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Preface

Since its invention, photography has seemed the most realistic of media. Unlike its sister, painting, it seems to give us "things as they are," unmediated by human intervention. The first thing we ask of a photograph is, "what is it of?" and even at its most abstract a photograph is always an image *of* something (see Sontag 1977:93). While we have come to accept that artists working in the medium manipulate these pictures for expressive ends, we have yet to fully realize the extent to which such "objective" photographers as social scientists may determine what we see in a photograph. The scientists themselves, in their search for a transparent medium, encourage our faith in photographic veracity.

We do not find photographs as some part of the preexisting natural world, as much as they may appear that way. We all know that they are *made,* and behind that making lies what Margaret Blackman calls "the culture of imaging," which she defines as "the patterns of behavior and beliefs brought to the making, viewing, and understanding of photographic images" (1981:45). She reminds us that this is "something quite apart from the study of cultural content of the image itself."

This essay is devoted to investigating the culture of imaging surrounding the photographic work of Franz Boas (1858–1942), one of the founders of modern anthropology and, some have argued, of visual anthropology. Unlike most studies in visual anthropology, such as Blackman's previous study of Boas's photographs (1976), we look not at the potlatches that lay before Boas's camera, but instead at the photographer behind the lens. We will come to see that many of Boas's photographs are not what they appear to be on their silvered surface. This does not mean that Boas was dishonest. Rather, he was led to take certain pictures in certain ways for certain reasons, and it is our task to make these comprehensible, if for no other reason than to properly use his photographs as ethnographic sources, as he intended. Boas is a good choice for a study of the culture of imaging, for not only are his own activities and thoughts well documented, but so is the principal culture he studied: the Kwakiutl Indians of northern Vancouver Island and the adjacent mainland of British Columbia.[1] Although Boas's central position in the history of anthropology has generated a growing library of studies, the present effort represents the first in-depth treatment of his photographic work.[2]

Ira Jacknis is completing a doctoral thesis for the University of Chicago, "The Storage Box of Tradition: Museums, Anthropologists, and Kwakiutl Art, 1881–1981." His interests include Northwest Coast Indian art, the history of anthropology, museums, and visual anthropology. Pursuing his concern with anthropological representations, he is working on papers that deal with the photographs of James Mooney, the exhibits of Franz Boas, and the Balinese photographs and films of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson.

The Semiotic Perspective

Although their use may differentiate anthropology from other social sciences, as Jay Ruby claims (1973), photographs have been and remain a minor adjunct to the preferred medium of written ethnographies, typically used as "window-dressing." Boas made a marked effort to change this, though he did not wholly succeed. But in order to evaluate his achievement, we must first establish an analytic framework. The topic to be considered in this essay is the role of photographs (specifically, Boas's, and even more specifically, those taken with O. C. Hastings in 1894) in ethnography (specifically, Boas's ethnography of the Kwakiutl). What is proposed here is the application of the perspective of semiotics (the comparative study of systems of symbols and meaning) to the task of ethnographic representation. As such, this essay is rooted in the culture theory of Clifford Geertz (1973).

Although it is by no means restricted to the discipline, ethnography has come to be almost the defining characteristic of anthropology. Let us consider some of its key traits. An ethnography is the description of a single culture, usually foreign to the describer, and is thus distinguished from ethnology (an old-fashioned word, now replaced by "cultural anthropology"), the cross-cultural and analytic study of culture as a human generic. But while fundamentally a description, no ethnography is only that. One cannot write a description of a culture that is total and "transparent." The description is always shaped in terms of some theoretical stance, which determines the order and structure of the work as well as providing analytic commentary for the social facts it contains. Almost by definition, the materials for an ethnography are gathered firsthand, by personal fieldwork in the culture, most typically nowadays by the mode of "participant observation." Although many ethnographies bear general titles like "The Nuer" or "The Navajo," they are usually based on the intensive study of a much smaller population than an entire people—often only one village, with a survey of surrounding communities.

The term "ethnography" is applied to both process and product; one "does" ethnography as well as writes and reads one. This essay will deal with the writing, or, more generally, with the semiotic activity of describing, not with the myriad pragmatics that un-

derpin it—entering the field, setting up a household, finding informants, etc.

If ethnography is not descriptive, it is nothing. This description can be more precisely expressed as "representation" or, more learnedly, as mimesis (Greek for "imitation" or "copy").[3] The word "represent" stresses the *re*-presenting of a reality, in this case an exotic culture, so that it can live again in the minds of its readers, either for the sake of mere curiosity and entertainment or as material for the higher-order analyses of anthropology.

In order for this movement from field to study to take place, there must be some sort of split, rupture, or estrangement and a transferral or connection over that split. In fact, there are several such splits and connections involved. The basic act of creating a text (in this case a textual description) involves a phenomenal change from a continually flowing stream of oral speech to a fixed, limited, written format, even if the exact wording is maintained. The hope of all concerned is that the written text will be isomorphic with what was said, with minimal distortion.[4]

Yet, clearly, the creation of a text engenders many more "breaks." Paralinguistic elements like gesture and tone quality must be encoded or lost, and even more important is the entire social and behavioral context in which the utterance is embedded, all of which must be put into words. And if we are dealing with an exotic culture, as we typically are in anthropology, there is the crucial change from language to language, culture to culture.

Ethnographers are thus more than passive tape recorders. Not only are they busily working to convert all this cultural richness into a string of words but, in order for these words to be at all comprehensible to their audiences, they must add a continual running commentary, based on general knowledge of anthropology and specific knowledge of the culture at hand. The ethnographer is a kind of "culture broker" or "marginal man"—shuttling between two cultures, by tradition making *them* comprehensible to *us,* and, more recently, recycling his or her efforts back into the native culture.

"An ethnography" refers to a more or less finished, comprehensive account, not to raw field notes or to articles on special topics. But ethnographics have to come from somewhere, and in this essay we will concentrate on the continuous process of transformation, from the messy lived experience of social life to the bound volume on the shelf.

At the heart of ethnography, the initial act making all the rest possible, is the act of *inscription,* the fixing in permanent form of selected aspects of the field of sociocultural meaning. The process moves in stages of revision and analysis, resulting in the final *presentation,* usually in the form of written ethnography. The process is not as simple as these two steps imply. On the one end, there is the choice of recording a statement verbatim, or simply paraphrasing it, or taking no notes and writing it down later. At the other end, one can present the same inscription in the form of an article or book, popular or scientific. Although the protocols of natural science call for no revisions to the "raw" data once recorded, and anthropology tends to follow this model, the validity of these precepts is much more ambiguous when dealing with the flux and complexities of human culture. The problem is compounded, too, in that anticipations of the final form can often determine the nature of the initial recording.

Of the host of variables in the ethnographic process, the one examined in this essay is the issue of media. Media of communication are systems of signs or symbols that carry meaning from speaker to hearer, writer to reader, etc. The medium under consideration here, photography, will be related to the fundamental sensory modes of the tangible, the visual, and the aural and the kinds of technology applied to the tasks. A fourth category—the oral/verbal—is also listed. Though actually a subset of the aural, its importance in ethnography demands a separate entry. These basic media, all (except video) used by Boas, follow:

tangible:	artifacts (contemporary and archeological), material for physical anthropology (skeletons, plaster casts of body parts)
visual:	drawings, paintings, maps, still photography, cinema, video
aural:	sound recording of speech and music
oral/verbal:	texts in the native language, paraphrased native speech, observational description (in a range of formats—notes, diaries, logs, letters, etc.)

Some formats, such as musical notation, encode the signs of one sensory mode in those of another, writing being the most significant example (aural into visual).

Just as each sensory mode is predisposed to capture certain kinds of information, letting others slip beyond its grasp, so the application of each technological format has its strengths and weaknesses. Photography is thus a visual medium, as opposed to aural speech, but is also a mechanical one when compared to the manual (in general) medium of paints.

With the exception of the native artifacts and skeletons, all media, by and large, are created by the activity of the ethnographer. With the spread of literacy,

the present-day ethnographer also collects native writings such as newspapers, books, and manifestos. Much of contemporary ethnography has begun to approach ethnohistory, and thus material such as church records or gravestones is transcribed and recorded. Also, for an anthropologist with Boas's natural science background, a range of metric data based on houses, villages, bodies, or statistical countings of events is often recorded.

Within the general setting of Boas's work in photography, we will apply this semiotic perspective to an analysis of his photographic representation of Kwakiutl culture. The great bulk of this effort was the collection of 189 photographs taken by Oregon Columbus Hastings, a professional photographer from Victoria, British Columbia, in the Kwakiutl village of Fort Rupert in November of 1894. After a general review of all of Boas's photo work, we will turn to a close analysis of the 189 pictures (or, more precisely, 168, given the twenty-one that were lost), which will herein be called "the corpus." We begin with the provenance of the collection: its size and present location, its authorship, and its production (where, when, how, and why these photographs were taken). This second section then explores what can be called "the ontology of photography," analyzing the basic "nature of being" of the corpus photographs. In this section, devoted to the problem of inscription in the field, we will begin to apply the semiotic perspective, considering in what way the surface and meaning of Kwakiutl life was recorded in the visual and mechanical medium of the still camera. In spite of its seeming triteness, it is still useful to invoke the old form/meaning distinction, particularly in this case. For while Hastings was the photographer and thus responsible for composing the subject in his camera, the choice of subjects from the whole of Kwakiutl culture was Boas's. Throughout these sections we will relate the images to the intentions of the photographer and ethnographer, as well as to related work by predecessors, contemporaries, and descendants. Cutting across form and meaning is the patterning of the series of photographs in the space and time sampled by the team.

The implications of the corpus pictures will be explored in the final two sections. Almost everyone since 1894 has come to these pictures not by viewing the original prints but in the form of their use in Boas's publications, matched with an accompanying text. We will critically examine the transformations that have occurred in this movement from negative to reproduced plate. The presentation of the photographs grew out of and influenced Boas's general attitude toward photography as a medium for anthropology, considered in the final section. We conclude with a discussion of Boas's legacy and his role as a founder of the specialty called "visual anthropology."

Overview of Boas's Photographic Work

Baffinland Eskimo, 1883–1884

Boas used a camera on his first field trip, to Baffinland—a year-long journey dedicated more to purposes of cultural geography than to ethnological ones (Stocking 1968:133–160, Boas 1983). Boas was trying to determine to what extent the Eskimos' perceptions of their surroundings matched their actual physical environment. To document this, Boas collected a range of both natural and human data. Undoubtedly, he felt his photographs would allow him to establish the "objective" nature of the environment, to which he would contrast the Eskimos' perceptions.

On the eve of his departure, Boas listed his "armamentarium": "three watches, 'Prismenkreis and Horizont,' a geodetic theodolite, apparatus to measure distance and smaller ones to measure angles, a large compass, barometer, thermometer, hygrometer, aneroid and a photographic apparatus."[5] To Boas, a camera was just another scientific recording instrument. This attitude toward instruments and recording devices—still cameras, movie cameras, phonographs—rooted in his early training as a physicist, was to remain with Boas throughout his career.

Boas's thorough preparation for the expedition included lessons in both drawing and photography, even the development of his own negatives. He started his photography lessons in March of 1883 and by mid-April was spending two hours an afternoon at it. As he wrote to his parents: "Photographing is so important, that I want to profit as much as possible from it." In addition to his practical lessons, during his time in Berlin (October 1882–May 1883) Boas studied photography with Hermann W. Vogel, a pioneer in the theory and scientific basis of photography.[6]

On the way to Baffinland, Boas used the camera for sentimental purposes—taking pictures of his cabin for his wife and having his servant Wilhelm take a picture of him (Boas 1969: pl. ff. 34). From the Eskimo themselves Boas collected artifacts, transcribed some songs, took down folktales in their language, and recorded customs, concentrating on accounts of personal and tribal migrations. He also had them draw maps for him. On the physical side, he collected plants and animals, drew his own maps, took meteorological readings, and sketched and photographed the villages and landscape.

At this time Boas would have been using glass plates coated with a dry emulsion, but conditions for photography in the Arctic would still have been arduous: "I do not know how many times I froze my fingers taking three photographs!"[7] It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of his Eskimo photographs, as the bulk of them were lost in transit during harsh winter conditions. The surviving collection consists mostly

of landscapes of glaciers, icebergs, mountains, some distant Eskimo villages, and the ship in the harbor.[8] Visually, the photographs are barely "adequate," but given the small sample size one hesitates to comment further. However, one is struck by the lack of any serious pictures of people, either portraits or village scenes. But this is understandable, given the manifest geographical nature of Boas's first field trip.

Early Northwest Coast Field Trips, 1886 and 1889

Photography played an even greater role in Boas's first trip to the Northwest Coast in the fall of 1886. On a self-sponsored general survey, Boas studied languages by means of vocabularies and tales in the native tongue, collected craniums and artifacts, and sketched and photographed.

Boas's interest in the Northwest Coast had been sparked by the collections brought back to Berlin by Johann Adrian Jacobsen and by the exhibition of a troupe of Bella Coola brought to Germany by Johann and his brother Fillip (Cole 1982). A major concern on Boas's trip was to better document these Jacobsen collections. The method Boas devised, now called "photo-elicitation," though relatively radical at the time, has since become one of the standard techniques of material culture research.[9] Boas had photographs and drawings made of specimens in Berlin, New York, and Ottawa, which he showed to natives he encountered, hoping for identifications of iconography, ownership and use, etc. However, this method proved of little use, as Boas found that the knowledge of masks was localized to the tribe and family that had created them, and it was only luck that allowed the investigator to discover the "right" person (Boas 1890:7).

On his very first day on the Coast, September 18, 1886, Boas had a photographic encounter. Walking around Victoria, "I discovered pictures of my Bella Coola everywhere," wrote Boas to his parents, "and soon found their source—an Indian trader who had them rephotographed" (1969:20). These pictures, taken the year before in Germany by Carl Gunther, had by now made their way back to the homeland of their subjects; through them and the German trader, Boas was able to meet with some of his old friends. Even at this relatively early date, photographs of natives were a lucrative commodity.

Although from the beginning texts in the native tongue were Boas's primary ethnographic device, he exploited photography for its ability to record the details of otherwise noncollectable architecture and monumental sculpture. However, on this trip he had neglected to pack a camera, so he was forced to borrow one. By a curious train of coincidences, Boas was led to O. C. Hastings.

Even before his trip, Boas had known about Stephen Allen Spencer, one of the first photographers in Victoria. By the late 1880s, Spencer had sold out his interest in the studio to assume full-time control of a salmon cannery he had founded at Alert Bay, British Columbia. Here he married a Kwakiutl, Annie Hunt, whose brother George later became Boas's field assistant. While in Alert Bay in 1886, Boas stayed with the Spencers, and he accompanied Spencer down to Victoria when they both came south from Kwakiutl territory. As Boas recounts in his diary (1969:49), he went with Spencer to his old studio where, from an unnamed photographer, Boas borrowed a camera to use on his Comox and Cowichan trip, hoping that this time "the pictures will be better than the ones I took when I was among the Eskimo." As Oregon Columbus Hastings, Spencer's former partner, was at this time the owner of the studio, there can be little doubt that this encounter was the first meeting between the two men who would work together in November of 1894 in Fort Rupert.

The whereabouts of these Cowichan photographs is unknown (perhaps they are in Berlin), but Boas recorded in his diary the native responses to his camera work (1969:53–54). Here Boas found the natives "suspicious and unapproachable." Twice he had to assert himself to get the pictures he wanted. While he was photographing a totem pole, the owner appeared demanding payment, "which naturally I refused to do so that I should not deprive myself of the possibility of photographing whatever I might wish." Boas simply ignored him and proceeded to another house, whereupon the Indian followed and offered to interpret for Boas, an offer he accepted. That afternoon, when Boas tried to photograph a painted house front, this owner refused, and again Boas feigned disinterest, engaging the owner in distracting conversation. When a young man with a stag came by and asked to have his picture taken, Boas craftily posed him in front of the house and so got his picture. Boas's photographic work on this trip was cut short. On leaving for Comox, he discovered that he had left his plates in Nanaimo and would not be able to retrieve them for two weeks, by which time, being rushed, he spent what time remained in gathering texts.

Boas's next trip to the Northwest Coast in the summer of 1888 was sponsored by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). This time his photographic work was done by hired professionals and it combined skull collecting and picture taking. Twice Boas took along a photographer when he went out searching for skulls surreptitiously. In Victoria it was O. C. Hastings who showed him the location,[10] but Hastings seems to have left his camera behind (1969:88, 90).

A few weeks later, in Port Essington on the Skeena River, Boas used a photographer for both purposes. Finding by chance a Mr. Brooks who had come from Victoria to photograph the sawmills and canneries, Boas got him to take "physical type" portraits (front and side) of "five beautifully tattooed Haidas," just as he had earlier commissioned a Victoria photographer to shoot another Haida with "handsome tattooing" (1969:89). Boas was able to get permission to "drag" some Indians from prison to a photographer (probably Hastings again) in Victoria (1969:90). As he would do on later trips, Boas took anthropometric measurements along with the photographs, making them "more valuable," in his estimation. Boas went out with Brooks to a small island near Port Essington. While Brooks distracted onlookers' attention with his photography, Boas ransacked some graves (1969:95). On both his 1886 and 1888 trips, where he used bluff and subterfuge in order to get what he wanted, Boas was motivated by a strong desire to gather as much "objective" information as he could in a short time. Moreover, these methods bespeak the rather shallow relationship with potentially hostile natives that Boas had on such surveys. This would change on his later Kwakiutl trips.

World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893

In 1891, Boas took on a new role, as assistant to Frederick W. Putnam, director of anthropology exhibits at the Chicago fair honoring Columbus's discovery of America. Putnam, a curator and professor at Harvard's Peabody Museum who had decided upon a vast display of native artifacts from all parts of the American continents along with representative groups of their creators, camped on the fairgrounds over the summer of 1893. Boas was given special charge of a Northwest Coast section and, in turn, instructed George Hunt to collect Kwakiutl material and bring a troupe of fourteen Kwakiutl to demonstrate crafts and dances in an actual Kwakiutl house brought from Fort Rupert.

Photography had a strong presence in the anthropological displays at the fair. Just as the Indian photographs of John K. Hillers and William H. Jackson had illustrated the exhibits at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, an even larger and more diverse display was set up in Chicago. The Bureau of Indian Affairs had large transparencies in the windows of the U.S. Government Building, with scenes of Indian life on the reservation. But it was the Anthropology Building that used the widest range of visual aids. There was a large display of plaster casts and photographs of Central American archeology, and in the physical anthropology labs Boas had set up a wall of physical type photographs (Johnson 1898:327, 349). In addition there were several photo albums, such as *Midway Types* (1894), depicting the many ethnic groups displayed on the midway, usually with rather racist commentary.

One of the many individual exhibitors in the Anthropology Building was a Chicago photographer, John H. Grabill, who is listed with a presentation of Indian portraits and views of villages. Grabill, a little-known photographer of the American frontier,[11] is significant to our story because he was chosen by Putnam and Boas to photograph the Kwakiutl village at the fair. In selling the idea to the fair's administration, Putnam stressed that photographs of the Indians should be a very popular item, one with "considerable revenue."[12] Grabill made a series of images depicting Kwakiutl dancers and singers.[13] Boas promised them copies of their portraits, a promise he kept when he visited them the following year. And, as we will discuss in a later section, Boas was able to use several of these Kwakiutl portraits in his 1897 report.

Fort Rupert, 1894

At the close of the fair, Boas was appointed curator at the new Field Columbian Museum in Chicago, but by the spring of the following year he had been forced out by professional politics (Hinsley and Holm 1976). For the next eighteen months, Boas was forced to arrange a number of temporary positions to support his family. One such enterprise was another expedition to the Northwest Coast, pieced together from funds supplied by the U.S. National Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, and the BAAS. The BAAS work was devoted to a number of miscellaneous topics not yet covered in his work for the Association: mostly anthropometric measurements of Interior Salish and the language and customs of the Tsetsaut and Nishga of the Nass River area.

Boas suggested gathering for the two museums the necessary artifacts and related documentation needed to construct a diorama on some aspects of Kwakiutl culture. He proposed to do an exhibit on the winter ceremonial for the National Museum and one on domestic crafts for the American Museum [Jacknis:ms. (a)]. Along with his exhibit for the Washington museum, Boas was to submit a detailed report on these ceremonies. Nowhere in his correspondence with his patrons is there any explicit direction to take photographs. It seems to have been assumed that this would be a necessary guide in the construction of a diorama.[14]

When Boas arrived in Victoria in late September, he went again with a photographer to a prison to take pictures of Indians and plaster casts of their faces. Boas does not say whether the photographer was Hastings, but we do know that the two dined together

on September 30. No doubt they were planning their strategy. Boas went north and would be joined by Hastings at Fort Rupert in November. As late as a week before his arrival in Fort Rupert, Boas was complaining to his wife that he really did not want to go but was only doing it because he needed the money (1969:172).

Oddly enough, this was Boas's first visit to Fort Rupert, though he had spent weeks in the nearby Kwakiutl communities of Nuwitti and Alert Bay in 1886 and 1889. When Boas finally arrived in Fort Rupert on November 14, the winter ceremonials had already started, and after he left on December 5 they continued on through the winter. Boas's understanding of these portions, as well as much of what he himself witnessed, was dependent on the assistance of George Hunt. Hunt was paid for unspecified services during September by the National Museum and during October by the American Museum. In addition to making small artifact collections for each, he was probably engaged in some superficial ethnography.

The day after his arrival, Boas met with Hunt to discuss their research, and that afternoon Boas invited the tribe to a feast. It was at this feast that Boas presented their pictures to the Chicago alumni. The same day, setting immediately to his work, Boas began to take measurements for his BAAS survey. During his stay his usual routine was to observe the winter dances during the evenings, taking shorthand notes and going over them with Hunt the following morning. Hunt repeated and translated some of the speeches and songs. Other occupations were some modest collecting and the correction of song transcriptions taken from wax cylinders Boas had recorded at the fair.

Boas had been busy for over a week before Hastings arrived from Victoria. Even so, it was another day and a half before the team began photographic work, on the morning of November 25. No doubt Boas was using this time to explain to Hastings what was going on and what kinds of pictures he desired.[15] Evidently, photographs were taken every day from the morning of November 25 until the morning of December 3, when they exhausted all the 180 plates Hastings had brought. Leaving Fort Rupert on December 5, Boas went on to Victoria with Hastings, where he packed up his material, made out bills, and arranged for shipping.

Since his trip was funded jointly by two museums, with each to get an exhibit, Boas divided the total collection of photographs, with seventy-one going to the Smithsonian and ninety-seven going to the American Museum. Hastings was paid by each institution at the rate of sixty-eight cents per negative. Although the BAAS paid for the physical anthropology research, the American Museum paid for and received the photographs. Why they did not go to the Canadian Geological Survey, with its museum and photograph collection, is unknown. Perhaps it was because metric data on the Kwakiutl were not explicitly commissioned by the BAAS survey, or more likely simply because the Association did not have the extra funds.

Although the exposed negatives were split between the two museums, Boas arranged for each museum to print two sets of prints, with the duplicates exchanged with the other museum, thus giving each a complete set. In both, the photographs were initially accessioned as part of the small artifact collection sent for the exhibit. Later, the photographs were separated and filed with other photographs.

Upon arriving on the East Coast, Boas went almost directly to the Smithsonian, where he reviewed their collections and supervised the construction of an exhibit representing the return of the hamatsa initiate. It was during this time (January–March 1895) that the series of twelve photographs was made of Boas in the poses of a Kwakiutl "cannibal" dancer, intended to serve as a model to the museum craftsmen (reproduced in Hinsley and Holm 1976).

The Jesup Expedition, 1897–1902

After setting up his exhibits at the American Museum in the fall of 1895, Boas was able to stay on as a curator until the fall of 1905. It was by now accepted practice in anthropology museums to include the camera among necessary field instruments, and in planning his massive expedition to the Northwest Coast and Eastern Siberia, funded by the Museum's president M. K. Jesup, Boas was sure to order a camera and plates. The expedition involved a team of up to thirteen people working simultaneously in several areas over six years; yet Boas was in the field only twice, in 1897 and 1900, and on neither occasion did he take pictures.

As was his custom, Boas used a whole arsenal of media and techniques during the initial trip, this time adding the relatively new phonograph to artifact and text collection, measurements, photographs, and plaster casts. The primary user of the camera this time was a research team gathering data on the physical features of the Indians. Wherever they went up and down the coast, the young Harlan I. Smith took the pictures—profile, frontal, and three-quarters—while Boas took plaster casts and measurements, assisted from time to time by Livingston Farrand. Smith also used the camera to record his archeological sites (Thomas 1982:85).

Boas again tried his method of photo-elicitation, this time with better results. The great Haida artist Charles Edenshaw was able to explain many of the artifacts Boas showed him. The two worked on design

principles as well as iconography, though Boas felt he should have more than one informant to be sure of his data (1969:228).

The following year Smith made great use of the camera for archeological, ethnographic, and physical purposes. Always good with his hands, Harlan Smith was a pioneering photographer in his long career, especially during his stint at the Canadian National Museum. O. C. Hastings was with Smith on this trip to the Fraser River area and back again to Fort Rupert and seems to have helped with the digging as well as the photography. At Fort Rupert, they took about one hundred shots. Over half were of faces, four views per person, to accompany their plaster casts; the remainder were a series of valuable ethnographic shots of potlatching and gambling and the usual records of shell heaps, graves, and rock carvings.

Oddly enough, when Boas returned to Fort Rupert in 1900 he took no photographs, even though he was collecting everyday artifacts and studying food and medicine, subjects that he later had George Hunt photograph. Boas's time was rather short and he spent much of it revising his linguistic material, so evidently photographs were a lesser priority. In reviewing the Jesup photographs, one is struck by the relative lack of ethnographic shots and preponderance of physical type shots. Apparently this was a result of Boas's explicit policy.

George Hunt, 1901–1911

It was Boas's custom to engage field assistants to send him ethnographic descriptions, which he would edit for publication. Boas especially prized natives like Hunt, a Kwakiutl, Henry Tate, a Tsimshian, and Ella Deloria, a Dakota Sioux. Like the others, Hunt contributed textual material. Yet, unlike them, he also sent in his own photographs.

Around mid-1901, Hunt got a camera, evidently on his own initiative. Hunt's instructor was either S. A. Spencer, his brother-in-law, or one of Spencer's sons. In his first several years of picture taking he seems to have chosen subjects to photograph—largely of costumes or ritual action—that he felt could not be captured in words: "for lots of this things is Done and I cant Explain it."[16]

From the summer of 1901, when he took his first pictures, to the summer of 1905, when Boas left the American Museum, Hunt sent in at least fifty photographs. The subjects were quite diverse. While generally corresponding to his work for Boas, they often depict other aspects of Kwakiutl life. Among the topics were masked dancers, a potlatch series, women drying seaweed or cutting up halibut, canoe making, totem poles, artifacts, and a long series taken in 1904 of a Nootkan whalers' shrine, which Hunt collected for the museum with some difficulty [Jacknis:ms. (b)]. Other than the Nootka set, most seem to have been taken in Fort Rupert and Alert Bay.

From 1906 until about 1911, Boas directed Hunt's camera work a bit more closely. During these years Boas was finishing up his account of Kwakiutl material culture (1909) and its continuation, much of it devoted to cooking (1921). In November of 1907, Boas was able to get authorization from the Bureau of American Ethnology for Hunt to be paid two dollars per photograph, up to a total of fifty to illustrate his study of Kwakiutl food preparation. From time to time Boas requested specific illustrations, but he often had to be patient. Most subsistence activities took place only at certain times of the year, and if they were missed for any reason, one would have to wait another year. Sometimes Hunt was sick. It took Boas three years to receive his first request—a cedar tree from which boards had been split off.

As Boas's interests shifted to social organization in the 1910s and 1920s, Hunt's photographic work abated, though he continued to send Boas pictures when he felt they would clarify matters. Over the years Hunt also annotated a good number of photographs, mostly of artifacts. From 1910 to 1914, Hunt cooperated closely with Edward S. Curtis's Kwakiutl project, even taking with his own camera study shots for Curtis.

Fort Rupert, 1930

Naturally, Boas's photo work was confined to the periods of his fieldwork. After 1900, he made only three substantial field trips to the Northwest Coast (in 1923, 1927, and 1930) and took a camera only on his last. However, he did spend summers from 1919 to 1921 among the Pueblos and could have taken pictures then; but, as was his custom on almost all these trips, he concentrated on a text-based methodology. During these decades, however, he continued his efforts at a Kwakiutl ethnography through correspondence with George Hunt, and at various times they communicated through pictures.

Photography was integral to Boas's plans for his final trip. During his later years he was increasingly drawn to the study of gesture and motor habits. They represented a coming together of his interests in ascertaining the relative influences of race and culture on bodily movements and of his theory of art as the virtuosic elaboration of rhythmic bodily motion. Boas found rhythm to be at the heart of all the arts—painting and sculpture, dance, music and poetry. But even after the publication of his *Primitive Art* in 1927, feeling the need for more "adequate material for making a real study" (1969:291), he decided to employ the recording devices of the motion picture camera and phonograph on his trip to Fort Rupert.

Figure 1 Street scene, with Julia Averkieva taking a photograph, at the side. Fort Rupert, B.C. October 1930–January 1931. Franz Boas, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, Photography Accession no. 157.

Figure 2 Ruins of interior house posts. Fort Rupert, B.C. October 1930–January 1931. Franz Boas, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, Photography Accession no. 157.

Unlike his major photographic project in 1894, on this trip Boas was his own cameraman—even though he was using the motion picture camera for the first time and was now seventy-one. Julia Averkieva, a student at Barnard College, assisted with the recording of 156 cylinders, as well as conducting her own research. Boas exposed about an hour's worth of film, the primary subjects being technology, games, ritual, and dance. Instead of a narrative structure, the footage as Boas left it (and there is no indication that he ever intended to edit it further) consists of a string of discrete action-sequences—a particular dance or game—each a few minutes long.

While these films comprise the scientific visual documentation of his expedition, they were not the only pictures Boas took. Although he mentioned them in passing in his family letters (1969:299, 300), until now, the fact that Boas took still photographs on this trip has been overlooked. I found a collection of 142 "snapshots" at the American Museum of Natural History.[17] They are best called snapshots and differentiated from the "research" films for several reasons. Small in size (1½ × 1⅛ inches, image only), they depict people, landscapes, petroglyphs, house posts, grave totems and figures, and street scenes (Figures 1 and 2). Five are of scenery in the Canadian Rockies taken on the way west, and the rest were taken in Fort Rupert and Alert Bay. Although almost all contain some valuable ethnographic information, nowhere does Boas make any theoretically motivated reference to them. Nor did he ever publish or use them in his research. Perhaps this can be attributed to Boas's many preoccupations in his last decade. Their subjects are virtually exclusive of the topics of his filmic research. Yet the photographs were not haphazard. They can be ordered to show Boas's walks along the street in Alert Bay or into its graveyard, with a shot every few feet, allowing one to reconstruct the appearance of the whole space in a much more systematic fashion than in the 1894 corpus. Similarly, he carefully photographed the front and rear house posts of the few remaining traditional house frames at Fort Rupert. The nineteen photographs of people are essentially souvenirs: except for the three of Averkieva, all are of George Hunt and his family.

Inscription: The 1894 Boas/Hastings Collaboration

The Corpus

Let us turn first to the specific circumstances of production before considering the relation of the corpus to Kwakiutl culture. How big is the corpus and of what does it consist? On the first day of photography (November 25) twenty-six photographs were taken—a mixture of ceremonial activity (the return of the hamatsa initiate, a copper purchase) and physical type portraits. The following two days were devoted to a total of forty-six images, again mostly of physical types, done simultaneously with measurements and plaster castings. On November 28, Boas and Hastings took a series of twelve shots at a feast, with twenty-four others, mostly portraits and physical types. On November 29, Boas got up at 8 A.M. to capture the return of more hamatsa initiates, but he had to wait until early afternoon, when he got five in this ritual sequence and another eight of rock carvings and village scenes. On the last day of the month, Boas had a woman pose for the American Museum diorama (nine shots). With this done, Boas had largely completed his mission and spent the rest of the day through December 3 mostly with further physical types and portraits and with some miscellaneous shots, for a total of sixty-eight from November 30 to December 3 (it is impossible to determine with greater precision the dating of these last photographs).

Of the total of 189 plates exposed, only 168 were sent to the museums. Boas said he had exposed 180 plates and made two estimates of the number of satisfactory exposures: first he said there were 25 of the 180 "for which I do not care," which would make 155, and later he said that he had 144 "good pictures" (1969:189–190). In explaining the missing shots, Boas said "some [are] of Hunt's family, and some are spoiled." Indeed, most of the twenty-one are of the Hunt family. Perhaps Boas gave them their pictures, though the whereabouts of the negatives is unknown. A print of one, of Boas with the Hunt family, is preserved in the Boas Collection of the American Philosophical Society (and reproduced as the frontispiece of Boas 1966). We can be less sure about the ones that were "spoiled," but one is double-exposed and one is labeled as "blank." And apparently some of the Hunt family photos were also spoiled. Regarding the discrepancy between the slightly higher figure Boas sent in and the lower one of photos he considered "good," we can suggest that he submitted several that he considered imperfect.

Attribution

There has been some uncertainty as to who was behind the camera. The confusion stems from Boas's statements to his wife and family that "I was just about to photograph a woman" or "Yesterday morning I had a few women sit for me while I took several pictures for the New York group" (Boas 1969:189, 188). However, this last statement cannot be strictly true, for in one of these shots for the diorama (AMNH no. 11604, reproduced in Thomas 1982:80; see also Figure 26). Boas himself appears with George Hunt, holding up a blanket behind the model. At other times Boas suggests that he worked *with* Hastings: "We took pictures all day" or "I busied myself the whole day with taking pictures. We took several pictures of Indians (ibid.: 186, 184). From this last, one might suppose that Hastings and Boas each took some, as two people cannot both work a camera at the same time.

All the photographs can be safely attributed to Hastings. The decisive evidence is the two signed vouchers Hastings sent to each museum, demanding payment for the listed negatives. After all, it makes sense that if Boas went to the trouble of hiring a professional photographer, he would make optimum use of him rather than letting him sit idle while Boas was using the camera. But although Hastings may have snapped the shutter, we can be sure that Boas was always at his side, directing his work, choosing subjects and maybe even camera angles. Thus it was a team, with Hastings the cameraman and Boas the director. With this understood, we will refer in this essay, for convenience, to Boas and Hastings interchangeably as "the photographer."

O. C. Hastings: His Life and Work

Even at his birth (April 26, 1846, in Pontoosuc, Illinois), the parents of Oregon Columbus Hastings (not C. O. Hastings as given mistakenly by Boas in 1897a:315 and widely cited since) must have had a hankering for the West, for when Hastings was only one year old, he was the first white child to cross the Oregon trail, and he became one of the early residents of Portland. After an early mining and merchandising career in California, in 1852 Oregon's father settled his brood in Port Townsend, Washington, where they became one of the leading families. At the age of sixteen Hastings left school to work on his father's farm. But in 1874 he gave this up to settle in Victoria, where he soon turned his hobby of photography into a business, as manager of the studio of Stephen A. Spencer. By 1881, he had become a partner of Spencer's, buying him out the following year. During these years he was quite a successful commercial photographer, occupied with portraits, local scenery, and the like.[18]

Yet, as he grew older, Hastings turned increasingly to a variety of scientific pursuits. In 1879 he was chosen by Israel Wood Powell as the official photographer for an inspection tour of the natives of the British Columbia coast. (Powell, the Indian Commissioner for the province, had similarly employed Richard Maynard in 1873 and would hire Edward S. Dossetter on his 1881 trip.) Hastings documented mission churches, canneries, and towns, in addition to native houses, totems, and some of the natives themselves. Although they stopped briefly in Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, no photographs were taken here.[19]

In early 1889, Hastings sold his studio in Victoria, taking a position as U.S. collector of customs in St. Michael, Alaska, but leaving his winters free for scientific work. He is reputed to have owned the first astronomical telescope in British Columbia, was a keen microscopist, and was a member of several learned societies. During the nineties, possibly as a result of his meeting with Boas, Hastings spent much of his free time on paleontological, archeological, and ethnological expeditions, as well as acting as photographer for Boas and members of the Jesup Expedition. Evidently Hastings continued these various activities until his death on August 4, 1912.[20]

Equipment and Technological Limitations

Recording devices differ in their sensitivity to stimuli, and thus some aspects of the phenomenal world will be impossible or difficult to record with certain equipment. Although the 4¾ × 6½" glass plates used by Hastings were faster and easier to use than the earlier wet plates, even then they were being superseded by flexible film. Hastings's conservative use of the glass plates, after Kodak's introduction of film in 1888, was common among most professional photographers of the time. From the results, it does not appear that Hastings used either a wide-angle or telephoto lens. We do know that the camera was a view camera in which the image on the ground glass at the rear was inverted—upside down and side to side. Most of the photographs are characterized by a relatively shallow depth of field, in which much of the background is out of focus, but so many factors can affect depth of field that it is impossible to know which was primary.

The most relevant variable is "speed"—the amount of light reaching the plate within a given time. Speed can be a result of the sensitivity of the chemical emulsion coating the plates, the construction of the lens, and the relation between shutter speed and the aperture of the lens. Hastings's equipment was generally fast enough to stop most action, such as a blanket in the air or people walking. In fact, Boas labeled one photo, of a man walking, as a "snap" and others as "some quick shots." This means that, while Boas and Hastings may have preferred to stop the action and have the people pose for a better shot, they were not required to do so.

Yet glass plate photography *had* to be somewhat slower than roll film, though not for photochemical reasons. One can have only one plate in the camera at a time, removing it with care so as not to break or damage it. This would tend to limit the speed with which one could film an ongoing social action. An examination of the corpus confirms that the photos seem to have been spaced at least several minutes apart.

However, in the absence of flash equipment, there were important constraints on where and when Hastings and Boas could photograph. Although flash equipment was available at the time, it was still cumbersome and a little dangerous, with the explosion of powdered chemicals in the open, and could not be controlled (Blackman 1981:64). All their pictures had to be taken outdoors and during daylight. Seven interior shots were attempted, but only two are preserved in the collections; the others apparently did not come out. Hastings later wrote to Boas that in the future he would use flash for interior scenes.[21] Outdoor shots were limited by the rainy and overcast weather of the Northwest autumns. The major omission was thus the vivid and spectacular masked dances and feasts held in the large community houses from early evening until dawn. Boas felt this keenly. After watching a man unharmed after being pierced by a spear, he wrote to his wife, "I wish I could have taken pictures" (1969:185).

Yet there was still much available to the cameraman. Physical anthropology portraits, of course, were not dependent on context, while domestic chores and technology often did take place outdoors. And two important ceremonial activities *were* usually performed during the day: the return of the hamatsa initiate from seclusion in the woods, and copper purchases, with their associated displays of blankets and trade goods. Boas and Hastings photographed both on their first day of shooting.

Form: Composition and Photographic Style

Hastings's visual style places him in the documentary rather than the art tradition of photography. His work closely resembles that of his contemporaries, other early British Columbian commercial photographers such as Spencer, Maynard, and Dossetter. Their studio experience in mid-Victorian times led them to produce a "good" photograph—well composed, focused, and exposed. These were the qualities demanded by their sitters and governmental sponsors.

Figure 3
The nōō'nLEmaLa ("fool dancers"). Kwaguł. Left to right: Charlie Wilson, Mungo Martin, Peter Pascaro, unidentified man. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 30–December 3, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 106706. Published in Boas 1897a:pl. 33.

One has to conclude after a review of the corpus that Hastings's main aim was the recording of the subject matter, not the construction of striking visual patterns. Items incidental to the main subject spill out of the frame; the lighting is even and diffuse, with no highlights calling attention to any particular point; verticals, horizontals, and diagonals do not repeat or echo to build up a rhythm.

Yet, at times, when Hastings had the opportunity to compose his subject, the results could be quite satisfying. Perhaps his best composition is the group portrait of the fool dancers in a forest clearing (Boas 1897a: pl. 33; Figure 3). What appeals to us here is contrast—the five are arranged so that their varying heights create a dynamic balance. The face paintings are striking and each is different. One fellow holds a knife jutting out; another sits with a cedar bark neck ring; the one at the end wears a different, lighter-colored blanket than the others. The surrounding forest and the plank running parallel on the ground all unify the picture.

Yet Hastings's successes follow right after his less felicitous exposures. This was particularly true during occasions like Boas's feast when he had little time to arrange appearances to his satisfaction. One image of a canoe, set off effectively by the inclusion of some shore at the bottom edge, was taken just before a similar one without the shore, a much weaker composition. His series of the return of the Kwakiutl hamatsa is a technical failure—fuzzy and dark, with figures wandering off the frame.

A comparison with Edward S. Curtis is instructive. These two photographers of the Kwakiutl came from the American midwest (Hastings from Illinois, Curtis from Wisconsin) to settle in the Puget Sound area (the former in Port Townsend, the latter in Seattle). Both parlayed a youthful hobby of photography into a business. Yet their styles are so different, and their birthdates help explain this. Hastings was born in 1846. Curtis, born a generation later in 1868, was touched by the Pictorialist movement, which encouraged the photographer to manipulate the image to achieve a blurred, dreamy, and poetic effect—the mark of Art. Hastings's scientific interests would never allow him to say, with Curtis, "Try to make your work show some individuality, or in other words, make it look yourself; let it show that you have put part of your life into it" (quoted in Lyman 1982:39). If he had, Boas would never have chosen him.

Moreover, the body of their work is not comparable. Curtis was working under the best of conditions—with the summer's stronger and more controllable light, with more advanced equipment, with the freedom to pose subjects as he wished. And his work, as we know it, is highly edited and selective. Curtis himself manipulated his prints to best effect, and unlike the case of the corpus under consideration here, we do not have the opportunity to view his mistakes. Yet it is undeniable that Hastings and Curtis had different visual styles that matched essentially divergent purposes—scientific documentation and aesthetic impact.

Native Responses

The photographs that have come down to us, at least those of people (the great bulk of the 1894 corpus), are the products of a social encounter between a visiting anthropologist/photographer and natives. In order for these photos to be used as ethnographic testimony on the state of Kwakiutl culture in 1894, we need to know, if possible, what effect the visitors had on the people they observed or, conversely, what the natives thought of their visitors. The question of influence will be considered in each of the three remaining sections; suffice it to say that it appears to have been present but minimal. Here we will turn to the native response.[22] While the direct evidence on this point is meager, the circumstantial evidence is suggestive.

With one exception (to be considered below), nowhere in his usually detailed family letters does Boas comment on any adverse reaction. Unlike his earlier attempt at photographing the Cowichan in 1886, in 1894 in Fort Rupert, Boas had excellent rapport with the natives. He and Hastings were the only white men in the village. Although this was Boas's first visit to the community, he already had friends there—many of the Kwakiutl who had spent the previous summer in Chicago had come from here, and Boas stayed with George Hunt. Hunt, widely respected among the Kwakiutl, must have greatly helped Boas's position. As he had on his first trip in 1886, Boas sponsored a feast, which obligated his guests to reciprocate in invitations to feasts or other events.

A possible indication of his rapport with his subjects is the fact that, apart from the woman hired to demonstrate crafts, Boas did not pay them, at least not in money. He was not exploiting them; clearly, he did not have to. Many of the faces at his feast relax into smiles.

Finally, let us look at the Kwakiutl reaction to the camera and to the act of being photographed. While Boas and Hastings were by no means the first photographers to visit Fort Rupert, having been preceded by Dossetter in 1881 and Dawson in 1885, the camera was still a strange device there. A contemporary news account of the fair tells us that, when Grabill took their pictures, "the Kwakiutl were afraid of the camera, thinking it was a gun."[23] At one point, Boas recounted an amusing anecdote indicating the strangeness of the camera to the Kwakiutl: "The people are curious to see the pictures from the back of the camera. I was just about to photograph a woman when somebody noticed that the picture was upside down, and he ran away telling everybody that her clothing had fallen over her head" (1969:189).[24] From the expressions on people's faces, such as the man in plate 8 of Boas 1897a (see Figure 13—lower left corner) who turns to face the camera, it appears that people had to both overcome their fear of the camera and retain their curiosity about it.

There was only one incident in which the Kwakiutl were reluctant to have their pictures taken. Boas witnessed (and photographed part of) one of the more macabre sections of the winter ceremonials. As part of the return of the hamatsa or so-called "cannibal dancer," one of his female attendants "danced with skulls in her hand. The hamatsa danced ahead of her, and after a while he took the skulls out of her hand and put them down after he had licked them and eaten the [something like maggots?]." Boas noted that "the people were afraid to let me see this" (1969:188). One clause in the law forbidding potlatches and certain native dances specifically cited cannibalism, and undoubtedly the Kwakiutl were worried that they might be prosecuted for their act.[25] Boas in fact did not get photographs of this portion of the event, perhaps in deference to native wishes.

Content and Genre

The division of the corpus into groups of related subjects is based on three levels of selection: the initial divisions of Kwakiutl culture intrinsic to the culture itself, the selection and ordering of this by Boas and Hastings, and my grouping of their corpus. No great claims are made here for the assignment of particular images to each of the three categories of material culture, people, and ceremonialism; the grouping is more or less arbitrary and for convenience of exposition. However, it does tend to conform to groupings by Boas himself. First there is his apportionment of the corpus, roughly half to each institution. We are guided by Boas's specific wording on the negative lists. For example, while in each case individuals' names are given for the physical types, for the pictures of the dancers—fool dancers in the woods, dancers with cannibal bird masks, woman in dance pose—only these general labels are given, with no names, thus indicating that Boas regarded them more as general types representing "dancer" than as portraits, which they are as well.

In order to understand the content of these images—why one thing was photographed and another was not—we have to restore them to their "natural contexts." As suggested, limiting conditions for any photographer are his equipment and the circumstances of his shooting situation, many of which are beyond his control. But, in the words of Paul Byers (1966), "cameras don't take pictures," people do, and people have reasons. What were Boas's reasons?

On the most immediate level, his reasons were certain tasks he assumed when planning the trip, obligations he had to fulfill for himself and those funding the expedition. On this level, it is striking, but not surprising, that a tripartite division of subject matter into material culture, people, and ceremonialism can be

correlated with the three sources of funding for the expedition (though the division on "who got what" was not as neat). Boas's research in physical anthropology was sponsored by the BAAS. The American Museum got the photographs to make a display of cedar technology, and the National Museum received the pictures focusing on ceremonialism, including here several portraits of men in ritual garb as well as related material culture such as totemic figures or burials.

But beyond these manifest promptings, the nature of the photographs grew out of Boas's basic approach to ethnology and what he took the tasks of ethnography to be. And as Boas and Hastings were not the first or only ones to take ethnographic photographs of Northwest Coast natives, a proper understanding of their accomplishment requires that we relate the corpus to similar attempts both before and after theirs—in other words, to the appropriate genres into which their photographs fall.

This section will also give a substantive answer to the "what" of the corpus: What did Hastings photograph and what is the place of these subjects in Kwakiutl culture? Of equal importance is the "what not": What did Boas and Hastings *not* photograph that from other sources we know to have been there during their stay? This kind of negative analysis will reveal that their omissions—subsistence activities, masked dances, informal behavior, signs of acculturation—while in some cases due to technical limitations, otherwise point to their theoretical biases.

Material Culture

Although his trip was sponsored by two museums, Boas's research in 1894 was not particularly devoted to material culture. Rather, his focus was the ceremonies that formed a context for the use of artifacts. Aware that he had to choose different subjects for a diorama at each museum, Boas decided on a ritual scene for the Smithsonian and cedar bark in domestic crafts for the American Museum. For the former topic Boas had come at the right time; but, as he no doubt knew well, the beginning of the winter season was not the time the Kwakiutl devoted themselves to subsistence and the chores of spinning and weaving. Thus, his desire to obtain adequate material in this latter area ran against native cultural contexts, which meant he would have to actively arrange matters.

Boas's stress on the ceremonial over the domestic can be seen in his artifact collecting on this trip. First, he collected relatively little—twenty-six pieces—only enough for his two exhibits and not in any way a comprehensive or even representative sampling of material culture in the village. Virtually all of this was gathered by Hunt before Boas's arrival, and later in the year Hunt sent to the Smithsonian an even larger collection of masks and cedar bark paraphernalia. Although Boas possessed a fairly good knowledge of Kwakiutl crafts at the time, his detailed study of technological forms and processes did not come until his research during the summer of 1900 (embodied in the 1909 monograph). Hunt was paid for the artifacts he had collected that were used in the photographs and then sent on to New York for installation in the exhibit. As well, he was paid twenty-five cents for the "loan of implements for photos." Evidently the models were also paid for their services.[26]

There is thus no doubt that these scenes were "staged." A sort of outdoor "studio" was set up in front of the Hunt family house. The requisite traditional props were arranged before a backdrop blanket, held up in one shot by Boas and Hunt. It is difficult to judge the degree of reconstruction involved. We know from contemporary sources, especially Harlan Smith's photographs only four years later, that cedar bark clothing was not the daily garb at the time (in fact, it is not even present in any of Smith's potlatch pictures). Yet, though cedar bark clothing is visible in neither the ceremonial photographs nor the portraits, Boas noted that at the feast he sponsored upon his arrival, "each was dressed in his cedar bark cloak" (1969:177). Similarly, although many women could still weave mats and baskets, these skills were rapidly disappearing in the face of white-manufactured goods. But Boas was able to find a woman who had these traditional clothes and still practiced the domestic arts he wished to photograph. Although Boas repeatedly refers to the model in the plural, from an examination of the photographs it appears that only one was involved. We will examine the implications of this reconstruction in the final section.

Boas's staging involved a change in venue that introduced some minor inaccuracies. The beginning of the winter ceremonial season would have been a somewhat unlikely time for basket making, but not an impossible one. But Hunt's own reports (Boas 1921:126–129, 132–144) clearly state that shredding red cedar bark was done indoors, near the fire needed to dry it out (see Figure 22). Such contextual solecisms are common in staged ethnographic photography of the time and for some reason often involve cedar bark crafts. When Hastings photographed three Haida women at Masset in 1879, they have the necessary equipment—a basket stand, a bucket of water to keep the material pliable, and a knife for splitting the roots (cf. Blackman 1981:64). Yet in 1897, when Edward P. Allen, on an expedition for the Field Columbian Museum, photographed a Haida woman, also in Masset, weaving a basket, he placed her outside without her tools and water basket (photograph reproduced in Dorsey 1898:163). Edward Curtis, two decades later, took a picture very similar to Boas's—of a woman (Hunt's wife) shredding cedar bark outdoors (1915:pl. 16). The rest of Boas's

Figure 4 Village scene, from the East. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 29, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336058.

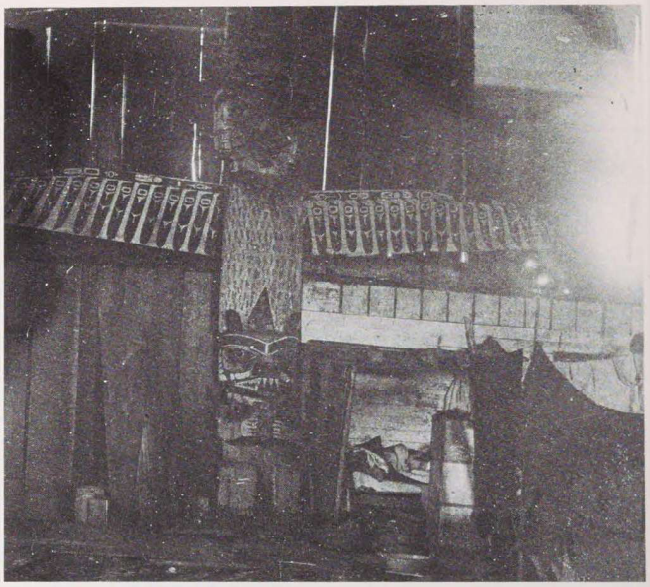
Figure 5 Village scene, from the West. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 26, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336060.

craft pictures are much more accurate. He documented two substyles of Kwakiutl basket making, the Koskimo and Kwagul; his shots of mat weaving clearly show the small water dish, and the spinner has her dish for loose roving (see Figure 26).

Like many photographers before them, Boas and Hastings found that it was easier to take pictures of the built environment—houses and monumental sculpture—than of either the construction processes of artifacts or their use. Hastings did take pictures of all these subjects, but their number is relatively small when compared both to the entire corpus and with the prior work of Northwest Coast photographers. This is particularly evident in photographs of architecture. There are in all seven images of houses: two, nearly identical, revealing a row of houses, have as explicit subjects the posts between which blankets were placed during potlatches.[27] Another (reproduced as 1897a:pl. 16), though it does include a view of buildings, is labeled as a picture of posts. Yet it is less an image of a building than of the *space* formed by the building, the posts, canoes, and logs within which potlatches are staged. The four village scenes capture the general configuration of houses stretched along the beach (Figures 4 and 5). Thus, unlike so many photographs of the Haida village of Masset, for example, or even the many later photographs of Alert Bay, there are no photographs in the corpus that concentrate on the architecture of single structures. These four village shots, however, do effectively represent the general village plan of Fort Rupert.

In addition to buildings, Hastings was able to photograph a number of large free-standing structures: grave houses (two shots) and tree burials (two), a carved post on the "street" representing a killer whale (one), rock carvings on the beach (five), canoes in the bay (two), and carved interior house posts (seven) (Figure 6). We may also include in this survey of spaces the one photograph of the clearing in the woods used by the initiates for their secret meetings (1897a:pl. 43, and photographed right after with a group portrait of fool dancers).

In reviewing these, one might note a certain absence of what we have come to expect as emblematic of Northwest Coast culture—the large, free-standing, multiple-figure "totem pole." However, this omission is not the fault of the photographer, for such totem poles were essentially a development of the northern region of Northwest Coast culture and were still being taken up and modified by the Kwakiutl during the decades of Boas's fieldwork. The Kwakiutl did have their own forms of monumental sculpture, a range of single figures such as the killer whale carving or the bird figures placed at the top of poles (as in 1897a:pl. 9) and the interior house posts, which, though important, were difficult to photograph.



People: Portraits and Physical Types

Portraits of one sort or another were by far the predominant subject for Hastings's camera. Of the total of 168 photographs sent to the museums, ninety-one were "physical types"—systematic shots to record racial features of the face—and another eleven were formal, posed, full-length portraits, for a total of 102. Almost all of the twenty-one photographs exposed but not sent are of people, mostly Hunt and his family. Even some of the photographs taken as part of other series are essentially portraits, the finest being the five fool dancers. There is one of three of the ritual protagonists at the feast sponsored by Boas, standing next to a pile of blankets, gazing at the camera (see Figure 16). One of the set for the museum diorama, of the woman standing with her basket and paddle, was given an "arty" title by Boas: "Waiting for the Canoe" (AMNH no. 11612, reproduced as plate 29-bottom, 1909).

At least four visual elements carry meaning in a portrait: setting, costume and accessories, posture, and facial expression. First, though, we must ask, who are these people whom Hastings has chosen to photograph? With the exception of a mother and child, most hold ceremonial offices—chief, master of ceremonies, speaker (an orator who speaks for the chief at potlatches), individuals who participated in the ceremonies Boas witnessed and described. Most of these portraits are in fact "double portraits," showing two people standing side by side facing the camera. Their combination expresses two traits—there is usually a relation between the two, and one is superior or dominant to the other. There are several sets of chief and speaker (Figure 7), and even the one of a chief and his son (1897a:pl. 11) is more than a family portrait, as the chief holds a copper he is about to give to his son in a potlatch.

Figure 6 Interior house posts. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 30–December 3, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336064.

Figure 7 Double portrait: Koskimo chief, Wā′las, and his speaker, Sē′xo′yalis (left and right, respectively). Fort Rupert, B.C. November 25, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 106708.

All the portraits were taken outdoors, most against a side of a house or in front of a nearby fence. In several of these a white blanket has been tacked up behind the subjects. Thus, the setting is relatively or completely neutral, emphasizing the subject. In this case, there is no metonymic link between person and surroundings. The clothing worn in these portraits is an accurate reflection of what the Kwakiutl were wearing at the time. Cedar bark and skins had given way to white-manufactured trousers and skirts, with the ever-present trade blanket. On top of this everyday garb, most in the portraits also wear ceremonial clothing—button blankets and cedar bark head and neck rings. Although indeed these items were more colorful, more "Indian," Boas and Hastings were photographing in the midst of the ceremonial season, and this was what people were wearing as they went from dance to feast to potlatch. Similarly, many hold items of ceremonial significance—coppers, staffs, spears—which help establish their native identity to a white audience and their high rank to a native one.

Figure 8 Portrait: Nakwoktak mother and child. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 26–27, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336099.

Figure 9 Profile view of physical type set. Nakwoktak man, Yā'qeloagyilis, holding the T-armature of a copper. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 26–27, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 11580.

Setting, costume, and accessory reinforce the meaning established by posture and expression, one of dignity and rank. Except for the mother and child, seated on the grass, all are photographed standing, arms at their side or holding a prop, gazing calmly and frontally at the camera. There are neither smiles nor signs of hostility. Trusting in Boas and Hastings, the Kwakiutl pose as they would at a potlatch.

The portrait of mother and child (Figure 8) is unusual on several grounds, conveying little ethnographic information. The mother, wrapped in a blanket, sits with her baby on the grass, smiling at the camera. Although this Nakwoktak woman and her baby were also photographed in four physical type shots, one has to conclude that here the photographer was indulging his artist's instincts in taking an image with purely sentimental and aesthetic interest.

The frontal, profile, and three-quarters portraits known as "physical type" photographs had been used as early as 1866, when a series was made of the last five Tasmanians at an exposition in Melbourne (Poignant 1980:8). As the United States surveys covered the West in the late 1860s and 1870s, they, too, tried to take systematic views, along

Figure 10 Frontal view of physical type set. Nakwoktak man, Yā'qeloagyilis. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 26–27, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 11578.

Figure 11 Three-quarters view of physical type set. Nakwoktak man, Yā'qeloagyilis. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 26–27, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 11579.

with measurements when possible, but encountered native resistance (Hallowell 1960:70). So often compared to police mugshots, in many cases physical type photographs *were* mug shots, taken of natives held in prisons. Boas often commented on the resistance of natives to his calipers and found many of his subjects in the Victoria jail.[28] Boas's relatively minor use of the genre on his earlier trips grew to substantial proportions in 1894, leading to an even greater emphasis on the Jesup Expedition.[29]

Like mug shots, these photographs strove for a close-up and standardized exposure, fully and evenly lit and clearly focused. The goal was maximum information of surface features, not the expression of the sitter's character or the photographer's vision. This can best be seen, again, in a contrast between Hastings's images and Curtis's. Curtis's portrait, "A Yuma Type" (illustrated in Lyman 1982:85), makes allusions to the genre but subverts it for its own purposes. Although it is a frontal shot against a neutral background, the sitter is dramatically lit, leaving half his face in shadow. As Lyman notes, such an approach would compromise the photograph's scientific utility. In his later work Curtis made an even more creative use of the format, posing a Wishram girl against a patterned background, dressed in a fancy costume, with a bone through her nose (ibid:108–109). In great contrast to Boas's type portraits, with their neutral backgrounds and everyday clothes, Curtis costumed and "posed" the subject for dramatic impact.

Boas started measuring people on his first day in Fort Rupert and took their portraits on the first day of photography. On his last day in the village, he was still taking physical type portraits. Yet it would be wrong to infer from the sheer numbers that Boas was particularly obsessed with the typic. Rather, he was motivated by his rigorous statistical training to amass as many data points as possible. For only then would it be possible to determine accurately the distribution of features that was necessary to characterize the type and its relation to other types (cf. Stocking 1968:161–194; 1974:189–218). Their greater quantity is also a bit misleading until one realizes that, for each individual studied, three separate shots were usually taken (Figures 9–11).

Like the formal portraits, all the type portraits appear to have been taken outdoors. The subjects are all posed sitting, most in front of a white sheet, some against the wall of a house. Unlike some of his prison physical types, all the people from this session are clothed, in whatever they happened to be wearing. In fact, the clothing is virtually identical to that seen in the formal portraits. In contrast to Curtis's Wishram type, Boas's types have no visible context (and less than in his portraits). No cultural meaning was intentionally provided. As for the clothing, Boas probably would have preferred his subjects nude but did not want to antagonize them more than he had to.

The thirty-eight people photographed in type format show a much greater range than the eleven in the formal portraits, including several children, as well as young, middle-aged, and old adults, men and women. Three of the women are elderly Koskimo with deformed "sugar-loaf" heads, a practice of great interest to Boas and other anthropologists of the time.

One of Boas's innovations in the techniques of physical anthropology was the application of a multimedia approach (in fact, this characterized all his fieldwork). At times forced by circumstances to use only one medium, when possible Boas preferred to take simultaneously measurements by instruments, plaster casts of body parts, and a series of photographs. When he could, he also collected skeletal material, giving him yet another source for his studies.

Ever on the alert for better sources of data, Boas criticized previous collections, which had "consisted of measurements and brief descriptive notes of types." Feeling the latter to be "very unsatisfactory" because of their vague terms, Boas turned to photographs. They "obviate this difficulty to a certain extent, but not adequately, owing to the effects of perspective foreshortening" (1897b:537). Because of this, Boas experimented in 1897 with a systematic combination of plaster casts and a set of four photographs per person. Yet, as early as this 1894 trip, Boas had used plaster casting. In Victoria he was able to take several casts of Kwakiutl, including one of a woman who had been with him at Chicago, and when Hastings arrived he brought with him a supply of plaster. We know this plaster was used to cast rock carvings; it may have been used to cast faces as well.

Noting that their use was yet to be evaluated critically, Boas may or may not have been able to integrate the information in the casts and photographs with his preferred metric data. The casts did prove valuable in constructing museum mannequins. Some of the physical type photographs of 1894 were published in the 1909 monograph on the Kwakiutl, while Smith's 1897 series made up most of the only Jesup photo album (1900).

Ceremonialism: Dances and Potlatches

The documentation of ceremonialism was Boas's main objective on his 1894 trip to the Kwakiutl. Following the patterns of the culture, we may divide Hastings's twenty-six images in this category into two subsets: scenes from the winter dances and scenes of potlatches/feasts. It would be wrong to view these complexes as rigidly separate. In fact, Boas's own account (1897a) clearly shows how closely intermeshed they are, following one another without pause throughout the day during the winter season. Yet their distinction makes analytic sense in that the winter dances, revolving around the "secret" dancing societies, seek to relate Kwakiutl to the spirit world, while the more secular potlatches, usually held to mark marriages and other rites of passage, help define and maintain the hierarchical social world.

Boas and Hastings were fortunate to photograph occasions of both sorts as they unfolded. As noted, twice they were able to record the return of a hamatsa initiate as he was greeted on the beach. On November 25, the first day of photography, Hastings took two shots of the Koskimo hamatsa, while four days later he took five of the Kwagul hamatsa. With Hunt's advice, Boas was alerted to these events and was able to position the camera for the action. As well, he took five photographs of dancers in posed positions: two nearly identical, of the fool dancers in their secret meeting place in the woods, two of dancers crouching before a house with cannibal bird masks (one of a raven, similar to 1897a:pl. 31, the other of a *hokhokw,* or mythical crane), and an interesting image of a woman in a dance pose (Figure 12). As we will see shortly, photographs of Northwest potlatches are generally rare, and pictures of dances, especially before 1900, are practically nonexistent.

Although Bill Holm (1977:5) suggests that C. Gunther's 1885 pictures of the Bella Coola in Germany were "the earliest photographs of Northwest Coast masked dancers," they were preceded at least by a photograph by Edward Dossetter taken in Masset in 1881, showing four Haida chiefs, two wearing the masks of the winter ceremonials (see Blackman 1982:94, 96). These Gunther images remain, as Holm notes, "the earliest photographs of Kwakiutl Winter Dance masks in use, even if posed" (1977:5, 7). Although worn by Bella Coola, these masks were collected by Jacobsen among the Kwakiutl (see Holm 1977:6 and White 1963:20 for this and another Gunther shot). These were followed by the Grabill series, none showing masks, taken at Chicago in 1893. Though the one posed Dossetter picture steals the honor from the Hastings/Boas set as being the first *in situ* photograph of Northwest Coast ceremonial dancers, the latter appear to be the first taken during an actual ceremony and remain the first photographs of Kwakiutl masked dancers,

Figure 12 Female dancer, posed. Kwakiutl. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 30–December 3, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336131.

masked and not. While the masked dancers photographed by Boas and Hastings are posed, the series on the return of the hamatsa does show ritualized and expressive gestures.

On the same day that he photographed the Koskimo hamatsa, Boas also was able to record in two pictures a copper purchase transaction (Figures 13, 14). Wa'las, a Koskimo, sold a copper (a highly valued ceremonial plaque) to his grandson. The pile of 400 blankets placed in the center of the assembled tribes was a down payment on the full price of 1200 (Boas 1966:229, 1969:184).

The major ceremonial performance photographed by Boas was one he himself arranged. Just as he had given a feast to the village upon his arrival (but before the arrival of Hastings), so again, on November 28, Boas sponsored a feast, but this time recorded it in twelve photographs. (For five of the set, see Figures 15–19. Three more are reproduced in Boas 1897a: pls. 9, 46 [same as Scherer 1973:142–143] and Thomas 1982:83). The set was supplemented with four related shots of people on their way to the feast. Boas was pleased with their appearance: "This morning I invited everybody to an apple feast, for which they especially decked themselves out" (1969:187). Apparently Boas acted more as a producer here than as a director, once he had supplied the food (there are two shots of the apples being distributed); the feast was conducted by Kwakiutl personnel, according to Kwakiutl custom. The same three tribal groups present for the festivities during his stay—Kwaguł, the Nakwoktak, and the Koskimo—came to Boas's feast with their chiefs, who played ritual roles, including oratory and the counting and giving away of blankets. While all this may have been merely show for the camera, more likely what Boas photographed was actually a part of the ongoing ritual transaction of the season.

A useful guide to the nature of this feast, which unfortunately Boas did not elaborate on, was his initial feast, which he described in detail to his wife (1969:177–178). Boas's role was to pay for the food and make several little speeches. Yet, given the reciprocal nature of Kwakiutl potlatching, the assembled native guests were no mere spectators. They gave in return welcoming speeches, songs, and an honorific name; one chief handed Boas a silver dollar (Boas noted that he would have to return two dollars before his departure, and perhaps he used his second feast to accomplish this). Moreover, we can see that, to a great extent, the feast was an occasion for the continuation of Kwakiutl business having nothing directly to do with Boas. One Kwaguł got up and made a statement about his potlatch obligations, and "the Koskimo brought blankets and gave them away with appropriate speeches, telling the Kwakiutl that they were nice people and open-handed, etc." (1969:178). Just as this transaction did not involve Boas directly as an actor, so, too, the potlatch he photographed with its own blanket distribution and speeches was probably not an event posed and directed by the ethnographer. Although in his lists of negatives Boas does identify a number of the participants at his apple feast, their exact roles remain unclear. Following custom, a master of ceremonies directed the affair, but we cannot say whether he spoke for Boas.

Genres are composed of related expressions, each in some way trying to accomplish the same task. Essentially classificatory conveniences, they may or may not be conscious intentions. If only for heuristic purposes, they are excellent devices for clarifying the subject at hand, in this case the 1894 corpus. For the Boas/Hastings potlatch pictures, there are three relevant levels—photographs of all Native American rituals, especially those in series, photographs of other Northwest Coast ceremonials, and photographs of other Kwakiutl potlatches. Naturally, the closer we come to the specific space and time of the corpus, the more we learn about Kwakiutl culture; yet, each level has something to tell us about the project of Boas and Hastings.

Figure 13 Koskimo copper purchase ceremony, from the East. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 25, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336066. Published in Boas 1897a:pl. 8.

Figure 14 Koskimo copper purchase ceremony, from the West. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 25, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 127061.

Figure 15 Boas's feast: counting blankets, Nakwoktak seated behind; from the North. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 28, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336115. Published in Boas 1897a:pl. 7.

Although the ceremonial sequences of Boas and Hastings were among the earliest serial photographs of Native American rituals, they were not the first. This honor seems to go to James Mooney, who in September of 1889 in North Carolina took over thirty-five pictures of the Cherokee ball game. Mooney continued to exploit sequence photography in later field trips—the Arapaho and Cheyenne Ghost Dance, ca. 1891–1893, in Oklahoma, and the Sun Dance and men's societies among the same peoples, ca. 1903. Plains dances were the subject of several other notable sequence records around the same time, by George Dorsey of the Field Museum and by the commercial photographer Sumner W. Matteson. But without a doubt the most intensive multiple-image documentation of Indian rituals was of the Hopi, particularly of their spectacular Snake Dance. Working independently and for the Field Museum between about 1895 and 1905 were Adam C. Vroman, Sumner W. Matteson, Charles H. Carpenter, and George Wharton James (Longo 1980). Later, between about 1890 and 1910, Matilda Coxe Stevenson of the Bureau of American Ethnology eclipsed their efforts in sheer numbers with her thousands of pictures of the Zuni and Eastern Pueblos.

Some of these people, like Matteson and Carpenter, were professional/commercial photographers, working sometimes with an anthropologist and other times alone. Yet all were motivated by a basic spirit of ethnographic honesty and strove to record the rituals as carefully and completely as they could. Thus, the efforts of Boas and Hastings, while early and important, especially on the less intensively photographed Northwest Coast, have to be seen as part of a larger contemporary movement to record Indian ritual performance in the last decade of the century.

A comparison of the corpus within the Northwest Coast region is made easier by Blackman's study of Haida photographs (1981). What strikes us immediately is the fact that, in her sample of 236 photographs of the Northern and Kaigani Haida, taken from 1878 to about 1908, there is not one photograph of ritual activity. (There are, however, six pictures showing individuals in traditional ceremonial regalia, including the 1881 Dossetter; cf. 1981:65). Blackman has suggested four reasons for this lack: first, there is the seasonal bias of the photographic trips, made during the summer months when the Haida devoted their efforts toward subsistence rather than ceremony; second, most photographers, even C. F. Newcombe, had a minimal involvement with the natives and would not have been likely to have been invited to a potlatch; third, as potlatches were illegal, the Haida made efforts to keep their observances secret from missionaries, government officials, and other prying whites—often holding them in distant, abandoned villages, and finally, by the turn of the century, when most of these photographs were taken, totem pole raising and its associated potlatching had virtually ceased among the Haida. While mortuary potlatches continued, these were without overtly traditional features; thus, not being photogenic, they would have gone unnoticed among visiting photographers (1981:73, also 68).

Figure 16 Boas's feast: chief (Nakwoktak?) with blankets, Nakwoktak seated behind; from the East. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 28, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336114.

Figure 18 Boas's feast: HoLElid, Kwaguł, making a speech; Kwaguł seated behind, from the South. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 28, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336118.

Figure 17 Boas's feast: Koskimo seated on platform; from the east. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 28, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 336120. Cf. Boas 1897a:pl. 46 (also Scherer 1973:142–143) for a close-up shot.

Figure 19 Boas's feast: chief in button blanket, Kwaguł seated behind; from the South. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 28, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 335772.

With this in mind, we can see how the quite different work of Boas and Hastings allowed them to get such good coverage of a potlatch. First, with the avowed intention of getting pictures of feasts and dances, Boas scheduled his trip to include the beginning of the winter ceremonial season. Second, Boas had excellent rapport with the Kwakiutl, as we have already seen. Not only was he invited to their potlatches, he invited them to his own. Third, although the Kwakiutl potlatch was just as illegal as that of the Haida, in 1894 no whites lived in Fort Rupert. Indian agents and missionaries were off in Alert Bay, separated by a twenty-five-mile boat trip. Finally, in contrast to the moribund state of Haida potlatching, at the time Kwakiutl potlatching was, if anything, burgeoning. Throughout the decades when the potlatch was outlawed, the Kwakiutl were distinctive on the Coast for maintaining a continuous tradition of potlatching and art production. Even if they had switched to blankets and gave away enamel washbasins, in 1894 the Kwakiutl had kept the potlatch alive, vigorous, and photogenic.

Moving down to the level of the genre of Kwakiutl potlatch pictures tells us perhaps less about Boas and Hastings and more about changes in Kwakiutl culture. In her survey of Northwest Coast ethnohistorical photographs, ca. 1870–1910, Blackman (1976:53)[30] found 106 photographs of potlatches. Although her search was not exhaustive, the relative tribal representation she found still holds—the majority (sixty-three) were Kwakiutl. Coast Salish and Tlingit made up all the rest, with the exception of one of a Gitksan potlatch. She found no images of Haida, Northern Kwakiutl, Nootka, Bella Coola, Coast Tsimshian, or Nishga potlatches. In spite of the abundance of Kwakiutl potlatch pictures relative to the Haida, there are still many more shots of Kwakiutl houses, villages, and totem poles than of people and ceremonies. All but two of Blackman's sample of sixty-three come from either Alert Bay or Fort Rupert and, of these, the great majority were taken in Alert Bay. With a few minor exceptions, the only photographs of potlatches taken at Fort Rupert were the series taken by Hastings in 1894, Harlan Smith in 1898, George Hunt between about 1901 and 1905, and Samuel Barrett in 1915. Not only were the Hastings photographs the first taken of a potlatch at Fort Rupert, they were the first taken of any Kwakiutl potlatch, and, even more significant, they appear to have been the first taken of a potlatch given by any of the Coast tribes north of the Coast Salish (potlatches of the Salish tribes on Vancouver Island near to the many photographers of Victoria were photographed as early as the 1860s).

What is most striking when comparing the corpus with the many taken in Alert Bay is that, in the latter, there are many large spread-out piles of trade goods to be given as gifts. One first thinks that this might indicate a difference between the two communities or perhaps a difference in time, as most of the Alert Bay photographs were taken from 1900 to about 1912. While Barrett's 1915 record does show piles of trade goods and Hastings's 1894 record does not, Smith's pictures, taken only four years later, also show these trade goods. Nothing from the literature indicates that customs changed over such a short period. It is possible that these goods were present but that Hastings did not photograph them. Yet, in all of Boas's detailed account, the only trade goods mentioned (with the exception of several piles of blankets, photographed by Hastings) are one gun and one bolt of calico given at one feast, hardly the vast array of merchandise seen at other potlatches. In addition to these, Boas does note gifts made from traded materials in native design—button blankets and silver bracelets. Taking the text and images together, one must conclude that, for some reason, the mounds of trade items were simply not present during the relatively short nine-day period Boas and Hastings were in Fort Rupert.

We know that later in the season potlatches involving many more blankets were conducted, so perhaps the more extensive use of trade goods followed later as well. Although the question has not been investigated with textual ethnohistoric materials, the photographic omission prompts us to consider more closely the timing of the pictures: With the death in 1893 of George Hunt's father, Robert, the only merchant in the village, with the nearest store off at the cannery in Alert Bay, and before the arrival of Harry T. Cadwallader in 1897, who would take over the Hunt family store, it may have been difficult and cumbersome for the residents of Fort Rupert to assemble large piles of trade goods that year.

Thus, a close reading of groups of photographs, documented genres, can suggest avenues for further research, as Blackman notes (1976:57). It also cautions us against taking single photographs out of context. Looking at one image, or even comparing two, invites the viewer to speculate freely on what might be going on. A solid analysis must rest on careful consideration of what the variable might be, correlating varying patterns of visual evidence with the ethnographic literature.

A comparison of the 1894 Boas/Hastings corpus with the other major potlatch series, while naturally supplying us with a great deal of information on the Kwakiutl potlatch, also tells us a lot about the particular biases of the respective photographers. The series are as follows:

Figure 20 Trade goods at a potlatch. Kwakiutl. Fort Rupert, B.C. Spring, 1915. Samuel A. Barrett, photographer. Milwaukee Public Museum, no. 3659.

November 1894	Boas/Hastings Fort Rupert, 14 shots Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
June 1898	Harlan Smith Fort Rupert, 14 shots American Museum of Natural History, New York
April 1901	Charles F. Newcombe Alert Bay, 8 shots British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria
ca. 1907	William May Halliday Alert Bay, 19 shots British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria
early 1915	Samuel A. Barrett Fort Rupert, 36 shots Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee

As the Hastings set includes records of two separate events, we cannot be sure whether the others depict single or multiple potlatches. Smith's and Barrett's appear to be of single events, and Newcombe's definitely is. All the photographers except the Indian agent Halliday were ethnographers.

As just noted, the display of piled-up trade goods can be seen in all the sets except the Boas/Hastings one. The Barrett set, as it appears, surpasses the others in detailed coverage, but it is much better in covering the spatial array of people and goods than the stages over time (Figure 20).[31] While Hastings's series begins to indicate this, it pales beside Barrett's larger number of angles and views.

But a juxtaposition of the Boas/Hastings corpus and the Newcombe set is most interesting. Although he took only eight pictures of a potlatch given by his field assistant Charles Nowell and his brother Tom, it is a more complete coverage of the total process: discussing the potlatch (Figure 21); the messenger's return after inviting the guests, the visitors' (the Kalokwis of Turnour Island) arrival; the chiefs awaiting the guests; welcoming the guests, with drummers and musicians, the chiefs ready to enter the house (Blackman 1976:63, pl. 6); the giver of the feasts, dancing with a *xwe-xwe* mask; the *xwe-xwe* entering the house (a similar view). Boas and Hastings omitted the early, preliminary steps and were not able to show any of the associated masked dancing (the Nowells' took place during the day). On the other hand, in their twelve photographs, Boas and Hastings more minutely covered a smaller spread of time and space, especially the counting of blankets and the gestures

Figure 21 Chiefs' discussion before potlach, potlatch of Tom and Charles Nowell. Kwakiutl. Alert Bay, B.C. April, 1901. Charles F. Newcombe, photographer. Ethnology Division, B.C. Provincial Museum, no. 835.

of oratory. In fact, their recording of the gestures is particularly rare and valuable. Unlike most potlatch photographers—Halliday, for example—they were quite close to the action and went beyond merely posing a standing row of people. Undoubtedly this physical closeness expressed a social and emotional bond between Boas and the Kwakiutl.

One reason for the several differences between Boas's potlatch series and those of other photographers is probably the scale of the event itself. Evidently the "natural" potlatches observed by Halliday or Smith were much larger transactions than whatever went on during Boas's apple feast. The only property displayed for Boas and Hastings was a smallish pile of blankets (smaller than the 400 given away by the Koskimo a few days earlier), with no trade goods or coppers. While masked dances were occurring throughout Boas's stay, they happened not to be a part of Boas's feast. And the fact that the various tribal guests were already present meant that discussions and invitations, while necessary, would be quite diminished in scale compared to those of the Nowell potlatch. Many of these features probably occurred at other times and places as part of the total social action, but they were not present in the fragments photographed by Boas and Hastings.

Temporal Patterning

As opposed to film or video, still photographs cannot by themselves record the passage of time. Each is essentially an instantaneous freezing of time's flow. However, by juxtaposing images of the same subject taken at separate times, two minutes or two years apart, one can see, with a force greater than in a continuous film, the changes in the visible world.

In this section we will examine how the 1894 corpus was patterned in what we can call "micro-time," cycles of a year or less. In the last section we will turn to "macro-time," or the larger changes of history over decades and centuries. Here we will consider the patterning of photographs taken within the seasons of the year, the days of the nine-day period of photo work, and the hours of the day.

As Blackman points out (1981:68–70), the season of the year in which the photographs were taken can greatly affect their content. Most anthropological fieldwork and most photography on the Northwest Coast was done in the summer, when transportation was more readily available and the weather was more conducive to photography. Yet this was the basic subsistence period for Coast natives, during which they traditionally fished and preserved their winter stores and, later, worked in the canneries for wages. During this time they dispersed from their permanent winter villages to local camp sites and cannery towns. This explains the small number of people in most early Northwest Coast photographs (though this was

also the result of depopulation due to disease). With the people gone, most photographers were "forced" to take pictures of houses and totem poles.

Boas's 1894 corpus, on the other hand, is distinctive precisely for its overwhelming devotion to people, made possible by Boas's arrival in a permanent village during the ceremonial season (although later, in the *summer* of 1897, Boas was able to find a number of Haida at the Port Essington canneries for physical type photographs). As he was otherwise unemployed and not bound to the academic calendar, Boas was able to schedule his trip for the most propitious moment. While Boas was present during the month of October in his first Kwakiutl trip and did witness some feasting and dancing, the full winter ceremonials had not yet started, nor did he have a camera with him. His other trips in 1888 and 1889 were in the summer. Boas saw his first winter dances at the Chicago World's Fair, performed out of season (and out of context) during the summer of 1893. Thus, he was especially eager this time to schedule his trip to allow him to see the dances in their native habitat.

As noted, photographs were evidently taken every day from the morning of November 25 until the morning of December 3, and we have reviewed which seem to have been taken when. In spite of the fact that not all the photographs can be attributed to a specific day, it appears that over this nine-day period no day was singled out for photography, with the exception perhaps of some let-up on the last three days, as Boas made preparations to pack and leave.

In considering their distribution over the nine days, one is struck by the frequency of the physical types, just as one was struck by their greater number. Boas took physical type portraits throughout the period, and toward the end he seems to have done little else. This kind of work was especially suited for the times when he was otherwise unoccupied. After all, a ritual could take place only at a certain time and place, whereas the portraits could be made whenever and wherever convenient. The photo session for the museum diorama was arranged for later in the period, possibly because it took Boas some time to gather the requisite props and arrange for an "actor."

When we turn to the patterning of the corpus within daily periods, we begin to approach the level of discrete action sequences. The nights were spent without the camera, observing the dances, and Boas often had to spend the morning with Hunt reviewing the previous night's action. During the short time Hastings was available, Boas made the most of him. Of November 25, Boas wrote: "I busied myself the whole day with taking pictures." The next day, "I slept one hour and then went out with the photographer to take some more pictures," and on the day after that, "We took pictures all day" (1969:184, 185, 186). So within the daylight hours Boas and Hastings were fairly active.

There are only vague clues as to what constituted a photo session—when pictures were taken during a relatively concentrated period of time—and, of these, how many were devoted to a continuous action sequence. The negative lists and diary do allow us to single out the following multiple photographic subjects: two of the Koskimo hamatsa return and two of the Koskimo copper purchase on November 25, eight of the village and burials on November 26, sixteen of a feast on November 28, nine of the diorama on November 30, and seven of interior posts during the last three days. Of these, the one that stands out is the feast sequence, a feast sponsored by Boas. In his negative lists and field notebook, Boas drew a line around these, specifically noting that "these are views of one feast," although he also noted that the order as given "may not be quite correct" (Boas, APS ms. no. 1946).

Spatial Patterning

"The photograph is a thin slice of space as well as time" (Sontag 1977:22), and, as such, the space trapped within the photograph's frame will be the result of the intersection of the film plane at the camera's back with the three-dimensional world before the lens. Thus, the patterning of a group of photographs taken in the same general area will be a geometric problem. As in all things ethnographic, the resulting order will be more than merely physical; it will be the outcome of two other orders—the ethnographer's spatial sampling and the spatial ordering of the natives, both what they do with space as well as what they think about it.

To get an idea of how the photographic team of Boas and Hastings moved around the Fort Rupert area, let us consider the locales of each day's shooting. On the first day, November 25, their first pictures, of the return of the Koskimo hamatsa, were taken from a rocky hill overlooking the beach. Later they moved down to the central space between the beach and some houses. A number of portraits and types were shot in front of the houses near the old fort and store. The following day, the team concentrated on the general environment: shots of the graves in the woods and five images of the village as a whole. More portraits posed against the house wall were taken on November 26 and 27. Boas's feast was held on November 28, again in the central space where the Koskimo had held their copper purchase three days earlier. This series included several photographs of people walking on the beach, on their way to the feast, as well as more portraits in the usual spot. The following day, Boas and Hastings were down on the beach, photographing the return of the Kwagul hamatsa, rock carvings, scenes of the village, and can-

oes out in the harbor. The diorama shots on November 30 were taken in front of the Hunt family house. During the last period, November 30–December 3, the team went back into the woods for the area used by the fool dancers, more portraits and dancers posed in front of the house, the killer whale figure outside a house, and the posts inside one or two of the houses.

From this listing, we can see that Boas spent most of his time at the eastern end of the village, near the fort and the Hunt house. Trips farther afield, such as to the woods and the ends of the village, tended to be bunched on a single day. It seems logical that once Boas and Hastings had found a suitable area for their posed portraits they would use it repeatedly, but it is interesting that, for whatever reason, when Boas sponsored his own feast for the camera, it took place in the same open square used by the previous potlatch. Presumably there were other places in the village suitable for potlatches and feasts (certainly Barrett's set from twenty years later are staged farther toward the western end, and even Smith's series of a potlatch in 1898 is more toward the middle of the village). Perhaps the space was near houses of Hunt and his family.

When we juxtapose photographs from the corpus, looking for spatial overlap and relationship, we note that, instead of pointing their camera randomly, Boas and Hastings systematically covered the space, in at least three ways: from opposing directions; from farther away and nearby, in the same direction; and from multiple directions, as from the perimeter of a square directed toward the central area.

In the photographs taken from opposite directions, such as views of the village (see Figures 4 and 5) or the Koskimo copper purchase (see Figures 13 and 14), Hastings did not pivot in place, pointing his camera first right, then left, thereby covering the whole scene. Rather, he walked from one edge of a central space to another and shot inward, thus overlapping in the area of interest while also revealing in the background the surrounding context. The near/far relation is found in several village shots but is perhaps best seen in the two versions of the return of the hamatsa. Boas may have felt the first attempt was too distant, or it may be just coincidence that two shots were taken. Regardless, the two attempts complement each other nicely, for each offers quite different information. The earlier, Koskimo set (Boas 1897a:pl. 45), from afar, shows the overall configuration of the dances on the beach, while the later, Kwagul series (ibid.:pl. 44) is much better in showing details of costume and expression.

The most interesting and informative is the set of shots of the feast sponsored by Boas (see Figures 15–19). The three Kwakiutl tribes present at Fort Rupert at the time sit in rows on the ground, leaning against canoes, logs, or backrests, facing each other along three sides of a square. The five photographs from this set reproduced here *overlap* (note the people at the edges. There are slight gaps between Figures 16 and 17 and between Figures 18 and 19). One can, in effect, "pan" around the square, from the Nakwoktak along the south, near the fort, to the Koskimo seated on a platform, with the camera looking west toward the village, and the Kwagul, arrayed on the north, near the beach. Each side of the square maintains its social identity, defined and affirmed during the potlatch, and looks into the central area at the pile of blankets and the ritual actors—chief and speaker. Several pictures focus on the action in the middle as it unfolds, but Boas and Hastings also took general views of each assembled tribe, thereby clarifying the disposition of actors in their setting. Thus, the different cultural context in each direction is matched by a change in camera angle.

At times a change in camera angle is relatively minor and appears to have been made more for visual clarity. During the diorama session, Hastings moved his camera three times to better capture the actions of the woman as she moved from task to task on her fixed "set" of blanket, loom, and cradle.

But the spatial patterning of Hastings's camera was not imposed upon a blank, undifferentiated scene. It sliced through a built environment based upon native cultural orders. Kwakiutl, like other Northwest Coast tribes, were people of the littoral—beaches on islands and riverbanks. Houses were stretched out in a line parallel to the water, with the dense forest at their backs. Most transportation was by way of the water, with the forest entered infrequently for hunting, gathering, and encounters with spirits. As in many cultures, a spatial dualism was set up, in concentric rings. At the heart was the hearth, the fires in the lineage houses, the cultural space par excellence, where daily life went on surrounded by house posts marked with crest figures. As one moved out of the individual house, one entered a social space, open areas between the house and beach such as the space used for Boas's feast, common to all. Befitting a place of spirits, not far from the village but within the woods, were burials in little grave houses and in boxes placed in tree limbs.

Boas and Hastings sampled all these spaces. Not only did they record the burials, but they photographed a clearing in the woods used by initiates to plan for dances of the winter ceremonials.[32] Several pictures were taken of the beach, the liminal area where one traveled between nature and culture. Significantly, here is where the hamatsa initiate returns to the village from his fast in the woods, possessed by the spirits. Every person photographed in this space is moving, in transition: the returning initiates, people on their way to the feast, men in canoes in the harbor. Although masked dances took place in

the big houses at night, exchanges of property typically occurred outside during the day, and this is where Boas and Hastings got all their shots of such ceremonial activity. Whereas we usually see isolated individuals, in passage, on the beach, in this open area before the houses we see groups of people, ordered by their social relations.

The posed portraits were all taken outside a house, in the general area of the old fort and the Hunt residences. Clearly, this was a space Boas had access to and could control. The team also made a number of views of the material culture in this shared, social space: totemic figures, the village views, house façades. Finally, as to the house interior, working against basic technical difficulties the team did manage to document some posts and sleeping spaces, but no people and thus neither domestic nor ritual activity.

Unlike many other photographers of Coastal villages, Hastings did not take any pictures of the village from the water, as it would be seen by natives arriving in canoes. Yet he did take several from the edge of the beach looking back up at the houses, a similar view.

Presentation: The Uses of Photography

Photographs, like all ethnographic inscriptions, begin to live lives of their own once they leave the field. That is, they become detached from the initial encounter that generated them and, given the vicissitudes of their physical survival, they can be reinterpreted. Although this reevaluation takes place primarily through the juxtaposition of image and word, as we will see, the image itself may be manipulated as it makes its way from negative to print to reproduction. It is usually the ethnographer who guides this transformation, but many others have a hand in it, especially after his or her death.

Collections

The Boas/Hastings corpus was, in effect, the beginning of the American Museum's anthropological photograph collection, coming after only thirty-five portraits of various exotics from the Barnum and Bailey Circus. Upon their return from the field, the photographs were well cared for. The Anthropology Department had its own photo lab, and each image was given a number and described in a catalog. The department also maintained a partial collection of specimen photographs, which were especially useful in arranging loans and exchanges. In fact, Boas gave a set of photographs to a curator who had allowed American Museum staff to photograph specimens in his museum. The collection was further swelled by specially commissioned photos to serve as guides for the model-makers. Specimen photographs were commonly sent to distant experts for help in identification, similar to Boas's practice in the field. Field photographs were used inside exhibit cases as well as in publications.

Original plans called for a series of five albums on the Jesup Expedition, for a total of 140 plates, but only one was published. Part 1, edited by Boas (1900), was devoted to Harlan Smith's pictures of physical types and archeological sites, all taken in British Columbia and thus contradicting the series title: "Ethnographical Album of the North Pacific Coasts of America and Asia."

Following what had already become custom, Boas used photographs to illustrate lectures. At a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences in 1889, Boas exhibited several photographs of Northwest Coast natives depicting the physical features he was explaining (1889a). Some, of the tattooed Haida, he had commissioned himself, while others, of the deformed heads of Kwakiutl, he had collected from other photographers.

Even at this early date, Boas was beginning to amass a collection of ethnological photographs. The bulk of this collection was contributed by colleagues and assistants working on the Northwest Coast—Charles F. Newcombe, George T. Emmons, George Hunt—and includes many from the 1894 sessions with Hastings. From unknown sources, perhaps Newcombe, he was able to obtain work of earlier commercial photographers such as E. Dossetter and R. Maynard. This collection, coming to the American Museum of Natural History after Boas's death, also included a miscellaneous group of artifact photographs, many with Hunt's annotations on the back, and undoubtedly used as a reference in Boas's writings. A good number fall into the sentimental category, photos of Boas's informants such as Hunt and the Chinook Charlie Cultee. Boas's voracious interests also led him to include a cache of Kwakiutl photographs by Benjamin Leeson, a rival of Hunt for old artifacts and an ambitious amateur photographer who favored composite images, after the fashion of Curtis.

The collection was more a personal than a scientific one. That is, while many of the photographs do contain identifications and annotation, most are labeled only with the name of the photographer. Belonging to Boas personally, they were not cataloged, and Boas kept their identification in his head. The fact that he amassed such a collection attests to his genuine interest in photographs; yet his failure to order and label them adequately points to the limits of his interest.

Sentimental and Instrumental

During his long separation from his dearly beloved family, Boas sought solace in photographs. He carried with him portraits of his wife and children, and when he lost one of the pictures from a medallion he carried he was quite distraught (1969:107, 219, 234). It was this sentimental feeling toward photographs that motivated Boas to give the Kwakiutl pictures of themselves. Several times in their long relationship, Boas and Hunt exchanged pictures, noting each time with some sadness that they were both getting older. In 1922, after he had seen one of Boas's illustrated books at the Provincial Museum in Victoria, Hunt wrote to Boas asking if he could send him a copy, "for I like to see the Photographs of my old freinds who are all Daid now."[33] Just before Hunt himself died, Boas sent to him a photograph of one of the Kwakiutl who had been with them at the Chicago Fair, instructing Hunt to send it on to his widow. Hunt reported back that "she was wel Pleased."[34]

Although the natives may have responded to copies of their portraits in a sentimental vein, Boas's motives were not entirely pure. These pictures were part of his gifts presented at the first feast he gave to the villagers.[35] As Boas admitted to his wife, "Of course, I gained the good will of these people and received invitations to all the feasts which are taking place here" (1969:178). On several of his earlier trips Boas had also used photography as a means to an end: using the pretext of the picture of a hunter with his catch to record the house front behind him and having a photographer distract attention so that Boas could rob graves. These transactions, however, were not reciprocal. Harlan Smith also gave photographs to natives. Resorting to some "photo-elicitation" of his own, in Eburne, British Columbia, he showed Indians "that the posts are in rain and weather—then pictures of museum and ask them to let us house the posts," and at Spences Bridge he made friends by giving natives copies of their pictures.[36]

Popularization

From its inception, Boas's 1894 trip to Fort Rupert was motivated by the possibility of its presentation in popular form. The two museum exhibits were explicitly addressed to a general audience, and, compared with the great bulk of the Boas-Hunt texts, Boas's 1897 monograph is quite accessible. In fact, as Boas started his work in Fort Rupert he was seized with the dramatic, almost sensational nature of what he was seeing. Several times before the arrival of Hastings, Boas cried out, "If only the photographer would come" (1969:179). After their first day of shooting, Boas wrote to his wife of his plans:

> These pictures have given me the idea of writing a popular, or maybe a semi-popular book on this part of the country. As a matter of fact I have developed such a plan in my head, and I think it could be quite a good book. When I come back I will try to sell the pictures to Scribner or to another magazine, and in this way find a publisher for the book. . . . I am glad that I have the photos. [1969:183–184][37]

Repeatedly, during his Fort Rupert work, Boas expresses his wish to write a popular article or book linked with photography (1969:179, 183–184, 189, 190). Why did Boas immediately think of popularization when he considered photography? Perhaps it was because he realized that, for the general public, striking visual images that appeared to speak for themselves were more appealing than a lengthy text full of complexities and qualifications.[38] In his comments on museum display (1907:922–924), Boas suggested that the less educated in society, including children, would respond more readily to a visual medium.

Although he later came to distrust popularization, much of Boas's early work was devoted to this end. In fact, his first field trip to Baffinland was partly funded by his contribution of articles to a Berlin newspaper. Upon his return, Boas mined this material for four general articles. During his year or so as an editor for the journal *Science* in 1887, Boas contributed a number of ephemeral pieces on such weighty topics as "Calls for Domestic Animals" and "The Earth's Rotation as Affecting Railway Trains" (1888a, b). Yet it is clear that Boas was motivated chiefly out of pecuniary concerns. When he was searching for a job in mid-1888, Boas wrote to Scribner's with the intention of starting a journal of popular geography and exploration, one perhaps much like the *National Geographic,* which began publishing in October of that year. Between 1885 and 1903, Boas published a total of six articles in Appleton's *Popular Science,* a highly regarded periodical that published original contributions by T. H. Huxley, William James, H. Spencer, E. B. Tylor, and John Wesley Powell.

Yet Boas never wrote his popular article on the Kwakiutl, at least not one illustrated by photographs. Boas described his 1894 experiences in an essentially popular article in the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* (1896). From the Northwest Coast in 1897 on the Jesup Expedition, Boas wrote to his parents explaining his feelings on popularization: "I am too clumsy to write popular articles, and I do not have enough time for it." Boas recognized that such efforts would bring in money. The last such opportunity, he said, "was an offer by Appleton, a New York publisher, to write a popular book about this part of the Pacific Coast. I should like to do this very much but cannot afford to do it," unless he got paid six times what they were offering (Boas 1969:241). Boas

felt that he might be able to take it up only on the condition that he could make a series of well-paying lectures out of it.[39]

But Boas continued to popularize science, and in a visual mode, in his work at the American Museum. While he acknowledged the validity of popularist aims, for Boas original scientific research had to come first. He grew to distrust the Smithsonian's policy of halls full of large "life groups," seeing little advantage of the diorama over the field photograph on which it was often based: "A group does not convey any more information than a picture in an ordinary picture-book might be made to convey. It differs from the picture-book in being more impressive by its size and surroundings" (1907:925). After Boas's resignation in 1905 from the American Museum over such disputes, he largely abandoned his efforts at popularization, shifting his interest to political and racial issues (see Stocking 1979).

Boas's distrust of what he felt were inaccuracies led him to attack two of the most prominent photographic popularizers of the time—George Wharton James and Edward S. Curtis. While in 1899 Boas had sent James photographs of museum specimens hoping for help in identification, by 1901 he was dissuading his students from cooperating with James and trying to prevent him from lecturing at Columbia University. In 1907, Boas complained about Curtis's work to President Roosevelt, but the team appointed by the president could find nothing wrong with it (this incident is reported only in Boesen and Graybill 1976:28, who offer no supporting documentation). Although this was many years before Curtis worked with Boas's "people"—the Kwakiutl—Boas was quite familiar with his work and was no doubt annoyed by the lavish support Curtis was receiving for some clearly questionable accounts.

Museum Displays

Museum exhibits were a prime impetus for Boas's 1894 trip, and photographs were a necessary ingredient in their construction. The sort of display Boas had in mind was a rather recent innovation in American museums. Although clothed mannequins had been used as early as the 1876 Centennial Exposition, exhibits in which a group of these mannequins was set up to depict a dramatic scene from native life were basically introduced at the Chicago Fair in 1893 (Ewers 1959). As developed by the Smithsonian's William H. Holmes, a typical group would depict a family engaged in some domestic task, though some did deal with ceremonial life.

The model-makers at the museum needed guidance in their construction. Even if the ethnographer could be present, it was obvious that photographs taken in the field would be invaluable. Yet they were not always available. Thus, we find that photographs used as guides for museum workers fall into three categories: natives in the field, natives in the museum, and anthropologists in the museum. The first was, of course, the optimum, and Boas's series of a woman weaving, etc., fall into this category. Another significant example of this type was the 1893 work of James Mooney, who was sent out by the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) to the Hopi and Navajo to collect and photograph. For the Chicago Fair, Mooney developed an especially detailed display around some Hopi bread-makers (Colby 1977:282–283). At times, natives were invited back to the museums to review the collections and often posed in demonstration of particular techniques. An example here was an informant of the BAE's Matilda Coxe Stevenson, the Zuni transvestite Whewa, who constructed a loom in the Smithsonian and wove on it (for a pictures of this, see Ortiz 1979:19). However, often no natives were available, either in the field or at the museum. In that case, the anthropologist who had witnessed the activities in question posed for the model-makers, often in native costume. Frank Hamilton Cushing of the BAE posed in his underwear for a series of Zuni and Dakota displays, and his colleague Walter J. Hoffman demonstrated the proper poses of the Crow painter (Watkins 1979:74–75; Hinsley 1981:90).

The nine images in the 1894 series were used by the American Museum to construct several figures intended to depict the "importance of cedar in the life of the Northwest Coast natives" (Figures 22 and 23). In this central case, one woman was making a cedar bark mat while she rocked her infant, bedded in cedar bark, by means of a cedar bark rope that was tied to her toe and left her hands free to work the mat. Another woman is shown shredding cedar bark [see Jacknis ms.(a)].

But, while he was able to record these domestic activities in the field, for some reason Boas was not able to photograph the ceremonials for his Smithsonian exhibit. One obvious reason was that they took place almost entirely at night, inside the community houses where Boas could not use his camera. There are seven photographs depicting the return of the hamatsa initiate, taken along the beach, but not of the more dramatic entrance through a painted screen in the dance house, the scene finally used in Washington. Perhaps at this point Boas had not decided what aspect of the ceremonies he wanted to show; or, more likely, the decision was made by the curator Otis T. Mason after Boas had returned. In any event, Boas agreed to demonstrate the various poses needed for the display and in January or February of 1895 doffed his proper attire for the camera (Hinsley and Holm 1976). A photograph of

Figure 22 Woman shredding cedar bark; field photograph used as a model for museum exhibit. Kwakiutl. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 30, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 11611. Published in Boas 1909:pl. 27-top.

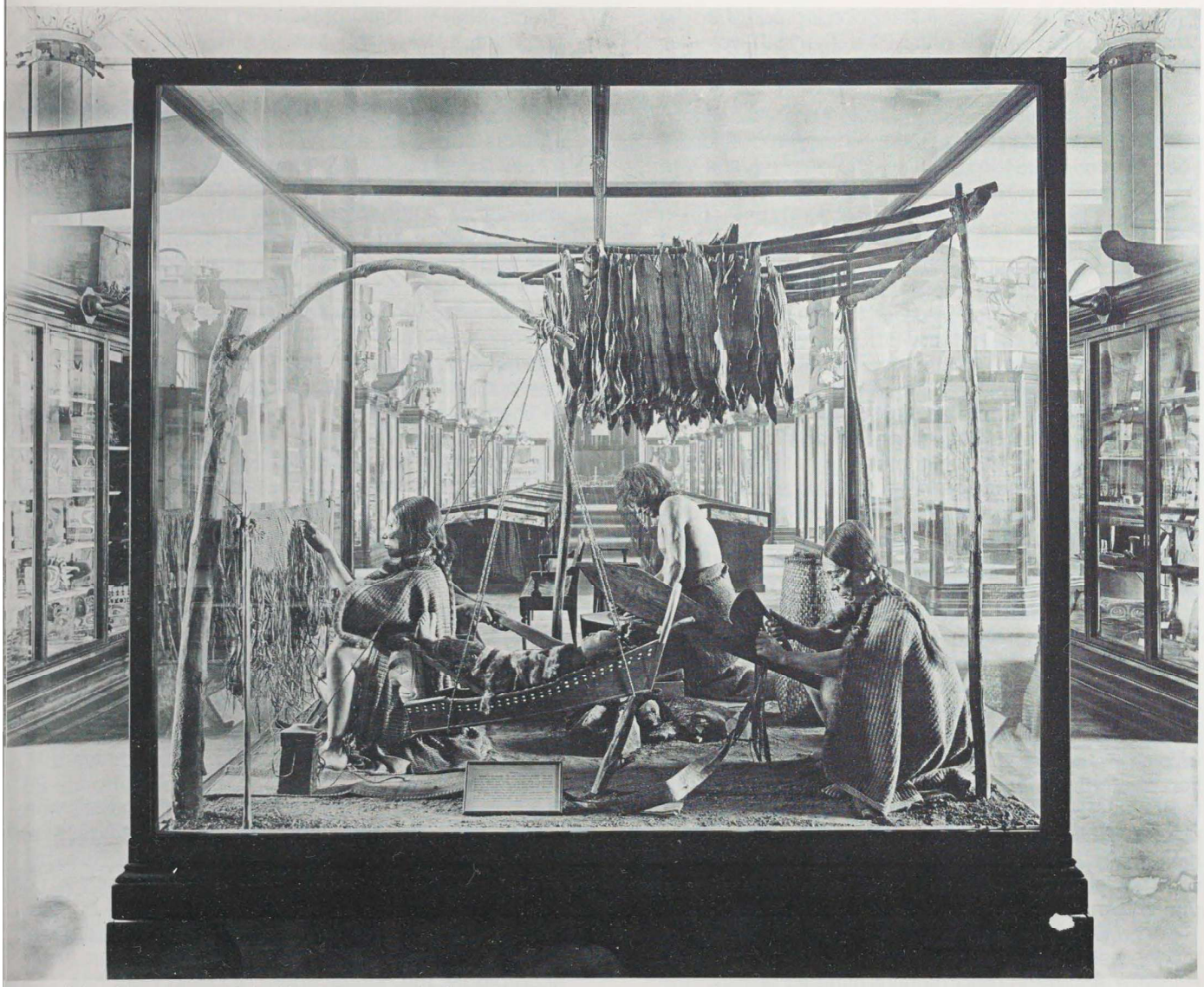


Figure 23 Life-group exhibit: "the uses of cedar." Northwest Coast Indian Hall, American Museum of Natural History, New York. Ca. 1904. Photographer unknown. American Museum of Natural History, no. 384.

this exhibit, "the hamatsa initiate coming out of his secret chamber," became plate 29 of the 1897 volume.[40] Later, when he was on the staff of the American Museum, Boas again agreed to "show what it was like," this time as an Eskimo in a parka with spear in hand (AMNH no. 3220; for a reproduction see Silverman 1981:xviii).

Publications

Boas used photographs from the 1894 corpus in two scientific publications: *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl* (1897a) and *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island* (1909). Yet the role of photographs in each volume is different. One of Boas's major motives for taking photographs on his 1894 trip was to furnish illustrations for his projected monograph on Kwakiutl ceremonialism. While the 1897 monograph is not restricted to photographs from the corpus, they form the bulk and are an important supplement to the text. The photographs used in the later volume also come from diverse sources, but those used were selected after the field work and not built into it as with the 1897 volume.

The 1897 volume As early as 1887, Boas had been thinking of writing a monograph on Kwakiutl ritual for the National Museum. Although the Museum would have preferred a study more closely tied to their artifacts, the resulting volume came closer to Boas's intentions. The work is unusual in Boas's oeuvre in that it is a lengthy description and explanation of a coherent cultural complex, with so much cultural context that it approaches a full ethnography. In addition to the general account of the winter ceremonials, Boas included a long, detailed record of the ceremonials he witnessed. Such a narrative, based on his own experience, is likewise unusual for Boas.

Social Organization is also one of the few illustrated monographs by Boas and, with the exception of his *Primitive Art,* is the most highly illustrated of his works. The graphic material consists of 215 text figures, line drawings (nearly all depicting artifacts), and fifty-one plates. Of the plates, some twenty-one are of museum specimens, one is of the hamatsa diorama (plate 29), and another, of a dancer wearing a raven mask (plate 31), was taken in the National Museum. This leaves a total of twenty-eight that appear to be either photographs taken in the field or paintings based directly on field photographs.

All the plates were photographically reproduced by the relatively new "half-tone" method, perfected around 1890. The technique used by the National Museum was still a little crude, and many of the photographs lost much of their contrast and detail and hence much of their ethnographic information. We do not know why paintings were used instead of the original photographs. Museum curator Otis Mason, who directed the publishing, wrote to Boas that when the photographs were too dark to bring out detail, paintings could be used.[41]

The field photographs reproduced in the book are not what they appear to be. A comparison of the images as published and the original negatives taken by Hastings reveals numerous discrepancies. At times the paintings by W. Kuhnert are quite close to the original; at other times they are entirely made-up. Plate 46, of the Koskimo hamatsa at a feast, differs little from the original (reproduced in Scherer 1973:142–143): there is more grass in the foreground, and cut-off figures have been eliminated at both ends.

Other changes are more "intrusive." In plate 27, a tree burial, the grave box has been retouched so that its shape is not obscured by the dark branches, as in Hastings's original. In many of the plates people stand before a white background. The chieftainess with her copper, plate 12, was standing in front of a white blanket; yet in the published version the boundary and even the identity of the blanket are lost and all we see is a white space. As there is no indication to the contrary, we may surmise that the other similar images (that is, others with figures against a white background) were also taken at Fort Rupert in 1894. But a comparison with John Grabill's photographs shows that this was not the case. At least three (plates 15, 28, 35) and probably another two (plates 38, 47), all of costumed dancers, were taken at the Chicago Fair in 1893, and their backgrounds were obliterated by retouching. As an example, in plate 28 of a hamatsa dancer (in this case George Hunt's son, David), the blanket behind him has been removed, as well as the distant Leather and Shoe Trades Building, a clear indication of the setting (Figures 24 and 25). A case might be made for the removal of these nonethnographic incidentals; yet someone has also removed the line of singer-musicians behind the dancer. And, accordingly, the central figure of David Hunt has been enlarged, though this is difficult to perceive with nothing but the grass in the picture.

Sometimes the plates are captioned "from a photograph"; other times they are not. Yet this label is not used consistently to indicate a painting or a retouching. It appears with the unretouched halftones from Fort Rupert, such as plate 44 (return of the Kwagul hamatsa), as well as retouched photographs from Chicago, such as plate 35 (a nā'naqaualil dancer) or David Hunt as hamatsa, plate 28. It is missing from similar photographs from the same sources that were treated in the same ways—for example, plate 15 (the dance of a chief) has no indication, while plate 35 is labeled "from a photograph." Both are retouched photographs from Chicago.

The identity of the retoucher and his motives are a complete mystery. There is no mention of it in the Boas-Mason correspondence. We do know that, while Boas seems to have had control over the selection of what was illustrated, it was Mason who was responsible for all studio and editorial work leading to the final reproduction and printing. Perhaps Mason felt that these changes were justified as "improvements," in one instance bringing out something that was already there (the burial), in another removing distractions (the hamatsa dancer), and in general trying to accent the subject of ethnological interest.[42]

Having looked at the appearance of the reproduced photographs, let us turn to their relation to the text, for words are another method of radically shaping what we see in a photograph. For the most part, this relation is rather simple and straightforward. The captions beneath the images are identical to their titles given in the list of illustrations, both plates and text figures. They consist merely of brief phrases or sentences, e.g., "columns in Fort Rupert." Only one comments on the content within the image: plate 5, a view of the village, uses the letters a and b to show the location of poles between which blankets are placed. Within the text, the photographs are referenced only by a parenthetical identification of plate number. The text is self-contained and could be read at no loss without the photographs.

For example, plate 44, labeled "the return of the hamatsa," is discussed on the preceding page (1897a:527–528):

> Thus they [the people] approach the village, where the hamatsa is seen again. One man strips off his clothing and goes in front of the people. He is called the bait of the tribe (te'lEm). As soon as the hamatsa sees him he rushes up to him, seizes his arm, and bites it. Then the people catch him and lead him toward the house, singing the new songs (plate 44).

And the text continues with no other specific analysis or reference to the image. An examination of the content of the photograph confirms that Boas has placed the photo reference at the precise point in his narrative corresponding to the moment the photograph was taken. This is indeed an image of the people leading the captured hamatsa back toward the house.

But again, there is more here than meets the eye. An essential problem Boas faced in constructing his study was correlating the generality made possible by words and the inherent specificity of photographs. For example, in this volume Boas described the winter ceremonials twice, once in a general account and once more giving the specific details of the dances as he witnessed them in 1894. Three photographs accompany the general version: a portrait of the master of ceremonies and his speaker, the place in the forest where secret meetings of initiates are held, and the return of the hamatsa initiate. The specific account has two illustrations: the return of the hamatsa initiate, and the Koskimo hamatsa at a feast. There are thus two photographs of the return of the hamatsa, or, more precisely, one photograph, plate 44, in the general section, and one painting, plate 45, in the specific section. (The painting, however, is essentially unchanged from the Hastings photograph.) Although the first illustration is not labeled as to tribal subgroup, the second is clearly labeled in the text (but not in the caption) to identify the Koskimo hamatsa. As Boas was twice able to photograph the return of the hamatsa, he could use one photograph to illustrate a general account and the other for the specific version. Each depicts a specific and different Kwakiutl subgroup; yet Boas chose to suppress this information in one case while acknowledging it in the other.

The most complex, and interesting, case of this kind of combination of text and photograph into a single account is Boas's treatment of the sale of a copper. Within the section devoted to the potlatch, Boas gives first a short, general description of the purchase of a copper, followed by an account of a particular copper sale. This sale involved an offer by the Mamalilikulla of Village Island to the Kwagul of Fort Rupert. The only clue to the date of this event is the statement that it "took place in the winter of 1894–5" (1897a:346). On the face of it, it appears that Boas is here describing another of the events he observed in 1894. However, a careful reading of his 1897 text, as well as his letters, reveals that the Mamalilikulla were not present at Fort Rupert during Boas's stay, nor are they mentioned in any of the titles in the negative lists.

If Boas did not record this detailed description, who did? We immediately think of George Hunt, whose contributions were acknowledged on the title page. And we find Hunt, in a letter to Boas, writing: "Regarding the speaches for feasts and copper Buying. I got to waight a wail to see it. then I will sit longside of it and taking Note of it as it go on" and "I have sent you 39 Pages of the stories and speach and Buying the Lage Copper. Hoping you will be Pleased with it."[43] In his letters to his wife, Boas admitted that he often missed much of the import of the speeches and songs and had to review them with Hunt the following morning. Hunt is not given specific credit for this account, but neither does Boas himself claim to have seen it. This, taken with the attribution of the published photographs to the November 1894 field season, indicates that these photographs (plates 7–10) do *not* represent the verbal description of the Village Island/Kwagul copper transaction.[44]

Figure 24 David Hunt dancing as a hamatsa. Kwakiutl. World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Illinois. Summer, 1893. John H. Grabill, photographer. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, no. N 29641.

Figure 25 David Hunt dancing as a hamatsa, Grabill photograph as reproduced in retouched version in Boas 1897a:pl. 28. Photograph courtesy of American Museum of Natural History, no. 2A 12823.

Yet Boas's fictive skills are carried one step further, for these four illustrations (three photographs and one painting) do not even represent one continuous action sequence but instead have been pieced together from two separate events. As Blackman (1976:54) notes, "determining the number of Kwakiutl potlatches represented in the photographs is a problem of some magnitude and one which clearly cannot be resolved solely through study of photographic content." Among the factors leading to the confusion, she lists: the holding of a single potlatch over several days or of several potlatches on the same day, the combination of potlatches with other ritual activity, and the spreading out of a single potlatch over a large area. Like the case of the hamatsa's return, Boas and Hastings photographed the counting and giving away of blankets twice—once involving Koskimo protagonists and the second time as part of the feast sponsored by Boas. As their appearance suggests, plates 7 (see Figure 15) and 9 are from a single event, Boas's feast, while plate 8 (see Figure 13) is from the Koskimo transaction.

The painting (plate 10), while a particularly striking composite, can be safely attributed wholly to the artist's doings. The central action, clearly related to plates 7 and 9 of Boas's feast, is from another Hastings photograph (reproduced in Thomas 1982:83). The row of spectators with their backs to the viewer was taken from one of the Koskimo copper purchase set and reproduced in fact as plate 8 (notice the man in the middle, sitting up on the planks). Finally, the general setting was taken from yet a third photograph, in this case also reproduced in the volume, as plate 16.

Such "fabrication" of an integrated account from discrete details, taken with different actors on different days and places, is not unusual in ethnography, but we are rarely aware of the process. Yet there is a fundamental disjunction between photographs and words in this regard. Words can be either specific or general, and Boas is careful to make clear which he intends at any point. Yet the photographs by their nature must always be a record of a *unique action*—snapping the shutter on a particular space at a particular time. Photographs can only be seen in a generalized way by means of their verbal accompaniment or lack of it. With no words to guide us, we are as free as we wish to conjure up identifications or contexts, creating the meaning from what we bring to the image. The verbal labels attached to the picture limit the range of possible meanings. With a generalized label such as "the return of the hamatsa," we can only know that this is a Kwakiutl, but not the subgroup or individual involved. Since Boas, in the copper purchase series, used only such general tags, we have no way of knowing who the participants are. And we naturally assume they depict the specific people in the account to which they are keyed. We do not even know they are from two separate events.

Figure 26 Woman spinning. Kwakiutl. Fort Rupert, B.C. November 30, 1894. Oregon C. Hastings, photographer. American Museum of Natural History, no. 11608.

We are also confused by Boas's identification of the photographer. In the preface he mentions only Hastings. By leaving out Grabill's name, he also hid the fact that several photographs were taken at the Chicago Fair, a fact that we could not learn from inspection of the retouched pictures.

Although for his own purposes Boas may have wanted the 1894 pictures to go with a general account, when he keyed them into a specific account of a ritual transaction he was deliberately misleading us. These distinctions convey important ethnographic detail, and their blurring lessens the utility of Boas's work. But of more importance to us here is what this reveals about Boas's attitudes toward visual information.[45] We will take up these concerns in the final section.

The 1909 volume A volume in the series resulting from the Jesup Expedition, *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island* is more limited than its general title suggests, being devoted completely to material culture. It is based on Boas's 1900 field season and the notes of George Hunt. The use of photographs is on the whole similar to that of the 1897 study. In addition to 142 line drawings of specimens, there are ten plates containing twenty-five photographs, placed within the text, and at the end another sixteen plates, consisting of one plate of two photographs, eleven of line drawings of artifacts, and four color-plate drawings of masks.

The two photographs at the end (no. 37) are by E. Dossetter; of the text photos, one is by Harlan Smith (no. 30-bottom, some boys and canoes on the beach at Fort Rupert, taken in 1898) and four are by Hunt (nos. 29-top, kelp drying on racks; no. 30-top, a Kwakiutl village; and no. 32-top and bottom, both of canoes). With the exception of one specimen picture (no. 33), all the rest are from the corpus, but Boas does not identify any of the photographers.

The verbal accompaniment is rather sparse. There is no list of either text illustrations or captions. As in the 1897 study, there are parenthetical references at the points in the text corresponding to the illustrations. Some, such as plate 32-top illustrating the shredding of cedar bark, depict a stage in the manufacturing process, while others, such as plate 29-bottom, show the finished product, a cedar bark cape. Several physical type portraits made their way into *The Kwakiutl,* not as physical anthropology but as part of a section on clothing and ornaments. Under the heading "ideas of beauty" are pictures of a woman and man who have heads deformed according to an old Kwakiutl custom. Also included are two plates of five people "who are considered particularly good-looking," selected from the 1894 corpus (1909:458).

Figure 27 Woman spinning, Hastings photograph as reproduced in retouched version in Boas 1909:pl. 27-bottom. Notice absence of Franz Boas and George Hunt holding up blanket. Photograph courtesy of American Museum of Natural History, no. 337218B.

The set of plates following the text is discussed nowhere in the text yet is preceded by a list of illustrations giving tribal group, length, catalog number, and references to the text. The reason for this is that the material Boas had on hand from the Jesup Expedition exceeded the space allotted to him by the Museum's administration. The plates already having been made, Boas decided to publish them as is, with the intention of discussing them in a future volume, which unfortunately was never published.[46]

The use in the volume of the set of photographs that Boas explicitly took as guides for the modelers is somewhat puzzling, on two accounts. First, the blanket used as a backdrop is visible in almost every one. It may have served the purpose of covering distracting visual detail, focusing our attention on the subject. There can be no doubt that the white blanket used behind the subjects in the portraits was there for technical reasons—to reflect the overcast light and bring out detail. These people were standing in front of the shingled side of a house, visible around the edges of the blanket (though not in the one of these published—the chieftainess, in 1897a:pl. 12), and there would be no reason to cover up the wall (fully visible, with no blanket used, in 1897a:pl. 42).

Behind the dark blanket used in the diorama shots, however, are visible the picket fence and the distant fort. Some commentators suggest that Boas was trying to "hide" these signs of western acculturation (Blackman and Ruby in Odyssey 1980:6, 10). Yet when Boas published these pictures, all these intrusive elements were left in. In fact, he published the image of the woman in a cedar bark outfit (plate 29-bottom) as she stands before the thoroughly Victorian house of the Hunt family—the one photograph of the set without the backing blanket (though the image is cropped at the top, losing none of its essential content). Thus, we can probably conclude that Boas used the blanket in the diorama shots for technical reasons, in this case to block out distracting detail directly behind the center of interest. These photographs were originally intended to be used strictly on an in-house basis; the decision to publish them was an afterthought.

Yet, the second instance does indicate an intention to dissemble. In contrast to the "suppression of context" in the portraits or dioramas, a suppression carried out in the field, we find here (as in the 1897 work) a suppression in the studio, visible (or rather, *not*) in the publication. Several photographs were retouched to remove signs of how they were taken. Although perhaps less drastic than the removal of the fair setting, in this set two have been retouched so that the head and hand of Boas on the one side and the figure of George Hunt on the other, holding up the blanket, are completely gone (plate 27-bottom [Fig-

ures 26 and 27], also plate 28-top). What makes the whole issue even more confusing is that, in one of the photographs from this set, published as plate 31-bottom, Boas does include a man at the side holding up the blanket (probably David or another of the Hunt sons). Why he included one such picture but not the others is unclear.

While we could suggest that Mason was responsible for the retouching in 1897, in the 1909 study there can be no question that, even if Boas himself did not order it, he approved it (we might also note here that there is no evidence of Boas objecting to the retouching by the National Museum; if he did object, he did so orally). Throughout his tenure at the American Museum, Boas insisted on control over publication and what he regarded as scientific content. This insistence led to his resignation in 1905. He was no longer on the staff when the manuscript was prepared for publication, but he still retained almost complete control over editorial matters.

So, as published in 1909, the diorama pictures show the fence, but not Boas and Hunt holding up the blankets. We must conclude that Boas felt these "intrusions of the back-stage," showing how it was done, were distracting. Those aspects of Boas's culture theory that may have lain behind such decisions will be explored in the following section. Strictly speaking, a consideration of Boas's theory relating to the problem of context does not belong to a section on "presentation" or "the uses of photography." Yet our discussion of some of the practices revealed in his publications calls for an explication of the general attitudes behind his actions.

Cultural Holism and the Problem of Context

Much more than other media, photography is selective. Space is divided by the frame of the camera, time by the freezing of an instant. In both cases, things spill out of and away from the piece of space-time privileged by the camera. After we identify the subject of a photograph, we must mentally fill in what we do not see—what must have surrounded what we do see. Even systematically covering the available space and changes in the subject over time does not result in a completely "objective" record; the inherent editing must always be acknowledged.

All cultures are composed of parts that are never totally integrated; yet they are lived as a whole. The ethnographer must necessarily fragment this unity, whether because of the built-in biases of his or her recording media, through theoretical interests and decisions, or from the specific circumstances of the ethnographic fieldwork.

Boas's thought on the question of cultural wholes, as on so many issues, was contradictory (Stocking 1974:4–8). His critique of the evolutionary comparative method was based on its taking single traits out of context. He countered, "All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe" (1898, in Stocking 1974:155).

Opposing this holistic emphasis was Boas's firm belief that, as an empirical science, anthropology must be based on the individual, observable phenomenon, not on abstractions built on it (1887, in Stocking 1974:62). Throughout his work Boas rallied against what he viewed as "premature classification." One had to start with "natural" units, which could be grouped into larger categories only after all had been investigated and their interrelations known. This spirit thus tempered his fundamental belief in cultural integration. No culture could be reduced, he thought, to a single pattern or structure (Boas 1933). Moreover, in some cultures a given institution, for example, religious societies, might be related to another, such as marriage. In other cultures this might not be the case; the societies might be more of an economic issue. Given all this, Boas's substantive research as it developed over the decades was essentially nominalist, almost atomistic.

Boas had two other reasons for separating behavioral traits from their cultural context. One grew out of his view of culture change. Although he did believe that cultures were integral, his interest focused on a whole that had been slowly formed over the centuries before contact with white people. Boas felt this unity had been shattered by that contact. The Kwakiutl culture he observed in 1894 was "contaminated" by fragments of a foreign culture that was slowly eating its way into the native fabric. Therefore, he was encouraged to concentrate on selected aspects of Kwakiutl culture.

Underlying and justifying this attitude was his theory of the unconscious patterning of culture. Boas believed that cultural habits of thought and action were largely the result of the impress of centuries of tradition on individuals as they grew up in the culture. Boas applied this theory to his study of rhythm and motor patterns as the foundation for the arts, gesture, and expressive behavior. For Boas, a culture was imprinted on the very movements of a person, which would be expressed apart from his or her surroundings. Thus, in spite of his belief in cultural wholes, Boas tended to think of culture as embedded in isolable actions, so that one could, at least for the purposes of documentation, record only this behavior fragment, apart from the complex social matrix of which it was usually a part.[47]

This attitude expressed itself in several ways in Boas's photographic work. First, we must stress again that much of what we see in the 1894 corpus was due less to Boas's basic theories than to the limitations of his equipment. There can be no question that he would have preferred to photograph the masked dancers in the big house; in fact, he said as much. His acceptance of the separation of behavior from context allowed him to use pictures of dancers at an exposition in a foreign country as well as contextual inversions closer to home (outside instead of in, day instead of night). Although his use of backdrop blankets may be justified on technical grounds, the same cannot be said of the suppression of context that took place in the studio—the removal of Boas and Hunt holding the blanket or, even worse, the removal of the line of singers in the fair pictures. Even in these cases, Boas undoubtedly believed that the ethnographic integrity of the particular behavioral traits of interest was unaffected.

Most of these shifts of context and fragmentation come out in Boas's 1930 film. Again for technical reasons, dance is filmed outdoors, without a native audience. In the footage as he left it there is no attempt to exploit a narrative structure; each unit is a self-contained action sequence. The contrast with Curtis's 1914 film, *In the Land of the Head-Hunters,* shot around Fort Rupert, is striking, for Curtis went so far as to impose a unifying dramatic narrative on all the many separate bits of traditional Kwakiutl behavior and custom he wished to document. Boas believed that most ethnographic films, Curtis's included, contained only fragments of scientific value. Boas's colleague Pliny Goddard relayed Boas's opinion to Curtis: "Recently I ran it for Professor Franz Boas to see. He thought several sections of it should most certainly be preserved as a record."[48] Goddard particularly wanted the "dances and boat scenes"; the remaining parts were considered to be of entertainment value only.

Boas and a Visual Anthropology

Toward the end of a long career using film and photography, Margaret Mead, one of Boas's most illustrious students, considered the fate of "visual anthropology in a discipline of words" (1975). In spite of some bold polemics by its partisans, visual anthropology must be considered against the overwhelming verbal bias of the discipline. This section seeks to place the practice of Boas's photographic work into the context of his anthropological theory.

While Boas was one of the pioneers in the anthropological use of the photograph, he ultimately came to prefer the text. Thus we might paraphrase Mead to refer to this final section as Boas's "visual anthropology in his discipline of words."

We will approach these issues by applying the semiotic perspective to several tensions in Boas's thought, tensions implicated in his use of photography. A consideration of the values of a visual study leads directly to the question of appearances. Yet, for Boas, appearances, which rested on the experience of a specific state of phenomena, were opposed by the mental world of cultural meaning and the scholar's conceptual knowledge of the entity observed. Next we turn to the present of Kwakiutl culture photographed by Boas and Hastings as confronted by the basic historicist goals of Boas's anthropology. From a general discussion of the role of a visual and presentist medium, we weigh the relative merits of the photograph versus the text. We conclude with a summary of the positive and negative elements in Boas's legacy and thus his position as a founder of visual anthropology.

More Than Meets the Eye

Boas often criticized the ethnographic reports of superficial observers and the theorizing of armchair savants, insisting on the intensive study of particular cultures. Although by 1894 he knew quite a bit about Kwakiutl ceremonialism, he was still able to write to his wife: "I get quite a different impression of these feasts, witnessing them, from that I had formed only hearing of them" (1969:179).

Even before turning to the discipline of anthropology, Boas was predisposed to things visual. His doctoral research concerning the "perception of the color of water" required numerous optical studies of reflection, absorption, intensity, polarization, etc., and Boas continued these optical studies with H. W. Vogel, an innovator in photographic theory and technology.

One of Boas's main reasons for using photographs was the superiority of the image to the word in describing certain aspects of culture. As he suggested to Hunt in 1907: "It would also be well to have photographs for showing the fish as it is being cut, because it is very difficult to understand some of the descriptions of the cutting without illustrations." To which Hunt agreed, "it will show you every thing Plainer then writing it alon."[49] In later years, when his interest turned more to problems of gesture and rhythm, Boas again sought out a filmic medium. Asked for a letter of recommendation by Owen Cattell, the cameraman for F. W. Hodge's Zuni films of 1923, Boas wrote:

> In my opinion the recording of Indian life by means of moving pictures . . . is a most valuable undertaking. In the study of industrial processes, of the dance and similar matters of which a detailed knowledge of the movements of the body and rhythm is necessary, [it] cannot be obtained in any other way.[50]

Boas must have personally felt this lack of pictures. While recording the songs of the Thompson Indians in 1897, Boas commented several times on the vivid gestures used by the singers to accompany their words, gestures which, at the time, he was ill prepared to record (1969:202–204).

Yet, in spite of this value placed on *seeing* native life, Boas distrusted a purely or even primarily visually based ethnography. Perhaps some of this distrust grew out of personal inclination. Although we can only speculate here, it seems that in his own life and work Boas related to the world less through the sense of sight than by the more "abstract" codes of mathematics, music, and, of course, language. Among the arts he had a profound and lifelong love of music; he not only loved to play the piano but returned again and again to the subject in his research.[51] One can find no such evidence for any *personal* activity in the visual arts, in contrast to such contemporary artist-anthropologists as William H. Holmes and Frank H. Cushing. Moreover, Boas was quite proficient in the formal language of mathematics, to the point of being an innovator in statistics. Finally, his deep attachment to German culture was founded in a love for the writings of Goethe and Schiller. These personal proclivities become more telling when one considers the virtual absence of any comparable visual talents.[52]

But his relative disinterest in the visual was more principled than personal style. Especially as he developed his work in the museum context, he came to oppose the emphasis in anthropology on the "appearance" and "surface" of things. His disagreement with Otis T. Mason in 1887 over museum classification was based on the position that the reality of an artifact depended not on its outward and physical appearance but on what its makers and users thought and felt, as well as its relation to similar products of the culture (Stocking 1974:1–8). "All of these [artifacts] are used in the daily life of the people, and almost all of them receive their significance only through the thoughts that cluster around them" (1907:928). For example, a pipe was more than a smoking instrument, "but . . . has a great number of uses and meanings, which can be understood only when viewed from the standpoint of the social and religious life of the people" (ibid.). Boas regarded the visible world of material culture as playing a severely restricted role in anthropology.

> Thus it happens that any array of objects is always only an exceedingly fragmentary presentation of the true life of a people. . . . The psychological as well as the historical relations of cultures, which are the only objects of anthropological inquiry, can not be expressed by any arrangement based on so small a portion of the manifestation of ethnic life as is presented by specimens. [ibid.]

In virtually every general statement, Boas defined anthropology as a psychological science. As he began a seminal essay, "The Mind of Primitive Man": "One of the chief aims of anthropology is the study of the mind of man under the varying conditions of race and environment" (1901:1). Two years earlier he had defined ethnology "as the discovery of the laws governing the activities of the human mind. . . . These laws are largely of a psychological nature" (1899, cited in 1940:624). While he acknowledged that "activities of the mind were manifested in the actions and customs of daily life," these were the means, not the ends, of anthropology.

Given such a position, the mere act of witnessing some exotic behavior was insufficient. Nowhere was this brought home more sharply than in Boas's 1894 field season. Night after night, Boas sat entranced by the vivid display of Kwakiutl ceremonialism yet had to wait until the following morning and a review with Hunt before he understood what it was all about. Boas was fortunate in getting five photographs of the return of the Kwagul hamatsa. He saw dancers covered with blood, carrying skulls that they licked clean. Yet Boas was forced to admit, "George was not here, and so I did not know what was going on" (1969:188). In short, the study of the human mind was possible only through the medium of language.

In matters of history, too, Boas felt that mere appearances were not enough to tell us what we want to know. The particular state of the world sliced out and frozen by the camera could not be privileged ipso facto:

> the character and future development of a biological or ethnological phenomenon is not expressed by its appearance, by the state in which it *is*, but by its whole history. . . . The outward appearance of two phenomena may be identical, yet their immanent qualities may be altogether different. [1887a, cited in Stocking 1974:66; emphasis in the original][53]

To Boas, this question of the relation of the observer to a phenomenal state was an inherent problem of graphic representation. "As soon as man is confronted with the problem of representing a three-dimensional object on a two-dimensional surface and showing in a single, permanent position an object that changes its visual appearance from time to time, he must make a choice between these two methods" (1927:72)—that is, the method of representing it so

that "all the characteristic features be shown," or drawing the object "as it appears at any given moment" (ibid.:71). Oddly enough, Boas denies that the usual choice of Western painting is inherently more realistic. Boas claims that such essentially fortuitous states violate the facts *as we know them* and cites several instances from Western culture where we prefer a more rational description—maps, orthogonal architectural drawings, scientific drawings of a moving object, and flat illustrations of a design wrapped around a spherical object. As we saw earlier, Boas felt that the foreshortening of physical type photographs, which depicted things "as they appear at any given moment," lessened their scientific utility.[54]

This distrust of the phenomenal state of the visual world, captured by photographs, was extended by Boas to all media. Boas always believed that a scientific student could not base an analysis on a description or representation taken at a single place and time by a single individual, in a single medium. A truthful record could be built up only by repeated sampling from a multiplicity of perspectives. In telling comparison to his attitude toward the camera was Boas's faith in the phonograph, or rather his lack of faith. On his earlier field trips, before the phonograph was perfected, Boas relied on his own ability to transcribe native songs in Western musical notation. At the Chicago World's Fair he made a thorough study of the usefulness of the phonograph. Assisted by the musicologist John C. Fillmore, Boas transcribed melodies by ear, while Fillmore worked the machine and made his own transcriptions. With these multiple controls, Boas hoped to be able to evaluate the accuracy of his ethnographic record. But Boas and Fillmore were troubled by the machine's verisimilitude. Fillmore firmly believed that the recorder often caught "errors" in the song—tones that the singer produced but did not intend to sing. And the machine was not always working properly. Agreeing with this position, Boas remarked, "Indians have a deficient intonation and do not sing the intervals which they *want*" (1894a:171, emphasis in original). One solved this problem by transcribing the melody by ear and hand and then going over it again with the informant.[55]

On the other hand, the objective evidence of the phonograph, like the photograph, did have its uses. When Boas was in Fort Rupert in 1894, he reviewed Fillmore's own transcriptions, taken largely from the cylinders, by reeliciting the songs. Boas found Fillmore's transcriptions off in many places, particularly in the rhythm. But Fillmore had admitted his difficulty with the syncopated rhythms and had tried to overcome this by repeatedly playing the cylinder and also by slowing it down. Although Boas did not have these rolls with him at the time, he, too, could go back to them. Still, from Boas's perspective, one sample, even if mechanically recorded, was not enough.

Much of Boas's work with George Hunt, especially when they met again in later years, was devoted to reeliciting and revising the content and orthography of texts. Once one had taken a photograph, that was all one had. One could of course rephotograph, but the subject, unlike that of a memorized song or tale, most likely would have undergone change (as the Kwakiutl did in the 1890s, to an extreme degree). For some ethnologists this change would be precisely what they wanted to record, but Boas wanted to reach through the various states of a culture for a more or less constant, traditional form.

In spite of the vast changes in the visible world of the Kwakiutl, on his last trip in 1930 Boas felt that many of the old ways remained, though they were not apparent. Remarked Boas, "It is marvelous how the old life continues under the surface of the life of a poor fishing people" (1969:291). One example viewed by Boas was the traditional wedding feast. Although the Kwakiutl used virtually none of their traditional artifacts, their actual behavior was reminiscent of the nineteenth century. When objects were gone, words remained: when the chief arose to give a speech he still referred to his house bowls and dishes, now in distant museums. Boas noted, "Only the speech is still the same. . . . It is strange how these people cling to the form though the content is almost gone. But this makes them happy" (1969:297).[56] Real Kwakiutl culture, for Boas, lay not in visual surfaces but in meaning and belief that could endure the decades. Thus we are led from appearances to changes in those appearances—history.

History: The Present Becomes the Past

Although Boas's anthropology was based on an opposition to the social evolutionism of the last century, he accepted its basic assumption that human culture was the product of a long period of change and development and that the primitive could tell us much about our own culture. In essay after essay, Boas proclaimed two fundamental principles for ethnology: "the discovery of the laws governing the activities of the human mind, and also the reconstruction of the history of human culture and civilization" (1899, cited in 1940:624). For Boas, psychology and history were ultimately one. The thoughts and emotions of an individual in any given culture were primarily a product of traditional beliefs and customs that he or she had been taught. "The data of ethnology prove that not only knowledge, but also our emotions are the result of the form of our social life and of the history of the people to whom we belong" (1889b, cited in 1940:636). In a series of articles (1894b, 1901, 1904), Boas worked out a theory of culture based on a model of the human mind and perception. Our per-

ceptions were assimilated into conceptual categories that were largely derived from our cultural traditions. For example, in his seminal essay, "On Alternating Sounds" (1889c), Boas showed how the sounds we hear in a foreign language tend to approximate those of our own.

Just as, on the individual level, the past was relevant as the source of much of our thought, so, on the collective level, history was seen on a larger scale as a determining factor for much of the present content of a culture: "the life of a people in all its aspects is a result of its history, in which are reflected the tribal tradition as well as the features learned by contact with neighbors" (1889b, cited in 1940:632). Boas stated this influence even more emphatically: "no event in the life of a people passes without leaving its effect upon later generations" (ibid.:633).

Over his long life Boas came to change his attitudes on a number of points, not so much denying his earlier positions as adding new interests. After 1920, he encouraged his students to attend to signs of acculturation in primitive cultures, especially in their folktales (Boas 1920). As early as 1905, he called attention to a Tlingit tale dealing with the Russian explorer Baranoff. Yet Boas's point here was precisely that there was little original content in the tale. Characters and incidents from recent history were accommodated to traditional mythic conventions (Boas 1905). This retrospective approach underlay much of his later writings on acculturation: "For the study of the development of folk-tales the modern material is of particular value, because it may enable us to understand better the processes of assimilation and of adaptation, which undoubtedly have been of importance in the history of folk tradition" (1914, cited in 1940:453). (One cannot help but note that Boas's only work on acculturation dealt with textual materials, his preferred ethnographic mode.) Thus, one studied the introduction of novel culture traits not to learn about the present or future state of a culture but about its past and the processes that operated in the past.

Beyond these principled, a priori motivations for focusing on the past, there was a more immediate stimulus: the actual state of primitive cultures confronted by forced, rapid transformation. Gruber (1970) has incisively discussed the role of "ethnographic salvage and the shaping of anthropology," and nowhere is there a better exemplar than Boas. According to Boas (1889d, cited in 1969:13), the "ethnographic characteristics" of the Indians that made their culture distinctive "will in a very short time fall victim to the influence of the Europeans." And he went even further: "one can already now predict that the Kwakiutl, who have so completely shut themselves off from the Europeans, are heading for their extinction"—an extinction that Boas believed would come within twenty-five years. Working from this initial assumption, Boas felt it was his duty to rescue as much of the vanishing culture as possible, for only with a complete record of humankind's achievement could a true science be possible. Like most of his contemporaries, Boas believed that what made the Indians Indians was their distinctive culture, formulated over centuries, apart from Western civilization. Once they gave up their "traditional" culture for this civilization, they would no longer be Indians (and there was even a danger that their race would become extinct).

Yet the Kwakiutl culture Boas observed in the late nineteenth century was hardly untouched. The flannel blanket, introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company, had by Boas's time become the habitual garb. In fact, the blankets formed the primary currency of the potlatch system, a system that itself had undergone fundamental changes upon the introduction of a cash economy. If Kwakiutl culture had changed greatly by the time of his early work in the nineties, by 1930 it was undergoing what Boas elsewhere called a "pictorial breakdown" of the culture.[57] Of the wedding feast he witnessed, Boas wrote to his sister:

> all this makes a very shabby impression because the house is only a shell. All trunks and chests, seats, bedroom furniture, and supplies which used to fill the house are gone. The people are dressed like poor workmen, [the men] with caps on their heads, the women in skirts and sweaters. [1969:295]

But he went on to note that "fortunately they wore blankets because it was cold." Just as the cloth blankets had replaced the earlier skins and shredded bark, by the thirties even they were virtually gone.

Boas could have recorded the state of Kwakiutl culture as he found it; yet he felt there was little value in documenting the presence of elements of his own culture. History was being made under his very eyes, so to speak, but with limited time and resources Boas practiced a kind of triage: His first priority had to be the recording of every available scrap of "traditional" culture, allowing a description of Kwakiutl culture as it had existed prior to the coming of white people.

What methods were available to reconstruct a cultural state no longer directly observable? One that became the foundation of his work was inferences drawn from the study of the geographic distribution of culture traits among neighboring tribes.[58] An obvious source was the material objects that had survived from earlier times. Although few ancient artifacts could be preserved in the Northwest climate, Boas did make strenuous efforts to collect the oldest artifacts he could find. Of the old ways that still remained in ceremonialism and domestic customs, Boas saw to it that his assistant Hunt recorded completely whatever was available. But ultimately the truth was that, in a culture without written records, undergoing pro-

found culture change, most of the old, "traditional" culture was no longer extant, except in the memories of the elderly.[59]

Thus, photography was caught in the inherent contradiction that defined Boas's fieldwork. His primary objective was to record traditional Kwakiutl culture, yet he himself could not observe this culture. It is readily apparent that a medium which freezes a particular moment in the onrush of time could have historical value only after the fact. It was powerless to recapture the past. For this, if for no other reason, Boas was led to a verbal medium.

Yet, given the popular insistence for a "picturesque savage," Boas and other photographers (Curtis even more so) were encouraged to arrange the "reality" before the lens to depict as much of the traditional culture as possible. The photography critic A. D. Coleman has called this approach the "directorial mode" in photography:

> Here the photographer consciously and intentionally *creates* events for the express purpose of making images thereof. This may be achieved by intervening in on-going "real" events or by staging tableaux—in either case, by causing something to take place which would not have occurred had the photographer not made it happen. [1976; cited in Goldberg 1981:484]

What Coleman calls "intervention" we can call "posing," and his "staging" can be glossed, for our purposes, as "reconstruction." The outright staging of historical reconstructions can be seen as a special and more extreme case of the posing of actors in order to create a desired scene for the camera. A comparison of the Boas/Hastings corpus with the Kwakiutl photographs of Curtis, who was much more extreme in his use of both posing and staging, will help clarify Boas's attitudes and activity.

Posing and reconstruction are points in a continuum of manipulation or influence. Unless the observer is hidden, all behavioral observation involves some influence of the investigator on the action; some more, some less. In photography, we have on the one hand the candid snapshot—the exposure taken so quickly and/or casually that the actor has no time to arrange behavior—and on the other hand the fiction film, in which the "reality" is completely made up, with a script, costumes, scenery, etc. Curtis was firmly in the fiction camp, while Boas leaned toward the snapshot one, which, following usage in visual anthropology, we can call the "observational mode" (Young 1975; MacDougall 1975).

Curtis and Boas were united in the firm belief that the Indian was a "vanishing race," in Curtis's words. In fact, this was the title of the first portfolio of Curtis's first volume, depicting a line of Navajo riders moving away from the viewer into a murky distance. Wrote Curtis:

> The thought which this picture is meant to convey is that the Indians as a race, already shorn of their strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future. Feeling that the picture expresses so much of the thought that inspired the entire work, the author has chosen it as the first of the series. [quoted in Lyman 1982:79]

And, like Boas, Curtis felt that the Indian was only truly himself prior to white contact. "My effort would be to go back as close to the primal life as possible. . . . Pictures should be made to illustrate the period before the white man came," explained Curtis about his projected Kwakiutl film (quoted in Holm and Quimby 1980:32). Yet, if for an ethnographer like Boas a photograph's glorification of the present moment created some problems, it was nearly the undoing of a visual artist like Curtis, coming two decades later. It caused him to go to severe lengths to manipulate "reality," both before the exposure and after, in order to present the picture of ancient times. For Curtis, to describe at second hand what native culture *had been* was not enough; he had to make his audience experience it, *see* it.

Curtis claimed that, "being directly from Nature, the accompanying pictures show what actually exists or has recently existed (for many of the subjects have already passed forever), not what the artist in his studio may presume the Indian and his surroundings to be" (quoted in Lyman 1982:62). But, in fact, Curtis presumed quite a bit. To his credit, we must note that, by seeking out such native experts as George Hunt, his Kwakiutl pictures, at least, are generally accurate. In order to create his "unquestioned document" of precontact Kwakiutl culture, Curtis removed signs of acculturation (Western-style clothes and mustaches, which he considered a result of race mixture) and reconstructed what he took to be traditional culture (cedar bark clothes and long-haired wigs).[60]

Boas, like Curtis, used both commission and omission to portray the Kwakiutl visual past—by arranging those aspects of the culture that he did want and by avoiding those aspects before his camera that he did not want. It is clear that Boas preferred the latter, if possible. In the former mode, Boas first had to actively seek out what was there to be seen. This he did with the diorama shots but even more so in his 1930 snapshots. By this time Fort Rupert and Alert Bay had changed greatly in appearance. A general knowledge of the ethnohistorical sources reveals that, for Fort Rupert, at least (where he spent almost all his time), Boas visually documented virtually all the remaining traditional architecture and monumental sculpture, thus forming an invaluable record.

Boas's posing was largely restricted to portraits, of both the physical type variety and the formal images of chiefs and dancers. Apparently the series of the

copper purchase was as close to candid as his equipment allowed. Boas did intervene in the flow of Kwakiutl life by sponsoring a feast, which he then extensively photographed. But, once having arranged the occasion, Boas evidently allowed it to develop without direction, according to native customs.

The series for the museum diorama are the only photographs approaching reconstruction. Though they were not worn daily, the cedar bark capes were still seen at feasts, so none had to be specially made. Similarly, the manufacturing processes of weaving, shredding, etc., were still practiced. Whereas Curtis had to re-create artifacts and behaviors no longer extant, Boas was more of a sponsor, a producer, arranging for something to happen that *could* have happened during his stay. The only serious (and minor) inaccuracy was the moving of the location from inside the house near the fire to the outdoor space. Although Boas made an effort to record traditional items and behaviors that were perhaps not common at the time, they were still current, so that we cannot say that Boas engaged in reconstruction (contra Thomas 1982:79). Boas was not opposed to reconstruction on principle, as long as it was done correctly, by natives, and was so labeled. He instructed Hunt to fabricate some important artifacts himself if he could not find them, in order that his collection of Kwakiutl material culture be comprehensive [Jacknis ms. (b)].

The obverse of recording traditional culture was the avoidance of introduced material. Nowhere in Boas's photographic work can one find acculturated artifacts as an explicit subject. Yet, in spite of his bias, signs of the Western world are occasionally present. In a photograph never published (NAA 3947) from the set of Boas's apple feast, several Kwagul chiefs stand next to a wooden barrel that is presumably full of the apples Boas distributed. One of his plates in the 1897 monograph (no. 23) includes a Western-style wooden pail, set next to a rock carving (allowed, no doubt, for scale). A glimpse of the trading post house and fence forms the background for the diorama shots, and the people in the 1930 film were photographed in the usual clothing of the white culture, as they had been in the 1894 types. What is notable about these "exceptions" is that they are all in the background or otherwise incidental to images that were intended not for public consumption but for in-house technicians or researchers. When there was a chance to include some signs of modern life, in the out-of-context photographs of the fair, they were blanked out. The one real exception is the several shots of the blankets used in the potlatch. Boas photographed the blankets because he could hardly ignore them and because they had become fully integrated into Kwakiutl life. Although the reasons for their absence is moot, it is interesting that Boas and Hastings did not photograph the vast piles of Western trade goods present in virtually all other photographs of the Kwakiutl potlatch.

Photographs versus Texts

Photographs were not the primary mode of ethnography for Boas; texts in the native language were. A contrast of the two will clarify the extent to which Boas valued photographs.

Boas was not the first to record native texts, having been preceded by the Dane H. Rink in the 1860s (Eskimo), nor the first to use them for recording ethnographic data, where he was anticipated by J. O. Dorsey in the 1870s (Ponka and Omaha). In fact, Dorsey hired the Teton Dakota George Bushotter in 1887 to send him texts, clearly a model for Boas's employment of George Hunt. Yet no one used texts as extensively as Boas. Boas recorded Eskimo texts on his first field trip, and by his first trip to the Northwest Coast they had become his preferred medium. Although he himself transcribed texts on all his field trips, it was only after his training of Hunt in 1893 that the scope and scale of his activity achieved massive proportions. Among Hunt's first texts for Boas was the account of the copper purchase used in the 1897 monograph, and from then until Hunt's death in 1933, a continual stream of questions and answers moved back and forth between Fort Rupert and New York. Most of Boas's ethnographic publications, on the Kwakiutl and other tribes, were little more than editions of texts, in the native language with interlinear English translation.

What were some of the many advantages Boas saw in texts? Myths and their motifs were discrete, bounded, and, as Boas discovered, readily transmitted from culture to culture, even across linguistic barriers. Thus, they were an ideal tool for tracing the geographical distribution of traits that Boas believed would allow him to reconstruct a culture's history. That they came in variants was also helpful. Versions could be matched to different individuals and cultures, allowing one to better determine their character, and the fact that their memorization gave them some stability meant that they could be reelicited to check for accuracy and/or change. Their verbal substance formed the necessary body from which Boas derived a grammar of the language, another major goal of his anthropology. After they were fixed in writing, they became a permanent intersubjective collective of objects, allowing later scholars to return repeatedly to the given empirical base to be reanalyzed, allowing the ethnologist's conclusions to be criticized and refined.[61] Because words could be carried in the memory after their referents in the physical world were long gone, texts were the only viable me-

dium for a historically oriented ethnography. The bulk of Kwakiutl oral lore was still intact at the time of Boas's fieldwork, unlike much of its material culture.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, texts were the best evidence for Boas's goal of understanding the mind of primitive people. In justifying his work, Boas cited two aims: "the historical relations of the tribes to their neighbors" and "a presentation of the culture as it appears to the Indian himself" (1909:309). As early as his 1889 essay "On Alternating Sounds" and even in his earlier doctoral research, Boas was acutely aware of the distorting influence of the observer,[62] a bias that he found all too common in most ethnographies purporting to speak for the native:

> For this reason I have spared no trouble to collect descriptions of customs and beliefs in the language of the Indian, because in these the points that seem important to him are emphasized, and the almost unavoidable distortion contained in the descriptions given by the casual visitor and student is eliminated. [1909:309]

Having considered some of Boas's underlying attitudes toward anthropological data, let us evaluate the opposed traits of the verbal text and the photograph. Some features were shared by both media. Both were discrete, collectible objects that could form the inductive base so necessary in Boas's mind for any science. Like texts, photographs could be juxtaposed, allowing comparison of cultural traits expressed in widely differing spaces and times. Unlike artifacts, both could be reproduced with relative ease. Although the original negative was subject to some deterioration over time, like a text it could be recopied to insure a virtually eternal existence (though it is true that the photograph would probably lose more information from version to version than the text). Both could thus be examined repeatedly and as long as desired. In all these ways, texts and photographs shared an essentially "objective" nature, making them suitable as ethnographic media.

Other aspects of photography were more intrinsic to the medium. Photographs could freeze the flow of time in a way words were incapable of doing. Similarly, once inscribed, a photograph could be magnified and examined for content not perceived by the investigator at the moment of inscription. This capability to yield more than originally intended cannot really be duplicated by an ethnographer's notes, or only to a limited extent.

Photographs were mechanically produced, and all his life Boas was receptive to such "scientific" recording devices, which no doubt encouraged him to use the camera in the first place. Photographic equipment was of course more cumbersome and expensive than pen and paper. To carry a bulky piece of equipment, along with fragile glass plates from field site to field site would not have been easy during Boas's flying survey trips.

As a native production, the status of the photograph is less clear-cut. When Boas as ethnographer transcribed a native text, the distortions of the observer were on the whole negligible, and after Hunt started sending in material they disappeared. However, there was no reason that Hunt could not have photographed extensively. Boas did give Hunt a camera relatively early in their relationship, in fact after Hunt had asked for one. Yet, apart from some illustrations of technology, Boas did not encourage his assistant in this vein. We can only guess at his reasons. Perhaps he felt that the mechanical recording of the camera was too "objective" and would not satisfactorily express the native Kwakiutl world view as it had been slowly built up over the centuries.

But, most likely, what ultimately pushed Boas to the text was the essential muteness and spatio-temporal specificity of photography. Boas distrusted "mere appearance"; appearances could only weakly record the impress of past events (or so he thought). Mere appearances, produced by native or observer, could not inform about the complex thought and feelings of native culture. They were merely phenomenal, trapping a particular instance of space and time. As Boas wrote, sometimes what we *know* to be true is not what we *see,* captured on a two-dimensional shard.

While photographs may surpass words in communicating the "feel" of things, they are clumsy at transmitting the socially built-up tissue of cultural meaning. Even on a simple level the photographic image is mute: it cannot tell us the name of the person in the picture or the time and place of the event. While we may be able to guess at these, we can be sure only with a verbal label. Boas's own photographs bring this home to us when we consider the confusion in the identification of the individuals involved in the illustrated copper purchase. Naturally, it should not be a case of *either* photographs *or* words; each should be exploited for what they do best and used in conjunction to correct for each other's omissions.

Boas's preference for text taking as the basic mode of fieldwork is the obverse side of his relative disuse of what has become the dominant mode of modern ethnography—participant observation. Boas was continually noting the interruptions of native life into what he defined as his proper work: "There is a small or large potlatch almost every day which of course interrupts my work," or "I had a miserable day today. The natives held a big potlatch again. I was unable to get hold of anyone and had to snatch at whatever I could get" (1969:38). Boas had ample opportunity to record and analyze these celebrations, a vital, central cultural expression rich in cultural patterning, yet they

held little interest for him, with the major exception of his 1894 trip. (Yet even here, a comparison of his published account and the letters to his family readily reveals what he left out.)

His student Alfred Kroeber noted that Boas distrusted intuitions, even his own, observing that Boas's thesis research involved little experimental work (1943:6, 7). Undoubtedly such personal inclinations would not favor a participant-observation mode of fieldwork. Boas's upbringing made him uncomfortable with what he regarded as overly intimate relations with strangers (though he became close to Hunt and his family). The formal interviewing session was much more to his temperament than carousing with the natives. Texts were also suited to his brief survey visits. While people were often reluctant to have their bodies measured or their pictures taken, let alone to invite a stranger into their homes and feasts, they were more often amenable to reciting a myth from their patrimony. The context was irrelevant; Boas took a number of texts on his boat trips to field sites.[63]

While photographs could be taken at a distance, it was difficult to take an adequate picture of a person without his or her cooperation and even more difficult to record social action, as we have seen with potlatch pictures. Yet Boas could have overcome these problems if the fundamental questions he brought to his work had been different. For while observation of behavior in the present had an undeniable value in constructing a complete ethnography, ultimately it could not supply the answers Boas was looking for in his historical ethnology, at least in the earlier years of his work. After 1920, he turned increasingly to topics that demanded observation of behavior within a limited space and time and so encouraged his students—Benedict, Bunzel, Herskovits, Mead—who implemented this style of fieldwork (Stocking 1976:15–16). "Observation" is, of course, a relative value. Boas may have been an observer when compared to Curtis, but compared to his students he was less so. In and of itself, photography is not prejudiced either for or against an observational mode, though for someone of Boas's assumptions it would be less attractive, and conversely for someone such as Mead, interested in documenting the flow of life "on the ground," it was correspondingly more appealing.

Boas's Legacy

Much of this essay has been historicist, trying to reconstruct some of the context surrounding Boas's thoughts and actions, viewing his work as a response to these prior challenges and possibilities. But throughout we have also formed our questions with a knowledge of contemporary problems in visual anthropology. To throw into relief Boas's achievement, we turn now to an explicit consideration of some of his positive contributions as well as his failings and omissions.

Seen from the present, what strikes us repeatedly about Boas and photography is his priority. While in most cases he was, not surprisingly, unable to fully carry his work to current standard, in many cases he was the first to exploit a particular technique or record a particular subject. Boas was one of the first anthropologists to use photography, both still and motion, in the field, and his work was characterized by a sophisticated use of interrelated media such as sound recording, native texts, artifact collection, and so on. With his physical science training, Boas was always eager to apply the latest technology to ethnological problems.[64]

One of Boas's innovations in 1894 was the use of an ethnographic team—one member to take the photographs (in this case Hastings), one to record texts and observations (Boas), and a native to translate and assist in orientation (Hunt). Although the U.S. exploratory surveys of the sixties employed a team approach, it was much more diffuse and general. Even John Wesley Powell's use of the photographer John K. Hillers on his Colorado River Expedition of 1871–1873 cannot compare with the Boas-Hastings-Hunt collaboration. Beyond the fact of the inaccuracies of the former team (Scherer 1975), the latter were able to record a great deal of detailed information in a relatively short time. Not only were these data more or less coordinated, but Hunt's assistance provided an unparalleled access to native perspectives. Boas vastly expanded the team approach, of which photography was a part, on the Jesup Expedition.[65]

Boas was an innovator in subject matter, taking the first photographs of a Kwakiutl potlatch, among the earliest photographs of any Northwest Coast ceremonial. He and Mooney were about the first to record by photographic sequence a Native American ritual. Although his 1930 film supplied the best material for the still little studied area of dance and movement, even the 1894 corpus is marked for its fine depictions of Kwakiutl gestures used in oratory and ceremony. As he had hoped, Boas's salvage ethnography applied to photography, especially the snapshots and films of his 1930 trip, resulted in valuable documentation of aspects of Kwakiutl culture that had survived to his time. Pictures such as the physical types, which accurately describe contemporary clothing, have come to possess great ethnohistorical value for their record of transformations in "traditional" culture. Although he was not the first to take physical types, in his time Boas was the largest and most systematic user of them. Many of Boas's contributions to the study of art came through his innovative use of the photo-elicitation technique. Finally, he must be cred-

ited for his efforts to ensure accurate museum displays through the use of field photographs or poses by the anthropologist who had field experience. And his use of posing and reconstruction was minimal.

Boas was a pioneer in the *use* of photographs in anthropology. His 1897 study was one of the first ethnographies to be illustrated by original field photographs, and, although the Bureau of American Ethnology must be given precedence, Boas created a systematic photograph collection in the American Museum's anthropology department. As he was in general a tireless teacher and editor, so he encouraged students and colleagues like Pliny Goddard and Margaret Mead to use the camera in the field. As part of his support for native ethnographers, he encouraged George Hunt to become one of the first native photographers.

Yet, as George Stocking has noted (1974:12), Boas's anthropology was profoundly ambivalent, and we are thus not surprised to see that often his innovative use of photography was checked by opposing currents of his thought. As we saw above, while Boas felt the visual record to have some advantages over words, he believed that native texts were ultimately to be preferred as the dominant ethnographic mode.

In his defense, we must observe that many of Boas's "failings" were attributable to technical limitations of the equipment available to him at the time. The camera's general "slowness" forbade photographs of house interiors and the important ceremonial activity that took place within, as well as much of the informal aspects of Kwakiutl behavior. It was also responsible for moving outdoors the recording of such activities as the cedar bark shredding. As his use of the glass-plate camera no doubt slowed Boas down, it meant that his series pictures are not as comprehensive as they could have been, not even as comprehensive as Mooney's Cherokee ball game set had been five years before.

Many of Boas's positive achievements have a negative side. His important visual record of ceremonies is not matched by a comparable record of basic subsistence and manufacturing processes. The lack of informal, nonritualized behavior characterizes not only his photographs but also his written ethnography, so it is more than a technical problem. Although he did give Hunt a camera, he did very little directing of Hunt's work; it was several years before he asked for a Hunt photograph. Similarly, from what we can tell, his encouragement of students and colleagues to use the camera appears to have been through his usual teaching method of example rather than instruction. Although there was no reason that he could not have captured both, Boas's attention to salvage ethnography led to his neglect of aspects of acculturation. Apparently Boas was never able to analyze successfully his many physical type portraits or to integrate the visual data into his metric evidence.

In spite of his early training and his own Eskimo work, Boas generally left the camera work to a professional photographer. This may have resulted in a better technical product (though several of Hastings's images leave something to be desired), but it meant that the ethnographer, with his accumulated knowledge of the culture, had to communicate his intentions to someone else, undoubtedly losing some culturally significant data. Boas's film, never analyzed, was meant for research purposes only and was not conceived or edited as a coherent narrative structure. Similarly, his 1897 monograph was the closest Boas got in his written work to a coherent narrative. Such unified ethnographies were not what interested Boas. While the film possesses tremendous documentary value, almost all the behavior is out of any natural context. Although it must be admitted that this was a time when Kwakiutl ceremonialism was at its lowest point since white contact had begun, this fragmentation of context affects other pieces of Boas's photographic work.

This underlying bias must explain his lack of analysis of much of the visual material he did amass. His texts are always self-contained, using photographs as supplement only. In contrast, on several occasions he did analyze his sound recordings. Perhaps this visual insensitivity was responsible for the generally poor documentation of his field photographs. While we may justifiably blame museum technicians for failing to record all the data Boas sent in, Boas himself failed to note places and dates for his images.[66]

Again, though we do not know if Boas is the one to be blamed, "enlightened" standards of contemporary ethnography would not condone the extensive use of retouching in Boas's publications, especially in the absence of any acknowledgment of the deed. Why he did not credit the source for Grabill's fair pictures can only be guessed at. Usually careful to give Hunt credit for his textual contributions, Boas did not list his or any other photographer's name in the 1909 monograph. Certainly his use of Hunt's account of the copper purchase with Hastings's 1894 photographs cannot be called dishonest. Yet it was misleading enough for scholars to make serious mistakes about the identity and correlation of text and image.

According to Jay Ruby, "it is not an overstatement to suggest that Franz Boas should be regarded as a father figure in visual anthropology. He is at least partially responsible for making picture-taking a normative part of the anthropologist's field experience" (1980:7). Searching for the "historical origins of a visual anthropology" (ibid.:11), Ruby speculates on the links between Boas and some of his students at Columbia—David Efron in his study of gesture and, most notably, Margaret Mead in her films and photographs of Bali. Photography had become important

enough that Mead took a camera along on her first field trip, to Samoa in 1925, and there can be no question that her work with Bateson in Bali (1936–1938) vastly eclipses all previous uses of the camera in anthropology, at least in the American tradition. Yet Ruby is forced to admit that the direct connection between Boas and Mead is weak. There seems to be little evidence that Boas and Mead discussed the uses of photography in anthropology. Mead certainly knew of Boas's early Kwakiutl work, as well as his 1930 films, but, lacking a more explicit link, we must consider Boas more of a precursor of Mead, on this question, than a direct cause.

But the fuzziness of this connection is more than a historiographical quibble; it points to the ambiguities and contradictions in Boas's own use of the medium. Just as recent scholarship (e.g., Mark 1980, Hinsley 1981) is reassessing the mythic role of Boas as the founder of an American anthropology, by examining the work of earlier researchers at the Bureau of American Ethnology or Harvard, so, too, can we find earlier, non-Boasian roots of a visual anthropology, most notably James Mooney. This is not to say that Mooney was any more analytical or self-critical in his use of the camera; in fact, he was perhaps less so. But he took pictures earlier than Boas, always by himself, and in much greater quantities and contexts. Thus, on the one hand, Boas was not alone in his early exploitation of ethnographic photography; on the other hand, his use of it, as we have seen, was not as thorough or rigorous as might have been expected. As a father figure of visual anthropology, Boas was less an Abraham than a Moses, destined to lead his followers to the Promised Land but not to cross over into it himself.

This essay has tried to demystify Boas's approach to the almost quintessentially modern medium that has come to bulk so large in our contemporary life, including our anthropological life. Boas does indeed have claims to being a father figure of visual anthropology, but we must be wary of seeing him as the "bringer of light" whose efforts have led inexorably to our current state of professional illumination. Rather, Boas must be seen in his own time, on his own grounds, both for the things he did as well as for the things he left undone.

Appendix: A Note on Sources

My substantive discussion of the Boas-Hastings photographs was made possible by combining many separate but overlapping sources. The prime source, the photographs themselves, are deposited in two institutions. Ninety-seven original negatives were sent to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they are now kept in the Photography Collection, a division of the Library. Another seventy-one original negatives were sent to the United States National Museum, now the National Museum of Natural History, part of the Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, D.C., where they are now preserved in the National Anthropological Archives. These negatives have generated a number of sets of prints and copies. According to Boas's original plan, each institution exchanged a set of copy-prints with the other.

Each institution has some of the corpus in a ready-print file as well as in some form of reserve copies. At the American Museum, all photographs in the early years were printed and pasted into bound photo albums. Prints from its collection of the Boas-Hastings corpus, consisting of physical type portraits and guides for the museum model-makers, were placed in book 30, pages 1 to 21, original numbers 36–131, and catalog numbers 11549–11645. With the exception of the diorama guides, virtually none of these portraits has been printed and filed in the file drawers. The copies that the American Museum received from the National Museum, mostly depicting ceremonial activity, were rephotographed and copy-prints placed in photo album no. 26. At some point this volume was broken up and destroyed, but prints were placed in the ready file. The American Museum has sixty-four of the original set of seventy-one. Finally, in the photographs from the "Boas Collection" given to the Museum after Boas's death and stored (as of early 1983) in the Anthropology Department, one can find a number of original prints from the 1894 corpus, most with little or no documentation.

The Smithsonian has a set of twenty-eight prints from the corpus in its cataloged ready file. In an uncataloged set of cyanotypes or "blueprints" kept in binders, stored in archival boxes, in this case no. 34, are another forty-four prints with catalog numbers and no other identification.

One additional photograph from the corpus was located, not in either of the two major collections. The American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia has a print of a picture of Boas with George Hunt and family, filed with the photographs of the Boas Papers, accession 1962, item B/B 61, folder no. 10. This image was reproduced in Boas 1966 as the frontispiece.

The ultimate identification and analysis of this material, still not complete or perfect, was arrived at by inspection of all prints, matched with a range of written documentation. Most important was the discovery of the original negative lists, in Boas's hand, sent to each institution along with the negatives. On each, Boas lists the original field numbers, in order of exposure, along with a brief identification of the subject. Each institution has preserved its respective list with its documentation on artifact accessions. The Smithsonian copy is on microfilm at the Registrar's Office (in the Museum of Natural History) under accession no. 29,057 (originals held in Smithsonian Institution Archives). The original list at the American Museum is filed in the Department of Anthropology, under accession no. 1895–4.

Written documentation was also found on the backs of file prints and in photo albums, but the accuracy of these data varied widely and were not trusted as original sources. As an example, most of the American Museum's file prints, copies of the National Museum set, were listed under photographer as "Dr. Frang," with titles that bore little relation to Boas's own.

In general, documentation and preservation of prints tended to be superior at the American Museum, possibly because the photographs were processed there under Boas's general supervision. An invaluable source was the original photo catalog, begun in the 1890s and now kept in the Department of Anthropology. Here were listed Boas's original field numbers as well as the new negative numbers given to the photographs, thus allowing positive correlation of Boas's own identification with the images in the collection. No such record was kept at the Smithsonian, as far as I can tell. This photo catalog also lists the copies taken from the National Museum set, but without, unfortunately, reference to Boas's original field numbers, so that all matching identification of image to title had to be guessed at, through a knowledge of the subject, comparison with the original list, and a process of elimination. Only a handful of the images could not be matched confidently with the labels, and these could be narrowed down to a small number of possibilities. The set of twelve shots of Boas's apple feast was in this set from the U.S. National Museum, and the data in Boas's field catalog and negative lists always seem to match the surviving prints. While the identification of the central protagonists is uncertain, it was fairly clear which tribal group sat where and what the basic action was.

Another vital source was Boas's original field notebook from his 1894 season in Fort Rupert. Although it is only a partial record of his field data, it does contain a list, in order of exposure and with some identification of date of each shot, with a brief notation of subject. Boas used this list in making up his two negative lists. It is especially useful for dating the images, though it also supplements the identification of subject. This notebook is now held at the APS as part of the collection of the Boas Papers, manuscript no. 1946, also listed as item no. 30(W1a.10).

In spite of Boas's lack of citation, the Kwakiutl photographs taken by John Grabill at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 must be considered as original sources. The identity of Grabill as photographer was found in Boas's correspondence with F. W. Putnam (in the Putnam Papers, Harvard University Archives, as well as in the Boas Papers in the APS; e.g., Putnam to Boas, February 14, 1894, APS). The identification of these pictures, held in the Photography Collection of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, with the reproductions in the 1897 monograph was arrived at by visual inspection.

The final original sources were the two volumes in which the photographs were published, with text and captions commenting on the image: Boas 1897a (a revised version of part of the text was posthumously edited by Helen Codere in 1966 as *Kwakiutl Ethnography*), and Boas 1909. Important information on all topics was found in the Boas correspondence, most of which is deposited in the Boas Papers, APS; but a great number of original letters surviving nowhere else are filed at the American Museum, some in Department of Anthropology correspondence files, some with accession notes. Along with these should be included the volume of Boas's letters to his wife and parents, edited by Ronald Rohner in 1969. Many secondary sources, both publications and photographs, were also consulted.

Sources for the Illustrations

All photographs from the 1894 Boas/Hastings collaboration have been reproduced from the Photography Collection of the American Museum of Natural History. Of the nineteen shots chosen from the corpus, the American Museum has original negatives for five: Figures 9–11 (the physical types) and Figures 22 and 26 (the crafts demonstrations). The remaining fourteen were taken from copies made from the prints exchanged from the U.S. National Museum. This was done partly for convenience but mainly because, of these fourteen images, the Smithsonian only had original negatives for three: the fool dancers (Figure 3), the speech of HoLElid (Figure 18), and the Koskimo at the feast (Figure 17). Of the remaining eleven images, the Smithsonian had its own copy-prints (but no original negatives) for three and no negatives or prints (other than unreproducible cyanotypes) for eight.

All other photographs have been reproduced from original negatives or from publications where the point was to show retouching. All illustrations in this

essay are referred to by "figure"; the word "plate" refers to the photographs as published by Boas in 1897 and 1909.

The data in the captions are given in the following order: subject, tribe, name of individual (when known), place, date, photographer, repository (source of illustration), catalog number, publication reference.

Abbreviations used in the text, notes, and captions are as follows:

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History
APS	American Philosophical Society
BCPM	British Columbia Provincial Museum
MPM	Milwaukee Public Museum
NAA	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
PM	Peabody Museum, Harvard University

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Notes

This essay is the first to be published of a projected series on Franz Boas and the problem of ethnographic representation. The basic theoretical approach was first explored in a paper completed in December 1976, "Fragments of Reality: Margaret Mead and the Photographic Representation of Bali," prepared originally for a University of Chicago seminar in the history of anthropology taught by George Stocking. An initial consideration of Northwest Coast ethnohistorical photography was contained in a manuscript cowritten with David Blanchard on the Field Columbian Museum's 1897 expedition to the area, led by George A. Dorsey. A draft was prepared during the fall of 1977 and spring of 1978, and a revised version, concentrating on the Boas-Dorsey relationship, ca. 1893–1903, is in preparation. Soon to appear is a companion paper to this essay on Boas's museum exhibits, seen as a medium of visual communication [Jacknis ms. (a)].

1 There has been some debate over the correct name and spelling of the cultural group studied by Boas. The practice followed herein uses "Kwakiutl" to refer to the entire population of Kwakwala-speakers (also referred to in the literature as the Southern Kwakiutl and in the native tongue as the "Kwakwa̲ka'wakw"). The word "Kwagul" will be used to denote one of the local subgroups of the Kwakiutl, the one residing in Fort Rupert. In his writings, Boas often referred to the group at Fort Rupert by the same name of Kwakiutl, so they have been distinguished here to prevent confusion.

These subgroups have been variously referred to as "tribes" or "bands." Other subgroups present in the village over the winter of 1894–1895, during Boas's fieldwork, were the Nakwoktak of Blunden Harbour and the Koskimo from a nearby village in northwestern Vancouver Island. All other native terms follow Boas's original orthography.

2 The best study to date, Blackman 1976, while including much on Boas's Kwakiutl photographs, is, as noted, more about potlatches in pictures than about the photographers. Moreover, it contains several major errors of attribution (see note 30) and does not consider the entire scope of Boas's photographic work. Nevertheless, it remains a valuable, informative, and suggestive study. In many ways my essay is a continuation of the kind of analysis she first laid out. Blackman also comments briefly on Boas's pictures in a popular article on American Indians and photography (1980:70) and in the Odyssey film on Boas (Odyssey 1980:5–6). Jay Ruby (1980) has discussed Boas's research on film, a subject not explicitly dealt with here, and in the Odyssey film he gave stimulating comments on the contrastive photographic styles of Boas and Curtis (Odyssey 1980: 9, 10, 12, 13). Bill Holm (1973) has annotated the Boas 1930 film of Fort Rupert in exhaustive detail but focuses almost completely on the content of the film. Alan Thomas (1982) has included Boas in a discussion of photographs of British Columbian Indians, but his essay is not based on any thorough study of the sources, at least not those concerning Boas.

3 See Auerbach's 1953 classic of the same name, subtitled "The Representation of Reality in Western Literature," and an inspiration for the current discussion.

4 This view of a "text" as the correlation of distinct orders—of correspondences—is derived from Boon's use of the term (1972:10–11). The general model of a social text is based on Geertz (1973), following Ricoeur (1971).

5 Franz Boas to his uncle, Abraham Jacobi, May 9, 1883. APS.

6 Information on Boas's lessons contained in letters to his parents, March 8, 1883, and April 15, 1883, both in the Boas Family Papers, APS. The quotation is from the latter letter. Information in Boas's curriculum vitae at the University of Berlin, mentioning his work with Vogel, was kindly shared with me by Douglas Cole, who also brought the above two letters to my attention. Hermann W. Vogel was also the instructor of the American photographer Alfred Stieglitz, who began courses at the University in late 1882 and started taking pictures in 1883. Stieglitz may have encountered Boas in his courses.

7 Boas to his fiancée Marie Krackowizer, January 3, 1884, Baffinland letter-diary. APS. See Boas 1983:35.

8 The APS has a collection of sixteen of Boas's Arctic photographs, in B/B 61, envelope no. 31. Envelope no. 30 contains twenty-five sketches, and ten pictures taken on the ship are in envelope no. 7. See White 1963:19, (Fig. 4b), for a reproduction of one of Boas's pencil sketches of an Eskimo village, and Fig. 4a for a photograph of Boas and some Eskimos. One of these photographs is also reproduced in Boas 1983:20.

9 The technique was used by Samuel Barrett in his early work on Pomo basketry, conducted in 1904 and published in 1908, as well as by Herman Haeberlin and James Teit in a Boas-directed study of Salish coiled basketry in 1916, published in 1928. For recent discussions of the techniques, see Collier 1967:46–66 and Krebs 1975.

10 As a local naturalist, Hastings would have been privy to such information. In fact, in June 1895, Hastings was delegated by Boas to collect some skeletons from a cave on a nearby island. American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), accession no. 1895–40 in Dept. of Anthropology: artifacts and skeletons from Gabriola Island, B.C.

11 A commercial photographer, John Grabill had a studio in Sturgis, Dakota Territory, by October of 1886 and was active throughout the Territory in the late eighties and early nineties:

> The one hundred and sixty-one photographs sent by John C. H. Grabill to the Library of Congress for copyright protection (1888–91) are thought to be the largest surviving collection of this early Western photographer's work. The photographs document frontier life in Colorado, South Dakota, and Wyoming and include views of hunters, prospectors, cowboys, Chinese immigrants, and U.S. Army personnel as well as cattle and sheep ranches, mining operations, towns, natural landmarks, forts, railroads, mills, stagecoaches, and wagons. A number of the images pertain to Indians and their contact with the white man." [Melville 1980:147]

Grabill took a special series of photographs at the Pine Ridge Agency in January 1891, shortly after the Wounded Knee massacre. For a brief text and reproductions of several photographs, see Current 1978:212–221. Annette Melville, of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, is preparing a text-fiche on the Library's Grabill collection.

12 F. W. Putnam to Director General of the World's Columbian Exposition, George R. Davis, March 27, 1893. Putnam Papers, Harvard University Archives.

13 Five of Grabill's pictures of Kwakiutl dancers are deposited in the Photography Collection of the Harvard Peabody Museum. There are several more, at the American Museum, of the fair that may also be by Grabill (Bound Photo Album no. 32:198, 200, in the Photography Collection).

14 As F. W. Putnam, then at the American Museum, reported to the Museum's president, Morris K. Jesup, "Dr. Boas' main object was to secure moulds, measurements and photographs of the natives in order that life size models could be reproduced; and also such objects of dress, ornament and utility as would be required to represent the home life and occupations of the people." Report for 1895, Putnam Papers, Harvard University.

15 Boas had used the tactics of delay on his first Northwest Coast trip in 1886. Even though collecting was one of the major goals of his visit to the Kwakiutl at Nuwitti, he waited a week before making any purchases, using the time to gather contextual information as well as becoming better accepted.

16 George Hunt to Boas, February 5, 1900. APS, ms. no. 1927, part 3.

17 They are stored as part of the "Boas Collection," which had been transferred to the Department of Anthropology in 1943, after Boas's death. The original negatives are in the Photography Collection.

18 The Provincial Archives of British Columbia hold a small collection of Hastings's commercial work in their Photograph Collection.

19 Dan Savard and Elizabeth Virolainen of the Ethnology Division, British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria, have compiled information on Hastings's photographs on the 1879 Powell expedition. For brief comments on Hastings's Haida pictures, see Blackman 1981:56, 61 and 1982:92.

20 This account is based on the obituary in the Victoria *Colonist* of August 5, 1912, and a biographical sketch in Kerr 1890:179–180, which should be consulted for further details. The career just outlined is not an atypical one. A number of the early photographers of British Columbia's natives were commercial photographers hired for the purpose, and Hastings's combination of photography with a range of scientific pursuits was paralleled in the work of the collector Charles F. Newcombe, a fellow member of the Natural History Society of British Columbia.

21 O. C. Hastings to Franz Boas, February 4, 1895. AMNH, Dept. of Anthropology, accession 1895–4.

22 For a stimulating and pioneering overview of the responses of Northwest Coast natives, especially Haida, to photography, see Blackman 1982.

23 *Chicago Times,* May 7, 1893. Copy in the World's Columbian Exposition scrapbook, volume 2, Putnam Papers, Harvard.

24 This reaction to the inverted image on the ground glass was not restricted to the Kwakiutl. Adam C. Vroman, among the Hopi in 1895, describes his attempts to ingratiate himself. After showing them the camera, letting them see through it, he would "go out and let them see me standing on my head. It was amusing to see their surprise when [they] would put the focusing cloth back and see I was not on my head. They would look again and then come out and smile and call others to look and then they would smile too" (Webb and Weinstein 1973:32).

25 This is precisely what it was, an act. If the Kwakiutl had ever practiced ritual cannibalism, they had certainly substituted stagecraft for it by then.

26 On an invoice sent to the American Museum there is a listing for $2 for "Indians for sitting." This figure was also given as "photographs of Indians," which may apply to this session.

27 Similarly, a photograph of a large rock on the beach with a row of houses behind was labeled by Boas as a photograph of a rock carving but as a village scene by the American Museum (AMNH no. 3360661). The connection between Boas's list of titles and the image is my own, largely through process of elimination from more firmly identified images, and is thus only tentative.

28 Frederick V. Hayden, the Western Survey leader, wrote in 1877: "Usually it is only when an Indian is subjected to confinement that those measurements of his person which are suitable for anthropological purposes can be secured" (quoted in Jeffrey 1981:56, 58).

29 In comparison, a contemporary expedition to the same region, led by George A. Dorsey of the Field Columbian Museum in 1897, returned with five physical type photographs from the Masset Haida and eight (of five people) from the Tsimshian at Hazelton, British Columbia. The collection of physical type portraits created by Boas at the American Museum is rivaled in the United States only by that of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington.

30 Blackman's article, "Blankets, Bracelets, and Boas" (1976), is flawed by her misattribution of several key photographs. Working mostly with file prints, she missed the full body of work. Instead of the fourteen photographs of potlatches that I have attributed to Boas and Hastings, she found eleven, but of her eleven, I have attributed three to other photographers: her plate 3, of blankets piled up inside a house (AMNH no. 411813), was taken by Harlan Smith in June 1898; her plate 4, of trade goods at a women's potlatch (AMNH no. 42992), was also taken by Smith in 1898, as was her plate 5, of the same subject (AMNH no. 411791). Finally, her plate 11, of a potlatch at Alert Bay, which she suggests may have been taken by Boas, ca. 1900 (AMNH no. 104, 473), following documentation at the American Museum and the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, was taken by George Hunt, probably in Fort Rupert between 1901 and 1905. In her defense, it should be noted that she repeatedly labels many of her attributions and points as suggestions only, where the documentation she had was uncertain.

My attributions were made chiefly on the basis of systematic review of all early American Museum Northwest Coast photographs, by matching evidence in Smith's and Hunt's accession records, the Anthropology Department's early photo catalog, and the bound photo albums in the Photography Collection, in which the photographs were pasted in, in sequence, as they were cataloged, accompanied with original catalog numbers (see Appendix).

In addition to these misattributions of photographer and date, I have determined, as outlined in my section on the uses of photography, that Blackman's plate 1 (reproduced in Boas 1897a:pl. 6), which she identifies as a Village Island chief, is in fact Wa'kas, a Koskimo speaker. As I have suggested, her entire discussion of the potlatch photographs as if they were of one unified event and as involving the Mamalilikulla of Village Island instead of the Kwagut, Koskimo, and Nakwoktak is in error. I wish to stress here that my reattributions should not be taken as criticism of her fine, pioneering analysis of the subject, which still remains a sound treatment of the subject.

31 Several, overlapping shots are particularly fine in showing the two simultaneous operations of a men's and women's portions of the potlatch, with two contiguous circles of spectators, each facing inward to their respective centers of action.

32 When people do venture into the woods, they do so as individuals. They are not buried in family plots or graves. The groups who go to clearings for ritual meetings leave their social identities behind in the villages: "While learning the songs the people sit promiscuously, not arranged according to the societies to which they belong" (1897a:520), and when they leave, they go home singly, to avoid attracting attention.

33 George Hunt to Franz Boas, October 12, 1922. APS.

34 George Hunt to Franz Boas, April 6, 1933. APS.

35 The Kwakiutl had their own uses for photographs. Reproductions from magazines and newspapers were a popular form of interior decoration in late-nineteenth-century Coast houses (for a photograph of such an interior and discussion, see Blackman 1982:98–99). In the new Northwest Coast Hall at the Field Museum, Chicago, the Kwakiutl House exhibit has a photograph of the Kwakiutl at the Chicago Fair, perhaps representing Boas's gift, tacked up on a wall.

36 Harlan Smith to Franz Boas, May 19, 1898. AMNH, Dept. of Anthropology, accession no. 1898–41.

37 It is interesting that Boas thinks he can sell the photographs, evidently after paying Hastings for them with money from the U.S. National Museum and the American Museum. Or was Boas doing the selling on behalf of Hastings or the museums who had the original negatives?

38 This attitude was so insistent that Reo Fortune had to return to Dobu with a camera because he realized that an ethnography without photographs would never sell (Mead 1972, cited in 1975 ed.: 192–193).

39 In 1898, Putnam recommended to his friend Augustus Lowell that Boas give general lectures on the Northwest Coast, to be illustrated with lantern slides, but nothing ever came of it. Putnam to Lowell, April 8, 1898; copy filed with Boas-Putnam correspondence, Boas Papers, APS.

40 Also in that volume is a photograph taken at the Museum of a mask Boas had collected (plate 31). Worn by a model, possibly Boas himself as suggested by Hinsley and Holm (1976:315, n. 1), this mask was originally photographed by Hastings, in a nearly identical pose. The mask became part of an exhibit, mounted in the same pose, and Hinsley and Holm speculate that the photograph reproduced as plate 31 may have been intended as another guide for the diorama-makers.

41 Otis T. Mason to Franz Boas, January 17, 1896. APS.

42 Jay Ruby (1980:11, and in Odyssey 1980:10) has discussed a similar retouching incident, involving frames from the 1930 film that were copied with the background removed. Although Ruby claims this was for a museum exhibit, the context and purpose of this action remain moot.

43 Letters from George Hunt to Franz Boas, January 15, 1895, and March 20, 1895, respectively. AMNH, Dept. of Anthropology, accession no. 1895–4.

44 Note the dates of Hunt's letters, early 1895: this was just after Boas had left Fort Rupert but still within the ceremonial season he witnessed and well before the publication of the book. There can be no doubt that the copper purchase that Hunt speaks of here is the one published by Boas 1897a:346–353 (reprinted in 1966:85–92).

45 We should stress that Boas was by no means alone in such actions. The problem of "the specific vs. the general" is a common one in visual anthropology and in fact cropped up again for Boas in 1907. George A. Dorsey (1907) criticized the exhibits of the American Museum on this point, and Boas responded with a general essay on the principles of museum administration (noticeably, purposely avoiding Dorsey's point). See Jacknis ms. (a).

46 Franz Boas to Edward Sapir, March 8, 1913. APS.

47 Although most contemporary anthropologists would agree with Boas's general theory of the cultural patterning of behavior, they would emphasize much more than he did the situational factors of meaning and context (for a good discussion on this tendency in Boas's photographic work, see Ruby 1980:8).

48 Pliny Goddard to Edward Curtis, January 17, 1924, in AMNH, Dept. of Anthropology, quoted in Gidley 1982:75. Gidley rightly points out that "what Boas and Goddard wanted was the film's set pieces; they were not interested in that aspect of it which, from the viewpoint of film history, makes it unique in its own time, however absurd the story is in some respects."

49 George Hunt to Franz Boas, December 3, 1907. APS. Although Boas planned to use Hunt's series in his study published by the Bureau of American Ethnology (1921), these volumes were illustrated only with line drawings. Several photographs were used, as we have noted, in Boas 1909.

50 Franz Boas to Owen Cattell, October 27, 1932. APS.

51 Boas was perhaps even more of a pioneer in sound recording than he was in photography. His extensive recordings of Kwakiutl songs at the 1893 fair in Chicago came only three years after Jesse W. Fewkes became the first to record American Indian music in the field, and Boas brought his sound machine into the field on the 1897 Jesup Expedition, where he recorded some Thompson Indian songs. Until his death, Boas cooperated with other students of music and language to organize archives and better ways of recording. After his last field trip in 1930, on which he recorded another 156 cylinders, he brought the Kwakiutl Dan Cranmer to New York and recorded him on aluminum discs in 1941. No doubt Boas's special stress on the phonograph came from his lifelong and deep love of music.

52 It might be argued that his research on the subject of technology and visual art, from at least his first encounter with the Jacobsen collection in 1885 to his publication of the summary *Primitive Art* in 1927, would argue for a strong visual interest. While it is undeniable that Boas was one of the major students of the visual arts of primitive people at the turn of the century, a closer look reveals that almost all of his creative research on the topic came within the decade of his association with the American Museum, 1895–1905. The one exception was his article on the Eskimo needlecases (1908, reprinted in 1940:564–592). While this research was important to Boas, it virtually ceased after his retirement from the museum world in 1905. And the larger point raised here is still valid, i.e., Boas himself spent little time drawing, painting, sculpting, photographing, etc. Almost all that he did do is restricted to brief, early field trips, and references to a personal enjoyment or appreciation of visual art are very rare.

53 Yet, as so often was the case with Boas, there is a tension in his thought that he never fully resolved, in this case between the particular phenomenal state of the world and general conceptual categories, abstracted from experience. While we are making the argument here that Boas favored the latter, an equally good case could be made for the former. In his early credo "The Study of Geography" (1887b), he suggested that both approaches were of equal value, though he exposed a bias toward the phenomenal, a bias more marked by "The Aims of Ethnology" (1889b). Increasingly, throughout his career, Boas favored the particular over the general. Yet, as the quotations offered here show, this was tempered on the level of scientific observation. Particular phenomena in the natural world were accepted far more readily than particular observations by the investigator, and, of course, the photograph was just such a particular observation.

54 Some of Boas's thought along these lines was probably derived from the theories of visual perception in Hermann von Helmholtz's *Physiological Optics* (1867). Helmholtz's theories, which as a psychophysicist Boas was quite familiar with, became the basis of the aesthetic theory of the influential Victorian photographer Peter Henry Emerson, whose 1889 book, *Naturalistic Photography*, at times sounds like Boas.

55 In these early days, before tape recording, the phonographic cylinder was the record of a single performance. A transcription by musical notation is a description of this single performance, based on repeated hearings. As Benjamin I. Gilman astutely pointed out (1908:26–27), neither the cylinder nor the transcription was necessarily the same thing as the "piece of music" or a composer's score.

56 Boas would have been more accurate had he remarked that, though the form was almost gone, the content remained. What he means here is that the form of referring to bowls remains, a verbal form, though the content or meaning, its ostensive referent, is gone. But one can look at the situation from the opposite direction and remark, as Boas himself did, how much of the old culture remained.

57 Franz Boas to Will H. Hays, March 24, 1933. APS.

58 Here, while Boas used the text to trace the geographical distribution of traits, he could have used a comparison of photographs—subjects of material culture or of behavior. Mead and Bateson used a comparative photographic approach in Bali and New Guinea, though not for historical reconstruction.

59 In her essay cited at the beginning of this section, Mead fastened on this point of culture change as "a partial explanation of this clinging to verbal descriptions" in spite of the availability of film and other media:

> Much of the fieldwork that laid the basis of anthropology as a science was conducted under conditions of very rapid change, where the fieldworker had to rely on the memory of the informants rather than upon observation of contemporary events. The informant had only words in which to describe the war dance that was no longer danced, the buffalo hunt after the buffalo had disappeared, the discontinued cannibal feast, or the abandoned methods of scarification and mutilation. Thus ethnographic enquiries came to depend upon words, and words and words, during the period that anthropology was maturing as a science. [1975:5]

60 Holm and Quimby (1980:31) discuss the state of Kwakiutl material acculturation at the time of Curtis's photography. Feeling the architecture of Fort Rupert was too modern, Curtis had a model village (consisting largely of façades) set up on an island in the harbor, complete with newly commissioned totem poles. As he had avoided the new houses, so Curtis kept away from the modern sail and gas boats. Instead, he took one of the few remaining large war canoes and had it repainted and refitted several times to represent several canoes Most of Curtis's reconstructions fall into the category of props and costumes. Mrs. George Hunt and friends busily turned out a large wardrobe of cedar bark robes and tunics. New cedar bark ceremonial head and neck rings were produced, along with new whale-rib clubs. After going to such trouble to re-create appearances, Curtis's posing was understandably meticulous. Using Hunt to direct the natives, following traditional gestures and poses, Curtis positioned his camera for maximum visual impact.

61 According to Boas, there are few anthropologists who can speak the native language, so that they can "understand directly what the people whom they study speak about, what they think and what they do. There are fewer still who have deemed it worth while to record the customs and beliefs and the traditions of the people in their own words, thus giving us the objective material which will stand the scrutiny of painstaking investigation" (Boas 1906, cited in Stocking 1974:185).

62 If Boas's doctoral research had predisposed him toward visual information, it also brought home to him the limitations of a purely materialist science. Even in physics, the observer's abilities and perceptions played a role.

63 As the reader may have realized by now, many of the positive values attributed to texts in this discussion are not all they seem to be. Clearly, there are problems in memorizing and transmitting a myth. A family history may be skewed for situational reasons. The recital of a tale to an ethnographer on a boat, line by line, will not be the same thing as a full performance in a natural setting to an appreciative audience.

Boas was aware of many of these drawbacks. Others have only been perceived by latter-day anthropologists. These positive values of the text are thus presented here not as absolutes, but always as traits *relative* to the photograph and seen within the limitations and parameters of Boas's anthropology.

64 In ethnography, the primary medium is the body of the ethnographer. His or her perceptions can be amplified and made more permanent by a range of technical devices, the traditional one being pen and paper (see Rowe 1953 for a review of the history of technical aids in anthropology). Systematic ethnography came to maturity at the same time as the camera, and Boas was one of the first to use the camera in the field in association with ethnography, which was made practical only with the development of dry plates in about 1880.

65 Another possible precursor to the 1894 team was the team of James and Matilda Stevenson, Frank H. Cushing, and the photographer John Hillers, sent by the Bureau of American Ethnology to Zuni in 1879. But each participant was much more independent, and apparently they were not able to establish serious contact with informants until the team had left Cushing alone in the village.

Boas's use of a field team was part of his long-standing practice of seeking assistants or correspondents in the field. On his first Northwest Coast trip in 1886, Boas felt he had to enlist photographers and school teachers to gather as much material as possible (1969:22). George Hunt was only the most important of a long list of native experts hired by Boas (e.g., the Tsimshian Henry Tate, the Nez Percé Archie Phinney, the Tsimshian Mrs. E. O. Morison, the Dakota Ella Deloria), along with well-informed whites such as James Teit.

Decades later, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, and the Balinese I Made Kaler, as well as several others who joined from time to time, all collaborated to document Balinese culture in multiple media.

66 In fact, this seems to have been a general trait of Boas's collections. The artifacts he sent to museums are accompanied by surprisingly meager proveniences and are surpassed by Hunt's annotations to his collections.

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