³¹ Brown, *Native Visions*, p. 47-48.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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³⁵ *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1908, p. 48.

available Native-made objects had been collected. As he stated in a letter to an acquaintance:

There were a few boxes and coppers and some masks among the older people, but not a single sea going canoe. Only two rattles, he believed, were left in all Bella Coola. He collected a few masks, though "they are deucedly hard to get" and then was given four by one of his informants. These came "with the request that I keep them forever as I was more to be trusted with them than the young Bella Coolas."³⁴

McIlwraith's disappointment in the lack of objects for collection is evident in his statement, and each item that was collected was seen as a victory against loss, either to the elements or to the younger generations that apparently did not see the value in them. It was more important to McIlwraith that he keep the masks he collected than that they go to the next generation whom he believed did not appreciate their culture.

Souvenirs that tourists brought back with them fit into the carefully constructed narrative of late Victorian society in which the value of hand-crafted, so-called primitive objects in the home was opposed to manufactured items. The exotic was placed in a corner of the home which contained all of the curiosities collected on various trips to exotic lands or peoples and was, therefore, both symbolically and in truth contained and categorized. Such containment and categorization also epitomized the views Victorians held about the cultures which had produced these objects.

The exotic object represents distance appropriated; it is symptomatic of the more general cultural imperialism that is tourism's stock in trade. To have a souvenir of the exotic is to possess both a specimen and a trophy; on the one hand, the object must be marked as exterior and foreign, on the other it must be marked as arising directly out of an immediate

³³ Brown, *Native Visions*, p. 101.

³⁴ Quoted in Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), p. 278.

available Native-made objects had been collected - as he intended to do so.

acquaintance

There were few boxes and papers and some marks among the other people, but not a single very good one. Only two small metal objects were left in all. I collected them and then a few weeks later, they are generally hard to find, and then was given him by one of his assistants. "Next time" with the collector that I kept the things as I was more to be taken than them than the young people.

Melloni's participation in the lack of objects for collection is evident in his

statement and each item that was collected was given as a gift - either

the objects or to the collector's assistants that they did not want in their

It was more important to Melloni than to be taking things he collected than that they go

to the next generation when he believed that they were their own.

objects that would be taken back with them to be eventually collected.

narrative of the various objects in which the value of the objects

objects in fact were not used to maintain the value of the objects and

corner of the house which contained all the objects he collected for various things

extra things of objects and some of the objects were taken to other houses

categorized. Such collection and the collection also included the new objects

held about the objects which had produced these objects.

The exotic object represents the same appearance, a
symptoms of the more general cultural and social that
is found in the. To have a collection of the exotic
also possess both a specimen and a trophy on the one hand
the object must be marked as exotic and foreign on the other
it must be marked as a specimen out of an individual

the objects of all those things that were taken to the museum

experience of its possessor. It is thus placed within an intimate distance, space is transformed into interiority, into "personal" space.³⁵

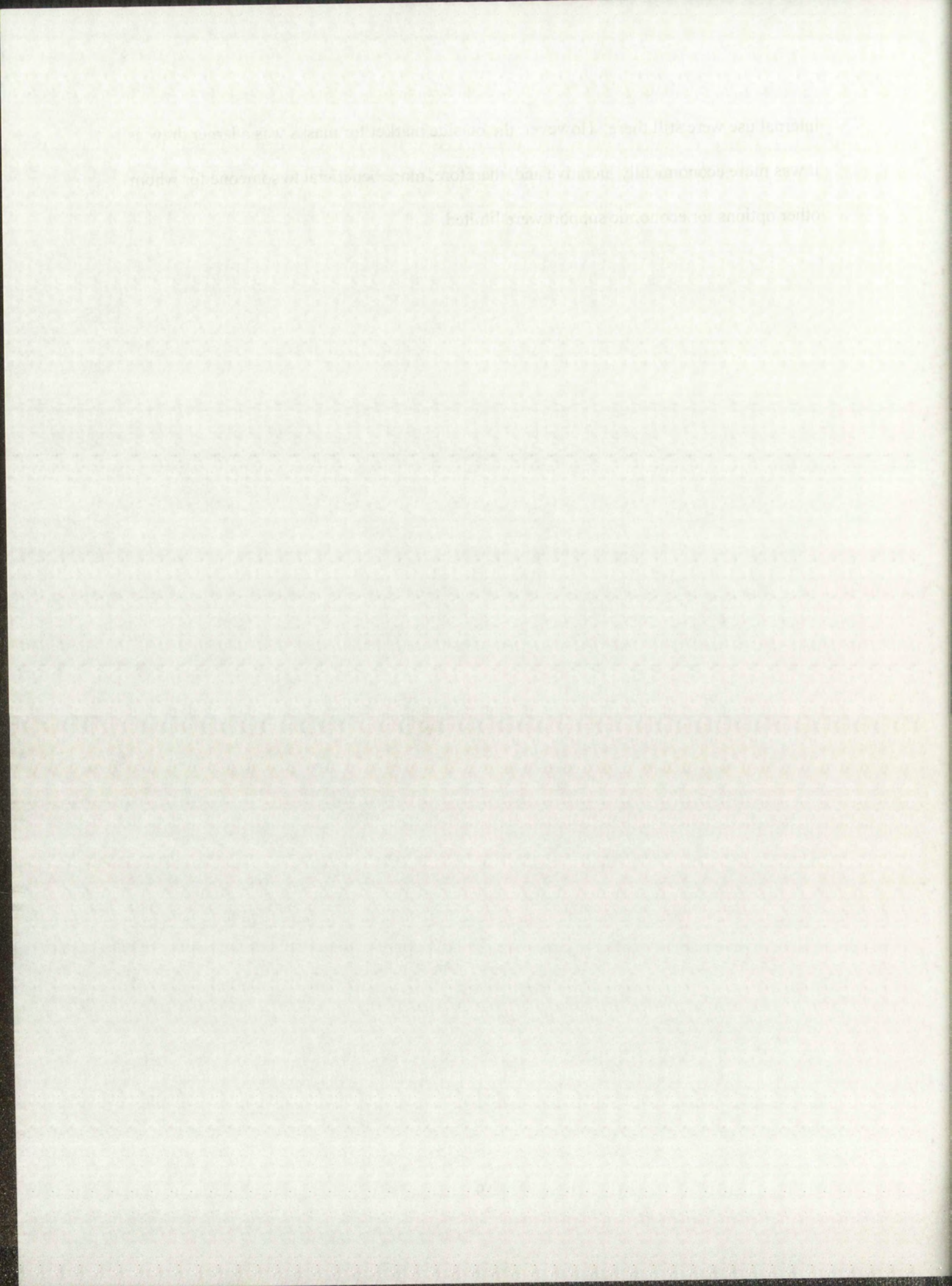
The souvenir becomes the signifier of the conquering of the Native by the traveler and, therefore, takes on distinct personal significance. In order for the souvenir to maintain this relationship to its possessor, it must be continually estranged and exoticized through the tourist aesthetic, which also removes the souvenir from its context in order to serve as a trace of it.³⁶ This concept of the souvenir fits into the idea of collection, either the collection of the tourist or that of a museum or institution for which the collected object is destined because a souvenir is generally an object meant to be placed on display as a reminder of an experience. Such collections are amplified by photographs of Native people using the collected objects, in addition to the exhibition of the object in the institution, museum, or private home.

Masks fit all too easily into the system described above, and the Nuxalk masks of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries were viewed by all who came in contact with them according to these biases, whether settlers, government agents, anthropologists, or tourists. The objects created by the Nuxalk, as with those of other Northwest Coast groups, were adapted to fit the market and the market's demand for authenticity. As the intra-cultural needs for these objects decreased due to outside pressure to assimilate, the inter-cultural demands for them increased. Older masks, those made for ceremonial use, were more in demand because of a belief that use gave them authenticity. When these were not to be had, newer masks made expressly for the market were substituted as replicas of the original, "traditional" forms. Some of the reasons for making masks for

³⁵ Stewart, *On Longing*, p. 147.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

internal use were still there. However, the outside market for masks was a larger draw as it was more economically lucrative and, therefore, more beneficial to someone for whom other options for economic support were limited.



Chapter 2—The Use of Photography on the Northwest Coast

Photography was very important as a means of recording the known world. Photographs were accepted as fact, even when staged or manipulated. In the early-nineteenth century, artists went along on surveys of the North American continent to record the people, animals, and terrain. Later, photography took over this role as recorder of the natural world. Original photographs, as well as the lithographs that were published from them, were seen as closer representations of reality, even though the lithographs were generally manipulated to make them more visually interesting to viewers. Many photography companies made numerous copies of each image and sold them in editions or as individual prints. These made it possible for people on the East Coast or in Europe to see the wonders of the West without having to travel there. As Joan M. Schwartz states:

Before the advent of the technology that made possible the printing of photographs and text on the same page, original photographs were an important means of conveying fact, clarifying detail and imparting a sense of the actual. Sent far and wide to satisfy the visual appetite of family, friends and publishers, photographs became an effective and efficient way of dispatching impressions of life in nineteenth-century British Columbia...³⁷

It was these photographs that aided in making the Native peoples of the Coast an exotic subject for the armchair tourists of the East.

Photography came to the Northwest Coast with some of the early settlers and travelers in the mid-nineteenth century. From the beginning, photography in this region

³⁷ Joan M. Schwartz, "The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858-1914." in The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858-1914. (BC Studies No. 52 Winter 1981-82: pp. 5-15), p. 10-11.

Photography was used in a variety of ways by the Northwest Coast peoples. It was used to document the physical environment, to record the people, animals, and events, to create a permanent record of the past, and to provide a means of communication. The use of photography was also used to create a permanent record of the past, and to provide a means of communication. The use of photography was also used to create a permanent record of the past, and to provide a means of communication.

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It was these photographs that aided in making the years passed of their own and their subjects for the artistic records of the past.

Photography came to the Northwest Coast with some of the early settlers and travelers in the mid-nineteenth century. The earliest surviving photographs in this region

Notes on the text of this book are available at the end of each chapter. For more information on the history of photography on the Northwest Coast, see the following references:

addressed a fascination with the exotic other. Images of Native peoples in “traditional” dress or using “traditional tools” while performing “traditional acts” were immensely popular among Euro-American visitors and residents of the Coast. These images fit the romantic stereotype of the untouched primitive, while the mechanical accuracy with which the camera presented these subjects made them seem factual.³⁸ Many of these photographs were staged and sold as curios to travelers and other interested people. Native people offered the tourists in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century a view of a perceived primitive culture. They were, as Lucy Lippard has stated, the “photogenic counterparts of today’s ‘lookouts’—roadside scenic vistas, ready-made ‘views,’ ‘nature’ viewed from a static culture.”³⁹

Views of the other, of the primitive culture still extant in British Columbia, were most popular with Euro-Americans. There was no desire to see the reality of Native life but rather to examine its differences from Victorian culture. The noble savage was the object of interest, and the photograph played an important role in creating and affirming the stereotype of the Indian.⁴⁰ This vision of the Indian became the prize of the photographer, and images of the naked primitive savage were staged. The true conditions of Native life were deemed “inappropriate as a subject for window display and for the album.”⁴¹ The sanitized stereotype was better than the reality, for, in the stereotype, the Euro-American purchaser of the images saw nothing to arouse his or her own guilt for making the Natives’ condition what it actually was. This attitude allowed the denial of

³⁸ Alan Thomas, “Photography of the Indian: Concept and Practice on the Northwest Coast.” in *The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858-1914*. (BC Studies No. 52 Winter 1981-82: pp. 61-85), p. 61

³⁹ Lucy Lippard, “Introduction,” in *Partial Recall, with Essays on Photographs of Native North Americans*. Lucy Lippard, ed. (New York: The New Press, 1992: pp. 12-45), p. 26.

⁴⁰ Daniel Francis, *Copying People: Photographing British Columbia First Nations, 1860-1940*. (Saskatoon and Calgary: Fifth House Publishers, 1996), p. 1.

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the living native cultures and the espousal of attitudes about the "Vanishing Race." Most of the early photographers, as well as their customers, believed in the myth of the vanishing Indian, which did not seem to be entirely a myth as many of these cultures were on the verge of disappearing. The aboriginal population of British Columbia had declined from between 300,000 and 400,000 at contact to 20,174 in 1911.⁴²

Photography is an important element of the tourist experience. In the nineteenth century, tourists went to the studios of photographers who sold photographs of the Native people of the area in order to buy these markers of authentic experience. Photographs authenticated the tourists' visit to the Natives. By appropriating the object being photographed and also because it was seen as a means of transcribing reality, photography is the outcome of an active signifying process; its power is in its ability to pass itself off as a miniaturization of the real without revealing its constructed nature or ideological content. It is also a democratization of all forms of human experience which gives shape to travel and so is intimately bound with the tourist gaze.⁴³ This is because photography allows all people to have a similar touristic experience, and it allows people to travel without leaving their homes. Nineteenth century claims of the transparency of the photograph, its perceived ability to reproduce exactly what was in front of the lens, aided in the creation of an authentic tourist experience.

After the travelers and explorers, anthropologists, such as Franz Boas, came to the Northwest Coast armed with cameras with which to gather scientific information, and

⁴¹ Alan Thomas, "Photography of the Indian," p. 69, 84.

⁴² Daniel Francis, *Copying People*, p. 3.

⁴³ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. (London: Sage Publishers, 1990), p. 138-140.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the
role of the physical sciences in the development of the human mind.
It is argued that the physical sciences have played a central role in
the development of the human mind, and that the physical sciences
have been the main source of the knowledge and the methods which
have been used in the development of the human mind.

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assuming the neutral transparency of the photograph.⁴⁴ This was part of the impetus to collect, study and display objects of Native material culture, as well as the nineteenth-century curiosity about the human condition.⁴⁵ Photographs were among the objects that were collected in the turn-of-the-century frenzy to study Northwest Coast Native cultures before they disappeared due to acculturation and disease. It was believed that the more acculturated in dress and lifestyle Native people were, the less Native they became until at some point they ceased to be Native at all. The dress and presentation of a person was the crux of the civilizing process.⁴⁶ Therefore, it was important to collect photographs of "traditional" Native people, as well as their goods, in order to prove the existence of an exotic race that had since vanished. For anthropologists, staged images in studios were not a suitable replacement for images of Native people in their villages. Because they used photographs as field notes and anthropological evidence, there was a need for pictures perceived as more authentic than in the *cartes de visite* created for the tourist trade. It is the context of a photograph, and the importance of context as a determinant of meaning, which influences its perception.⁴⁷

Authenticity, its perception and definition, changed for each group that came to the Northwest Coast. For tourists and collectors, it was the perceived reality of the Native, which often meant a staged image of a Native person using the object the tourist or collector had just purchased. For the anthropologist, it was the image of the Native person in his or her own village using the object the anthropologist had just collected that

⁴⁴ Alan Thomas, "Photography of the Indian," p. 82-84.

⁴⁵ Joan M. Schwartz, "The Past in Focus," p. 9.

⁴⁶ Daniel Francis, *Copying People*, p. 48.

⁴⁷ John A. Walker, "Context as a Determinant of Photographic Meaning," in *The Camerawork Essays: Context and Meaning in Photography*. Jessica Evans, ed. (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1997: pp. 52-63), p. 56.

was authentic. For the anthropologist, as opposed to the tourist, the site of the photograph made the difference. The anthropologist was far more interested in documentation, in the Foucaultian sense of the body as object of knowledge, a knowledge extracted by photography.⁴⁸ The body of the Native person was, then, the object of interest and scientific study. Photography was used in sciences like anthropology within the discursive operations leveled at the body and organized along the axes of race, class and gender, with the scientist looking for signs of physical, mental and moral inferiority, thus giving way to new forms of knowledge and new ways to map depravity.⁴⁹ Often, rather than using a professional photographer, the anthropologist took the photographs. Boas photographed for the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Harlan I. Smith, working for the National Museum of Man in Canada, took a number of photographs among the Nuxalk between 1920 and 1924. Edward Dossetter took photographs among the Nuxalk for the American Museum of Natural History as well.⁵⁰

Photographs taken among Native peoples by anthropologists were often used in museum displays or World's Fairs that were so popular at the turn of the century. They were also a part of the displays used to elevate "primitive art" into a "fine art" in the Euro-American sense of the term. It was at the turn of the century that "primitive art" began to be seen as objects worthy of study. As Shelly Errington states:

⁴⁸ David Green, "On Foucault: Disciplinary Power and Photography," in *The Camerawork Essays: Context and Meaning in Photography*. Jessica Evans, ed. (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1997: pp. 119-131), p. 126.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12, 49.

The idea of progress was materialized and made public in the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth by exhibition practices whose major sites were the world's fair and the museum (of science and technology, of natural history, and of fine arts); the display of the idea of progress was at its height at the turn of the twentieth century, when primitive art came into being as an object.⁵¹

Museum exhibits included constructed displays of objects from the material culture of Native peoples, dioramas using mannequins, and, later, photographs of the Native people using the objects or engaged in ceremonial dances. Dioramas fulfilled the "Indians under glass" impulse, in which the spectacle of Native culture was put on display in the museum to the best of the ability of the curatorial staff.⁵² Later, through colonial expositions and World's Fairs, the idea behind photographs and dioramas was expanded into displays of real Native people demonstrating their material culture for Euro-Americans who came to observe them. Through these expositions, and the displays of colonized peoples contained within them, the colonizing nations showed their strength and power. Photographs from these displays, as well as photographs of Native peoples produced closer to their own homes, empowered the "Europeans by upholding the binary opposition of civility versus savagery."⁵³

⁵¹ Shelly Errington, *The Death of the Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 5.

⁵² The idea of "Indians under glass" comes from a seminar with Dr. Joyce Szabo at the University of New Mexico. It is the manner in which one of my colleagues, Suzanne McLeod, described dioramas, and one that I have always considered fitting.

⁵³ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Expositions: Representations of the "Native" and the Making of European Identities*. (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1999), p. 1-2, 14.

The idea of a museum was first introduced to the public in the 18th century when the British Museum was founded in 1753. It was the first public museum in the world and was founded by an act of Parliament. The museum was founded to house the collections of the British and French kings, which had been confiscated from the French during the French Revolution. The museum was founded to house the collections of the British and French kings, which had been confiscated from the French during the French Revolution.

Native people, however, using their own methods of preservation, often used the objects in their collections for practical purposes. These objects were often used in religious ceremonies and were often passed down from generation to generation. These objects were often used in religious ceremonies and were often passed down from generation to generation.

As a result of the museum's success, many other museums were founded in the 19th century. These museums were founded to house the collections of the British and French kings, which had been confiscated from the French during the French Revolution. These museums were founded to house the collections of the British and French kings, which had been confiscated from the French during the French Revolution.

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Figure 1: "Jacobsen, Bella Coola Indians" Photograph by Carl Gunther, Berlin 1886. Courtesy the Royal British Columbia Museum. PN # 4607.

Photographs of Nuxalk People by Anthropologists

Photographs produced by anthropologists who worked on the Coast were generally meant to serve as documents for defining physical and cultural types. These showed the characteristics of the Native people and were a system of representation based on racial essences, upholding the rhetoric of physical, moral, and intellectual superiority of European and Euro-American races.⁵⁴ An 1886 photograph of Nuxalk dancers illustrates this idea (Figure 1). These dancers were among the group of nine Nuxalk men taken to Germany by the brothers Phillip and Adrian Jacobsen in 1885 on

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 38.



Figure 1. "Jacobus P. ... and ... 1880. Courtesy of the ...

Photographs of the People by Anthropologists

These images ...
 generally aimed to show ...
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behalf of zoo owner Carl Hagenbeck so that he might exhibit Nuxalk culture. They were photographed by Carl Gunther in Berlin. The Nuxalk received sympathetic attention and were especially interesting because they differed from the stereotype of the Indian presented by Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show which was touring Europe at that time.⁵⁵ The Wild West Show stereotype was a virile Plains Indian male on horseback, wearing a war bonnet, and performing brave acts. This is quite different from the Gunther image, which shows the Nuxalk performers dressed in ceremonial regalia, complete with masks and Chilkat blankets. This was part of the attempt by the Jacobsens and Hagenbeck to expose the German public to the "original" dances of the Nuxalk, meaning dances that the Nuxalk or other Northwest Coast groups would engage in during ceremonial occasions.⁵⁶ The dancers are photographed so that their faces and their bodies are hidden; they seem something other than human. It is impossible to determine their gender. Masks, blankets, and other ceremonial accoutrements are shown in detail. The dancers are posed as if performing the dance for which these objects are used. The pose and framing of the photograph suggests the idea of transformation that takes place for these dancers when they don the regalia. The photograph does not speak of the cultural meaning of the regalia but rather of the difference between the culture and religious beliefs of the dancers and those of the European observers. The photograph is staged, and although it seems to recreate the ceremonial aspect of the regalia the dancers wear, that is not the interest of the photograph, or the audience, who wanted images of an exotic culture. It is also very different from views of Native North Americans that Europeans

⁵⁵ Daniel Francis, *Copying People*, p. 12.

⁵⁶ Wolfgang Haberland, "Nine Bella Coolas in Germany," in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*. Christian Feest, ed. (Aachen, Germany: Alano edition herodat, 1989: pp. 337-374), p. 337-338, 345.

had come to expect. There are no war bonnets, no buckskin clothing, no horses, and no hunting gear.

The idea of obscuring the face and body of the individual in the image is common in photographs of Nuxalk people, and is partially the result of the staging of the photograph, and partially because of the nature of Nuxalk ceremonial regalia. This can be seen again in an image taken in or near Bella Coola, probably about the same time as the previous image (Figure 2). Again, the face and body are completely obscured by the mask and blanket he wears. This time, though, there is no simulation of a dance; rather, the figure confronts the camera, looking straight out at the viewer. The records for the Royal British Columbia Museum, which holds the original photograph, indicate that this figure represents Ano'likwdjaix, the supernatural being who guards the Kusiut society regalia and the power of the individual members.⁵⁷ The image is a representation of Nuxalk spiritual beliefs. It is an image which catalogues the vanishing race.

Three Harlan I. Smith photographs from 1923 also fit this mode of rendering the Nuxalk dancer in ceremonial regalia (Figures 3-5), and making him anonymous by not mentioning his name in any of the captions, but merely calling him "Thunder Dancer." In Figure 3, the dancer is partially dressed in his regalia and is shown with an attendant behind him. He is crouching in the foreground, wearing a button blanket and a cedar bark neckring. The man behind him carries his mask and headdress. In this image, the man's face, and that of the attendant are shown, perhaps because this image and the next two are process images, showing the dancer donning his regalia. In Figure 4, the dancer is shown in the same plank house as the previous image but is now fully dressed in blanket, mask, headdress, and neckring. He crouches in a pose which simulates a dance

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move and faces the camera. His face is now totally obscured, and the attendant is no longer in the image. In the final image, Figure 5, the dancer has moved outdoors and is simulating the dance in full regalia, including wooden wings, for the camera. He is photographed from the side, to give a better view of his regalia, as if performing. In actuality, the representation of the dance is inaccurate; the dance is being performed by only one person and the female narrator is missing. These photographs were made for study by anthropologists. They were placed in the archives of the Canadian Museum of Civilization as a documentation for later generations of anthropologists to study.

Uses of Photography by the Nuxalk People

The assumption cannot be made that Native peoples confronted with the camera did not use it themselves to proclaim their progress along the path to assimilation, as well as for other reasons such as keepsake images of family members. Photography could be a means to recover pride and dignity if Native people had a semblance of control, dictating the pose and the clothing.⁵⁸ In these images, the Native people controlled the information revealed, and such images were generally kept by them rather than a studio. Often, these photographs reflected Euro-American ideas of image content, as well as context.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Records for negative number PN 7180, Royal British Columbia Museum.

⁵⁸ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions*, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Margaret B. Blackman, "'Copying People:' Native Response to Early Photography." In *The Past in Focus: Photography and British Columbia, 1858-1914*. (*BC Studies* No. 52 Winter 1981-1982: pp. 86-112), p. 87.

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Uses of Photography by the Black People

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**Figure 2: "Ano'likwodjaix, the announcer at all Kusiut ceremonies."
Photographer unknown, no date. Photograph courtesy of the Royal British
Columbia Museum. PN # 7180.**



Figure 3. "Anolikwobit's the hunter and his equipment".
Photograph taken by a Soviet ethnographic expedition of the Royal Ontario
College, Toronto, P. 1110.



Figure 3: "British Columbia Thunder Dancer." Photograph by Harlan I. Smith 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Photograph # 55648.



Figure 3. Three Colonial (British) women. Photograph by Harold Smith, 1923. Courtesy of the Southern Division of Civilization, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure 4: "British Columbia Thunder Dancer." Photograph by Harlan I. Smith, 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Photograph # 56880.



Figure 4. (a) Crowd of people in front of the building, (b) photograph by James V. Smith, 1922. Courtesy of the University of Wisconsin - Stout, Department of Geography & Planning.



Figure 5: "British Columbia Thunder Dancer." Photograph by Harlan I. Smith, 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Photograph # 58788.



Figure 2: Pile of rubble from the collapsed structure, showing the large sheet or tarp draped over the right side. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Toronto, 2012.



Figure 6: "Joshua Moody." Photograph by Dr. Stanley Newman, 1925. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology Photo Archives, University of New Mexico. 85.7.7.



Figure 6. "Josiah Blood," photograph by Dr. Stanley Spencer, 1952. Harvard
Museum of Anthropology Photo Archives, University of New Mexico, 87.2.

Two photographs in the collection of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology of the University of New Mexico collection suggest this (Figures 6 and 7). They were taken by Stanley Newman, a linguistic anthropologist who did field work in Bella Coola around 1930. They are both of the Nuxalk man Joshua Moody, who served as an informant to Dr. Newman. The first, Figure 6, shows Moody in the doorway of a Euro-American style building that may be either a church or a house. He is looking straight out at the viewer in a relaxed pose. Moody is wearing Euro-American style clothing and *appears* to be completely assimilated. The second image, Figure 7, is very similar to an image held by the Royal British Columbia Museum. Here, Moody and his wife Annie are shown outside a building that looks very similar to the one in Figure 6. They are standing proudly with the tombstone that was made for them by the village. The comments given with the image from the Royal British Columbia Museum state: "The curious thing about this is that it is their own tombstone. It was presented ten years before either died so they kept it on their lawn. The man cheated his wife by dying before her thus getting more use from it than she."⁶⁰ In the image from the Maxwell Museum, a child joins the two by the gravestone. The headstone is Euro-American in style, and the fact that the village presented it to the couple shows their status within the society. The Moodys are shown as assimilated Nuxalk people, wearing Euro-American dress, living in a Euro-American style house complete with a lawn. They would be buried under a headstone, rather than placed in graveboxes on top of mortuary poles as was the previous Nuxalk custom. They confront the viewer with pride. In their relaxed poses, the Moodys do not conform to Native stereotypes established in previous examples of photography among the Nuxalk. This image, while not attractive to the tourist, would have been interesting to an

⁶⁰ Royal British Columbia Museum, photograph number 4587.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the smell of the sea. It was a salty, bracing scent that seemed to fill the air. I had heard that the weather in Cornwall was perfect, but I didn't realize how much it would affect me. The sun was shining brightly, and the waves were crashing against the rocks. It was a beautiful sight, and I felt a sense of peace that I had never experienced before.

I had been told that the people in Cornwall were friendly and welcoming. I was not disappointed. As I walked through the town, I saw people of all ages and backgrounds. They were all smiling and seemed to be enjoying their lives. I felt like I had found a new home. The people here were so kind and helpful. They showed me the best places to visit and the best things to do. I was in luck. The weather was perfect, and the people were wonderful. I was in Cornwall, and I was in luck.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the smell of the sea. It was a salty, bracing scent that seemed to fill the air. I had heard that the weather in Cornwall was perfect, but I didn't realize how much it would affect me. The sun was shining brightly, and the waves were crashing against the rocks. It was a beautiful sight, and I felt a sense of peace that I had never experienced before.

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anthropologist, such as Stanley Newman. For him, the photograph showed the exotic strangeness of the couple posing with their tombstone, not exactly a run-of-the-mill Euro-American image. It also showed acculturation. It is unfortunate that there is no record of who recorded the caption, and whether or not Newman was aware of it or the similar photograph by an unknown photographer.

Photography played a major role in the construction of Nuxalk identity, both within and outside the culture. The system of types established by photographers and anthropologists, and purchased by tourists, was undermined by images such as Figures 6 and 7 in which Nuxalk people had a say in their own representation. The photographs of Moody and his wife show them with symbols of their assimilation into Euro-American culture, rather than with symbols of their continued affiliation with their own culture. Although these two images cannot be seen as representative of all of the images of Nuxalk people in which they maintained control, Moody and his wife are portrayed as proud of the symbols of Euro-American culture which denote their wealth and status within their community. It is also possible that photographs that showed one's acculturation gave higher status to the individual within the status-conscious societies of the Northwest Coast. The image with the tombstone also illustrates the differences—to be photographed with their tombstone is not an "acculturated" image because Euro-Americans would not do this. The images and their messages are very complex.

Many photographs demonstrate the importance of masks in the establishment of a Native type by Euro-American photographers in the early-twentieth century. It is important to note that, although Joshua Moody was a carver, one whose masks will be discussed in the next chapter, he did not choose to depict himself with any of his masks.

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Figure 7: "Joshua Moody and wife Annie in front of their tombstone." Photograph by Dr. Stanley Newman, 1925. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology Photo Archives, University of New Mexico. 85.7.8.

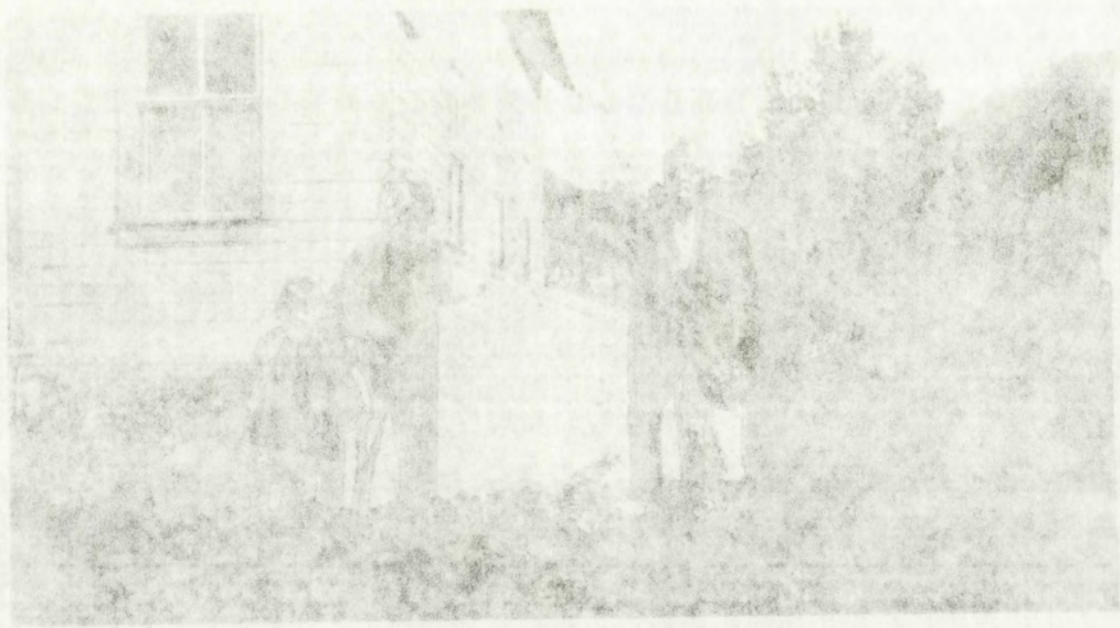


Figure 7. Jordan family and wife Anne in front of their residence, photograph by Dr. Stanley Newman, 1932. *Journal of Anthropology*, 1932, 36: 1-12.

Chapter 3--- Early-Twentieth Century Nuxalk Masks

The Nuxalk masks examined in this thesis are all examples of a style in flux. When these masks were collected, it was not general practice to record the names of the artists who made them. Joshua Moody, the man in Figures 6 and 7, is the only named artist associated with the masks discussed here. The other masks have no such identification, as it was their classification and the supernatural beings they represented that were more important to their collectors than the names of the artists who made them. Yet, it is possible in all of the masks to see the individual hand of the artist and to recognize personal creativity within the boundaries of the proscribed forms of the masks. A mask's form generally came from two sources: the carver's mind and the description provided by the individual who commissioned the work.⁶¹

Generally masks were made for the Kusiut Society dances and depicted the supernatural beings who gave society members their power. These beings lived in Nusme'ta, or the House of Myths, which is the lower of the two levels of heaven.⁶² The right to wear certain masks was given to a person by individual supernatural beings who, in turn, gave his descendants the right to wear the masks in the Kusiut dances. Contact with a supernatural being is a privilege granted without respect to rank, an important and interesting point in a wealth and rank-based society.⁶³ It was also possible for a supernatural being to grant an individual the power to heal; people who had been granted

⁶¹ Margaret Stott, *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art*, p. 48.

⁶² Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*. (New York: The American Museum of Natural History, 1898), p. 27, 28, 30.

⁶³ T. F. McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians*. Vol. 1, p. 513.

this power were called shamans by T. F. McIlwraith.⁶⁴ Kusiut Society dances always required the participation of a shaman who performed the final dance and made sure that the dancers were kept spiritually clean.⁶⁵ In Newman's records which accompany the masks and photographs he gave to the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, Joshua Moody is referred to as a medicine man who gave the masks to Newman rather than burning them as he was supposed to upon conversion to Christianity.⁶⁶ This would imply that Moody was a shaman or healer, as well as an important member of the Kusiut Society; he was also respected enough by his community to be presented with a Euro-American gravestone.

Moody also worked as an informant for T. F. McIlwraith who described him as his favorite informant, stating that he "worked him quite a number of hours per day."⁶⁷ Thus, Moody is a cultural intermediary who moved across cultural boundaries and served as a bridge between Native and non-Native worlds.⁶⁸ This may have been because of his position in society and his access to knowledge. His role as a cultural informant obviously did not carry any sort of stigma as he remained respected within Nuxalk society. Moody may have been motivated by a desire to pass on cultural knowledge at a time when Native children were prevented from speaking their own language and were taken away to boarding schools where they were taught to behave like whites.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 539.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 565, 569.

⁶⁶ Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records for 85.5.1-8.

⁶⁷ Harlan I. Smith papers, the Canadian Museum of Civilization archives, letter from McIlwraith to Smith dated May 15, 1922.

⁶⁸ Margaret Connell Szasz, "Introduction," in Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker. Margaret Connell Szasz, ed. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994: pp. 3-20), p. 6.



Figure 8: "Goddess of Gossip Mask," Joshua Moody, c. 1929. Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. 85.7.3.



Figure 8: "Hobbes of Costa Rica," Hobbes (Hobbes), c. 1938. Courtesy of the
Museum of Anthropology, University of Toronto, B57.3.

Female Masks

Masks which depict female supernatural beings seem to be unusual, as few are found within museum collections. These masks would have been worn by male dancers of the Kusiut Society as they performed the transformation from male human to female supernatural. In the dances which required the wearing of these masks there was a momentary gender transformation. The male dancers who performed as these female beings were culturally sanctioned at these times to transgress societal gender roles and act in a manner not otherwise acceptable.

The first of these female masks is the mask of Ano'likwodjaix, the being represented in Figure 2. She is the keeper of the Kusiut Society and its associated regalia, and she lives in a cave.⁶⁹ Her masks have an extended, concave oval shape with points at the top and the bottom. The forehead, nose, mouth, and chin comprise equal portions of the face which has pronounced brows with no carving around the eyes. She has a downward-turned mouth which provides a frowning effect and a long, straight, human-like nose with well-articulated nostrils.⁷⁰ These characteristics can be seen in the example of this type of mask from the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, referred to as the "Goddess of Gossip" in their records⁷¹ (Figure 8). This name is probably either a mistranslation by Newman or a misnomer given to it by Moody who apparently did not provide any information about Nuxalk ceremonialism. Created by Moody about 1929, the mask is a concave oval shape pointed at the top and the bottom, with pronounced brow, eyes which are merely drilled holes and a long nose. The mouth, chin, nose and

⁶⁹ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 41.

⁷⁰ Margaret Stott, *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art*, p. 58-59.

The first of these female masks, which is the most common, is the "Jobber of London," a name which is derived from the fact that the mask is often used by the "jobbers" of the London stock exchange. This mask is characterized by a high forehead, a large nose, and a small mouth. It is often used to represent a person who is greedy and dishonest. The second of these female masks is the "Mistress of the House," a name which is derived from the fact that the mask is often used by the "mistresses" of the London stock exchange. This mask is characterized by a high forehead, a large nose, and a small mouth. It is often used to represent a person who is greedy and dishonest.

The third of these female masks is the "Mistress of the House," a name which is derived from the fact that the mask is often used by the "mistresses" of the London stock exchange. This mask is characterized by a high forehead, a large nose, and a small mouth. It is often used to represent a person who is greedy and dishonest. The fourth of these female masks is the "Mistress of the House," a name which is derived from the fact that the mask is often used by the "mistresses" of the London stock exchange. This mask is characterized by a high forehead, a large nose, and a small mouth. It is often used to represent a person who is greedy and dishonest.

The fifth of these female masks is the "Mistress of the House," a name which is derived from the fact that the mask is often used by the "mistresses" of the London stock exchange. This mask is characterized by a high forehead, a large nose, and a small mouth. It is often used to represent a person who is greedy and dishonest. The sixth of these female masks is the "Mistress of the House," a name which is derived from the fact that the mask is often used by the "mistresses" of the London stock exchange. This mask is characterized by a high forehead, a large nose, and a small mouth. It is often used to represent a person who is greedy and dishonest.

forehead comprise equal parts of the face. The main difference from the general description of the characteristics of Ano'likwodjaix is the upturned, smiling mouth. There is very little paint on this example; the brows are painted black, there is a blue band across the cheeks and the bridge of the nose, red nostrils and red dots on the chin. Another example in the Royal British Columbia Museum closely resembles this mask but has green across the cheeks instead of blue and no red dots on the chin. The shape of the face and facial features are identical, and the prominent nostrils are again painted black. The Royal British Columbia Museum mask was collected between 1906 and 1916 by C. A. Fields.⁷²

The second example of a mask of a female supernatural being is also from the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology collection (Figure 9). In their records, this mask is labeled the "Goddess of Spring," but research has indicated that this fairly unusual mask is probably Nono'osqa, the mother of the flowers, who gives birth to the flowers each spring with the aid of two women and a shaman.⁷³ This mask is again oval in shape, but is rounded at the top and the bottom. The brows are pronounced, but, unlike the previous example, they extend straight across the lower portion of the forehead. The eyes are holes drilled through the wood, and the nose is long and straight with thin nostrils. Although the mouth appears to be open, it is not cut through like those on the Ano'likwodjaix masks. Again, there is very little painting. The brows are black, the eyes

⁷¹ Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records for 85.7.3.

⁷² Royal British Columbia Museum collection data for 17668.

⁷³ Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records for number 85.7.4. Franz Boas, Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians, p. 32.

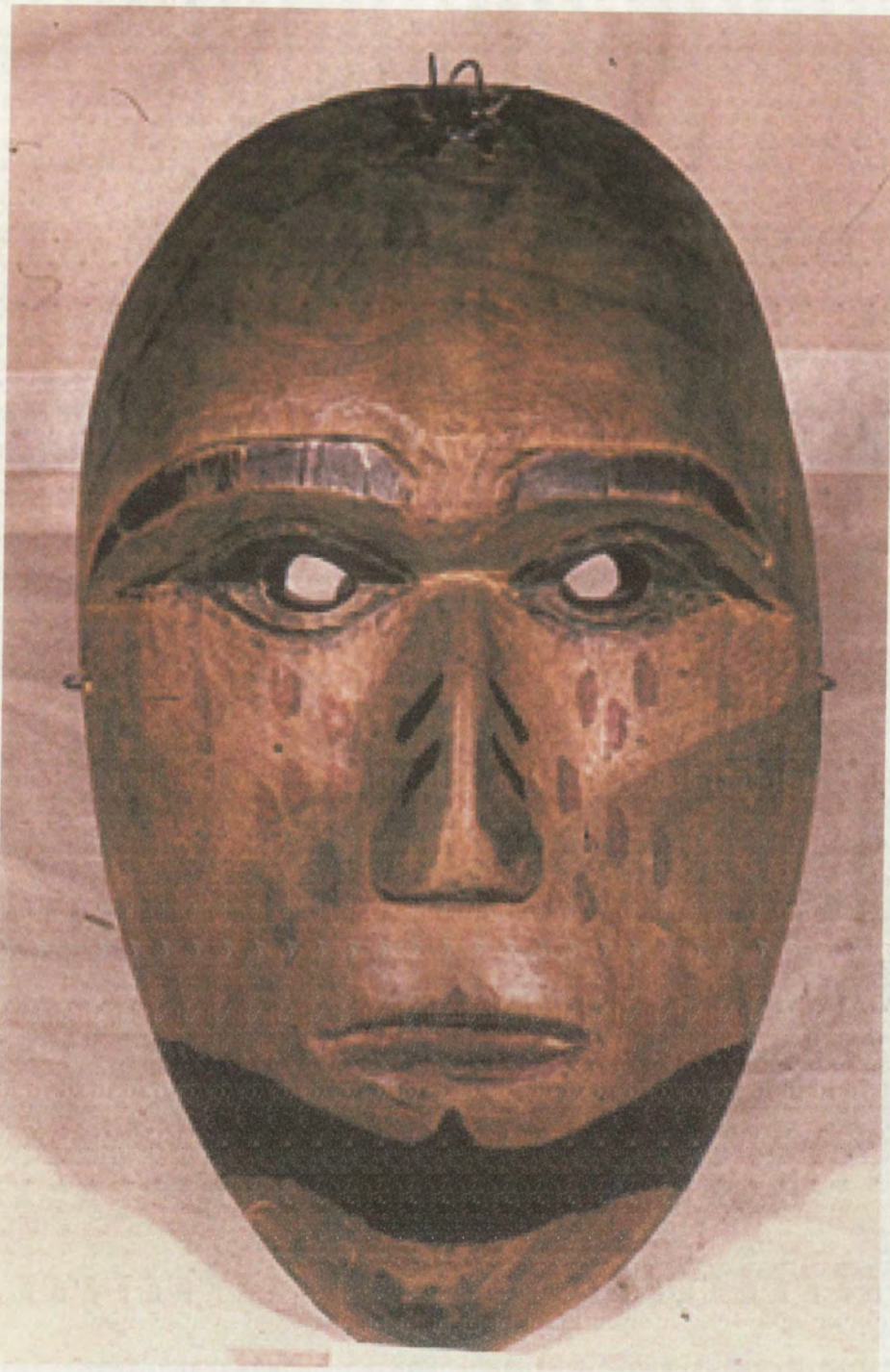


Figure 9: "Goddess of Spring Mask," Joshua Moody, c. 1929. Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. 85.7.4.



Figure 2: "Gobos of Kora, West, India, c. 1920" (copy of the Mitchell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, 82.1)

outlined in green. There are green triangles painted on both cheeks, a black band across the chin, and three parallel black lines on either side of the nose. In addition, there are red tear-drop shapes on each cheek below the eyes. These are described in Maxwell Museum records as tears, but it is possible that they represent the seeds of the flowers she gives birth to each year.⁷⁴

Thunder Masks

A second group of masks are the Thunder masks, occasionally called warrior masks. The transformation required for performing in these masks is not a double transformation of human to supernatural as well as male to female, as in the masks discussed above, but, rather, a single one of human to supernatural. Here, the dancer becomes the spirit of Thunder but is not required to transgress male gender roles of his society.

The first of these masks comes from the Canadian Museum of Civilization and shows the typical Thunder form (Figure 10). Thunder has a bulbous forehead that protrudes downwards and a nose that extends down to a hooked chin which, in turn, curves upwards almost to the nose. The eyes are oval in shape and are pointed at one end with sharply arched brows that almost touch the nose. The nostrils are pronounced while the mouth is straight, open, and occasionally has teeth.⁷⁵ Overall, the figure presents an intimidating face, meant to convey the nature of thunder, as well as war. The mask from the Canadian Museum of Civilization shows all of these features, including teeth, and is

⁷⁴ Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records for 85.7.4.

continued to grow. There are many things which can be done to
the other end of the line, but the most important thing is
to test them out on a small scale first. It is not
Museum records as well as possible, but they represent the best of the
gives birth to each year.

Thunder Mask

A second group of masks are the Thunder masks, or more correctly called
masks. The transformation results in the performance, and the mask is not
transformation of human to animal, as well as human to human, but the
discussed above, but rather, a single one of human to animal, and the
becomes the spirit of the animal, and the human, and the animal.

social
The first of these masks comes from the Eskimo, and is called a
show the spirit of the animal, and the human, and the animal, and
provides for growth, and a new, and a new, and a new, and a new,
curves upward, almost to the top. The mask is made of a material
with sharp points, and the points are made of a material, and the
the mouth is made of a material, and the mouth is made of a material,
intimidating face, meant to convey the spirit of the animal, as well as
the Eskimo, and the Eskimo, and the Eskimo, and the Eskimo, and the

also fully painted. It is also possible to see on this mask the holes meant for the shredded cedar bark that would have been attached to the mask, covering the back of the dancer's head.

Another mask from the Canadian Museum of Civilization collection has similar characteristics (Figure 11). This mask has a bulbous curving forehead and a large nose. The chin is hooked and the mouth is straight and open, this time without teeth. The cheeks are painted with two parallel red lines. The collection information indicates that it is a Coho Salmon mask, originally owned, and possibly carved, by Captain Schooner, an informant for McIlwraith and Smith.⁷⁶ The mask may be an amalgamation of the two crests owned by Schooner, as it closely resembles the Thunder mask described above. No other examples of the Coho Salmon mask could be found and definitively identified during the course of this study.

The third Thunder mask, called a Warrior mask in the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records, was carved by Joshua Moody about 1929⁷⁷ (Figure 12). This mask varies slightly from the type identified above but probably is still a Thunder mask. The forehead is bulbous and concave, the pronounced nose curves forward, and the chin upward. The mouth is open and straight, the nostrils are large, and the eyes are oval and pointed at one end with curved brows. The cedar bark is still partially extant on this example. The mask is painted with black brows outlined in white curves, a green band around the eyes, red lips and nostrils, and white dots over the rest of the face. Moody's mask is so different it is possible that he was painting a different figure, but

⁷⁵ Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, p. 47, and Margaret Stott, *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art*, p. 85.

⁷⁶ Canadian Museum of Civilization collection information for VII-D-165.

⁷⁷ Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records for 85.7.5.

also fully painted. It is also possible to use an airbrush to paint the mask for the student
cedar bark that would have been attached to its mask, covering the back of the student's
head.

Another mask from the Smithsonian Institution (see also C. H. Johnson, 1968) has similar
characteristics (Figure 11). This mask has a hollow cylindrical forehead and a large nose.
The chin is beaked and the mouth is slightly open, with two small nostrils. The
cheeks are painted with two parallel lines. The color of the mask is a reddish brown.
It is a good example of a mask made especially for the student by Captain Johnson.
Information for Miller is in the Smithsonian Institution of the
costs covered by Johnson, as it closely resembles the Iroquois mask described above.
No other examples of the Iroquois mask could be found and definitely identified
during the course of this study.

The third Iroquois mask, called a "Warrior's Mask" (Smithsonian Institution),
Anthropology Record, 1904, p. 100, is made of wood and is painted with red and black.
The mask is made from the wood of a tree and is painted with red and black.
The forehead is painted with two parallel lines and the eyes are painted with
upward. The mouth is open and slightly curved, and the nose is painted with
pointed at one end with curved lines. The back of the mask is painted with
example. The mask is painted with black lines outlined in white, and a green band
around the eyes, red lips and nostrils, and white hair over the top of the face. Many
mask is so different in pattern that he was painting a different figure.

1. Johnson, C. H. (1968). The Iroquois Mask. *Smithsonian Institution Bulletin*, 10, 1-10.
2. Johnson, C. H. (1968). The Iroquois Mask. *Smithsonian Institution Bulletin*, 10, 1-10.
3. Johnson, C. H. (1968). The Iroquois Mask. *Smithsonian Institution Bulletin*, 10, 1-10.



Figure 10: "Thunder Mask," artist unknown, 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-414.



Figure 10. "Thunder block," artist unknown, 1923. Located at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 711 D-414.



Figure 11: "Cohoe Salmon Mask," artist unknown, c. 1920. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-165.

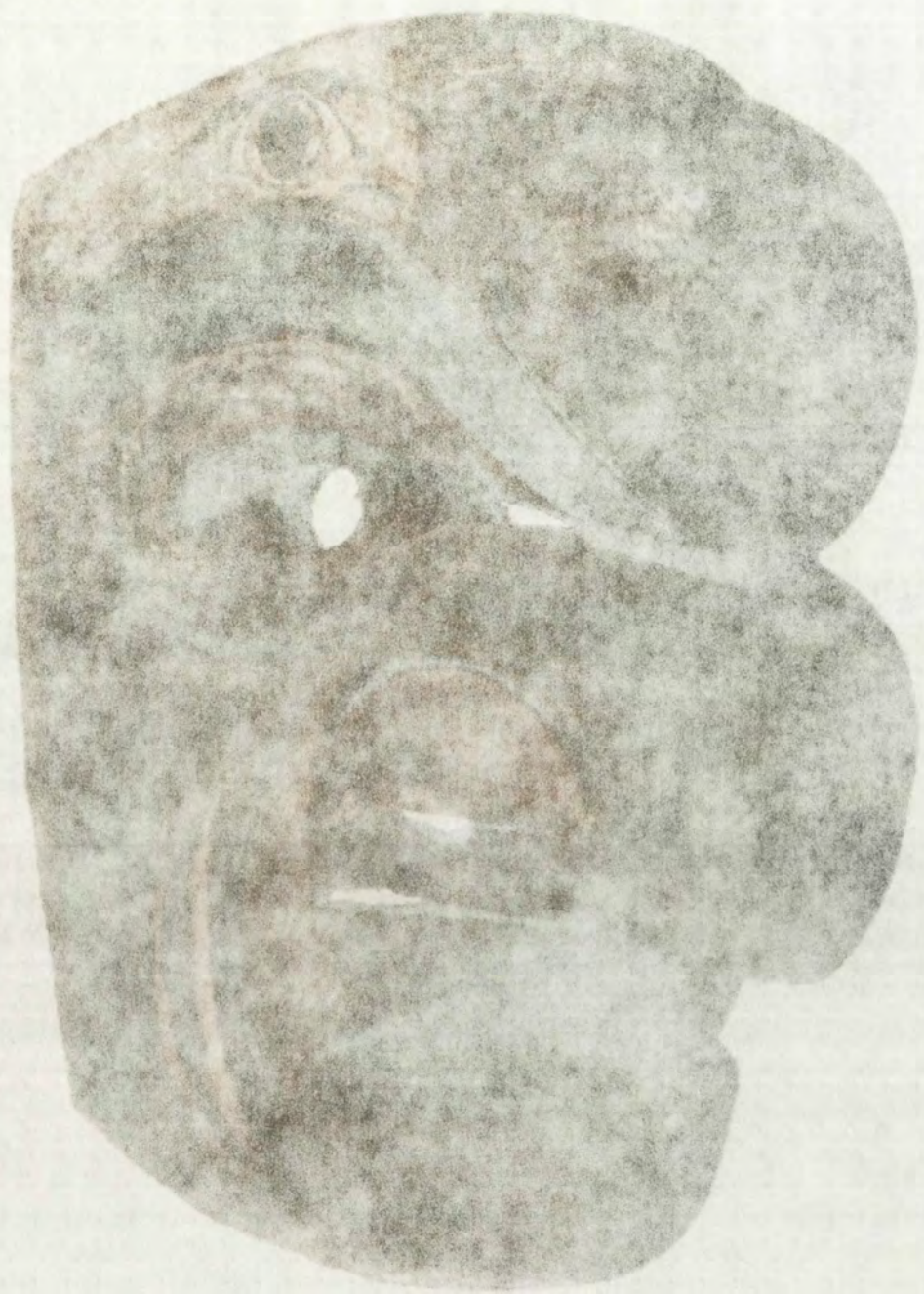


Figure 11. *Chamaeleon* sp. (see text for details). 1976. *Journal of Paleontology*, 50(1): 105-106.



Figure 12: "Warrior Mask," Joshua Moody, c. 1929. Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. 85.7.5.



Figure 12. "Harrison Mask," Jackson County, c. 1920. Courtesy of the University of Arizona Museum of Anthropology. University of New Mexico, 82.2.

there is a wide range of variation in representing figures, as discussed above. At times only the carver and the owner of the crest knew the identity of the being carved on the mask.⁷⁸

The Masks of Älquntäm

Älquntäm is referred to by McIlwraith as the “supreme deity” of the Nuxalk, the maker of men and animals, and the chief of the supernatural beings.⁷⁹ He is important to the Kusiut Society dances, although the use of the word deity to describe the role of this being is inappropriate and Eurocentric. In Älquntäm masks, the transformation is again a single one from human to supernatural.

The general description of Älquntäm masks includes an almost rectangular face with a slightly raised forehead. Eyes are rounded with brows almost straight across but with a slight downward curve at the sides. A human-like nose has a slightly curved bridge and pronounced nostrils, while an open mouth has a straight top lip and slightly curved bottom lip.⁸⁰ These masks are generally completely painted in later examples, with less paint on the earlier ones. The first example, from the Maxwell Museum collection, shows all of these characteristics, and is completely painted (Figure 13). This mask was carved by Joshua Moody about 1929 and Maxwell Museum records refer to it as the “Builder of the World.”⁸¹ The mask is roughly rectangular in shape, with rounded eyes, and pronounced curving brows. Its nose is long and straight with

⁷⁸ Margaret Stott, *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art*, p. 48.

⁷⁹ T. F. McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians*, Vol 1, p. 32, 39.

⁸⁰ Margaret Stott, *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art*, p. 56.

⁸¹ Maxwell Museum of Anthropology records for 85.7.2.

They are well known to the general public as the 'Alps' mask, but the name is not the only one used. In the Alps, the mask is known as the 'Alps' mask.

The Mask of Alpinism

The mask of Alpinism is a type of mask which is used by mountaineers and other high-altitude climbers. It is designed to protect the face from the cold, wind, and snow. The mask is made of a light, flexible material and has a large opening for the mouth and nose. It is usually worn with a pair of goggles and a hat.

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1. The mask of Alpinism is a type of mask which is used by mountaineers and other high-altitude climbers. It is designed to protect the face from the cold, wind, and snow. The mask is made of a light, flexible material and has a large opening for the mouth and nose. It is usually worn with a pair of goggles and a hat.



Figure 13: "Builder of the World Mask," Joshua Moody, c. 1929. Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. 85.7.2.



Figure 13. Plastron of the *Testudo* sp. (Turtle). (From *Journal of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 10, 1901, Plate 1, Figure 13.)

pronounced nostrils that are not drilled through, and it has a straight mouth with a downward curving bottom lip, also not drilled through. The face is covered entirely in paint, with a brown band outlined in black at the top of the forehead containing a black scalloped line, and a brown band outlined in black between the lips and the nostrils that ends in downward triangles at the cheeks; the rest of the face is painted white.

The second example collected in 1920 by Harlan Smith is in the Canadian Museum of Civilization and is not as fully painted as the first⁸² (Figure 14). Again, the face is rectangular, with pronounced curving brows and circular eyes. The nose is straight with large nostrils, and the mouth is straight with a downward curving lower lip. Linear designs appear painted on the cheeks, and there are scallops on the forehead. The brows are painted black, and red surrounds the mouth. This piece is also slightly more damaged than the previous example, probably due to its greater age and possibly because of more use. Another example, from the Royal British Columbia Museum, illustrates an earlier style. It is a rectangular face, with little painting, collected in 1893 by F. Jacobsen.⁸³ The brows are slightly curved over rounded eyes, its nose is long and straight with pronounced nostrils, and the mouth is straight with a slightly downward-curving lower lip. Black and red crosses are painted on the cheeks, and the eyebrows are painted black. The mask has the suggestion of a beard and mustache around its red painted lips.

⁸² Canadian Museum of Civilization collection information for VII-D-153.

⁸³ Royal British Columbia Museum collection information for 60.

pronounced nose, that is not thick in the tip, and has a straight front with a
downward turning bottom. The bottom of the nose is not so much in
point with a downward and outward in black, in that of the forehead, forming a black
arched line, and a thin band around in black, between the lips and the nostrils, that
ends in downward triangles at the corners, the rest of the face is painted white.

The second ornament collected in the above collection, which is in the
Museum of Civilization and is not so far painted as the first. Figure 141. A white
face is rectangular with rounded corners, and a thin eye. The nose is
straight with large nostrils, and the mouth is straight with a downward turning lower lip.
Linear designs appear painted on the cheeks, and there are scarves on the forehead. The
brows are painted black, and red around the mouth. The piece is also slightly more
damaged than the previous example, probably due to its greater age and possibly because
of more use. Another example, however, is painted in white, with a
earlier style. It is rectangular, with the painting collected in Fig. 142.
The brows are slightly curved and rounded over, the nose is long and straight
with pronounced nostrils, and the mouth is straight with a slight downward-curving
lower lip. Black and red crosses are painted on the cheeks, and the eyebrows are painted
black. The mask has the suggestion of a beard and whiskers around the sides and

Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, 1971.
Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1971.

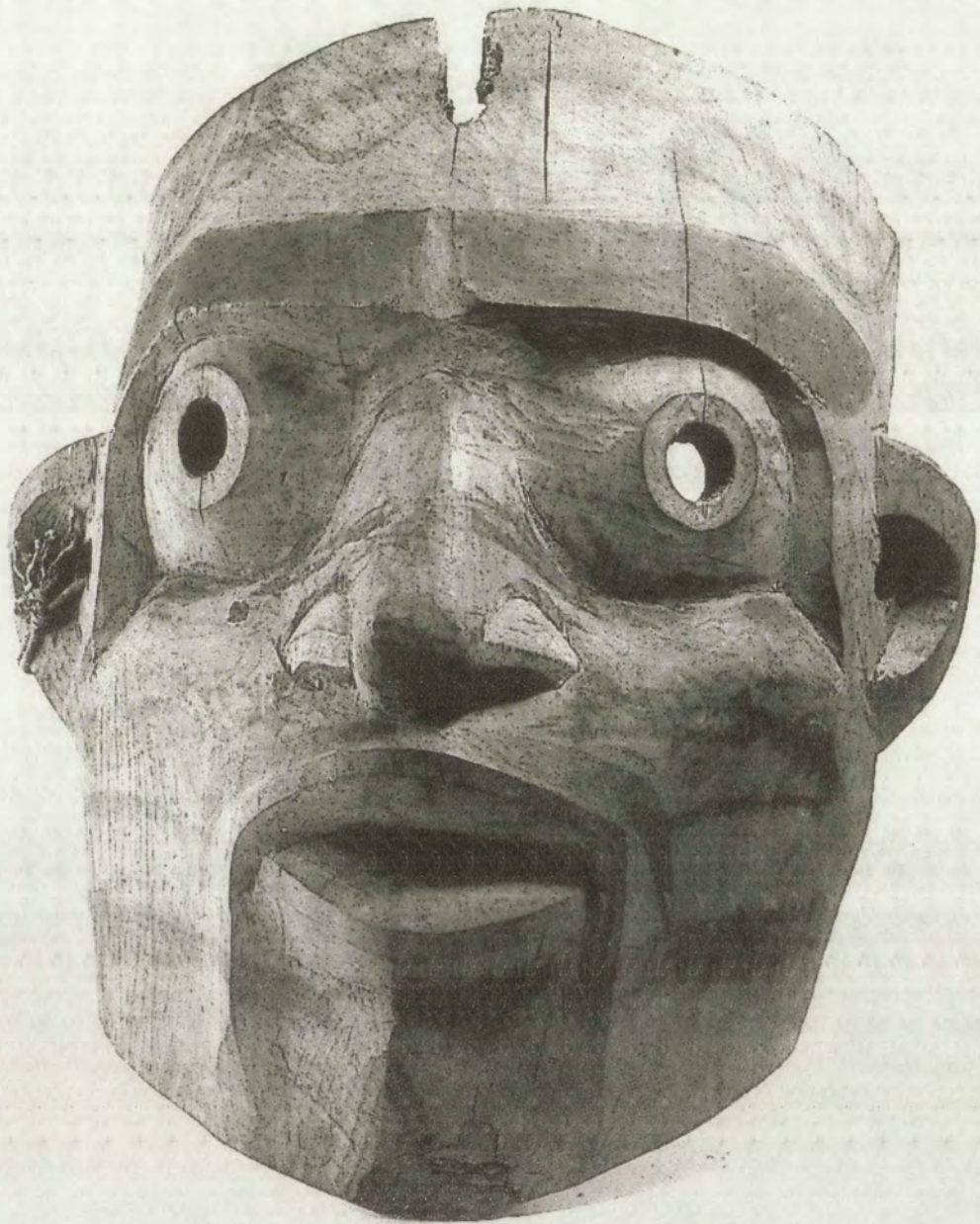


Figure 14: "Human Face Mask," artist unknown, c. 1920. Courtesy the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-153.



Figure 14: "Human Face Mask," artist unknown, c. 1920. Courtesy the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-153.

Other Types of Masks

Besides the types of masks described above, there are a number of additional masks associated with the Kusiut Society and other secret societies of the Nuxalk. Many of these depict different beings but show similar characteristics. Such masks are often associated with animal or sky beings, such as the bee or the moon. In these masks, the dancer undergoes another type of dual transformation, on one hand going from human to supernatural and on the other going from human to animal or other non-human being.

Two of these masks are bee masks (Figures 15 and 16). The first, from the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, was carved by Moody about 1929 and is a fully painted mask. The face is rounded in form, with protruding eyes, a narrow upturned nose with flaring nostrils, and an open curving mouth. The dominant color of the mask is blue with red lips, black brows outlined in white, and white eyes broken up by a red outer circle. The top of the head is painted with black dots. The second bee mask, from the Canadian Museum of Civilization, was collected by Harlan Smith in 1923.⁸⁴ This mask is again fully painted with a rounded face and protruding eyes, a short nose with flared nostrils and wide lips. The mouth on this mask, though, is not open, and the face is less rounded than in the Maxwell Museum's mask. There are also no dots or blank areas on top of the head, and the painting is done in bands. These differences are probably due to

⁸⁴ Canadian Museum of Civilization collection information for VII-D-411.



Figure 15: "Bee Mask," Joshua Moody, c. 1929. Courtesy of the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico. 85.7.1.



Figure 15. Bee Mask, Fisher, 1912, University of the Pacific, Honolulu, Hawaii.
of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 1912.

the differences in artistic styles, as discussed previously. Different carvers viewed the spirits as looking differently, and these ideas were brought to bear in their work.

A moon mask in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization collected by Harlan I. Smith in 1923 has similarly shaped face, eyes and mouth as Moody's bee mask (Figure 17).⁸⁵ This mask has a rounded face with popping eyes, a short narrow bridge to the nose with a bulbous end and flaring nostrils with an open and slightly curved mouth. It is mostly unpainted, with black eyebrows and red lips and nostrils. Its shape is mirrored by another mask in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization which was also collected in 1923 by Smith⁸⁶ (Figure 18). This mask, with no known identification, is also rounded, with protruding eyes, heavy arched brows and an open straight mouth. Its nose is flattened like that of the bee mask from the same collection, and the nostrils are flaring. The mask is heavily painted, though, with red lips and nostrils and black eyebrows, blue around the eyes and blue and green split u-forms on the cheeks and forehead. There are also triangular forms carved into the lower cheeks of the figure, and these are painted red, suggesting a possible identification as a salmon or other underwater creature.

The masks discussed above probably date to the early-twentieth century. For most, the actual date of manufacture and the name of the artist is unknown. They illustrate the early style of Nuxalk masking. It is important to note that all of the masks have use and wear patterns consistent with being danced in ceremonies before being collected by museums. In these masks the ideas of transformation and of

⁸⁵ Canadian Museum of Civilization collection information for VII-D-412.

⁸⁶ Canadian Museum of Civilization collection information for VII-D-413.



Figure 16: "Bee Mask," artist unknown, 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-411.



Figure 10. "Beo Mask," artist unknown, 1953. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, VII-D-411.

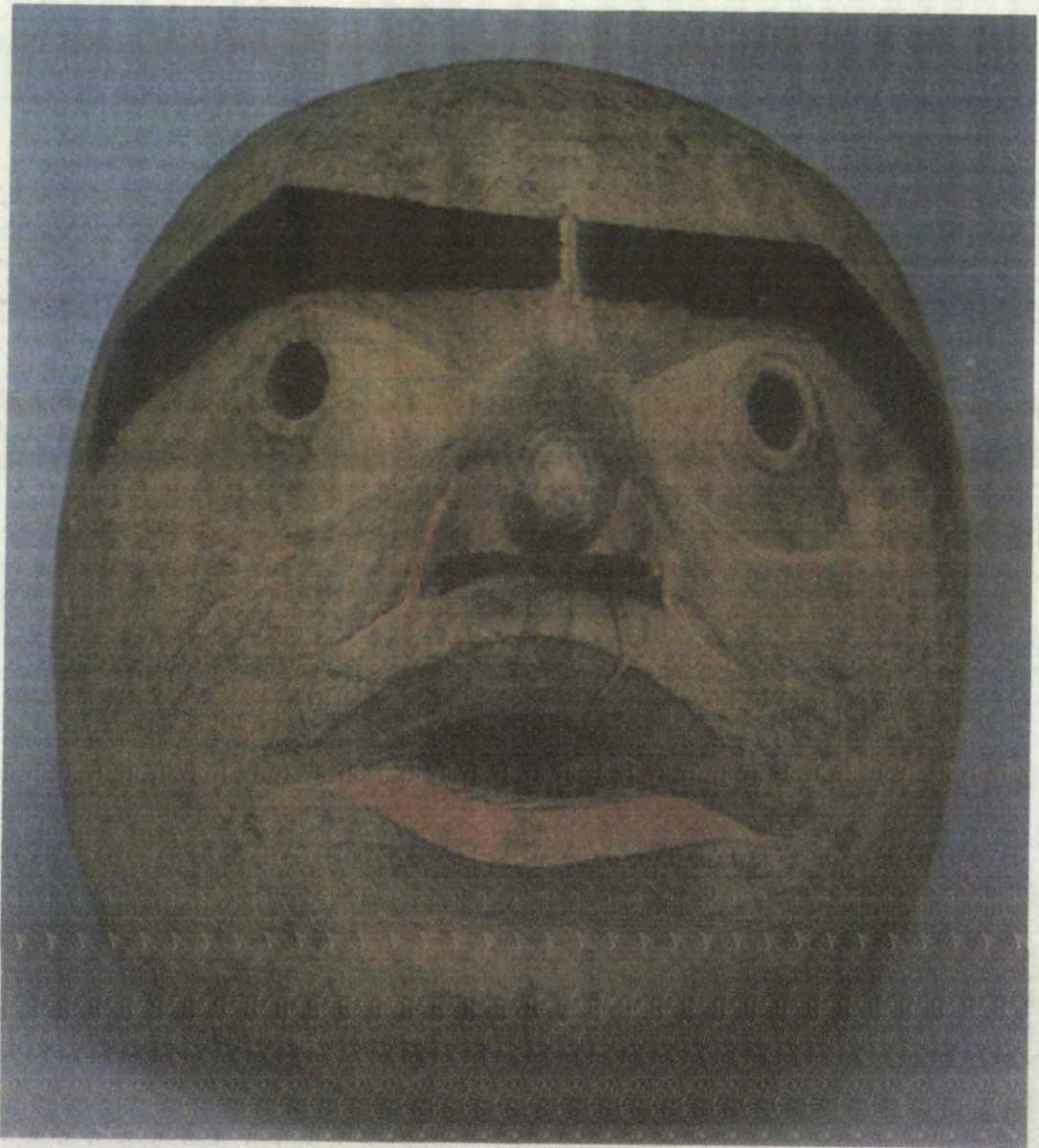


Figure 17: "Moon Mask," artist unknown, 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-412.



Figure 17. "Moon Mask," style unknown, 1925. A corner of the museum
Museum of Civilization, 7 (1972).



Figure 18: Mask Representing Carpenter, artist unknown, c. 1923. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-413.



Figure 13: Mask representing Carpenter, artist unknown, c. 1911. Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. VII-D-413.

ceremonial function were still paramount in their production. They were created as ceremonial objects first and became items for the market in cultural commodities later. The second use came with the potlatch ban in the late-nineteenth century and with the press of anthropologists and collectors on the Coast during the same period.

Influences of Kwakwaka'wakw Masking

Nuxalk carvers were influenced by Kwakwaka'wakw carving, a point that becomes obvious when Kwakwaka'wakw masks and Nuxalk masks of the early-twentieth century are compared. In the early-twentieth century, as the Canadian government attempted to outlaw Native cultural practices, the Kwakwaka'wakw were the most successful in retaining their traditions.⁸⁷ Kwakwaka'wakw continued to use many of their old masks and created numerous new masks.⁸⁸ The Kwakwaka'wakw style generally consists of bulbous forms, heavily painted in red, blue, black and white with many split-"U" forms painted on the forehead, chin and cheeks of the mask. The lips often protrude from the face, eyes are tapered at each end with bulging eyeballs, and the nostrils generally flare out from the nose. Many of the forms are outlined in white or black and often human hair or cedar bark is added to the masks providing movement. The Kwakwaka'wakw also create numerous masks that have moveable parts or transformation masks in which one mask has another mask inside of it. Many of the Nuxalk masks discussed above have these same characteristics, especially the two bee

⁸⁷ Steven C. Brown, *Native Visions*, p. 134.

⁸⁸ Bill Holm, *Crooked Beak of Heaven: Masks and Other Ceremonial Art of the Northwest Coast*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press for the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum and the Henry Art Gallery, 1972), p. 10.

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⁵⁷ Evelyn C. Snow, *Native Masks*, p. 134.
⁵⁸ Bill Holm, *Coastal Art of the Northwest Coast*, Seattle
and London: University of Washington Press for the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum
and the Blaine Art Gallery, 1973, p. 40.

masks and the moon mask. All three of these masks display the bulbous forms and outlining, as well as, at least in the case of the bee masks, being heavily painted. The Kwakwaka'wakw are the southern neighbors of the Nuxalk. It is possible that the crests or the forms of the masks were exchanged as trade items or as part of a dowry thereby accounting for the Kwakwaka'wakw influence in their forms.

The masks discussed in this chapter provide a view of masks made by Nuxalk carvers in the early-twentieth century. They show the evolution in form that is continued in the later twentieth-century masks that will be discussed in the next chapter. Like the photographs taken by anthropologists, the early-twentieth century masks document the authenticity of Native culture. The masks demonstrate, for the Euro-American viewer, collector, or purchaser of them, the exotic nature of Nuxalk culture, much as the photographs of people wearing them did.

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Chapter 4—Later Twentieth-Century Masks

Later twentieth-century Nuxalk masks are characterized by their commodity value. The system of exchange within the Nuxalk society, although still wealth-based, is a system of wealth and exchange directly related to capitalism. The masks that are created and sold to people outside Nuxalk culture are often made specifically as souvenirs of an authentic touristic experience on the Coast. The stereotype of the vanishing Indian is still very much alive despite a visible cultural renaissance and the fact that pre-contact ceremonies are being revived and revisited. The allure of the masks is part of the tourist's search for an authentic experience, an experience of a culture perceived as being very different from their own. The souvenir of the mask obtained through a visit either to Bella Coola and the Nuxalk themselves or to a Victoria or Vancouver gallery validates the authentic cultural experience of the tourist who has traveled to the Northwest Coast. The tourist then has proof, besides the photographs or other memorabilia obtained on his or her trip, of the continued but diminished presence of an authentic Other, which makes their journey more interesting to those at home. This is not to say, though, that all of the collectors of these masks are tourists; many of them are bought by museums and private fine arts collectors.

Traditions behind the making of the masks have changed as carvers are motivated by different ends such as external recognition and monetary gain. In some ways these ends are similar to those of previous carvers who were also motivated by the desire to gain wealth and status in their society. Carving has probably always, or at least since contact, filled a role as a means of cultural preservation. There is also the influence of

the market, a market which is at once a curio market and a fine arts market. Objects such as Nuxalk masks are not easily classified as they are sought, and have been since contact, for different reasons by different people-- the collector, the anthropologist, the artist, and the tourist. This is part of the transition ethnographic objects go through when they become market commodities within Western capitalist economies. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt states: "Ethnographic objects move from curio to specimen to art, though not necessarily in that order. As curiosities, objects are anomalous. By definition, they defy classification."⁸⁹ The need to reclassify the objects made by Native cultures according to Western artistic standards began in the early-twentieth century and was fostered by a belief among museum collectors and ethnographers that ethnicity and material culture were related.⁹⁰ If one were from a "primitive" culture, one would be expected to use "primitive" objects exclusively, whereas Euro-American peoples were automatically expected to rely exclusively on Euro-American objects and art forms, which were, by definition, advanced not primitive. This was partially a backlash against industrialization and an emphasis on the handcrafted over the mass-produced. There was, then, a need for anthropologists, avant-garde artists, and social reformers of the early-twentieth century to champion the "primitive" as something valuable which is lost through industrialization and urbanization.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 25.

⁹⁰ Ruth B. Phillips, "Why Not Tourist Art? Significant Silences in Native American Museum Representations," in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*. Gyan Pralash, ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995: pp. 98-125), p. 106.

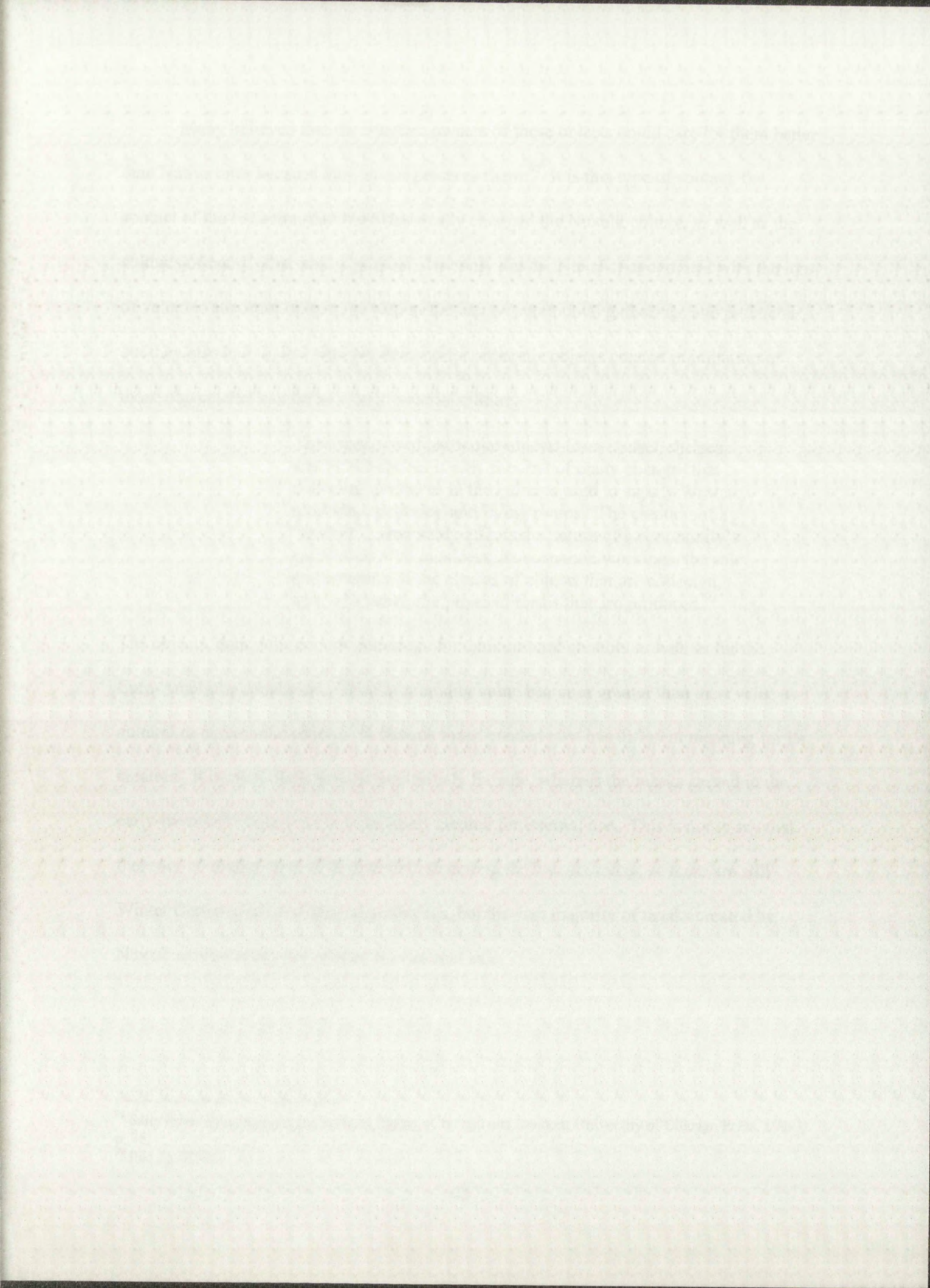
⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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⁸⁰ Barbara Kistebach-Gimblat, *Between the Lines: Texts, Images, Museums, and Identity* (Berkeley, CA: UCA Press, 1997), p. 22.

⁸¹ John H. Sturtevant, "Why Not Consider the 'Primitive' as a Social and Cultural Phenomenon?" in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Gyan Prakash (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), pp. 24-25, p. 106.

⁸² Ibid., p. 102.



Masks Created in the Nuxalk Style

Many masks created in the Nuxalk style are made by carvers from other Northwest Coast Native groups. As the population in Bella Coola decreased, the number of people carving diminished proportionately. Also, the effects of forced assimilation--many children were sent to boarding schools and not allowed to speak their Native language or practice their customs--were great. By the middle of the twentieth century, there were few people carving in Bella Coola. The majority of masks until the 1970s and 1980s made in the Nuxalk style were carved by people outside the group.

One such mask, from the Royal British Columbia Museum collection, was created about 1975 by Jimmy Johny, a Coast Salish man⁹⁴ (Figure 19). This is an octopus mask and can be identified as being in the Nuxalk style because of the bulbous forms of the face and eyes, as well as the pronounced arching brows and the wide short nose with flaring nostrils. This mask is fully painted in blue, with black eyebrows and black around the drilled eyeholes. The lips and nostrils are red, with white outlining the nostrils and forming a beard-like band around the mouth. The top of the mask looks almost like a headdress, which tapers slightly at the top. This form is painted with alternating bands of white and black with white dots which run parallel to the band of black with white dots around the bottom of the headdress area. The headdress is also separated from the face of the figure by a ridge which is painted white on the underside. The cheeks of the figure seem to expand outward, and the mouth is slightly open.

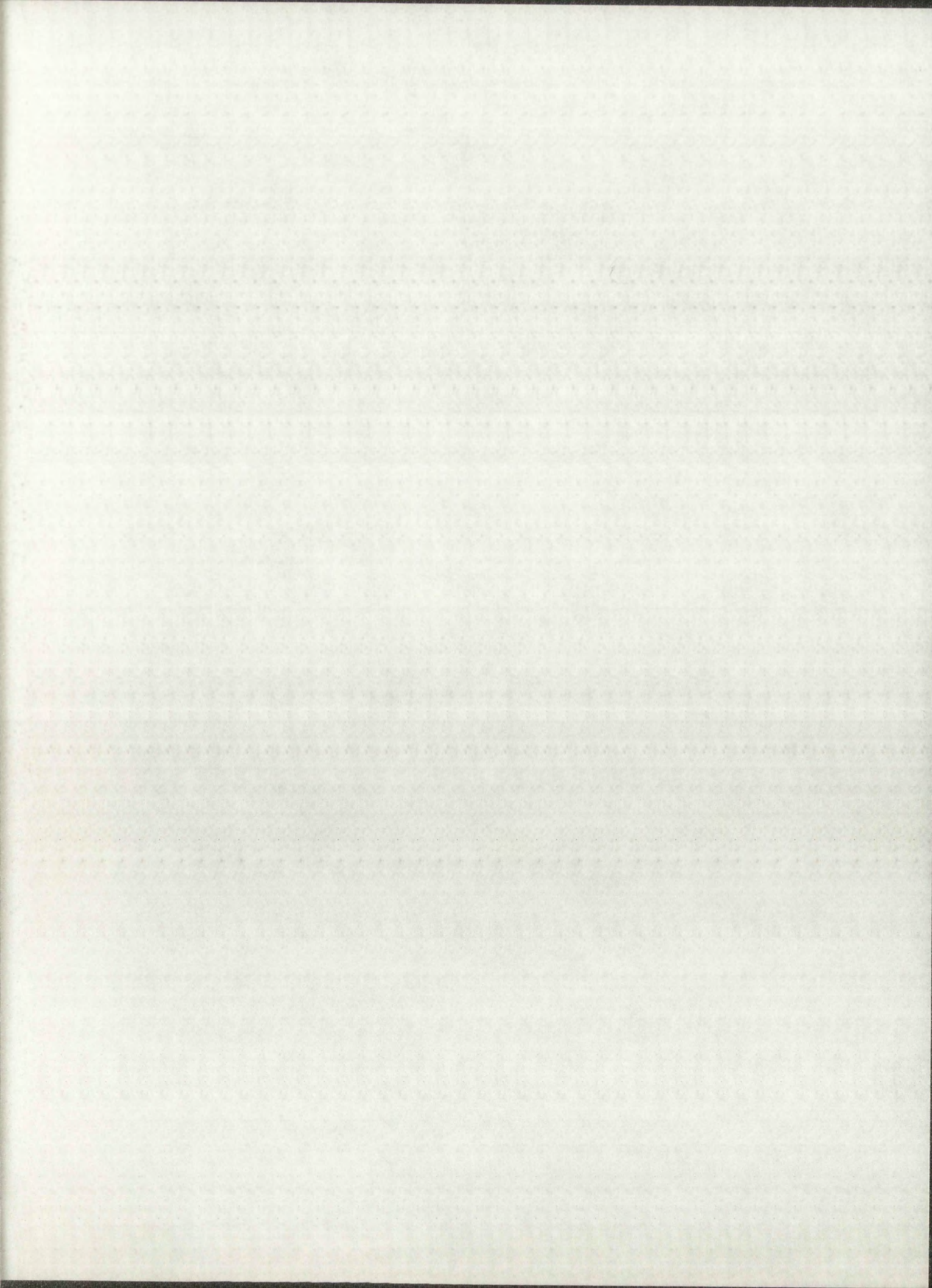
⁹⁴ Royal British Columbia Museum records for number 12850.

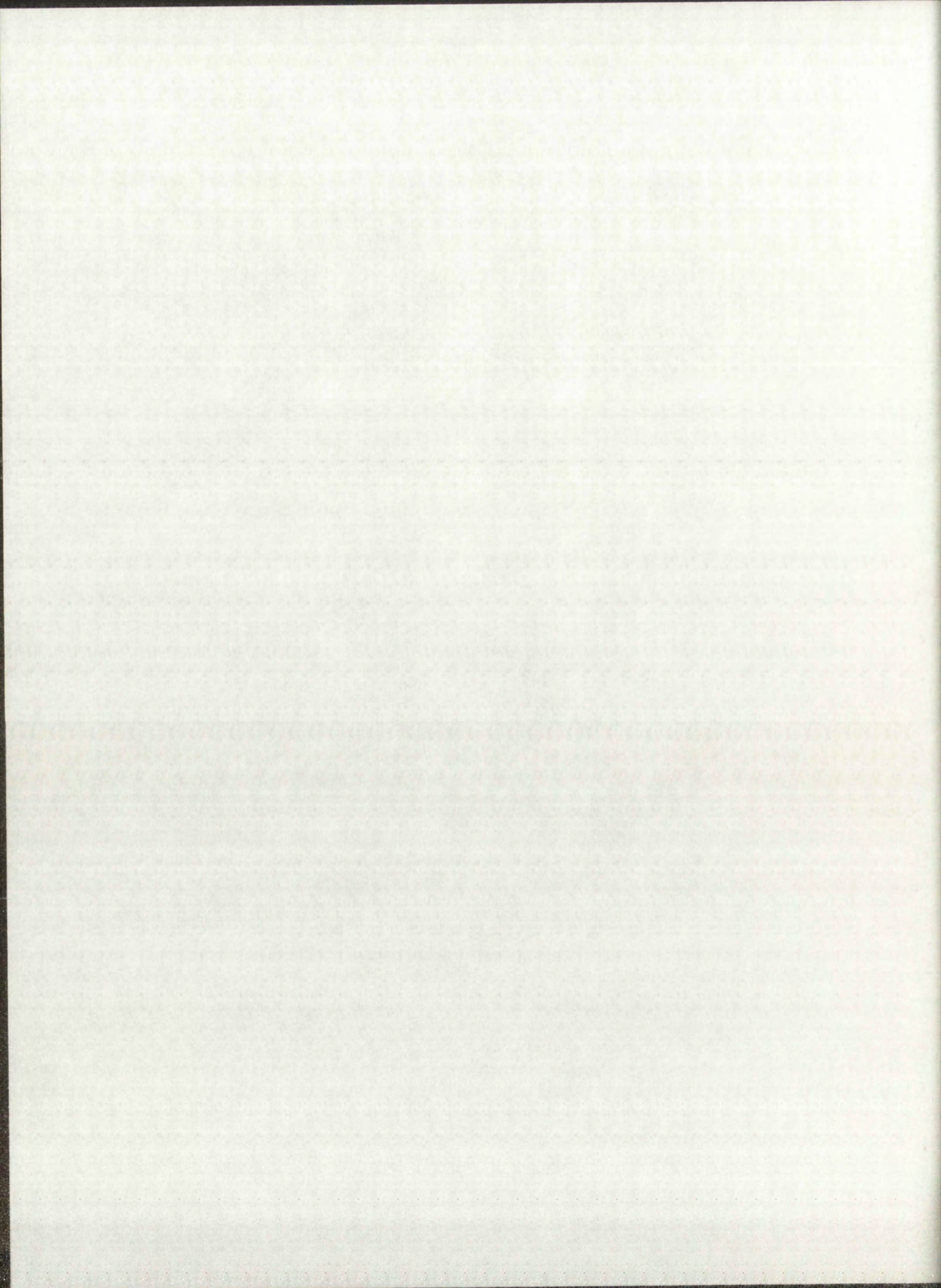
Masks Created in the Nuxalik Style

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One such mask, from the Royal British Columbia Museum collection, was created about 1975 by Jimmy Jolovy, a Coast Salish carver (Figure 19). This is an octopus mask and can be identified as being in the Nuxalik style because of the bulbous form of the face and eyes, as well as the pronounced stretching brows and the wide short nose with flaring nostrils. This mask is fully painted in blue, with black eyebrows and black around the drilled eyes. The lips and nostrils are red, with white outlining the nostrils and forming a beard-like band around the mouth. The top of the mask looks almost like a headress, which tapers slightly at the top. This form is painted with alternating bands of white and black with white dots which run parallel to the band of black with white dots around the bottom of the headress area. The headress is also separated from the face of the figure by a ridge which is painted white on the underside. The cheeks of the figure seem to expand outward, and the mouth is slightly open.

¹⁹ Royal British Columbia Museum records for number 12830.





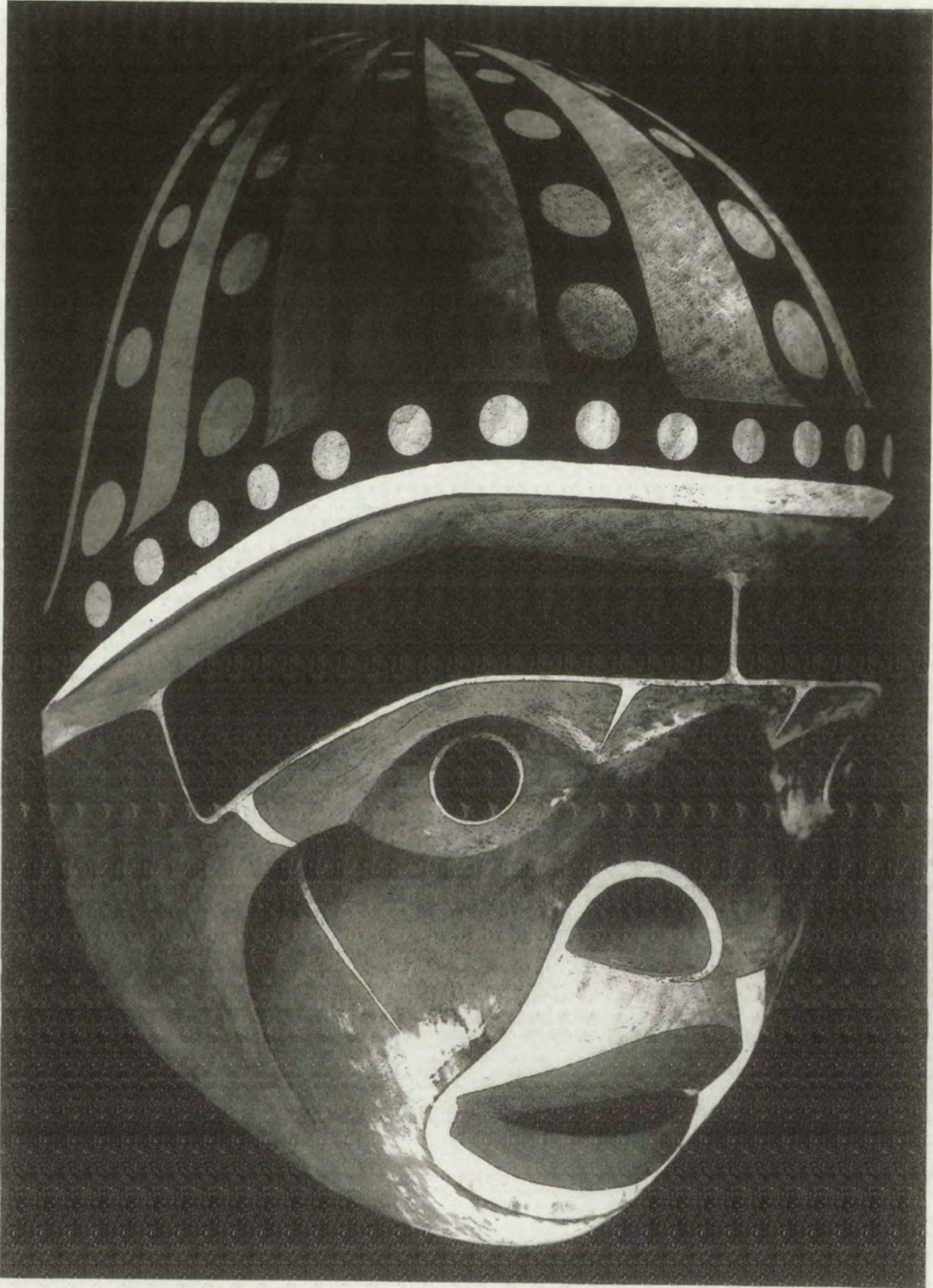


Figure 19: "Octopus Mask," Jimmy Johny, c. 1975. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum. PN # 14850.

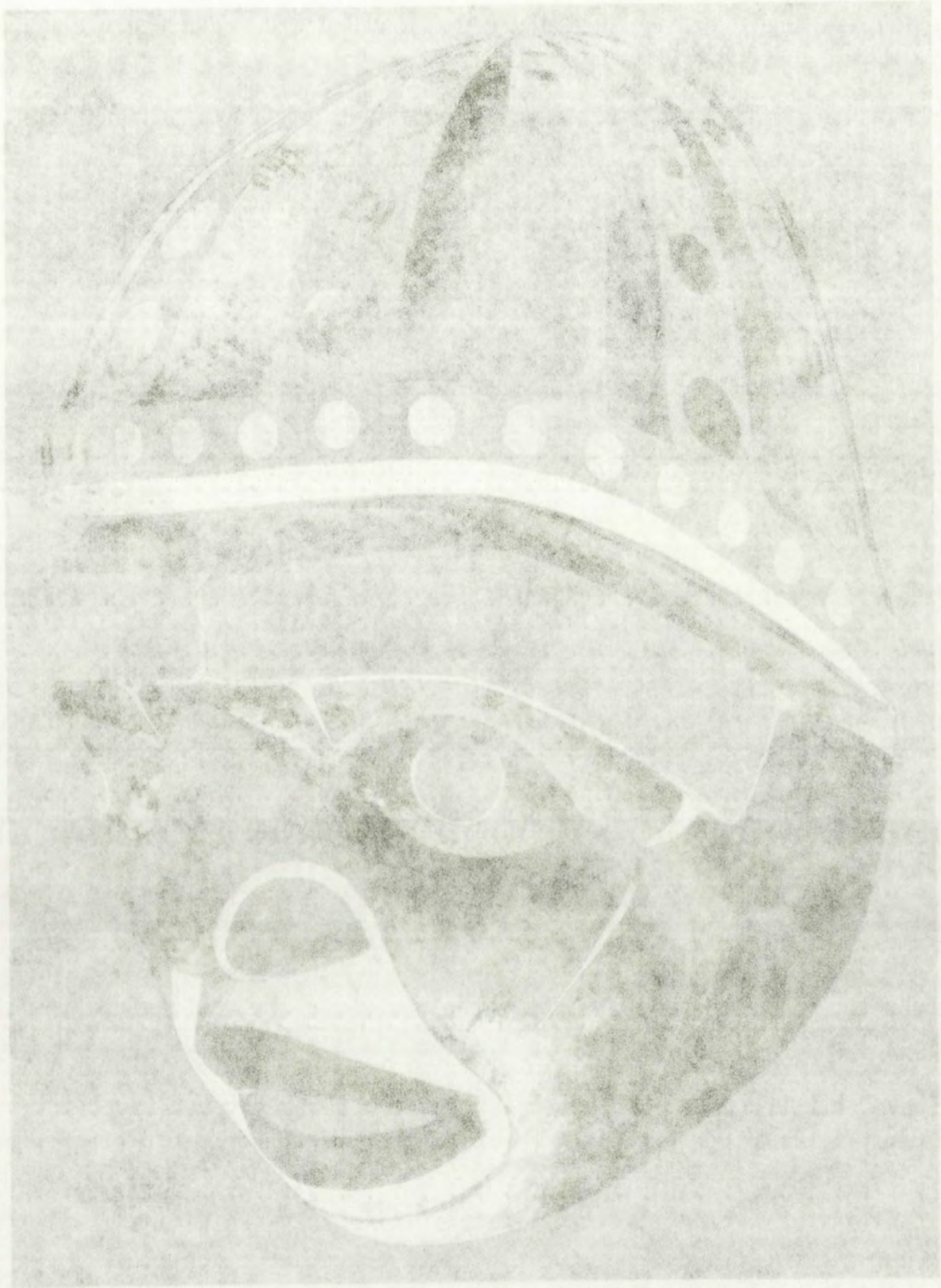


Figure 19: "Octopus Mask," Jimmy John, c. 1975. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum. P/V 14850

Another such mask, also in the Royal British Columbia Museum (Figure 20), was carved by Beau Dick, a Kwakwaka'wakw man, in about 1978.⁹⁵ Again, the face is identifiable as being carved in the Nuxalk style because of the rounded, bulbous eyes, the short, wide nose with flaring nostrils, and the wide lips and open mouth. The face is fully painted and is slightly convex in shape, recalling the Ano'likwodjaix masks previously surveyed. Human hair has been added in place of cedar bark, and the brows, which are painted blue, arch up at their ends. The mask's forehead is painted with three split-"U" forms in black and red along the top, with the largest in the center. It is this center split-"U" form which is painted black. There are ears on the sides of the face which are also painted red as are the lips. The mustache to either side of the lips is painted blue, as are the edges of the drilled eyeholes. Scallop forms radiating around the mouth are painted black and are outlined from the chin to the ears and around the cheeks and eyes with black bands.

These two masks show the interest in Nuxalk style among other artists and collectors. They also suggest the extent of borrowing of forms and styles that goes on among the Native groups of the Coast. This borrowing reflects the fierce competition between carvers of various groups for the collectors' money.

⁹⁵Royal British Columbia Museum records for number 16162.

Another such mask, also in the collection of the ...

carved by ...

identifiable as being carved in the ...

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These two masks show the ...

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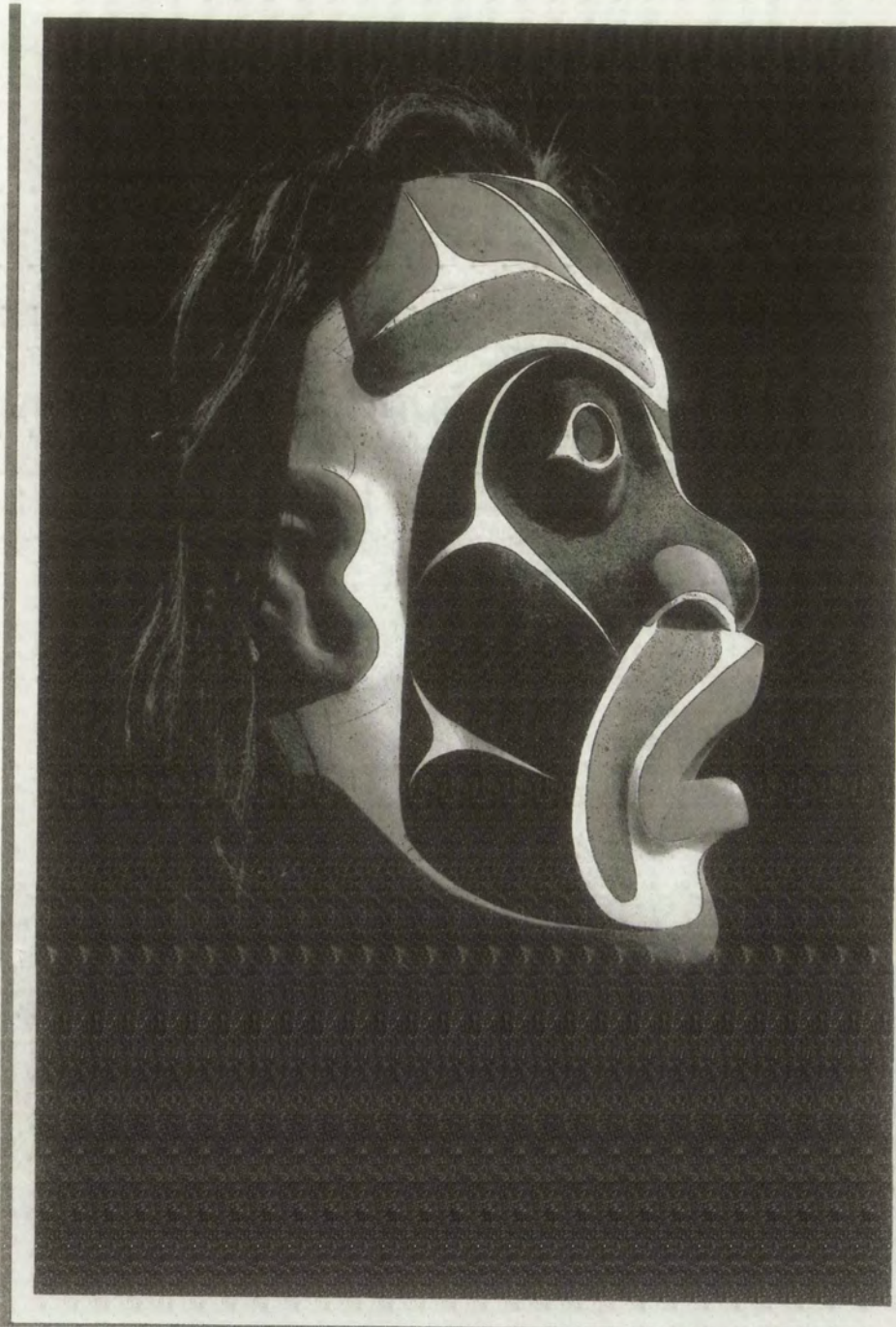


Figure 20: "Mask in the Bella Coola Style," Beau Dick, c. 1978. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum. PN # 16162.



Figure 20: "Mask in the Bella Coola Style," Ben Dick, c. 1978. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum. FV 8 16163.



Figure 21: "Bella Coola dancer at the Esquimalt Reserve, Indian Olympics." Photographer unknown, 1972. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum. PN # 5443-25.

Contemporary Nuxalk Carving

In a photograph taken at the 1972 Indian Olympics on the Esquimalt Reserve in British Columbia, the continuation of Nuxalk culture through the twentieth century is readily apparent (Figure 21). Here is a Thunder dancer, wearing a button blanket, dancing a Thunder mask. The time of year and the reason for the dance have changed, previously the dance would have taken place during the Winter Ceremonial season as part of the Kusuit Society dances, but the form of the mask has remained relatively stable from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In this case, the dancer is competing in one of the major dance competitions which are part of the Indian Olympics,



Figure 21: "Bella Coola dancer at the Esquimalt R. series, Indian Olympics, 1975." Photographer unknown, 1975. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum. P# 2443-25.

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In a photograph taken in the 1970s in an engraving on the...
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 of the Indian Olympics.

competitions which take place on many of the reserves in the United States and Canada. The dancer is performing in front of a large audience and is on a raised platform which sets him apart from the people watching the performance. The mask has the bulbous forehead, downward curved nose which has now become a hook, and upward curve to the bulbous chin, and an open and straight mouth with evident teeth. It is fully painted in a manner similar to that of the earlier Thunder masks. It is likely that this mask, as it is being worn in a Nuxalk context, was carved and painted by a Nuxalk carver, although no data was available with the image.

One of the better known of the contemporary Nuxalk carvers is Glenn Tallio. He began carving in the 1940s as a child and has been carving full-time for about twenty years.⁹⁶ He was inspired by the Haida artist Bill Reid, as well as by the masks created by Tallio's great-great-grandfather, Tom Henry, who went to Berlin with the Jacobsens in the 1880s.⁹⁷ Tallio learned carving from his brother-in-law and returned to it after a bout of bronchial pneumonia ended his automobile painting career.⁹⁸ He taught his son carving and his son is now a well-known jeweler. Tallio considers himself to be an artist and proudly cites masks in collections all over the world. One of his masks was in the exhibit "Down From the Shimmering Sky" that was mounted in 1998 by the Vancouver Art Gallery.

Tallio mainly carves masks and began his career by carving potlatch masks for use within his culture. Potlatch masks were carved for a four-day period in which,

⁹⁶ Barbara Hager, "Carver Glenn Tallio, Nuxalk." (*Indian Artist* vol. III, No. 3 Summer 1997: pp. 28-33), p. 32. Also, personal communication with the artist, 30 January 2001.

⁹⁷ Barbara Hager, "Carver Glenn Tallio, Nuxalk," p. 30, 32..

⁹⁸ Unless otherwise noted, all information in this section comes from a person communication with the artist on 31 January 2001.

competitions which take place on many of the reserves in the United States and Canada. The dancer is performing in front of a large audience and is on a raised platform which sets him apart from the people watching the performance. The mask has the upper forehead, downward curved nose, which has now become a hook, and upward curve to the bottom chin, and an open and straight mouth with evident teeth. It is fully painted in a manner similar to that of the earlier Thunder mask. It is likely that this mask as it is being worn in a Nuxalik context, was carved and painted by a Nuxalik carver, although no data was available with the image.

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³⁰ Barbara Hager, "Carver Glenn Tallio, Nuxalik," *Indian Arts*, vol. III, No. 2, Summer 1997, pp. 28-33.
³¹ Also, personal communication with the author, 30 January 2001.
³² Barbara Hager, "Carver Glenn Tallio, Nuxalik," p. 30, 31.
³³ Tallio otherwise found all information in this section comes from a personal communication with the author on 31 January 2001.

traditionally, the carver had to also create a song and dance to go with the mask. Now, Tallio sells the majority of his pieces to the Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver, although he still carves masks for potlatches when commissioned to do so. He is paid for both types of masks, although he is paid more for the masks he sells on the market. He is concerned about the lack of knowledge about many of the practices associated with mask making, such as the gathering of natural dyes for painting the masks. Tallio has begun to mix his own colors which he gathers from natural sources, although he still uses some acrylic paints which are the type of the paints used by the majority of carvers. He tries to use colors which are similar to those used in the past, such as red, blue, green, and black.

Tallio was encouraged to experiment by an elderly lady of the village of Bella Coola who told him to find his own style using traditional forms. He was also influenced by his father who knew the traditional stories behind the dances, as well as the meanings of the imagery associated with them. Tallio himself is not as knowledgeable about the stories and meanings as his father was, but he knows the reasons for the use of certain colors and designs on specific masks. He worries that masks have lost much of their true meaning to the culture because so many masks are made for outside sale. Masks are sought after and copied by people all over the world, and imitation masks are being made in Japan and the Philippines to be sold in Canada and the United States.

The loss of cultural objects through collecting and the market has also resulted in an awareness of the importance of these objects among the Nuxalk. Carvers do not always distinguish between the duplication of masks made for the market and the loss of cultural objects such as masks used in ceremonies. The majority of masks made for the

technically, the carver had to not only carve a form and shape to provide the mask, but also to select the majority of the pieces in the spirit of the spirit of the mask. Although he still carves masks for particular or non-commercial reasons, it is said for both types of masks, although he is paid more for the masks he sells on the market, he is concerned about the lack of knowledge about many of the processes associated with mask making, such as the technique of natural dyes for painting the mask. Talleo has begun to mix his own colors which he gathers from natural sources, and with his still uses some synthetic pigments which are first he had used by the factory in order to try to use colors which are similar to those used in the past, such as red, blue, green, and black.

Talleo was motivated to experiment by an elderly lady of the village of Hilda. Coelo who told him to and his own strong traditional spirit. He was also influenced by his father who knew the traditional uses of natural dyes and the meanings of the imagery associated with them. Talleo himself is not an anthropologist, but he has stories and meanings as his father was, but he knows the reasons for the use of certain colors and designs on specific masks. He wishes that masks had a lot of meaning, not only meaning to the culture, because so many masks are made for outside sale. Masks are sought after and copied by people all over the world, and he wishes that they were more

in Japan and the Philippines to be sold in Canada and the United States. The loss of cultural objects through collecting and the market has threatened an awareness of the importance of these objects among the people of the region. It always distinguishes between the traditional mask made for the market and the loss of cultural objects such as masks used in ceremonies. The history of the mask is the

market today are not necessarily specific to any crest, so they are not considered specific cultural objects. There is a renewed effort to revive the culture, and many people are learning to carve as more than just a way to make money. The importance of elder carvers such as Glenn Tallio is increasing, they are able to transmit their knowledge to younger artists the way elders have undoubtedly been doing for generations in Nuxalk culture. The market has changed the economy and many of the reasons for the creation of cultural objects, but it has also aided in preserving the culture of the Nuxalk by keeping carving viable through a new audience.

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keeping carving visible through a new audience.

Conclusion

Nuxalk masks, in both form and function, have changed greatly throughout the twentieth century. Effects of contact, from those of explorers, to settlers, anthropologists, and tourists, have made themselves felt in numerous ways. Nuxalk material culture became commodities and many objects disappeared from the artists' own communities. The Nuxalk themselves, through photography, also became commodities. Popular images of Native peoples, as well as their goods, reinforced the stereotypes already in place of the Noble Savage, the Vanishing Indian, and the primitive, exotic Other.

The material culture of the Nuxalk was transformed into items for the market, and the rush of collectors to the area rapidly depleted the "authentic," defined as old and used, objects. The demand for certain objects such as masks, though, remained high, and, while those that had been used were deemed more valuable, newly-carved masks filled the void left by the loss of others to early collectors. Although the Nuxalk and other Northwest Coast societies remained wealth-based, their economies shifted radically, and the means to acquire wealth changed or disappeared. The ban on potlatches and the other ceremonies of the Winter Ceremonial period reduced the need for objects such as masks within Nuxalk society. Forced assimilation and conversion to Christianity caused many Native peoples to get rid of objects, such as masks associated with "pagan beliefs." This created an internal void but funneled many cultural objects to an external market

It was with the camera, though, that the Euro-Americans who came to the Coast did the majority of their collecting. Images of Native people were popular for their exoticism, and photographers complied with images of Native people in posed settings,

using "traditional" objects. Images showing people wearing masks and ceremonial regalia demonstrate the fetishization of the culture. Anthropologists who came to the Northwest Coast also came armed with cameras and sought images of a supposedly vanishing race, as well as the objects associated with that race that needed to be catalogued and studied. The photographs made by both commercial photographers and anthropologists were often dehumanizing in their attempt to create a Native type. Native people began to use photographs as well, but their purpose was very different from that of the Euro-Americans. Photographs in which the Native subject, such as Joshua Moody, was able to influence at least partially the manner in which he was shown assert his individual identity as a person in the here and now—and not a part of a past or passing culture. Although the photographs were taken by anthropologist Stanley Newman, Moody is shown in a manner which indicates his own pride in culture as well as acculturation by his wearing Western clothes and posing with Western objects. Such photographs speak about a person adapting to colonization rather than vanishing. They also demonstrate the effect of acculturation in that no items of what could be called traditional material culture appear in the images.

It is possible that later twentieth-century Nuxalk masks are responses to the market or to the influence of Northwest Coast groups such as the Kwakwaka'wakw who painted their masks more fully. The more fully painted the Nuxalk masks, the more exotic the appearance of the masks, and so the more interesting and valuable they become to the collector or tourist. The current revival of mask making among the Nuxalk also means that more of the cultural heritage and the ceremonial life have been and are being reclaimed. Masks have continued to be an important part of Nuxalk culture. They are

using "traditional" objects, masks, and other artifacts and performing rituals demonstrating the spiritual and cultural values of the people. Anthropologists were also interested in the Northwest Coast art and its significance in the region's history. Vanishing race, as well as the objects associated with that race, had already been cataloged and studied. The process was nearly by both domestic anthropologists and anthropologists who often had to travel in their search to create a better picture. Native people began to use photography as well, but their purposes were very different from that of the Euro-Americans. Their images were not to be sold or traded, such as Joshua Sissak, who was able to influence at least part of the process in which the Northwest Coast art individual identity as a person in the past and now, and not a part of a past or present culture. Although the photographs were taken by anthropologists, they were not made in a manner which makes its own sense or context, as well as accumulation by his own eye. The photographs were taken by anthropologists, but they also demonstrate the art of sculpture in the form of what would be called traditional material culture objects in the image.

It is possible that later twentieth-century Northwest masks are a response to the market or to the influence of Northwest Coast masks such as the 200-year-old, who painted their masks more lively. The more lively painted the Northwest masks, the more exotic the appearance of the masks, and so the more interesting and valuable they became to the collector or tourist. The current revival of mask-making among Northwest artists means that more of the cultural heritage and the ceremonial practices have been and are being reclaimed. Masks are recognized to be an important part of Northwest culture. They are

important outward symbols of a vital culture, as well as necessary internally for use in ceremonies and potlatches. Despite all of the efforts to force the Nuxalk to acculturate, the influence of the market has maintained the importance of masks within Nuxalk culture. Although few late twentieth-century Nuxalk masks have been discussed here, there are many being created.

Photographs have played an important role in disseminating information about Nuxalk culture to Euro-Americans. The photographs of Native ceremonial regalia in Chapter 2 reveal the views of the Euro-Americans photographers, and locate the Native people in the photographs as exotic objects. This location is the same that was given to objects of Nuxalk material culture and one that contemporary Nuxalk masks continue to fill in collections in Euro-American homes and museums.

Only by relocating the masks and Nuxalk people in the photographs within their own culture and reexamining internal uses for both masks and photographs, and both did have internal uses as objects of cultural pride and family heritage, can the importance of these cultural objects begin to be understood. Many contemporary carvers, including Glenn Tallio, look at old photographs of Nuxalk people wearing ceremonial regalia and use these as the basis for some of the masks they carve. In this manner, the photographs of people wearing ceremonial regalia taken by the anthropologists in the early-twentieth century have a new internal meaning to Nuxalk carving, as they aid in the revival of mask-making.

important outward symbols of a ritual culture, as well as necessary internally for use in ceremonies and potlaches. Despite all of the efforts to locate the Nuxalk in academic literature, influence of the market has maintained the importance of masks within Nuxalk culture. Although few late twentieth-century Nuxalk masks have been discussed here, there are many being created.

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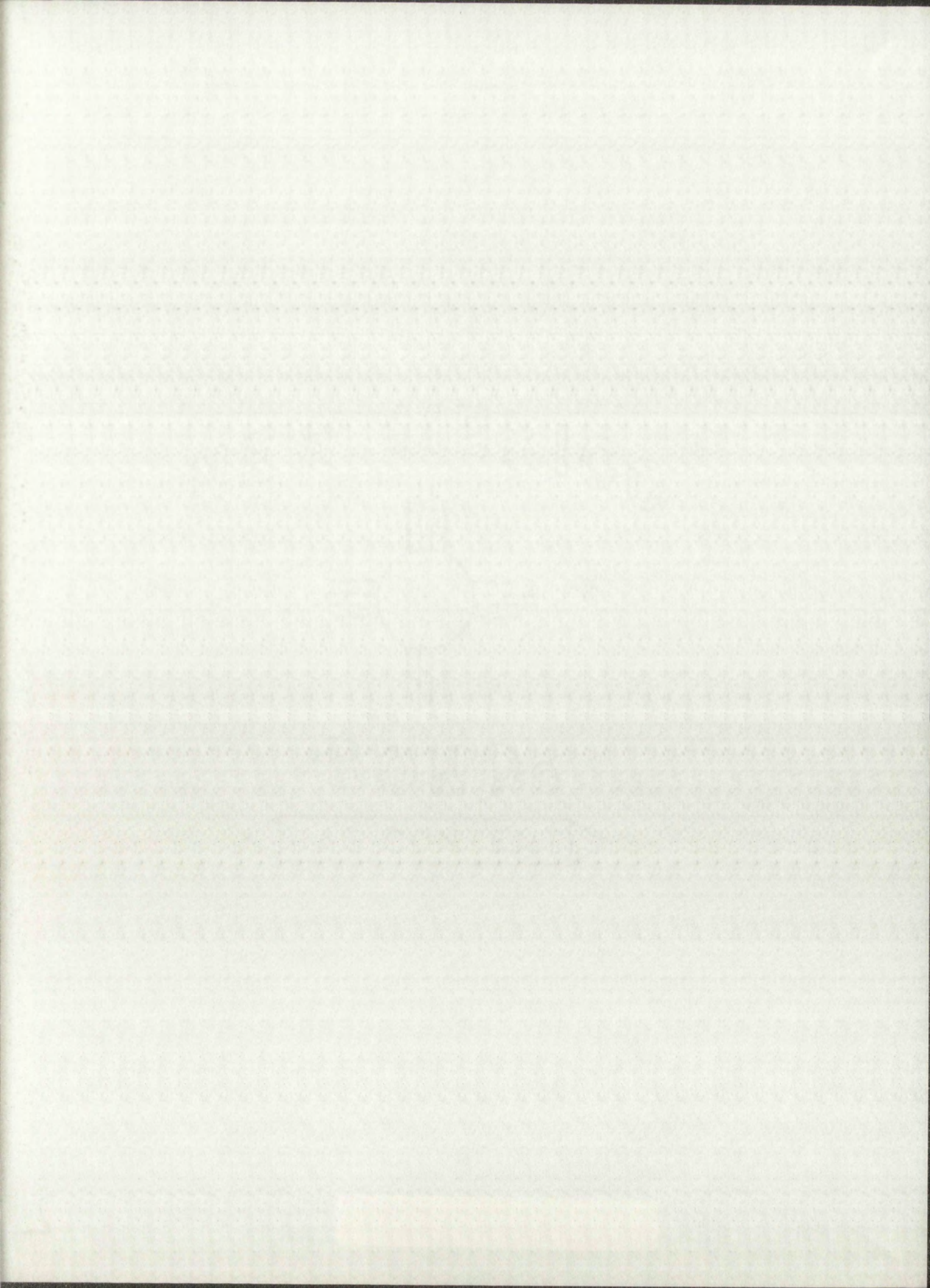
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