

Drawing on Museums: Early Visual Fieldnotes by Franz Boas and the Indigenous Recuperation of the Archive

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ABSTRACT In the first decade of his Northwest Coast fieldwork (1886–1897), Franz Boas made and commissioned a series of research drawings of Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl) objects held by museums in Berlin and elsewhere. Using them as elicitation tools, Boas added primary fieldnotes (in German, English, and Kwak'wala) directly onto them, providing a basis for his earliest publications on anthropological theory and methods as well as Kwakwaka'wakw art, song, and ceremony. Until recently, however, these visual fieldnotes—long relegated to the archive—have been severed from both the museum collections and Boas's foundational ethnographic research. In this essay, I discuss the drawings in the context of current collaborative efforts to document historic ethnographic materials with the Kwakwaka'wakw, who are recuperating such anthropological and archival resources in support of current cultural production and ceremonial revitalization. [*ethnographic methods, museums, history of anthropology, Franz Boas, Kwakwaka'wakw*]

RESUMEN En la primera década de su trabajo de campo en la Costa Noroccidental (1886-1897), Franz Boas hizo y comisionó una serie de dibujos de investigación de los objetos de los kwakwaka'wakw (kwakiutl) guardados por el museo en Berlín y otros lugares. Usándolos como herramientas de elicitación, Boas añadió notas de campo primarias (en alemán, inglés, y kwak'wala) directamente sobre ellos, proveyendo una base para sus primeras publicaciones sobre teoría y métodos antropológicos, así como arte, música, y ceremonia kwakwaka'wakw. Hasta recientemente, sin embargo, estas notas de campo visuales —relegadas largamente al archivo— han sido cortadas tanto de las colecciones del museo como de la investigación etnográfica fundacional de Boas. En este ensayo discuto los dibujos en el contexto de esfuerzos colaborativos actuales para documentar los materiales etnográficos históricos con los kwakwaka'wakw, quienes están recuperando tales recursos antropológicos y archivísticos en apoyo a la producción cultural y la revitalización ceremonial actuales. [*métodos etnográficos, museos, historia de la antropología, Franz Boas, Kwakwaka'wakw*]

In the fall of 1885, Norwegian mariner Johan Adrian Jacobsen began a tour of Germany with nine Nuxalk (Bella Coola) men from British Columbia under the auspices of Carl Hagenbeck's *Völkerschauen*, or commercial displays of exotic peoples (Ames 2008). In multiple venues, the Nuxalk performed dances, produced and used tools, interpreted ceremonial objects displayed nearby, and carved masks and other small items for sale (Haberland 1999). The group

received considerable scholarly attention—particularly in Berlin, where Adolph Bastian organized a special performance for ethnologists, including Rudolf Virchow, Aurel Krause, and Franz Boas. Boas had been working for Bastian, cataloging Jacobsen's earlier collection of Northwest Coast material at Berlin's Royal Museum of Ethnology (Bolz and Sanner 1999; Glass and Hatoum, under review; Haberland 1989), and his few weeks spent with the Nuxalk provided

linguistic materials for his first tentative articles on coastal cultures (Cole 1982; Cole 1999, 94–96).

Boas's popular account of the tour published in the *Berliner Tageblatt* (January 25, 1886) foreshadowed his career-defining interest in humanist aesthetics, the relation of art and material culture to religious belief, the role of "ethnic conceptions" and culturally specific modes of thought, and the importance of salvage-oriented research. Looking back on this formative encounter decades later, Boas summarized what had become his moment of conversion from Inuit to Northwest Coast studies: "My fancy was first struck by the flights of imagination exhibited in the works of art of the British Columbians as compared to the severe sobriety of the eastern Eskimo. . . . I divined what a wealth of thought lay hidden behind the grotesque masks and the elaborately decorated utensils of these tribes" (1909, 307). By the summer of 1886, Boas had set sail for his first field trip to British Columbia and made his initial steps toward becoming a foundational figure in both Northwest Coast studies and North American anthropology.

Although he focused this first field season on linguistic reconnaissance, Boas wrote to John Wesley Powell at the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) of his intention "to study the masks in connection with the traditions" (that is, the mythology), and he made his own small collection in order to help offset travel expenses.¹ With him, Boas took photographs and drawings of the Jacobsen collection in Berlin as well as of masks in London and New York that he made himself en route to western Canada (Cole 1999, 101; Jacknis 2002, 49). Having been dissatisfied with Jacobsen's collection records, Boas vowed to record detailed ethnological data to accompany his own purchases. On his second day in Victoria, after meeting one of his Nuxalk friends from Berlin, Boas "showed him my drawings from various museums, and it was soon apparent that they will be very useful. I am now convinced that this trip will have the results I desire. Today I have made many notes about masks and such things" (Rohner 1969, 21). A couple of days later, he noted that he got a "wild-dance" story to go with "a mask" in Berlin and New York (25). The fact that Boas used the singular article to refer to at least two particular masks suggests that he took each to be a token of a common type and that he initially expected the narrative to refer to the generic category, not the particular object. Throughout his career—especially in his first decade of fieldwork on the Northwest Coast—Boas and his main Indigenous collaborator, George Hunt, would routinely use these and other drawings as prompts for eliciting related legends, songs, dances, and crest privileges.²

This essay examines the drawings as primary visual field-notes in Boas's early career and tracks the circulation of the ethnographic knowledge recorded on them through museum archives and publications in the decade before Boas commenced his serious work on art and aesthetics (Jonaitis 1995, 10–16). Beginning with his earliest articles geared toward popular and scholarly audiences, Boas referred to

material culture, along with dance, music, and poetry, as a form of aesthetic sophistication and individual variation within populations. Although he hoped such perspectives would undermine the prevalent and racist belittling of Indigenous peoples, he did not initially frame objects as "art," per se, nor did he attempt to elucidate specific stylistic systems; these types of study came only later, around 1900. However, the drawings provide insight into the development of Boas's inductive and field-based methodologies, his use of material (in addition to linguistic) evidence to gain access to "mental phenomena," and his critique of Victorian museology. At the dawn of his career, Boas emphasized the historical diffusion of forms (both intra- and intertribally, especially through marriage exchange), and the need—particularly among Northwest Coast peoples—to tie objects to hereditary narratives and to their specific ceremonial and discursive contexts for performance. These two early dimensions of his material culture research were crucial strategies in his mounting assault on evolutionary explanations for cultural diversity and development (Darnell 1998; Jacknis 1985, 1996; Jonaitis 1995).

Boas long used the drawings as elicitation tools during fieldwork. However, much of the detail recorded on them failed to get entextualized in his major ethnographic works. In his influential monograph, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1897a), the material and artistic particularity of objects often gave way to generalization or schematization, despite Boas's reputation to the contrary and his persistent calls for the collection of specific cultural histories. Contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw find these lacunae a serious limitation on the utility of this book for the resuscitation of material or ceremonial practices that must be linked to particular families as hereditary property.³ However, many of the detailed notes on the archival drawings—as well as subsequent comments on and corrections to the Berlin catalog records and Boas's 1897 text made by George Hunt—allow for the recovery of some individual or clan-specific forms and for the potential recuperation of the knowledge and prerogatives that they make manifest.

Following the insight of poststructuralist semiotics and post-Marxist political economy, I would suggest that the products of past ethnography need not be completely overdetermined by the historical and political conditions of their production. While the colonial contexts for early anthropological collecting are incontrovertible and in need of close interrogation, many of the material products of that process retain a capacity to embody cultural knowledge and value for originating communities, provided these communities have adequate access to the primary materials and the means to interpret histories of collection. Through cooperative efforts to salvage the products of "salvage anthropology," archival disinterment and critical historiography can be put into direct service of both reflexive disciplinary critique and contemporary Indigenous revitalization (Fienup-Riordan 2005; Phillips 2016; Turin 2011).

In articulating such convergent goals, this article is a modest attempt to traverse a number of historical, epistemological, material, and political divides—between the past and present of anthropology as a discipline of collaborative praxis, between ethnographic and Indigenous ways of knowing and being, between analog and digital media of representation, between colonial structures of archival containment and activist attempts at open access. After tracing the history of Boas's drawings and the intellectual milieu of his early research, I discuss the potential for their Indigenous reactivation in the context of collaborative projects I have been conducting with the U'mista Cultural Centre to document the collection in Berlin (Glass 2015) and to reunite Boas and Hunt's archival material with both the objects that they describe and the Kwakwaka'wakw cultural patrimony that they embody in a planned critical edition of the 1897 monograph (Glass, Berman, and Hatoum 2017). My partners and I are inspired by current efforts to harness twenty-first-century digital technologies to map and reunite the distributed field of ethnographic knowledge encoded in museum collections, archival documentation, published texts, and Indigenous knowledge (Bell, Christen, and Turin 2013; Glass and Hennessy, in press). One key node in this global relational nexus is the set of Boas's research drawings, a highly personal form of visual representation and a pre- (and post-) photographic medium of anthropological elicitation and knowledge production (Ballard 2013; Geismar 2014; Hendrickson 2008; Ingold 2011; Oppitz 2016). In attending to his use of drawings in early fieldwork, this essay contributes to recent reevaluations of Boas's formative anthropological thought and methods (Darnell et al. 2015) and to larger theoretical interest in recuperating the ethnographic archive in support of Indigenous sovereignty claims (Christen 2005, 2011; Ginsburg 2002).⁴

FROM SKIZZENBUCH TO ARTICLE AND ARCHIVE

Like many nineteenth-century scholars trained in natural science, Boas received some education in technical drawing and draftsmanship. From an early age, he sketched from nature and made architectural studies, honing observational and rendering skills that proved valuable during his early fieldwork (Cole 1999; Lewis-Jones and Herbert 2017). His field notebooks contain numerous drawings, and his early publications feature illustrations "from sketches by the author" (e.g., Boas 1888a). Many of the Berlin museum's catalog cards have quick but accurate sketches that Boas likely made when he helped catalog Jacobsen's collection in 1885 or on subsequent visits.

A handful of the archival drawings now at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), some in a small, bound *Skizzenbuch* (sketchbook), seem to have been made by Boas himself prior to or during his first 1886 trip to the Northwest Coast (Figure 1). These drawings, whose media range from graphite and ink to colored pencil, depict at least three types of source material: (1) Jacobsen's collection in Berlin and objects exhibited at the 1886 Colonial and Indian

Exhibition in London; (2) objects collected by Israel Powell for AMNH in New York (Glass 2011, 111); and (3) objects that Boas himself purchased in Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and "Newitti" (a village on Hope Island) in the fall of that year and then sold to the Berlin museum (Hatoum 2014). In this last category are images of masks that are part of a larger set of *Nunlem* or *Dlu'alaxa* items about which Boas wrote extensively in early articles to illustrate his burgeoning theories of cultural diffusion (1890b; 1897a, 627). In Fort Rupert and Alert Bay, he also collected objects related to Raven legends, while on Hope Island he purchased cedar-bark regalia for the Hamat'sa ("Cannibal Dance"). At the same time, he sought comparative versions of the associated Raven and Cannibal stories from throughout the coast in order to trace their cultural distribution and historical development (Glass 2006, 267, 417; Rohner 1969, 24, 45). By the end of his first 1886 field trip, Boas was convinced that his was "the only collection from this place that is reasonably well labeled" (quoted in Rohner 1969, 40).

Boas continued to use the research drawings that he made in 1886 for the next fifty years. For instance, the following year he was hired by the AMNH to help catalog their collection from Powell, and notes taken on his drawings of those objects surely helped. In April 1887, Boas wrote to Bastian in Berlin requesting additional drawings of the Jacobsen collection: "The quite comprehensive local collection from the NW Coast has been handed over to me for classifying and I have just started this work. Recently I wrote to Dr. Grünwedel about the Jacobsen collection and I asked him for some cursory sketches. I would like to send you as much as possible explanations for the collections."⁵ As a likely result, he acquired a number of detailed watercolor sketches by Albert Grünwedel, many of which are also now in the AMNH, along with Boas's own drawings.⁶ It seems significant that Boas desired drawings or paintings over photographs, and one might conjecture that the inclusion of color was prioritized over photographic verisimilitude in black and white. In some cases, the AMNH archive contains images of the same mask by both men (see Figure 3 and Figure 4), and the increased detail and obvious time spent on production suggest the identities of their creators, although none are signed. A number of these drawings feature additional notes dated 1930, Boas's final season of Northwest Coast fieldwork, thus becoming palimpsests for his entire ethnographic career.

Based on his first couple of short summer and fall field seasons, Boas published a large number of articles, often recycling and repackaging data—some of which are present on the archival drawings, often in his inscrutable and idiosyncratic shorthand script (Hatoum 2016). He was primarily interested in linguistic material and regional variation to common mythological narratives and motifs. When masks are mentioned, they are typically and briefly treated as tokens of crests or ancestral legends or as props for the hereditary

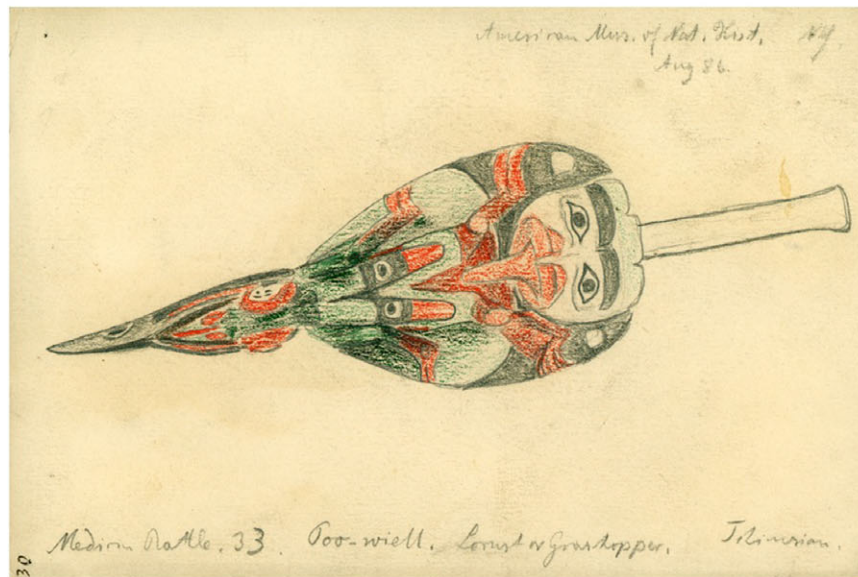


FIGURE 1. Raven rattle collected by Israel Powell (AMNH #16/297) and a colored-pencil drawing of it made by Franz Boas in 1886 (AMNH #Z/44 M). (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History). [This figure appears in color in the on-line issue]

dance privileges that enact genealogical and mythological narratives. Boas's nascent views on cultural relativism and historical particularism start to emerge in these discussions of complex ceremonial and discursive contexts for material culture and of the diffusion of ritual and crest prerogatives through marriage exchange or warfare (Boas 1888a, 1888b, 1889a, 1890a). Such theoretical perspectives were clearly articulated in his legendary 1887 debate with Otis Mason in the pages of *Science*, where Boas critiqued the comparative method and argued strongly for the need to situate museum collections in the larger and notably *local* cultural context of

their use and significance (Boas 1887; Mason 1887; see also Jacknis 1985, 1996).⁷

Boas's first extended account of Northwest Coast ceremonial art was his article "The Use of Masks and Head Ornaments on the Northwest Coast of America" (1890b), which was illustrated with material he sold to Berlin, including a number of cedar-bark head rings represented in the research drawings. As with his work on legends, songs, and dances, Boas discussed the way that visual art was intimately tied to various social structures—hereditary, affinal, and ceremonial. Most importantly, he declared his early failure

to record much specific information through elicitation by images:

I frequently showed the drawings to Indians whom I expected to be conversant with everything referring to the subject, but it was only in rare cases that they recognized the masks and were able to give any information as to their use and meaning. Very soon I arrived at the conclusion that, except in a few instances, the masks were not conventional types representing certain ideas known to the whole people, but were either inventions of the individuals who used them, or that the knowledge of their meaning was confined to a limited number of persons. (Boas 1890b; reprinted in Jonaitis 1995, 40)

Discounting his earlier hypothesis about the presence of similar mask types of varying age and provenance in multiple museum collections, Boas attributed the difficulty of identification to a combination of factors that greatly clarified in his mind the role of art and material culture on the coast.

Given the hereditary nature of prerogative ownership in the region, Boas came to recognize the serious limitation of poor collection records (such as Jacobsen's) that did not indicate the specific family or village of origin, instead assigning objects to a generic language group. This problem was compounded by the frequency with which objects were purchased—especially by amateur collectors, such as Jacobsen and Powell—from urban traders and curio dealers and not directly from First Nations communities (Jonaitis 1995, 41). Moreover, Boas acknowledged the local role of secret and proprietary knowledge closely guarded by object owners and not necessarily shared within the community, thus challenging stereotypes about the communal nature of American Indians. Finally, Boas discussed the consequences of widespread borrowing, copying, or transfer of objects without the adoption of accompanying explanatory narratives, thereby foreshadowing Lévi-Strauss's (1982, 93) take on semantic and material divergence with diffusion of forms along the Northwest Coast.

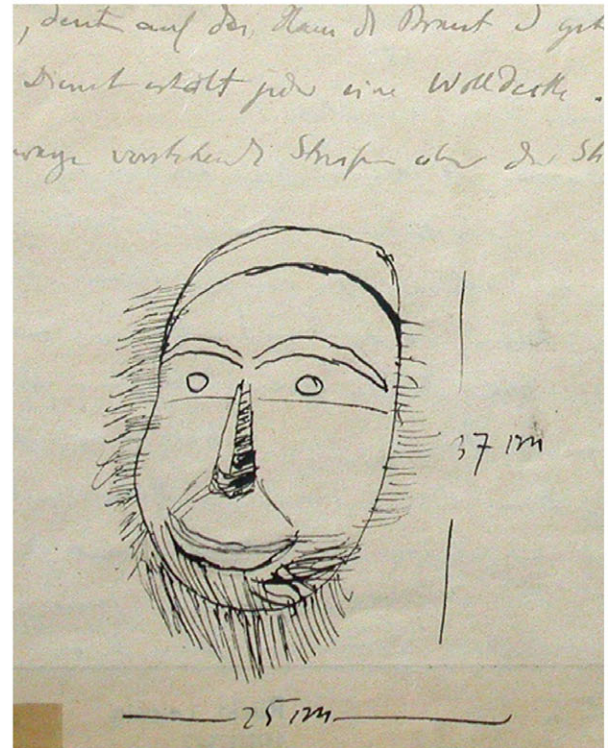
Here, Boas articulated something central about the political and ontological status of ritual objects on the coast (Glass 2015), and he resolved to be even more diligent in collecting masks and narratives as mutually corroborating units of cultural knowledge and practice. He would soon put these goals into action while coordinating collections for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where he also consulted with Hunt and a visiting Kwakwaka'wakw troupe while transcribing songs for some of the Berlin objects based on showing prior and recent research drawings to the singers.⁸ In fact, multiple archives reveal the degree to which Boas and Hunt conducted primary "fieldwork" at the fair, recording songs, photographing dances, and identifying objects that were later included in the 1897 monograph without an acknowledgment of the fairground context for their performance and inscription in ethnographic media (Glass, Berman, and Hatoum 2017; Jacknis 1984, 1991).⁹ As we shall see, despite his newfound insight into ceremonial culture, the type/token confusion persisted in Boas's

publication of these songs even after he recognized the need to distinguish particular masks (or other types of hereditary prerogative) from the generic categories to which they might be assigned by anthropological or museological collectors.

In the summer of 1894, in anticipation of an extended trip to Fort Rupert later that year to witness the Winter Ceremonials, Boas again wrote to the Berlin museum requesting drawings of its collection, and he received another batch.¹⁰ Whether based on improved image quality or his more sophisticated understanding of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, Boas's use of the drawings to identify objects was increasingly successful. Some of the more detailed Grünwedel paintings are covered with Boas's mostly undated fieldnotes (in German, English, and Kwak'wala), which provide identifications for the objects, descriptions of stylistic features and iconography, references to mythology or performance contexts (including related song texts), and, in some cases, information on mask owners, family records, and specific marriage transfers. On at least one occasion after this field trip, possibly in the summer of 1895 (Cole 1999, 180–81), Boas returned to Berlin to enter some of this new data directly onto the museum's catalog cards, thus supplementing and often correcting both his and Jacobsen's earlier descriptions. In addition, much of this material was then included in Boas's 1897 monograph, as I discuss below. The cumulative and intertextual network of archival and published material allows us track the development of his research—as well as his Kwak'wala orthographies and translations—from the original fieldnotes on the drawings to the museum catalog cards in Berlin and to his publications, with increasing levels of narrative detail in each iteration (Hatoum 2016).

For example, Figure 2 shows an object that Jacobsen simply described as a "bearded devil's head" (*bärtiger Teufelskopf*) or "mountain spirit dance mask" (*Berggeist Tanzmaske*) and attributed to the Kwakiutl in general. At some point, perhaps in Chicago in 1893 or on his 1894 field trip, Boas recorded extensive English and Kwak'wala notes on the Grünwedel painting of this item, including the name of the mask (*Xa'yala*), the specific band (or subtribe) that used it (*Tlaskinuxw*), its role as one of a set of four masks used in marriage ceremonies (not "dances"), and an origin story about its ancestral advent among the tribe. Boas then wrote up these notes in German on the Berlin catalog card, improving the syntax and narrative flow of the validating legend. Finally, he published an even more detailed version of the origin story with an image of the mask in the section of his monograph on marriage exchange (Boas 1897a, 364–65). Although we currently lack fieldnotes in Kwak'wala for this object, comparing the opening statements of this narrative's three iterations in translation is revealing in terms of its evolution from English notes to German museum catalog to English published ethnography:

From the drawing: "Chief of L'āsḡēnox speared sea otter, who took him out to sea. He had to cut line it shook [?] canoe. Came to sea otter chief's home."



into the water. His name was Xa'yā'la (sound beach). Then the sea began to roll in heavy
ered him to throw the three other men into the
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Fig. 6.
MARRIAGE MASK OF THE L'À'SQ'ENÔX.
Height 14 inches.

IV A, No. 1291, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin. Collected by A. Jacobsen.

pose as though directing their friends. Then dance and take their masks off. Figure 6 represents the *yā'la*. I have not seen the three other masks used in the dance. The broad band on top of the mask represents the hair.

FIGURE 2. From top left to bottom right: Kwakwaka'wakw Xa'yala mask collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen (Berlin #IVA 1291) and Berlin museum catalog card with notes and possible drawing by Franz Boas (Both courtesy of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin and U'mista Cultural Centre); drawing of the mask by Albert Grünwedel with Boas notes (AMNH #Z/43 U). (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History); illustration of the mask from Boas (1897a, Figure 6). [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

From the Berlin museum card: “A chief of the L’asqēnōx harpooned a sea otter, which pulled him into the sea. He tried to cut through the harpoon line, but did not succeed. He passed the place where coals swim on the sea and finally reached the chief of the sea otters.” (English translation from the original German)

From Boas 1897a (pp. 364–65): “A chief of the L’ā’sq’ēnōx speared a sea otter which pulled his canoe out to sea. He tried to cut the line, but it stuck to the canoe. Finally the mountains of his country went out of sight. After a long time he saw a black beach, and when he came near, he saw that it was the place where all the coal of fires goes when it drifts down the northward current of the sea. He passed this place and came to the place where all the dry sand is drifting to and fro. . . . Finally he discovered a village on the beach.”

In terms of visuals, Grünwedel’s detailed painting depicts the object’s condition at the time of collection—which, in this case, included animal fur that has now disintegrated—and features crucial indications of pigments and texture that are absent from the published illustration due to the leveling effect of the engraving process.

Here are two more brief examples where Boas’s drawings contain no information, but Grünwedel’s later paintings are covered with notes that name the *’na’mima* (nonlineal kin unit, often called “clan”) or band with rights to the mask as well as song lyrics for it. Figure 3 features a transformation mask that Boas identifies as a *Hamshamt’sas*. The 1897 report maps the information from these notes, although notably the family or band ownership is absent, and musical notation has been added to the lyrics (Boas 1897a, 463–64, 697), likely as a result of recording the related tune at the 1893 World’s Fair or in Fort Rupert the following winter. Boas’s caption for the 1897 illustration is one of the only ones in his monograph that makes reference to the object’s colors and their symbolic import, although the black-and-white graphic denies the reader access to this important aspect of its materiality. Figure 4 illustrates a rare mask—a type that fell out of use in the early twentieth century—that Boas himself collected and drew in 1886, although he recorded very little information at the time. Grünwedel’s later painting of this mask has extensive notes, which indicate that the mask is called a *Hama’a* among the Kwagu’l of Fort Rupert, who transferred the privilege to other bands; here Boas also notes the common and ceremonial names of its owner, details of its performance, and a song for its use, although he never deposited this information back in Berlin. Again, all of the data from the painting, supplemented with new musical notation, is included in the 1897 report *except* for the name of the owner (Boas 1897a, 473–74, 489, 708).

Boas spent the two years after 1894 labeling the Northwest Coast collection at the United States National Museum and, with George Hunt, collecting objects for a Hamat’sa life group there (Glass 2009). In these years, Boas drew on his experiences at the 1893 World’s Fair and on his recent winter field trip to expand the coverage and complexity of his early articles, repeatedly linking masks to their narratives while promoting his account of regional diffusion (Boas 1895, 1896a, 1896b, 1896c). Finally, he published in *Science*

his first brief, nonillustrated summary account of the general artistic style of Northwest Coast art, which uses conventionalized elements to depict hereditary crest figures, thereby anchoring visual and material culture in the underlying social organization (Boas 1896d).

The year 1897 proved pivotal for Northwest Coast studies. Boas, by then a curator at the AMNH, launched the Jesup North Pacific Expedition to collect coastal material culture in tandem with other kinds of ethnographic data in various media (Kendall and Krupnik 2003; Krupnik and Fitzhugh 2001). Building on his recent work, Boas began to focus increasingly on decorative art and its potential to give access to symbolic and cognitive dimensions of culture. Among the Haida and Kwakwaka’wakw, especially, he and his collection team commissioned an enormous number of drawings from their Indigenous interlocutors and assistants (Rohner 1969, 231). These images included face paintings unique to particular prerogatives; crest, tattoo, and house-front designs; narrative depictions of dancers and ceremonies in progress; and episodes and characters from legendary narratives. Boas had long employed the technique of commissioning drawings during fieldwork—for example, by having Inuit informants draw territorial maps for him in 1884 (Cole 1999, 80). This was a clear visual extension of his prescription to record narratives for access into “the culture as it appears to the Indian himself” (Boas 1909, 309).

Some of these Native-produced images were used to illustrate Boas’s first systematic treatment of Northwest Coast decorative arts in an 1897 AMNH *Museum Bulletin* article (Boas 1897b), which expanded on his paper in *Science* from the year before. Here, he focused on describing the diagnostic traits of specific animals and crests on the coast and the application of designs to various kinds of materials and surfaces. Boas argued that a considerable degree of abstraction resulted from both aesthetic conventionalization and the adaptation of the design system to multiple object forms, thereby countering the dominant tendency in evolutionary theory to explain abstraction as a byproduct of racial degeneration or a direct expression of early (totemic) stages of cultural development (see Jonaitis 1995). In this article, defining the visible characteristics of crests (as types) trumped the identification of specific objects (as tokens). There is no link made between decorative motif and restricted ownership; aesthetics is divorced from sociology, except inasmuch as crests are generically linked to clan organization. In addition, Boas did not disclose the Native identity of the artists who created many of the images, presenting them as direct reproductions of the Indigenous objects that they depict rather than second-order representations by a Native hand. The Native drawings of “designs” and the drawings of collected objects produced by museum technicians have exactly the same value as illustrations in this text. Thus, in his first general account of the social role of visual art among Northwest Coast peoples, Boas bracketed many of the ethnographic lessons he learned in trying to use his own drawings to identify specific Kwakwaka’wakw museum collections, as well

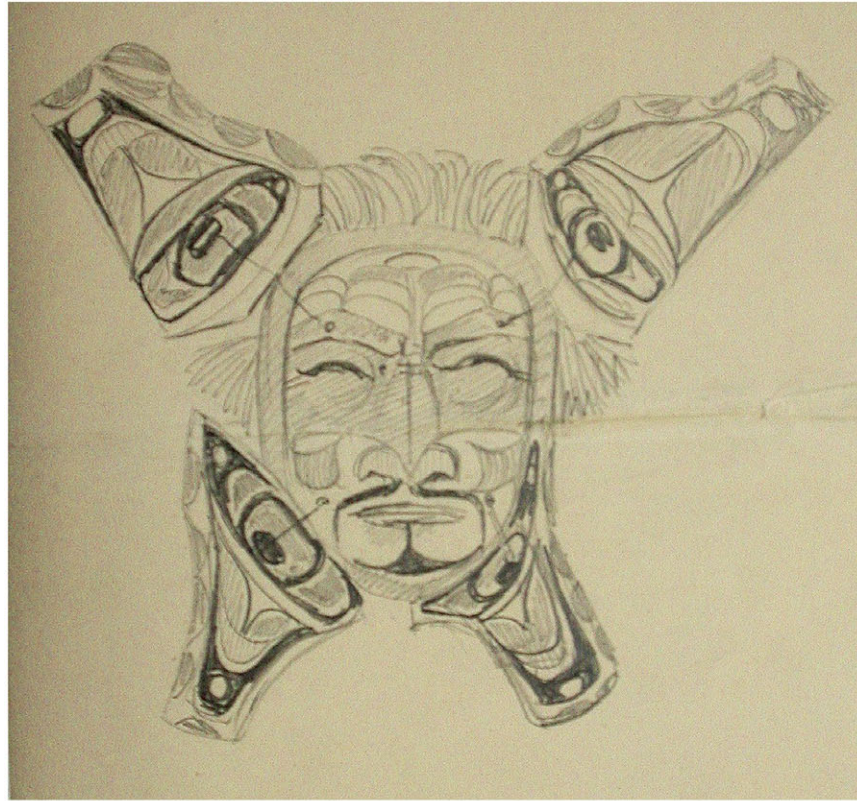


FIGURE 3. Two drawings of Kwakwaka'wakw transformation mask collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen (Berlin #IVA 1242) by Franz Boas (top, AMNH #Z/43 O) and by Albert Grünwedel (bottom, AMNH #Z/43 I), the latter with Boas notes. (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History). [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

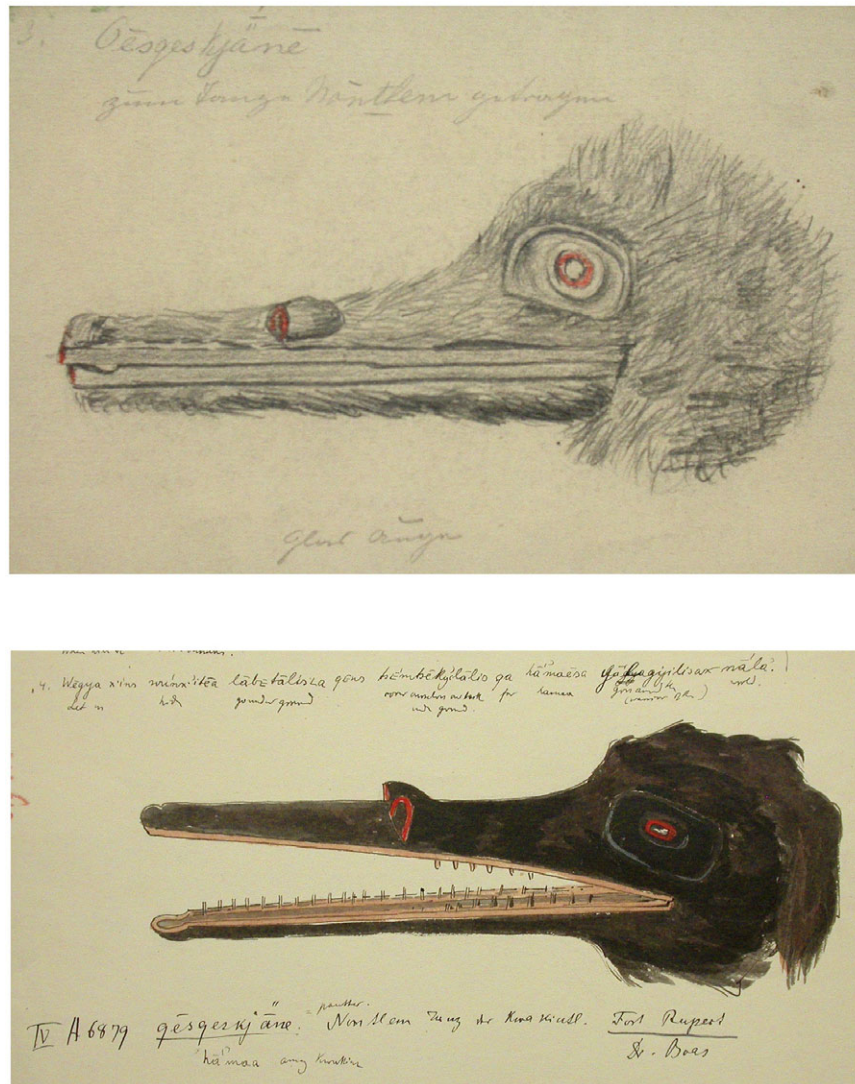


FIGURE 4. Two drawings of Kwakwaka'wakw Ha'ma'a mask collected by Franz Boas (Berlin #IVA 6879), by Franz Boas (top, AMNH #Z/43 Z11) and by Albert Grünwedel (bottom, AMNH #Z/43 Z09), both with Boas notes. (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History). [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

as the individuality of the Native artists making drawings for him, in order to present a more synthetic and theoretical picture of regional artistic conventions.

"THE BOOK WITH THE MANY ILLUSTRATIONS" AND BOAS'S EMBRACE OF TYPOLOGY

In 1897, Boas also published a lengthy monograph, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1897a), his first extensive treatment of Kwakwaka'wakw social and ceremonial organization. Commissioned by the US National Museum, the text was heavily illustrated with masks and other regalia, the bulk of which were actually drawn from the Berlin collection (Joseph 2014). Some objects (such as that in Figure 2) were used to illustrate the sections on crests, marriage, and 'na'mima organization. However, the majority were featured in the chapter called "Dances and Songs of the Winter Ceremonial" (Boas 1897a,

431–500). While many of the songs and descriptions of objects include information first recorded on the research drawings, conspicuously absent (with rare exception) are the data identifying specific masks as the hereditary prerogatives of particular families. Instead, the masks are generally used as exemplars of categories or types (for instance, "Mask of Ts'o'noqoa" [Dzunuk'wa]; Boas 1897a, 494–96), as if they all signified the same thing, in much the same way that Boas often conflated the various Kwakwaka'wakw bands with the generic and confusing term "Kwakiutl." In fact, the absence of reference to objects in the chapter title indicates that the masks are primarily "illustrating" dance and song categories.

Although he mentions it in passing (Boas 1897a, 447–48), rather than focus on material culture as an embodiment of private knowledge and restricted ownership, as he emphasized in his earlier essay on masks and head

ornaments, here Boas often generalized from the token to the type in order to schematize the system of dancing societies, much as he did for the artistic conventions in the *Museum Bulletin* of the same year. He didn't treat objects as the aesthetic achievement of individual creative minds, as he would later do in his seminal book, *Primitive Art* ([1927] 1955), although he did distinguish between sketches made by himself and drawings made by Native consultants (e.g., Boas 1897a, 370–71), unlike in the *Museum Bulletin*. Boas did, in principle, accurately convey the ontological status of regalia as the temporary instantiations of ephemeral, hereditary privileges, but he downplayed the notion of masks as 'na'mima property and the importance of genealogy in explaining and validating specific forms. In creating the first broad ethnographic portrait of the Kwakwaka'wakw, Boas also decoupled his particular material examples from their specific owners and users in order to characterize the broader sociocultural context in which they were embedded.

While this decision may simply reflect Boas's then-emergent understanding of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, I think it is possible to interpret his move from token to type as part of Boas's larger theoretical and methodological inclination at this time to locate similar forms (be they objects, narratives, or social structures) across geographic space in order to reconstruct their historical development. That is to say, he was interested in canon formation regarding *typical* forms and styles, and in mapping the most commonly occurring motifs vis-à-vis their variations (Severi 2013). This typological (if also topographical) tendency may be related to the bureaucratic requirements of Boas's early fieldwork sponsors, such as the BAE and the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). After all, the BAAS issued a "Circular of Inquiry"—a checklist-based guideline inspired by "Notes and Queries on Anthropology"—for its ethnographic investigators toward the beginning of its North American report series (BAAS 1888, 173–83). The goal of its sponsored research was to produce ethnographic surveys that would allow for comparative understanding of cultures across a standardized set of categories. Even though Boas famously rejected the comparative method (Boas 1896b), its taxonomic paradigm certainly influenced his early fieldwork and publications.

More generally, this trend in his early work is clearly related to two other major intellectual, disciplinary, and institutional contexts for his career at this time. The first is the museological milieu in which he wished to be permanently employed during these years. In collecting objects under a nineteenth-century natural sciences paradigm—especially, perhaps, in Bastian's Berlin museum, with its Humboldtian foundation (Penny 2002)—the typological impulse may have outweighed an emphasis on specific distinctions between individual specimens (Salmon 2013), even if the latter was ultimately necessary for reconstructing taxonomic relations between great numbers of similar specimens (hence the drive to collect many instantiations of the same object type). This was also the empirical context in which Boas learned to

make detailed observational sketches in the field. Furthermore, the dominant salvage paradigm driving BAAS and BAE survey work as well as museum collection, with its emphasis on saving remnants and reconstructing "memory cultures," undermined Boas's emerging theoretical orientation toward history, conceived broadly enough to encompass the contemporary world in which his interlocutors were actually living at the time he encountered them. This, of course, led him to ignore obvious colonial influences as data relevant to his theories of diffusion and development, and to his famous neglect of acculturated objects in his own collections as well as those he solicited from his assistants on the Jesup Expedition (Jacknis 1996; Jonaitis 1995, 329; Lee and Graburn 2003).

The second contributor to Boas's early typological tendency was his exposure to comparative philology, which may have prompted him to approach material culture with linguistic models in mind. As Michael Silverstein (2015) recently showed, Boas was deeply influenced by the inductive method popular in late nineteenth-century language analysis and pedagogy. This procedure mandated the accumulation and annotation of numerous examples of language-in-context (typically from transcribed texts with interlinear translation), with each lexical and grammatical component isolated and analyzed as a discrete unit of data. Seen from this perspective, his classification of objects within their ritual context resembles a kind of grammar of material forms, in which specific object types are grouped according to the Kwakwaka'wakw terminologies that describe them (a material analog of Boas's attention to Native grammatical and phonemic categories rather than purportedly universal ones; Boas 1889b). In this sense, the 1897 monograph presents an assembly of numerous specific masks under common typological headings—paradigmatically contrastive sets that index unique positions in the social and ritual structure—tied to their associated dances, songs, and ceremonial prerogatives, which is comparable to the kinds of lexico-grammatical concordances that Boas produced for Indigenous narratives throughout his entire career. Specific instantiations are listed and pointed to but not necessarily explicated under general rules or principles for combination, a secondary level of synthesis that was to be induced by the reader. Here, material embodiments (masks and regalia forms), as the properties of particular chiefs or families, were glossed as tokens of a general type in order to map out, case by case and in the local vernacular, the organizational principles of the system of ceremonial membership (the "syntax" of hereditary and affinal transmission).

Until his pioneering book on Indigenous art (Boas [1927] 1955) and his posthumously published monograph on the Kwakwaka'wakw (Boas 1966), the 1897 text was Boas's most comprehensive treatment of Northwest Coast aesthetics, visual culture, and ceremonial life. The masks, regalia, and material culture pictured in this book have been known by all but the most-specialist researchers almost solely through their illustrations—another generation of line

drawing. The cedar-bark head and neck rings at the Smithsonian have rarely been exhibited or published, and a large portion of the Jacobsen collection was looted from Berlin by the Soviets during WWII and only returned in 1994, making it inaccessible for much of the twentieth century (Bolz and Sanner 1999). The publication of these images in 1897 provided the primary means for the continued public exposure of the masks—at least in two-dimensional form—as well as the further aggregation of knowledge about them.

AFTEREFFECTS: FIELDWORK IN THE ARCHIVE

Following the Jesup Expedition and his departure from AMNH in 1906, Boas increasingly turned his ethnographic attention away from Kwakwaka'wakw art and material culture and toward the collection and analysis of linguistic and textual materials. Nonetheless, both he and George Hunt had recourse to return from time to time to the old collections, publications, and research drawings. In 1920, Hunt wrote to Boas: "Now about the book with the many illustrations. There are so many mistakes in the names of the masks and dishes that I think should be put to rights before one of us die." Boas soon replied, "I am very anxious that the mistakes which are in the book with many illustrations should be corrected, and I should be very glad if you would go through it and write out the corrections."¹¹ For the next decade, Hunt worked on doing just that: he penciled notes in the margins of his own copy of the book; in the early 1920s, he collated the notes on the objects in a handwritten manuscript; and he continued producing hundreds of pages of revisions and corrections to the entire book until he died in 1933 (Berman 2001, 198–204). Hunt initially listed all of the illustrations and provided detailed notes on many of them, including, in some cases, the names of original owners, records of marriage transactions, and details of use—exactly the sort of information Boas had tried to collect on the objects decades earlier but had generally failed to publish. In some cases, Hunt's data corroborate Boas's; in others, they contradict. Based on Hunt's 1920s manuscript, Boas typed up a document that he hoped the BAE would publish as an amendment to the 1897 report, but it was never released.¹²

Working closely with the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay, British Columbia, colleagues and I used these notes and corrections, in addition to Boas's original fieldnotes and research drawings, to supplement the Berlin museum's collection records in a digital database documenting the Jacobsen and Boas materials there (Glass 2015). Building on this database, I am currently codirecting the collaborative project to produce an annotated critical edition of Boas's 1897 monograph in both print and digital multimedia (Glass and Berman 2012; Glass, Berman, and Hatoum 2017).¹³ With the recovery of individual and lineage-specific identifications, it may now be possible to reconnect many of these masks, along with their associated songs and character narratives, to the particular families to which they belong. For the Kwakwaka'wakw, such objects are both dance paraphernalia and the materialization of intangible

properties—rights to membership in certain dance societies—that are transmitted as hereditary or gifted prerogatives and that remain with owners regardless of the disposition of the specific objects (see Glass 2014, 323, 336). As such, families are able to reactivate long-dormant ceremonial prerogatives by commissioning new instantiations of masks, pending the establishment of valid genealogical claims; physical repatriation of earlier objects, in this case, is not necessary for the reclamation of cultural heritage (Glass 2015, 19, 29–30).

By way of a conclusion, I want to provide a brief sense of what our fieldwork in the archive is allowing us to recover, with an emphasis on genealogical knowledge. While working on the collection in Berlin in 2007, my Kwakwaka'wakw research partner, William Wasden Jr., used Hunt's notes to identify a chief's *Dzunuk'wa* mask (*gi'kaml*) as having belonged to his great (x4) grandfather *Tlakwudlas* ("The One You Will Acquire Copper From"), the head chief of a 'Namgis 'na'mima in Alert Bay at the time of its sale to Jacobsen around 1882 (Figure 5). Wasden suggested that the highly unique mask format—with the presence of painted copper shields on the cheeks and multicolored hair, which likely references an ancestor of *Tlakwudlas*—could be revived by his family for potlatch use since the genealogical connection had been documented and now reestablished. Contemporary carvers can be commissioned to create new versions—not exact "replicas"—that can be properly validated through display in a potlatch. In another passage of Hunt's notes, Wasden found the name of a Heiltsuk woman who brought a particular mask to the Fort Rupert Kwagu'l in her marriage dowry, a historical transfer that he had only previously known about in vague terms.

In the case of a highly distinctive wolf headdress not featured in the 1897 report (Figure 6), Boas's original notes on its drawing mention a published song related to this mask (Boas 1890a, 78) and record the name of the artist as well as his tribe and village (K'odi, a T'lat'lasikwala from Hope Island). Having such an attribution for a late nineteenth-century museum object is highly unusual and provides the basis for potentially connecting the mask to K'odi's descendants. Boas's additional notes on the headdress's catalog card in Berlin indicate that K'odi's work was recognizable by the addition of red geometric projections on the nose, snout, or beak of the carved figures. This stylistic information allows us to identify a number of these distinctive masks in collections around the world, which have until now simply been classified as "old Wakashan," a generic and temporally vague art historical category (Glass 2011, 144–48). Likewise, Wasden recognized the name "Hilamas" that Boas or Hunt had attached to a number of the commissioned drawings from the Jesup Expedition. This was the Kwak'wala name of Ned Harris (1865–1930), a 'Namgis artist from Alert Bay and cousin to the more famous artist Bob Harris/Xi'xaniyus (Glass 2011, 194–96). Boas had failed to identify Harris by name when reproducing his designs in his article on the decorative arts (Boas 1897b) and in the book *Primitive Art*



FIGURE 5. Kwakwaka'wakw Dzunuk'wa mask collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen (Berlin #IVA 1286), held by William Wasden Jr., a descendant of the mask's owner at the time of sale around 1882. Photograph by Sharon Grainger, 2007. (Courtesy of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin and U'mista Cultural Centre). [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

(Boas [1927] 1955), even though Boas discussed the effect of individual style in the latter landmark study.

Finally, our collaborative work on the Berlin collection has revealed other kinds of genealogical links confirmed but not directly mediated by ethnographic notes or museum records. In Berlin, we documented a transformation mask connected to a particular 'na'mima ancestor named Nu'lis (Glass 2015, 31–32). The Berlin catalog card provided some genealogical information, all drawn from Boas's fieldnotes on the Grünwedel drawing of this mask. The 1897 monograph expanded on this and added associated song lyrics (Boas 1897a, 357–58, 670), while Hunt's later notes corroborated the lineage assignment initially recorded by Boas. However, Wasden also recognized the mask as similar to one still circulating in his community, currently owned by Chief Ed Newman and displayed at his 2010 potlatch. In 2008, while working at the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Wasden discovered another version of this mask, carved sometime in the early twentieth century and collected in 1973 (Hawthorn 1979, 243; Mayer and Shelton 2009, 39). None of these masks are exact replicas of the previous iteration, but all have instantiated this prerogative over the past century and a half for subsequent holders of the hereditary title "Chief Nu'lis." The anthropological record may document and help confirm aspects of this pedigree, but Kwakwaka'wakw ceremonial, material, and kinship practices have kept the form of ephemeral wealth circulating even when the physical objects periodically ended up in museums. As Boas noted, somewhat regretfully, on his final 1930 field trip to Fort Rupert, in response to witnessing speeches that mentioned feast dishes: "The bowls, however, are no longer here. They are in the museums in New York and Berlin. Only the speech is still the same" (cited in

Rohner 1969, 297). This illustrates one of the discursive modes by which the Kwakwaka'wakw kept hereditary prerogatives alive despite Canada's prohibition of the potlatch and absent the objects that temporarily materialized them. As long as knowledge survives, objects can always be replaced.

TOWARD THE RECUPERATION OF ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORDS

Many who have dipped into Boas's voluminous ethnographic texts have reported a certain frustration accompanying admiration at the enormous effort from which they resulted. For general scholars, there is too much cultural and linguistic detail in the absence of synthesizing statements. For many Kwakwaka'wakw, the problem is just the opposite: too much reference to a generalized "Kwakiutl" that fails to distinguish local band or, more vitally, lineage affiliations for particular material, ceremonial, and narrative forms. In his early efforts to create holistic ethnographies and relativist critiques of evolutionary theory, Boas occasionally—and understandably—omitted in practice the very specific local facts and historical contexts that he called for in principle. Of course, in his salvage mode, he did not imagine that he was recording family histories for the use of future chiefs, artists, and singers when preparing for ceremonies and transfers of rights.

Today, the families that turn to Boas's and Hunt's texts and notes and drawings during preparation for potlatches are those that can identify these genealogical markers and thus validate their use of recorded data to supplement and confirm (or dispute) oral histories. Others resign themselves to being different "Kwakiutl" than the ones Boas and Hunt described. Current collaborative projects like the Berlin database and



FIGURE 6. Kwakwaka'wakw Wolf headdress collected by Johan Adrian Jacobsen (Berlin #IVA 641) (Courtesy of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin and U'mista Cultural Centre); drawing of the headdress by Albert Grünwedel with Boas notes (AMNH #Z/43 C). (Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History). [This figure appears in color in the online issue]

the Boas 1897 critical edition—which bring together museum records, archival material, published references, and contemporary Indigenous perspectives—can serve multiple, overlapping goals: to enrich the documentation of old museum collections, to deepen our understanding of Boas's early ethnographic methods and modes of theorizing, and to contribute to current efforts to return Kwakwaka'wakw patrimony in the form of local knowledge, even if the old objects remain ensconced in museums around the world.

As mentioned above, the primary goal of our Kwakwaka'wakw partners is not, in this particular case, “repatriation” narrowly conceived—the physical return and transfer of ownership of original materials once removed from their possession and now construed

as living heritage. Rather, these collaborative projects mobilize highly mediated (often second-order) forms of ethnographic inscription, many produced on the circumscribed stage of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair: drawings, fieldnotes, photographs, museum collection records, transcribed speech, cylinder recordings. Long dormant, decontextualized, and culturally fractured in the media-specific spaces of archival containment, these records are reactivated when reunited with one another and reembedded in the structures of Kwakwaka'wakw kinship, genealogical knowledge, and ceremonial practice.¹⁴ The particular material qualities of drawing distinguish it as a medium of ethnographic inscription and put it into active and productive relationship with others. While sharing a

degree of visual fidelity with photographs, the hand-rendered drawings feature valuable additional information about color while also isolating the depicted object in space; the white field of paper becomes a blank slate upon which both the ethnographer and his or her consultant can apply after-the-fact cumulative associations—new discursive frames that situate both image and substrate in relational, co-constructed, and generative fields of knowledge.

In a recent analysis of recuperation as a critical strategy to address cultural disruption, Jane Guyer (2017, 97) describes how “people attempt to bridge a damaged past (judged as deserving or undeserving of such destruction) and an indeterminate, emergent future within a present that requires effort and imagination, by drawing on retrievable elements or fragments rather than (or in addition to) systemic replacement.” The shared attempt at archival recuperation discussed in this essay does not absolve anthropology of its colonial legacy but rather emerges from a dialogic engagement with it. Whereas Boas’s research drawings were initially intended to contribute to a salvage project, they now provide material support for both critical historiography and Indigenous cultural reclamation; in a reparative inversion, a future for Kwakwaka’wakw vitality is being built in part on a return to anthropology’s foundational moments, figures, methods, and venues. Though meant to document discrete objects, Boas’s visual fieldnotes continue to draw people into webs of social entanglement and intercultural knowledge exchange—the very basis of anthropological practice.

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NOTES

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1. Boas to Powell, 23 August 1886. Correspondences, Box 54, Records of the BAE, National Anthropological Archives.
2. The largest repository of extant research drawings is the “Boas Collection 1943” (.B637) in the Division of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, New York City.
3. The term *Kwakwaka’wakw* (pronounced KWA-kwuh-kyuh [glottal stop] wahkw) means “Those who speak Kwak’wala,” and is used to describe eighteen independent bands, each with their own local terms of address (some of which are used in this article). This term is increasingly used to replace the famous misnomer “Kwakiutl,” an Anglicized form of *Kwagu’l*, the band living at Fort Rupert with whom ethnographers such as Franz Boas did most of their work. The orthography used here for writing Kwak’wala was developed by the U’mista Cultural Centre.
4. Rappaport (2007, 24) discusses “critical recuperation” as an explicitly activist goal of collaborative anthropology in Colombia, akin to participatory action research.
5. Boas to Bastian, 12 April 1887. Boas file, Ethnological Museum Berlin. Letter translated by Henry Kammler.
6. Boas identified Grünwedel again in an unpublished ca. 1924 manuscript (“Remarks on Masks and Ceremonial Objects of the Kwakiutl.” Boas Linguistic Collection, American Philosophical Society); see also Berman (2001, 199), although she mistakenly renders the artist’s name “Grünwald.” Boas received at least three batches of drawings from Berlin between 1887 and 1894, some but not all of which have Jacobsen’s own object identifications on them. None are signed or dated by their makers.
7. Boas’s lecture “The Aims of Ethnology,” given around 1888 and later included in *Race, Language, and Culture* (Boas 1940, 626–38), made much the same case using data from Northwest Coast tales. These early statements demonstrate that Boas’s fundamental theoretical insights were in place at the very start of his Northwest Coast fieldwork (contra Wilner 2013).
8. While at the fair, Boas received from the Berlin museum twenty-five larger and twenty-nine smaller drawings, depicting Kwakwaka’wakw and Nuuchah-nulth masks, made by Grünwedel and a Mr. Sinogowicz (Seler to Boas, 10 July 1893); Boas describes his use of them to his parents in a letter dated 25 September 1893. Both letters are in the Franz Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society.
9. A larger argument, well beyond the scope of this essay, could be made for the importance of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition as a major site for the coproduction of ethnographic knowledge about the Kwakwaka’wakw, of anthropology as a discipline, and of colonial modernity itself (see Glass 2006, 2009; Hinsley and Wilcox 2016; Jacknis 1991, 2002; Raibmon 2000).
10. Seler to Boas, 26 July 1894. Franz Boas Papers, American Philosophical Society.
11. Hunt to Boas, 7 June 1920; Boas to Hunt, 22 July 1920, Franz Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society.
12. Hunt’s 1920s manuscript and later notes are among Parts iii–vi of his “Kwakiutl Materials” (Film 372, Reels 21–22) at the American Philosophical Society. Boas’s unpublished 1924 paper is entitled “Remarks on Masks and Ceremonial Objects of the

Kwak'ul" (Film 372, Reel 3), also at the American Philosophical Society.

13. Working with Judith Berman, Ira Jacknis, Rainer Hatoum, Andy Everson, and others, our team is compiling relevant archival materials (texts, photographs, museum objects and records, drawings, and music recordings) and contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw perspectives to supplement, complement, and correct the information as published in 1897. The U'mista Cultural Centre is helping develop protocols for evaluating potential cultural sensitivity and determining appropriate levels of public access in dialogue with holders of hereditary title. See <http://www.bgc.bard.edu/research/projects-and-collaborations/projects/the-distributed.html>.
14. See Glass, Berman, and Hatoum (2017) for a detailed discussion of the way in which the digital and metadata infrastructure of the Critical Edition project is being built on the basis of Kwakwaka'wakw ontologies of the person and the object as a means to facilitate this process of recuperation.

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