From Cultural Salvage to Brokerage: The Mythologization of Mungo Martin and the Emergence of Northwest Coast Art

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For over a century, ethnology museums have employed indigenous people as collectors, commentators, craft demonstrators, and so-called "living exhibits." Only in the past couple of decades have indigenous consultants been credited with curatorial or administrative voice, much less agency. Likewise, histories of collecting indigenous art often privilege the cultural values of those doing the collecting (or "appropriating," as it is often framed), while ignoring the activity of those selling the objects. For much of this institutional history, museums and their patrons have largely determined how their indigenous collaborators would be discursively framed and, if occasion merited, placed within the public's purview. These stories are often dramatic, always selective; some even become legendary. This is a story about one such narrative.

Let's begin with some facts. Anthropologists Audrey and Harry Hawthorn were hired by the University of British Columbia (UBC) in 1947 to establish an anthropology program and to expand a growing collection of ethnographic materials. They chose to concentrate both collection and display efforts on regional objects. In 1949, the UBC Museum of Anthropology (MOA) officially opened, initiating a legacy of salvaging, celebrating, and promoting recognition for the arts of the Northwest Coast (Hawthorn 1993; Jacknis 2002). That same year, Marius Barbeau secured for UBC a few totem poles from Kwakwaka'wakw communities on northern Vancouver Island and the central coast. These totem poles, along with the cultures with which they were associated, were seen to be deteriorating and in need of preservation, and a Kwakwaka'wakw carver named Mungo Martin was hired to restore the totems for display.[1] Martin was variously employed at UBC between 1949 and 1952—and then for a decade at the Provincial Museum (now Royal British Columbia Museum) in Victoria—restoring old totem poles and carving new ones, creating everyday objects and ceremonial regalia, and recording ethnographic interpretations, histories, and songs. (Figure 1)

It was during roughly this same period, between 1951 and 1954, that approximately 65% of MOA's current Kwakwaka'wakw collection (over 1340 objects) was acquired. Remarkably, most sales were unsolicited and offered directly to the museum by indigenous owners from their sites of production and use. Audrey Hawthorn recalls:

> As a result of these visits [with Martin] when we sat around and drank tea and talked about his life . . . there began an extraordinary, possibly unprecedented flow of materials into the museum. Perhaps in the history of museums there has been no period like the one which followed. [Hawthorn 1993:13]

> At the height of the flow of materials, wooden crates, old trunks, sea chests, and cardboard boxes came in by every ship from the north. Addressed to the university [or] to Mungo Martin himself . . . [Hawthorn 1979:viii]

Martin's presence at the museum was clearly vital to this process, as he connected the curators with potential sellers in the communities.

Despite the apparent importance of Martin's contribution to one of the largest Kwakwaka'wakw collections in the world, the details of the transactions

Museum Anthropology Vol. 29, Issue 1, pp. 20–43, ISSN 0892-8339, online ISSN 1548-1379.

1. Mungo Martin restoring a totem pole at the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, 1950. Image #2005.001.529, Courtesy of the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada.

have gone largely unrecognized by public, academic, and indigenous audiences. There is a limited body of public records on Martin's life and work at MOA, most authored by a small core of people who knew him well: Audrey Hawthorn (1952, 1955, 1964, 1971, 1979, 1993) and Harry Hawthorn (1961); their student Wilson Duff (1959); Phil Nuytten (1982), a non-Native who learned to carve through his friendship with Ellen Neel, Martin's niece; and Martin's Kwakwaka'wakw relatives (Cranmer 1990). All of these sources have differing but equally vested interests in maintaining certain historical narratives about Mungo Martin. His limited biographical rendering may be approached as a process of "mythologization," whereby narrative fragments of his life and work are presented in a manner that is discursively selective, highly recursive, internally consistent (with minor variations across tellings), and self-validating (see Barthes 1972:109–159). These familiar narratives, authored within anthropological, artistic, and Aboriginal communities, have eclipsed—strategically, I will argue—the specific nature of Martin's role as a middleman or culture broker who helped facilitate the movement of objects from small, remote villages to large, metropolitan museums where they were revalued as fine art.

This essay has three primary goals: to uncover the specific nature of Martin's collection activities at MOA around 1950; to track the highly selective discursive accounting of him and his activities; and to suggest how this mythologization played a key rhetorical role in the reevaluation of indigenous material culture as fine art. By effacing historical details and generalizing the narrative of events,

the legend of Mungo Martin conceals the mechanisms by which he negotiated the exchange of objects and values as well as the translation of knowledge, and the means at his disposal to manage his own identity and that of his people. This highly circumscribed story also occludes the political economy of the emergent Northwest Coast art world and the specific roles that objects play in colonial and postcolonial dialogues. I might add, however, that my intention is not to *demythologize* Martin, to displace him from his historical pedestal by laying bare a false history (as has recently been attempted for Haida artist and culture broker Bill Reid: see Tippett 2003; cf. Glass 2004b). Rather, this essay offers an analysis of the myth itself in order to reveal its discursive contribution to the reframing of Northwest Coast objects and their brokers.

Aspects of Martin's historical complexity are encapsulated in a number of paradoxes, evident both in descriptions of him and of the material he was helping to move. The valuing of both Mungo Martin and objects from the Kwakwaka'wakw has relied on notions of Native (or primitive or indigenous or First Nations) art. Ethnography and art have been defined dualistically in the West (Price 1989:83). Objects and their creators characterized "ethnographically" tend to be viewed as *communally* significant, *traditional* in production and meaning, and subject to *particular functional* contexts; whereas objects and creators defined "artistically" are approached as *individually* significant, *innovative* in technique and interpretation, and available to *universal aesthetic* appreciation. Thus we encounter the frequent use of such leveling terms as "carver" and "craftsman" to describe indigenous creators. Today, we have few conceptual limitations on labeling someone a "Native artist," but in the 1950s, the institutionalized movement to re-value Northwest Coast ethnographic materials as fine art had just begun in earnest (Glass 2002). It was the development of a Northwest Coast art world that facilitated such a shift, as art worlds provide the conceptual as well as economic and sociological foundation for "transfiguring" previous non-art objects (be they Duchamp's urinal, Warhol's Brillo box, Rauschenberg's bed, or a tribal artifact) into fine art objects (Danto 1964, 1981).

In addition to being billed a Native artist, Martin was characterized as an indigenous ethnographer or Aboriginal connoisseur of sorts, aiding in the commodification and aestheticization of Kwakwaka'wakw objects. Though one might productively describe him as an "American Indian intellectual" (Liberty 1976), Martin's activity at UBC fits more closely the model of a "culture broker," forging relationships between disparate communities and negotiating cultural knowledge through facilitating the movement and transformation of objects, values, and information. Approaching Martin as a middleman in a complex, intercultural system of exchange, we are better able to recognize his role in supporting the collection of ethnographic materials and their re-evaluation as fine art. Yet herein lies another point of tension, one carefully scrutinized by Jean Baudrillard (1968, 1972) and Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1993): "culture"—and under its banner, fine art—is held to be socially valuable to the degree that it is perceived as *non-commodifiable*. Paradoxically, it is the assumed distance from the profanities of the exchange economy that helps grant art its financial status and thus its commodity value. Middlemen such as Mungo Martin engage in a delicate balancing act, trying to broker that which by social definition should not be commodified: culture itself.

By engaging these ideological and discursive dichotomies—"ethnographic art" and "cultural brokerage"—we may better understand the details and the vitality of Mungo Martin's activity at the UBC Museum of Anthropology. In mythologizing his legacy, its beneficiaries (including himself) have focused attention away from logical paradoxes, colonial relationships, and the financial nature of object exchange. This collection of Kwakwaka'wakw material was located at the complex intersection of many histories (see Glass 2002; Hawker 2003), and a brief view of these contexts is important to frame and contextualize Martin's narrativization. Like other settler colonies, Canada has a legacy of appropriating indigenous peoples and images—perceived to be vanishing and thus relegated to the (apolitical) past—in the process of defining a unique national identity (Nemiroff 1992; Thomas 1999). Between 1958 and 1971, British Columbia celebrated three centennials, each of which was marked by the carving of totem poles and the displaying of Northwest Coast Native imagery (Jonaitis and Glass in press).[2] This was accompanied by a rise in the commercial production of Native art for the tourist trade and

as diplomatic offerings to foreign governments. Michael Ames (1992; see also Hawthorn 1979:v) comments on the role of museums, and MOA specifically, in fostering a growing appreciation and rise in market value through promotion of carving programs, display practices, and working relationships with First Nations communities.

In fact, the Hawthorns and their students were central to the re-evaluation of Northwest Coast ethnographic materials as fine art. Working under then dominant anthropological paradigms of salvage ethnography and culture change studies, they collected objects for the sake of provincial heritage, public education, and economic assistance under Native welfare programs.[3] The Hawthorns were also pivotal in the emergence of a Northwest Coast art discourse and in fostering public acceptance of Native material culture as high art.[4] To argue the case for "Native art," they promoted Mungo Martin as an example of *individual expression* and *innovation*, two hallmarks of the Western artist-genius. They put Martin himself on display demonstrating the art of carving, they attributed work to his individual style (H. Hawthorn 1961:60; A. Hawthorn 1979:23, 30, 225), and they collected and celebrated (a bit generously) Martin's "innovative" paintings as "undoubtedly the highest level of artistic achievement reached by Kwakiutl artists, who were, by any standards, impressive."[5] Perhaps most importantly, the Hawthorns participated in mounting many of the exhibitions that would help solidify the status of Northwest Coast art, including the Vancouver Art Gallery's "People of the Potlatch" (in 1956) and "Arts of the Raven" (in 1967). The catalogue for the latter boldly and famously declared "This is art, high art, not ethnology. It proposes to bring together many of the master works of this art to show the wide range and excellence of its forms, and to explicate and establish its claim to greatness" (Duff 1967:forward). If it is true that by the 1970s, "the day of the old mask in the curio shop offered for next to nothing was over [and] the entry of Northwest Coast art into the international scene had begun," (Hawthorn 1993:15), the Hawthorns were deeply implicated in the emergent discourse.

Meanwhile, Kwakwaka'wakw communities were also re-evaluating their ceremonial objects and performances in the wake of decades of enforced potlatch prohibition and a century of colonial persecution. During this period, the salvage-oriented notion of a fleeting traditional culture—as well as the need for its protection in museums—may have been shared by many older Kwakwaka'wakw themselves (Gloria Cranmer Webster, personal communication, November 1998). While commercial sales to tourists, collectors, and ethnologists had been common among the Kwakwaka'wakw since the late 19th century, it was around the 1950s that people began to sell their materials en masse to MOA. Yet this "exodus of masks" does not constitute evidence of simple cultural disintegration.[6] People were in need of cash, and they may have seen the opportunity to sell objects as an unfortunate but vital means toward economic security (Peter Macnair, personal communication, November 1998; Hawthorn 1979:29). For instance, some people decided to sell family heirlooms in order to finance fishing vessels or other entrepreneurial endeavors (interview with Chief Peter Knox, August 1998). In any case, objects themselves were not customarily fetishized in Kwakwaka'wakw culture; rather, objects tend to be seen as transient (and replaceable) material embodiments of ephemeral and eternal privileges.[7] I suggest that people did not *devalue* their objects as much as they did *re-value* them as potential for commercial exchange became more apparent, largely though the brokerage of Mungo Martin.[8] At the same time, Martin participated in many negotiations of cultural value surrounding public dance performances, whether for local fund-raisers, visiting dignitaries, re-emergent potlatches, or summer camp children (see Spradley 1969:158-159; Jacknis 2002; Glass 2004a).[9]

We find Mungo Martin, a 70 year old Kwakwaka'wakw artist and singer, carving a place for himself within and between these histories, chiefly by recording information, creating new objects, and facilitating the removal of old objects from his communities in order to deposit them in museums.[10]

Mungo Martin as a Culture Broker

Mungo Martin was born in Ft. Rupert, British Columbia around 1880 (see Nuytten 1982 for the most complete biographical treatment).[11] Almost all of his biographical accounts emphasize certain ritual activities performed during his infancy to ensure cultural and artistic skill. A famous artist (sometimes a grandfather, sometimes an uncle),

plucked 2 (or 4) of Martin's eyelashes and made them into a brush that he used when painting. Likewise, the infant Martin was placed in a box drum during ceremonies to ensure he had an ear for singing (Hawthorn 1952:3, 1979:257, 1993:11; Nuytten 1982:75; B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:1; Cranmer 1990).[12] Martin only spent a couple of days at residential school and grew up active in the potlatch system. He learned to carve from his stepfather Charlie James and traveled widely to attend ceremonies and to sell tourist carvings (Nuytten 1982:15,77). Martin was exposed to ethnographic recording techniques early on, learning a phonetic transcription alphabet and performing in Franz Boas' 1930 film on Kwakwaka'wakw dances (Nuytten 1982:100). While his older brother Spruce inherited the family chieftainship, his younger brother Herbert (known as "Mitsa") became a locally renowned athlete and dancer. Martin himself became well known within the communities as a composer of songs and carver of regalia, and many chiefs employed his services for their potlatches. According to popular narratives, once Mungo Martin "began working for White men in 1947" (de Laguna 1963:895), he was "rescued" from the "oblivion" of fishing (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:10) to begin the "great work of his life" at the museum (Cranmer 1990). Martin worked at MOA from 1949 to 1952 before moving to Victoria, where Duff found him employment at the British Columbia Provincial Museum (BCPM) restoring and carving poles, training emerging artists, and participating in many important projects of international renown (Jacknis 2002).[13] Martin died in 1962 and was awarded a posthumous Canada Council Medal in 1964. He was said to have "died famous . . . the first Native of Canada to be singularly honoured by all people and the state upon his death" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:viii).

It was during the last ten years of his life that Martin achieved the recognition and reputation that has become so thoroughly mythologized. He was at MOA (and the BCPM) at a critical juncture in the history of Northwest Coast art, a time when there was an increased supply of Native objects and an increased demand for them; a time when a middleman was needed to broker the exchanges, to negotiate mutually beneficial relationships, and to translate and transform cultural knowledge and values.

Fredrik Barth—in his seminal 1966 essay on transactionalism—provides a model of *dynamic* social exchange open to the *fluidity* of meaning and the reciprocal negotiation of values. Drawing on Erving Goffman's "Game Theory," Barth describes brokerage as a *strategic* mediation between patrons and clients establishing channels of both communication and commodification. Robert Paine (1971:9,11) adds that reciprocity does not necessarily imply equality of exchange, nor does asymmetry imply inequality; rather, power is always *negotiated* and *mediated* by the flow of objects and information between two parties. In addition, brokers play an *active* role in the exchange by manipulating and processing the information that passes between parties, distinguishing them from passive "go-betweens" who merely establish contact (Payne 1971:6, 21). In turn, the broker usually has a political stake in maintaining the distance between his/her trading partners (Paine 1974:24). More broadly, the politics and poetics of exchange have been scrutinized by post-Marxists (e.g. Appadurai, Bourdieu, and Baudrillard), who have examined how social, cultural and economic values are created in dialectic modes of reception and interpretation as well as production and commoditization. Mary Louise Pratt (1992:6) has termed such processes "transculturation," in which values and meanings are translated between disparate but intersecting geocultural groups (see Hallowell 1963 for an earlier variation on this notion as applied to non-Natives emulating Native Americans). As Mungo Martin was said to have "interpreted one culture for the other" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:viii), he clearly fits these discussions of intercultural translators, mediators, and brokers—as, in fact, do the Hawthorns and other scholars brokering sales as well as Martin's reputation itself (see Szasz 1994 for studies of other American Indian culture brokers and brokers of American Indians; Kurin 1997 for an institutional perspective).[14]

Martin, clearly aware of both the museum's desire for Native objects and his communities' financial predicaments, aided in the negotiation of mutually beneficial sales (Hawthorn 1979:vii, 1993:15; Gloria Cranmer-Webster, personal communication, November 1998). Most accounts describe his activity as relatively passive; he would simply keep his eyes and ears open for people willing to sell objects and then direct them to the Hawthorns at MOA.

Martin most likely presented the transaction as an opportunity to protect treasured family heirlooms from harm (as house fires were common), describing the museum as "a place to store stuff you no longer want, where information about it will be recorded and kept" (Audrey Hawthorn, personal communication, November 1998; Hawthorn 1993:15; see also letter #9, Appendix). In fact, we might productively ask whether some social contexts and relationships—such as museum employment—encourage on the part of participants the development of certain kinds of agency, in this case brokerage activities, they might not otherwise have sought out or engaged in.

Yet Martin seems to have had a much more active role in brokering exchange than is represented in the literature. Letters he wrote to the Hawthorns from villages suggest he was *specifically seeking* potential sellers.[15] For instance, on May 8, 1952, Martin wrote from Ft. Rupert: "I have been inquiring about selling of masks, rattles and other things and have found a few people that would like to sell some, I have given them your address" (Martin n.d. a). The following week, Martin described how he had to convince James Knox to sell a large collection of masks and whistles as "he didn't want to sell them" (letter #8, Appendix). While he may have used a language of "safety and protection" when describing the transaction to community members, he used the language of "salvage and art" when communicating with the Hawthorns. In a letter to the museum dated January 1, 1952, Martin described some masks for sale as "master pieces" (letter #3, Appendix), while a month later, he urged the museum to purchase some masks as "this will be the last to be sold as its pretty well died out now" (letter #7, Appendix). He also demonstrated sensitivity to the museum's demand for authenticity, counseling against the purchase of material that seemed spurious (Hawthorn 1979:ix). In addition to active solicitation of sales, Martin worked at MOA to help appraise the material to determine price (Martin n.d. c). In some cases, he was selected by community members to handle the financial transaction itself (Martin n.d. d).

What emerges is a picture of Mungo Martin as a clever and astute middleman, deft at manipulating both patron and client expectations, while negotiating a "mark up" for himself by collecting commissions from both parties, in kind if not in cash (Phil Nuytten, personal communication, October 1998). Exchange in Kwakwaka'wakw culture was and is often posed in non-economic terms. Gifts are given at potlatches and feasts with the understanding that reciprocal prestations will be offered in the future. These payments do not have to be financial; instead, the granting of ceremonial privileges, food resources, technical assistance and even political allegiance can all be seen as forms of repayment. It is no coincidence that many of the early object sales were negotiated with people to whom Martin had close familial or friendly ties. The sales may thus have played a role in a local community network of exchange, in which, for example, Martin suggested to the museum the purchase of good friend Tom Ohmid's masks, while Ohmid informed the museum upon visiting that "my friend Martin is the best totem pole man" (Martin n.d. a: notes dated November 1951).

While Martin's "gift" to his friends and family may have been to their financial advantage, his prestation to the museum was of a different nature. James Clifford (1997:191) discusses how the offering of knowledge by indigenous people to museums sets up certain expectations of reciprocal exchange. By offering his services as a broker, an appraiser, an ethnographer, an informant, and not least an artist, Martin established relationships that provided him with opportunities for fame, status and travel, both within his communities and around the world. The Hawthorns also seem to have helped ensure the Martins' financial stability beyond their University employment, especially in hard times, as did Duff at the BCPM in subsequent years (Audrey Hawthorn, personal communication, November 1998).[16] This was clearly one of the ways in which Martin was good at "seizing on relationships so that he could forward them" (Audrey Hawthorn, personal communication, November 1998). It is also entirely consistent with the Kwakwaka'wakw practice of couching the financial nature of potlatch exchange in a language of reciprocal return.[17]

The "Man of Two Worlds"

Theories of cultural brokerage often suggest that the successful broker is one who lives on the boundary between two worlds and is capable of translating values between them. The description of such "middlemen" as bi-cultural is a frequent rhetorical feature of their discursive construction

(Szasz 1994). These two worlds may be characterized as divergent socio-cultural spheres. For instance, Duff (1959:4,5) wrote of Martin that "In a very real sense, [he] has had to live two lives, for he has had roles to play in two different societies, [and in fact] Mungo's generation of Kwakiutl more than any before or since was caught in the conflict between two ways of life." The two worlds may also be described temporally, as a change of generations: "Mungo Martin, through circumstance rather than design, had one foot firmly planted in the time of Charlie James and the other in the second half of the twentieth century" (Nuytten 1982:8). The memorial booklet written about him, *Mungo Martin: Man of Two Cultures* (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982), celebrates this clichéd characterization as an explanation for his creativity and resourcefulness. Raised initially in a "traditional" manner, he soon "began to develop in a world apart. [Yet] in spite of this, Martin managed to carve out a rich, full life which embraced the best of both worlds . . . with one foot in each culture" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1983:vii, 26). As we shall see, this cultural chasm was variously construed along lines of temporal, spatial, and racial difference. Here, I would like to complicate the unproblematized discourse on Martin's "hybridity," his presumed fusion of elements from two distinct cultures, by suggesting alternative models of his strategic action—models based on physical movement and on articulation.

It has been suggested that "middlemen who mediate between two cultures are by definition bicultural in one or more of the following ways: in knowledge of two cultures; in ability to communicate with both cultures; in living style (materially speaking); and in valuing certain elements of each culture" (Briggs 1971:61–62). Though Martin was not equally *of two cultures*, it was specifically his knowledge of "cultures" that allowed him to recognize disparate regimes of value and to translate between local ceremonial, salvage ethnographic, commercial, and artistic paradigms. Martin's knowledge and technical faculty in carving and singing, as well as his command of local Kwakwaka'wakw custom and social networks, provided the means with which he marketed his talents to both of his "worlds." The literature constantly emphasizes his miraculous memory, the way he was a storehouse of information and a resource for prospective potlatchers; "more and more clans came to be dependent on him to remember their portions of this cultural heritage . . . . All the clans of all the tribes of the Kwakiutl are represented . . . in his remarkable memory" (Duff 1959:5).[18] And perhaps most elegantly, in the comparative frame: "Mungo Martin is a combination reference library and an Indian Burke's Peerage" (from a 1952 Victoria newspaper, in Nuytten 1982:86). While such knowledge was surely valuable in reviving the potlatch within communities, it was also of paramount importance to salvage-minded anthropologists. The potlatch Martin held in Victoria in 1953 to open his big house was a specific opportunity to bring his various communities into articulation with one another: to validate his (increasing) status to a Native audience; educate an academic audience; entertain a public audience.[19] Such articulation—always mutable and tactical—entails actively managing disparate cultural options, "hooking and unhooking" forms, persons, and values to create productive resonances and relations (Clifford 2001).

In much the same way, the discourse surrounding Martin's funerals highlighted his proposed hybridity.[20] A reporter for the *Toronto Star Weekly* wrote, "Something would have been wrong, something would have been missing, if the man in the yellow coffin had not been claimed by two cultures in death as he had been in life" (Reynolds 1964). Therefore "two services were planned for Victoria as befitted a man of two cultures" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:29). Actually, three services were held: the first in a Victoria church, where prayers were said in both English and Kwak'wala; the second in the big house at the BCPM, in which he lay in state surrounded by his crest objects and artistic creations, while relatives danced (in masks that Martin carved) to the sound of Martin's own singing (via a tape recording provided by scholar Bill Holm), followed by celebratory speeches by chiefs, anthropologists and local politicians; and finally, in Alert Bay, where a ceremony was held by people "steeped in tradition" (Carter 1971:44), carried out entirely in Kwak'wala, and accompanied by a potlatch and totem pole raising, the first in nearly 40 years (de Laguna 1963). This final scene, with its juxtaposition of regalia and recording technology, totem poles and Christian crosses, evoked for one viewer "a melancholy mixture of two life-styles" (in Nuytten 1982:124). Ultimately, Mungo Martin was honored by the Kwakwaka'wakw communities, the anthropology

and museum community, the Victoria community, and the nation:

> He was a great man, a great Indian and a great Canadian . . . . He worked as a West Coast Indian and he has brought an added glory to our first Canadians. But he belongs not just to his beloved Kwakiutl tribe, not just to British Columbia and the Native peoples of British Columbia; he belongs to the world. [John Melling, Dean of McMaster University, in B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:34–35]

Martin was claimed as a hero by both (many) of the social worlds that he helped bring into articulation.

Brokers tend also to be travelers, and travelers often "live on the borderline [with] a foot in each camp" (Sarup 1994:98). Rather than essentializing a hybrid identity, Clifford has recognized that many tribal artists, "while locally based, may also aspire to wider recognition, to a certain national or global participation. Thus a constant tactical movement is required: from margin to center and back again, in and out of dominant contexts, markets, patterns of success" (1997:122). Martin was a traveler his whole life, moving fluidly between different social realms, both locally in order to potlatch, hunt and fish, and visit relatives, and more widely to pick hops in the United States, to sell masks and tourist poles with Charlie James, and to meet the Queen in England. He spoke enough English to get by in the cities, and was even trained in a missionary's phonetic Kwak'wala script, allowing his meticulous supervision of anthropological transcriptions.[21] He worked as a commercial fisherman for many years, a fact noted to emphasize his adaptation to a Western market economy and his adoption of technology (Hawthorn 1979:257, 1993:11), despite fishing's "traditional" status in Native life. In an ironic twist on North American settler history, Martin was called "a pioneer," one of the first Kwakwaka'wakw to use a gas-powered boat, and the first to run a diesel engine (Duff 1959:6). The popular ethnographic literature highlights the distance between his two worlds by remarking on his purportedly exceptional use of technology: "When he broke a propeller, he beached the boat, carved a new one out of a piece of driftwood, lashed it onto the shaft and was ready to go on the next tide" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:9). Duff (1959:6) adds in a celebratory tone, "I am quite sure he was the first of his tribe to own and use a tape recorder," a claim later noted by anthropologist Frederica de Laguna (1963:895) when eulogizing Martin. Whether or not these traits and events were historically accurate or unique to Martin, their elevation in the literature about him has the aura of legend.

The Rhetorical Importance of Distance

At the same time as Mungo Martin was seemingly embraced by both Native and non-Native communities, he was often described as being an outsider. In fact, perception of distance is often an important strategy used by culture brokers themselves to help construct their role as mediators for the two worlds between which they travel (Briggs 1971:59; Paine 1976:80; Nash 1989:45), "two worlds" whose discursive dichotomization far outweighs the reality of contemporary life in First Nation communities.[22] A. P. Cohen and John Comaroff (1976:90) point out that the distance between patron and client is often more conceptual and illusory than it is actual, though it grants the broker considerable political leverage. Likewise, Arjun Appadurai (1986:48) notes "stories acquire especially intense, new, and striking qualities when the spatial, cognitive, or institutional distances between production, distribution, and consumption are great. Such distancing . . . (in knowledge, interest, and role) between persons involved in various aspects of the flow of commodities generates specialized mythologies." I am arguing that the life of Mungo Martin as a "man of two worlds" was one such mythology, and that the success (for everyone involved) of his brokerage lay partly in strategically maintaining the rhetorical distance—spatial, temporal, and racial—between indigenous life and metropolitan museum work.

The fact that Martin was indigenous helps provide a "chronotope" (Bahktin 1981) in which the idea of distance/difference is geographically anchored (his having come from a "remote" village) and temporally anchored (his having come from a "traditional" period in history) (see Fabian 1983).[23] Such distance in both space and time is a key element in the construction of the exotic other, and is a vital criterion for the valuation of exotic objects as "authentic" and thus amenable to meaningful appropriation by the West (Stewart 1984:139–41). It is often emphasized that Martin "was born in the 19th century in a secluded fishing village" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:vii); when family came to visit him in the city, they "emerged from obscurity . . . [from]

some lonely beach far up the coast" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:15, 18). The objects he helped collect "evoked . . . a time now distant" (Hawthorn 1979:ix), and Martin's carving skills were said to represent "the practice of an art that was old when Columbus discovered the continent" (quoted in Nuytten 1982:86). One of the ways in which his identity was publicly displayed at important "PR" moments was through his donning of ceremonial regalia and use of Kwak'wala for speeches (Hawthorn 1952:5), a political tactic used by many indigenous people to gain status in the eyes of a Western society obsessed with cultural authenticity (Turner 1991). (Figure 2) Many publications (including Nuytten 1982 and B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982) use complicated Kwak'wala names for people rather than their English names, adding to a sense of the exotic.[24] The loss of traditional culture in the remote villages was reportedly felt by Martin as well as by nostalgic anthropologists: "The dying of Kwakiutl society was a close and terrible reality. The vanishing of a proud culture meant not only desertion of villages and ebbing of interest in ways of the old, but also loss of friends, those with whom Martin could share his memories of past Native rituals. Mungo was a lonely man" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:18).

Yet Martin helped in the construction of himself as "distant" from both ancient Native and modern Western culture. Physically, he left the villages (more or less permanently, although he returned for visits)

2. Mungo Martin, in regalia, speaking at the opening dedication of the University of British Columbia's Totem Park, 1951. Pictured are: Hunter Lewis, Mungo Martin, Chancellor Eric Hamber, and President Norman A. Mackenzie. Image #2005.001.645, Courtesy of the UBC Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada.

at age 70 to reside in cities for the duration of his life.[25] According to written accounts, Martin accepted (or at least publicly maintained) the prognosis that Kwakwaka'wakw cultural life was destined for extinction. At the same time as he distanced himself in important ways from his communities, he was said to be "living in alien surroundings, a visitor from a foreign culture" (Duff 1959:7). He was clearly construed as an outsider in the metropóle: "Mungo reads a little, writes a little, and speaks a little English, and finds that quite enough. He does not want to be a white man" (Duff 1959:6). It may seem ironic that Martin chose to record his culture so far away from home. Yet Clifford (1997:250, 272) points out that a language of "diaspora" is often used to characterize such intermediary figures who travel spatially; it both resists the impression of total accommodation to a national or colonial frame, and mediates the assumption of an essentialized Native identity. It also highlights the need that displaced people feel to perform their culture in order to maintain links to what is perceived as the "distant" homeland. This raises the following questions: for whose benefit was Martin really collecting art, demonstrating carving, and recording cultural knowledge while at MOA? And what exactly were the connections he fostered to the two worlds between which he and the objects are said to have traveled?

Mungo Martin as a Cultural Bridge

As befits his rather mythic reputation as a "man of two worlds," Mungo Martin is repeatedly referred to as a "cultural bridge" (Nuytten 1982:8). Such a link would be essential to traverse the apparent distance between Native and non-Native societies, in such a "turbulent, unstable world where the judgment of Solomon was required to bridge the clash of cultures" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:1). As this distance was constructed spatially and temporally, so too was his bridging capacity. Martin was allegedly a *temporal* link within Kwakwaka'wakw communities, a "slender thread" bridging the knowledge gap between generations by continuing to carve, sing, and potlatch.[26] On the other hand, Martin was purportedly a *spatial* (and arguably conceptual) link between the remote, "primitive" culture and modern Canadian cities. Provincial Museum ethnologist Don Abbott described him as "almost single handedly the conduit by which the glories of the Kwagu'ɬ culture and the past were transmitted to the present . . . . Mungo brought the Native traditions through the dark age of the 30s, 40s and 50s into this new flowering" (in Cranmer 1990). Obviously, the spatial and temporal dimensions overlap significantly, as they do in chronotopes, and these resonances add to Martin's complexity as a historical figure.

Barth (1966:18) describes brokers as providing important linking mechanisms in the exchange process, stating that "such a bridge will effect a new pattern of flow of value." He specifically locates the intersection of social relationships and cultural values in the strategic movement of objects as commodities between individuals or groups. It is worth interrogating this bridge trope further. If such a bridge regulates the "traffic in culture" (Marcus and Myers 1995), it might technically be "considered a toll-bridge where fees are exacted from the traffic" (Paine 1974:25). This metaphorical modification highlights the importance of brokerage as a *tactical* mediation between parties. Bridges perform two structural functions. They provide a solid link between two perceptually distinct places over which *discrete* objects (such as cars) flow. But they also provide a stable expanse that manages traversal over either empty space or a flow of *undifferentiated* material (such as water). There are two things flowing here: traffic (specific objects) over the bridge and water/time/space (undefined substance) beneath the bridge. I am suggesting that by mediating the movement of objects and knowledge between communities (traffic on the bridge), Martin was also helping to conceptually link the temporal, spatial, and rhetorical distances between "cultures" (water under the bridge, so to speak).

In fact, an aquatic metaphor, a subset of the bridge trope, was explicitly deployed in speaking of Martin's activities. Audrey Hawthorn repeatedly mentions both the "flow" (1979:vii; 1993:13) and the "flood" (1979:viii; 1993:30) of objects into MOA. Speaking in general of the removal of objects from source communities, their sites of production, Igor Kopytoff (1986:78, emphasis added) refers to their "*liquidation* on the commercial art market," while Christopher Steiner (1994:10, emphasis added) suggests that market forces "encourage traders to *drain* villages of their artistic wealth." What we have here is the equating of commodities with undifferentiated flow, the movement of a *class of objects*—or a "collection," which also erases the individual status

of members in the bounded set—between trading partners, often mediated by a broker. To ensure exchangeability, "commodification homogenizes value" (Kopytoff 1986:73), generalizing specific objects into a category of sellable items. Yet Western artistic appreciation demands that "the essence of culture is discrimination" (Kopytoff 1986:73), that individual artists create unique works of art. Here we return to the twin paradoxes of "ethnographic art"—in which one attempts to place a singular aesthetic value on something previously constructed as communal—and "commoditized culture"—in which one attempts to place a generalized exchange value on something previously defined as unique and "priceless." The paradox is extended when manifested in specific masks, whistles, and rattles, "this interpenetration within the same object of commodity principles and singularization principles" (Kopytoff 1986:81). Yet it also underscores the value of the broker who can translate between designations, for "power often asserts itself symbolically precisely by insisting on its right to singularize an object, or a set or class of objects" (Kopytoff 1986:73). In the continuous movement of objects—from singular cultural status within communities, to generalized exchange status as commodities, to resingularization within a Western art world—the dialectic of value and meaning is controlled by those who control the flow of objects and information.[27] By helping transfigure or transculturate the generalized "flood" of ethnographic commodities under his bridge, into a "traffic" of singular art works over his bridge, Mungo Martin exercised such control for his own benefit as well as that of his trading partners.

The Expert in Culture

Sally Price (1989:87) reminds us that, at least until recently, "African villagers [were] rarely asked to advise exhibit organizers about which masks merit the epithet of 'masterpiece,' and South American Indians do not generally serve as consultants about which feather headdresses deserve center stage in museums." Despite Franz Boas' precedent of bringing Northwest Coast Natives to turn-of-the-century World's Fairs and museums to provide cultural data, in the early 1950s it was exceedingly rare for museums to establish reciprocal relationships with communities. The UBC Museum of Anthropology, in fact, has been doing this since its inception.[28] Thus, "Mungo represented an unprecedented ethnographic opportunity; to have this man—his incredible memory and his crisp authority on matters Kwakiutl—amid those scholars who tried hard to understand a culture as foreign to them as the sea-dreams of dolphins" (Nuytten 1982:80).[29] Indeed, part of Martin's status in both Native and museum communities comes from representations of him as an "expert" in diverse but intersecting realms: a master artist, a traditional ritualist, a talented ethnographer. Yet he is rarely celebrated publicly for having helped some Kwakwaka'wakw translate ritual objects into cash, or for having provided MOA with a financially and culturally valuable collection. This may be in part due to conceptual difficulties with reconciling art, culture, and commodity in a Western intellectual framework (see Marcus and Myers 1995; Phillips and Steiner 1999; Myers 2001), especially when it comes to indigenous people. In fact, brokers-cum-experts often shift the focus of their activity away from commodity exchange to information or art exchange, from financial transaction to the "mediation of knowledge" (Steiner 1994:13), in part to help mitigate the slippage between value regimes. "Whenever there are discontinuities in the knowledge that accompanies the movement of commodities, problems involving authenticity and expertise enter the picture" (Appadurai 1986:44). The indigenous broker may here have additional advantage in that their tribal status confers a certain degree of authenticity to their knowledge, an expertise to their representations that museum curators and scholars can never claim.

Robert Paine (1971:9) suggests that exchange partners often downplay patronage/brokerage relationships by emphasizing the rank, expertise, and friendship of the middleman. Martin's high rank as a chief amongst his people is constantly accentuated. He is often introduced as "the great Kwakiutl chief NaKaPenkim" (Hawthorn 1964:18, 1979:vii), a name that we repeatedly learn means "ten times chief" and marks the "highest name and rank in his clan" (Duff 1959:4, 5; de Laguna 1963:894; Nuytten 1982:80; B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:viii). One eulogizer even adds to these accolades, "Prince of the Kwakiutls" (Reynolds 1964). Furthermore, it is suggested that "in Kwakiutl society, in contrast [to White society], his status has been high and his position secure all throughout his life" (Duff 1959:4), a point which is in fact contested within some Kwakwaka'wakw communities (see below).

Yet Martin was also depicted as a good friend with whom the Hawthorns shared tea and stories and visits to the symphony (Hawthorn 1993:13; Duff 1959:3; Nuytten 1982:85). Despite the fact that he came to have at least eight Kwak'wala names, each marking various ranks and privileges, "everybody called him Mungo" (Duff 1959:4–5). Despite being spoken of as such a high-ranking chief, he was also an "ordinary man [of] humble origins" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:26). Note the shift in context from his rank in terms of indigenous standards to his humble status vis-à-vis metropolitan relations. This contrapuntal reference to his rank and his humility may have contributed to the effacement of an intrinsically financial exchange by an overtly friendly or formal one.

More important was constant emphasis on his traditional expertise regarding Kwakwaka'wakw culture. Having grown up "wrapped in a cocoon of Native culture which had been handed down over hundreds of years, immersed in the colorful flow of ceremony" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:vii), it seems almost natural that Martin would become "the outstanding authority on all aspects of the Kwakiutl past" (Duff 1959:5–6). He was depicted as a "full participant in the ceremonial system" who could "identify almost all of the [masks] with assurance" and give a "name and translation, based on his clear comprehension of the use and background of the piece" (Hawthorn 1979:viii). Though George Hunt (Boas' and Edward Curtis' main collector and collaborator) and Charlie Nowell (Charles Newcombe's assistant) are rarely if ever directly invoked in such praise for Martin, the clear legacy of Kwakwaka'wakw cultural brokerage set a marked precedent for Martin's own ethnographic proclivities.[30] Furthermore, he was surely not the only living Native with comparable levels of cultural knowledge. Martin was simply the most amenable, at the time, to bringing that knowledge into the public and scholarly realm.

Whereas Martin's chiefly rank was appealed to in discussions of authenticity, his status as an artist was underlined in discussions of innovation. When carving, Martin "makes no mistakes" (Hawthorn 1952:5); in fact, one could simply "watch as wood turned to art in his hands" (Nuytten 1982:62). Over and over again we are told that he became "internationally famous as an artist" (e.g. de Laguna 1963:894) because he worked at metropolitan museums. Harold Alfred, a contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw artist, suggests that "It was Mungo's influence that made people aware that it was an art and an artform and a high discipline. He had a lot of influence . . . in making it internationally known" (in Cranmer 1990). Thus it was not Martin's "traditional" activity within Kwakwaka'wakw communities that guaranteed him a place in world history, but instead his strategic movements between Native cultural realms and an acceptance of certain dominant paradigms of Western value.

In his clarifications on theories of brokerage, Paine suggests that a successful broker tends to represent himself as "above reproach with regard to his respect and sympathy for the values of his clients" (1974:27); this usually implies "that a broker becomes involved both in his clients' own value-seeking activity and in information-seeking on their behalf" (1976:79). The outward adoption of those values may be a political strategy to garner respect and to ensure future employment. In the case of Martin, his client's value-seeking activity *was* one of information gathering, at least to the extent that he participated in the ethnographic salvage process. The literature suggests that he indeed internalized the salvage paradigm, believed his culture to be vanishing, and was happy to save what he could. "It was during his years at UBC that he came to appreciate the importance of recording and preserving what he knew—an appreciation that turned into determination, and lasted throughout his life" (Nuytten 1982:85). He also "became intensely interested in the concept of a museum as a place in which to preserve and interpret material culture" (Hawthorn 1979:viii).

This dominant salvage narrative is very clear and redundant: we are told that Martin took "pleasure in helping to make a record of the crafts of the old Kwakiutl culture" (Hawthorn 1952:5); that he was "anxious to preserve" the art of the totem pole, and felt that the poles he carved at MOA "should be a monument to his people" who had "seen the vanishing of a way of life" (Hawthorn and Hill-Tout 1955); that "with great satisfaction he saw that the events [of his potlatch in Victoria] were recorded on tape recorders and in notebooks" (Duff 1959:7); that he was "not only willing but eager to have [his] knowledge recorded" (Duff, in Jacknis 1990:9); and finally, that "he was proud of what he had done towards ensuring the survival of the Kwakiutl culture—the endless hours with ethnographers and anthropologists; the miles of recording tape; the

dozens of songs, the labourious explanations of cultural concepts" (Nuytten 1982:86). It is even suggested in one publication that, though "desperately lonely for his own people," he chose to remain in Victoria because of his commitment to recording his knowledge in museums (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:26). I am not suggesting that this characterization is patently false, only that it is selective and strategic. If his "clearest claim to greatness [was] this conscious decision to preserve the culture of his people" (Duff 1959:8), we must ask whose values this represents? The impression of Martin as a salvage machine does not resonate with other truths of his life, such as his active participation in secret potlatching during prohibition (Nuytten 1982:77; interview with Chief Peter Knox, August 1998). Michael Kew, who worked closely with him at the BCPM, maintains that Martin "never thought for a moment that the potlatch was about to die" (personal communication, October 1998). In fact, Martin and Dan Cranmer apparently spoke about their desire to revive potlatching, and Audrey Hawthorn suggests that he was partly responsible for doing so (personal communication, November 1998). Again, I suggest that Martin may have been adopting the language of salvage in managing his identity with anthropologists at the same time as he used the museum contacts to gain status within the very potlatch system he was claiming had vanished. I will return below to his biographers' possible rationale for promoting this discourse.

There was one final realm in which he was represented as essential to the anthropologists, if not to his communities. Martin was said to be "their last great totem carver" (Hawthorn and Hill-Tout 1955), the "last of the great Kwakiutl artists to be fully in touch with his intact tribal background" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:35). Audrey Hawthorn, after Martin finished two new poles for MOA, was convinced that there "will be no better poles made" (Hawthorn 1952:6), that they will stand as "a lasting commemoration of a rich past" (Hawthorn and Hill-Tout 1955), but not a vital present. In addition to representing him as the last carver, he was also depicted as the last ritual expert, for "no one else of his generation had stored so much knowledge" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:9).[31] His value to salvage minded anthropologists was surely elevated by publicly constructing him as an Ishi of the Northwest Coast, a Last of the Kwakiutl.

Yet at the same time as Martin's solitary status in a dying culture was stressed, so too was his initiation of a "wave of renaissance" in Native art (Nuytten 1982:8; Hawthorn 1993:16). He was clearly implicated in the "rebirth of carving" on the coast, and was surely responsible for training important young artists, including Henry and Tony Hunt and Doug Cranmer (Hawthorn 1993:11). But when we are told that "It was Mungo Martin who brought back the Native's historic heritage after the Native arts had almost dropped out of existence, . . . restoring his arts and traditions to survive in the new age" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:35, 26), we segue into the realm of legendary culture-heroes. Furthermore, Martin's artistic activity is here discursively generalized to the entire region.[32] As if to condense his contribution to the commodification of objects, the salvaging of ethnographic material and knowledge, and the construction of Northwest Coast art, this undated manuscript (probably by Audrey Hawthorn) sums it up:

> If there has been a revival in Native arts this century, if anthropologists of the Northwest Coast have found a personal and lasting commitment to the preservation as well as documentation of this culture, Mungo Martin by his example and by his own astonishing gift of art and memory is the inspiring genius. [Hawthorn n.d.][33]

One way to reconcile these paradoxical representations of Mungo Martin the Myth (Native *and* artist, chief *and* common man, traditionalist *and* innovator, last carver *and* cultural regenerator) is to view Martin the man as a strategic actor who helped construct an image of himself as the "last expert" on Kwakwaka'wakw culture and art. He emerges not as a site of unique contradiction between tradition and modernity, but as an agent of deft articulation. This illustrates one way in which brokers manage both the meaning of commodities they move (Cohen and Comaroff 1976:89) and their ethnic identity as a form of political power (Briggs 1971; Appadurai 1986:57). It was partly his public status as the last authentic, high ranking, indigenous chief that granted him ethnographic value for salvage work, and his status as the last expert carver and connoisseur that granted him the rhetorical authority to help transfigure material culture into art (see Price 1989:68–69). In addition to having certain Western categories projected onto him, it is likely that Martin actively represented himself as an exclusive broker to the Hawthorns

and to Duff (Phil Nuytten, personal communication, October 1998). Speaking of his desire to host the potlatch in Victoria, Duff reports that Martin was "convinced it would be the last" and was "determined that his will be authentic, so I can record it all and have it right," and that Martin asserted that "nobody else but him knows how to do the whole thing properly" (in Jacknis 1990:7, 9). Martin is also quoted to have said, sadly, "Nobody knows now, only me" (Duff 1959:6). To an assembly of fellow chiefs rehearsing for the Victoria potlatch, Martin announced, "I was very weak all by myself away from home, I almost cry when there is nobody to help me" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:18). Such boasting language has long characterized Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch oratory and rivalry display, and chiefs regularly represent themselves as being the sole guardians of tradition.[34]

It is almost as if Martin fashioned himself an "exile" of sorts, and received the status that artist/exiles often receive. Edward Said (1990:363) suggests that "Much of the exile's life is taken up with compensating for disorienting loss by creating a new world to rule." Perhaps we can see Martin's collecting, carving, and salvaging efforts as building a not-yet-postcolonial Kwakwaka'wakw community of objects and knowledge in the metropóle, as transplanting a ritual and commercial network of exchange from villages into the urban museum. Martin may have appropriated and transculturated salvage rhetoric to value his own work in the eyes of anthropologists, and to value his culture in the eyes of the world. Pratt (1992:7) discusses such "autoethnography" as a way in "which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms." She shows how such "creole self-fashioning" selectively appropriates and deploys hegemonic values in an attempt to resist total acculturation (1992:188). It seems as if Martin the broker was negotiating more than financial exchanges; he was manipulating cultural categories, both Kwakwaka'wakw and Western, to construct his own status and identity. He was "bridging" the two cultural realms by selectively drawing on each of their traditions.

Kwakwaka'wakw Values of Travel, Display, and Self-glorification

There are certain Kwakwaka'wakw cultural precedents for valuing both movement of people and objects. Origin narratives tell of supernatural powers attained from and allowing travel around the world, and it was usually regional travelers who controlled and benefited from trade networks. There was clear status in traveling as collectors and performers, exemplified by George Hunt's early salvage work for Boas and Curtis—which included organizing a performance troupe for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the staging of ceremonial dances for photographs and films—as well as by Charlie Nowell and Bob Harris' activities at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (Ford 1941; Jacknis 2002). Cultural salvage, performance, and brokerage also provide such figures with the opportunity to record *their own knowledge* in the annals of science (see Cannizzo 1983 on George Hunt's modeling of "the Kwakiutl" on his own lineage and village).[35] There is always status to be gained through becoming the litmus test for cultural authenticity, both at home and in university libraries and departments for generations to come.[36] In fact, the Kwakwaka'wakw in general have historically been more amenable to participating in projects of ethnographic salvage and cultural objectification than other Northwest Coast groups, a legacy that has contributed directly to the maintenance of their global recognition and centrality in the Native art world (see Glass 2006).

Fame or rank, however acquired or contested, was always displayed publicly in order to validate claims to status. The erection of totem poles marks cultural territory, claims privileged relationships, and advertises family origins and status. Martin's poles depicting his extended family were sent all over the world; there is no clearer means of establishing one's cultural presence and importance in a global village than by raising a totem pole.[37] When Martin spoke at the raising of his poles at UBC in 1951 (see Figure 2) "he said that the poles were far from their home but would be seen by many people who still seek to understand and value them" (Hawthorn 1993:19). Likewise, the plaque set into the base of the (then) world's tallest pole in Victoria—beautifully condensing the various intersecting historical contexts and cultural paradigms of value discussed here—reads: "Symbolic of a proud race: Memento of the Nation's infancy; Monument to a rare Native art; Proof of a united community interest; And the purest form of Canadiana" (in Nuytten 1982:103). If Martin gained status through his role as a broker for regalia, that activity can be

placed securely within the context of potlatching, the traditional system of exchanging objects, declaring knowledge, displaying privilege, and negotiating value. Furthermore, in such "tournaments of value" as the potlatch, the value of the object is often equated with the value of the person controlling the exchange: "actors manipulate the cultural definitions of path and the strategic potential of diversion, so that the movement of things enhances their own standing" (Appadurai 1986:21–22). When combined with the de-privileging of the material object in Kwakwaka'wakw culture, what emerges is a picture of social exchange that emphasizes the translation of financial or exchange values into social values (the status gained through privileged relationship and strategic alliance).[38] And this is equally true in the early twenty first century as it was in the early nineteenth.

Accounts of culture brokers and successful middlemen, such "men of two worlds," appeal to their ability to maneuver between disparate systems, to recognize desired values, to translate and communicate meanings, to manage identities (e.g. Spradley 1969). But the story emerging here suggests that Martin did not somehow embody two substantially different worlds as much as he was articulating their intersection. The two worlds between which he was traveling were not one of "traditions and totems" and one of "innovations and technology," one of the "village" and one of the "museum." He was successfully articulating two different regimes of cultural value. In removing ethnographic objects from their generalized status as commodities (as well as from their owners), and helping redefine them as art through his own expertise (as well as example), Martin was assisting the Hawthorns in their program to develop a teaching collection, salvage a culture, and promote the nascent category of Northwest Coast art. If he could "transform the noses of sea lions into those of seals, and collect the bounty" (Duff 1959:6), as befits a figure of such mythological stature, then surely he could transfigure artifacts into art. After all, one needs only to drop the facts.

Conclusion: The Importance of Salvage to Ethnographic Art

By suggesting an altruistic urge to salvage as Mungo Martin's main motivation to broker objects and knowledge for MOA, his biographers shifted attention away from other possibilities, such as financial gain, institutional growth, and elevation of personal status. Paine (1971:15) suggests the distinguishing feature between the patron and the client or broker "is that only the values of the patron's choosing are circulated in the relationship." What seems more accurate for this case, however, is that only the values of the patron were *publicized* or even *projected onto* the broker. Resistance to recognizing indigenous people as embodying some of the individualistic values associated with market capitalism may encourage a romantic depiction of them. But it is also likely that brokers strategically adopt certain discourses—choosing from available cultural or ethnic regimes of value to fashion multiplex identities—in order to translate their own political ambitions (Briggs 1971:73). Cohen and Comaroff (1976:93) remind us that "to be successful as a broker, [one] must somehow contrive to present himself as lacking any self-interest in whatever transaction he effectuates between client and patron." Martin may have employed an anthropological language of salvage, and fostered an image of himself as the lone survivor of cultural decay, in order to negotiate his status within both local Kwakwaka'wakw and global scholarly communities.

Given the reality that there were other qualified people to broker object sales, carve poles, and record cultural practices, why Martin? It was partly serendipity; he was in the right place at the right time with the right contacts. But he also chose to travel to Vancouver and Victoria to live out his days employed in metropolitan museums, whereas eminently qualified others, such as Willie Seaweed, stayed in their villages. There was a repeated suggestion that Martin was initially recording all of his knowledge and privileges to transmit to his son David, and that only upon his son's tragic death did Martin offer this instead to the museums (de Laguna 1963:895; Martin n.d. a: Audrey Hawthorn note dated "summer 1950"). More intriguingly, it has been suggested to me that Martin may not have been such a high-ranking chief by birth, but instead a relatively "blue-collar guy" in the potlatch system (Phil Nuytten, personal communication, November 1998). His older brother Spruce inherited the family rank (and the name "Nakapenkim"), while his younger brother Herbert was a famous athlete and dancer. After living a rather uneventful life—despite being valued in the communities for being a good

carver and song composer—Martin may have seen an opportunity for raising his rank within the potlatch system that he spoke of as dying. Initially, he relied upon Spruce's relationships with chiefs to negotiate sales before he made enough contacts to do so alone. Soon after, however, people began contacting MOA directly; the record of accessions shows his participation dwindling after the first couple of years, as the diversity of individual sellers increases.

In fact, it was only after Spruce's death that Martin held the famous 1953 potlatch to open his newly built big house in Victoria's Thunderbird Park. Asserting that it was a replica of the old Fort Rupert house of Nakapenkim (an ancestral holder of the title), Martin negotiated within the community to claim that name himself (Phil Nuytten, personal communication, November 1998; Bill Holm, personal communication, March 1999). This was a highly contested action on his part within the community (as are many such claims), and he soon after passed the name to the individual felt to be its rightful heir (for small published hints at this, see Nuytten 1982:107; Jacknis 1990:5). So his widely publicized eponymous Kwak'wala title was only actually held by him for a limited time. Certainly there is a robust tradition of using potlatches to raise the status of one's family (Hawthorn 1961:66), and it was not uncommon for a chief to "buy" names and privileges through complex exchanges (Jay Powell, personal communication, November 1998)—especially at the turn of the twentieth century when potlatching became increasingly competitive as people scrambled for unclaimed names and privileges. Thus it seems as if Martin bought his name "Nakapenkim" partly through his potlatch in the park, and he may have been successful in making himself into a high ranking chief—indeed a culture hero of mythical proportions—through his deft manipulation of disparate cultural values.[39] This is not to suggest that he was overtly deceptive in his work or that he did not genuinely provide a vital historical link in the transmission of cultural knowledge; I am simply arguing for a level of Martin's historical agency and intercultural complexity heretofore unacknowledged.

Was Martin really on a "mission to preserve his beloved Kwakiutl heritage . . . to save it from the pressures of a demanding, changing world" (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:18)? He may well have been, but like many collectors he also played the salvage values of one community off of the status values of another, and helped use the medium of financial transaction to effect the transculturation of ethnographic artifacts into fine art, and of cultural decay into social display. He exaggerated both the degree of scarcity of objects, and his role in having to convince his fellow Kwakwaka'wakw to part with them (see letters #7 and #8, Appendix). He was successful at downplaying the financial nature of the exchanges, reframing objects as important cultural material and information as traditional knowledge. He gracefully manipulated the relevant paradigms of object worth, the various "regimes of value . . . the ways in which desire and demand, reciprocal sacrifice and power interact to create economic value in specific social situations" (Appadurai 1986:4). And in these activities, he was shrewdly—and not dishonestly—negotiating Western and Kwakwaka'wakw evaluations of objects. Price (1989:75) assumes that the "documentation and preservation of Primitive Art" only benefits majority values, those of the new owners, disguised as "contributions to human knowledge." Yet here we see how that same regime of value can be effectively put to use for the benefit of sellers and brokers as well.

In an important way, adoption of the salvage paradigm helped increase the market value of the objects that Martin was brokering, and thus the need for him as a broker. Museumification in general tends to raise the value of ethnographic materials—it provides a commercial base for exchange and display, guides carvers to an older, more "authentic" style, and helps prevent further loss of knowledge and technique (Hawthorn 1961:70). In a similar vein, "scientific collection" imbues ethnographic objects with a commodity value, one that is often quickly accommodated to by indigenous communities (Lévi-Strauss 1973:168; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). More directly, salvage collecting *actually depletes* the "authentic" cultural environment, increasing the value of it while limiting its resources, and therefore proving itself a self-fulfilling prophesy; "By speeding the inevitability of such destruction, anthropologists encouraged the expansion of the market in ethnographia and boosted the already multiple values assigned to the discipline's object of study, thus enhancing the status of anthropological 'knowledge'" (Coombes 1991:199). Thus salvage both indicates and creates scarcity, which in turn raises the commodity value of ethnographic objects.

Even the *idea* of necessary salvage performs this function, as "the 'death of culture' concept reappears once again in the context of the contemporary art market [where] it functions to inflate price by creating an artificially limited supply" (Steiner 1994:105).

If artifacts are to be revalued as fine art, however, it takes more than just a market demand for them (see Myers 2002 for an Australian Aboriginal case of aesthetic transformation). Certain conceptual paradoxes need to be confronted, and the material has to be ultimately defined as a non-commodity. I am suggesting that by framing the movement of objects under the banner of salvage and scientific preservation, the financial aspect of the exchange becomes backgrounded. This would satisfy one demand of cultural aestheticization, the "disavowal of exchange value" (Steiner 1994:162–63). We have seen how, in terms of the community, the exchanges were represented as an offer of protection for objects, of their safe storage, of their long-term custody in the museum. Likewise, the movement of objects into the museum, and indeed Martin's whole relationship with the Hawthorns, was presented as a friendly, reciprocal, gift-giving cycle. As Kopytoff (1986:77) suggests, modern Western society often translates financial exchanges into a language of donations or gifts. So does the potlatch system of the Kwakwaka'wakw and other Northwest Coast societies.

In addition to the denial of exchange value, transformation into art requires the "disavowal of use value" (Steiner 1994:160–61). It seems necessary to remove from objects their ethnographic "function" if they are to be encountered as objects of an aesthetic gaze. The salvage paradigm once again provides a regime of value that serves this conceptual move. By embracing the inevitability of cultural decay, the Hawthorns (and Martin, at least rhetorically) accepted the notion that these objects *no longer had* functions within communities, that they were merely dead weights, neither used nor valued. The loss of a vital ceremonial environment for the objects—enabled by decades of potlatch prohibition and religious conversion—stripped them of their use value, thereby validating their revaluation as commodities and their removal from communities. But if all of this contextual information and cultural knowledge was collected by Martin and the Hawthorns, how could the material be treated as fine art, which is typically singularized and decontextualized, open to a purportedly universal aesthetic response (especially under the modernist sensibility of the 1950s)? The Hawthorns were clearly committed to developing a viable Northwest Coast art world, dependent on the aesthetic reception and valuing of objects. Here MOA succeeded in salvaging objects and information, but by not placing that contextualizing ethnographic knowledge on display next to the objects, it effectively denied the use value of the items a second time. In this way, the salvage paradigm (and a minimalist display technique) provided the pre-condition for the treatment of "useless" objects as art, as it did the whole colonial assimilative agenda. In much the same way, the resultant "art" discourse has the potential to neutralize the power of objects entangled in contemporary First Nations' cultural and political strategies of self-representation.[40]

It was thus within museums that national, regional, academic, and indigenous histories and valuations of First Nations material culture intersected, significantly in the figure of Mungo Martin, a traveling culture broker. Mungo Martin used and constructed his role as a middleman to negotiate cultural values for himself (status within both Native and non-Native communities), while the Hawthorns used and constructed his presence to negotiate and transform the cultural value of ethnographic collections and Northwest Coast objects (for the benefit of both Native and non-Native communities). This highlights the importance of commodities in mutual constructions of the exotic and its value(s), as "the mystery inheres in commodities' openness to diverse appropriations, their capacity for being historically made and remade" (Clifford 1997:323). Suggesting that such exchanges are reciprocal does not imply that they are symmetrical; all such intersections occur in contexts of shifting power relations. Yet such a focus on cultural brokerage suggests that this power is negotiated in the exchange, in the flow of objects and information, in the mutual appropriations and constructions of identity. Museums emerge as sites of such articulation, as "contact zones" (Pratt 1992) in which and through which people, objects and knowledge travel; in which culture is collected, recollected, revalued and displayed; in which identities and values are formed, negotiated and represented. Mungo Martin spent only four years at MOA, yet they were pivotal years in the emergence of it as an institution, him as a legendary figure, and Northwest

Coast material culture as fine art. Like Alert Bay for the Kwakwaka'wakw, MOA was just "a little point on the map, a point that indicated both the beginning and the end of many interwoven circles" (Nuytten 1982:125).

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Ruth Phillips, Aldona Jonaitis, Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Margaret Stott, Nancy Wachowich, Jason Jackson, and the two anonymous journal reviewers for commenting on earlier drafts. Audrey Hawthorn, Bill Holm, Phil Nuytten, Wayne Suttles, Mike Kew, and Peter Macnair generously shared their personal experiences with Martin, as did his relatives Peter Knox and Gloria Cranmer Webster. Thanks also to Elizabeth Johnson, Ann Stevenson, Krisztina Laszlo and Jennifer Webb for helping me navigate the archives of the UBC Museum of Anthropology.

Notes

1. There are various accounts of Martin's arrival at MOA. In her history of the museum, Audrey Hawthorn (1993:9) claims that Barbeau suggested Martin as a capable carver. Elsewhere it is told how the Hawthorns "discovered" and hired Ellen Neel, a Kwakwaka'wakw woman carving small poles for tourists in Stanley Park (B.C. Indian Arts Society 1982:10), and that she turned the job over to her half-uncle, Mungo Martin (Hawthorn 1979: vii). A note written by Harry Hawthorn to Michael Ames on December 10, 1978 suggests that Martin was hired first, and that Ellen Neel came briefly to help him (Hawthorn 1978).
2. Vancouver Island joined the mainland colony in 1858, forming what is now British Columbia; Canada united under federation in 1866/7; British Columbia joined the Dominion in 1871.
3. Regarding "salvage," Audrey Hawthorn (1979:vii) began the preface of her catalogue of MOA's Kwakwaka'wakw collection with statements of loss, about people "no longer living in the great flowering of Northwest Coast culture," about old houses "decaying along deserted village sites," about "doomed" objects and "disrupted" communities. Duff (1967) opened his description of "The Art Today" in the *Arts of the Raven* catalogue with the words, "The old Indian cultures of the coast are dead." Likewise, in her contextualizing of Martin's presence at MOA, Hawthorn repeatedly claims that villages had no further cultural use for their objects or carvers (1952:3, 1964:23, 1993:15). Regarding "culture change," see Herskovits 1938; Hawthorn, Belshaw and Jamieson 1958; Codere 1961; Duff 1964; Spradley 1969. Related to this literature was often a sincere interest in the welfare of indigenous people, and an agenda of proving them industrious and capable of adaptation. Regarding Martin and his wife Abaya, we learn: "An eight-hour working day was not long enough to contain their interest, vitality, and creative business" (Hawthorn 1964:23); "From then until 2 or 3 in the morning, the two of them are busy" (Audrey Hawthorn, quoted in Nuytten 1982:80). When describing how he used to sing or dance while carving, Audrey Hawthorn carefully explains, "There is in no way a chance to knock off work—it is an integral part of thinking and creating" (Audrey Hawthorn, quoted in Nuytten 1982:80). The Hawthorns may have used the example of a hard working Mungo Martin to counter dominant stereotypes of "lazy Indians" and to help foster an attitude of respect toward Native craftspeople and citizens in general.
4. While there was certainly early 20th century artistic interest in the work of indigenous people, most notably demonstrated by the Canadian nationalist Group of Seven and the vanguard Cubists and Surrealists, it was an entirely decontextualized, atemporal and universalized appreciation (see Jonaitis 1981). It was not until the 1950s that a core group of anthropologists, art historians and artists (in Canada, the Hawthorns, Wilson Duff, and Bill Reid; in America, Robert Bruce Inverarity, Erna Gunther, and Bill Holm) jointly engineered a series of exhibits, books and projects to contextualize and further this recognition.
5. From a letter to Maluna Bolus, editor of *The Beaver*, November 20, 1963 (in Martin n.d. a). MOA became innovators themselves in collecting and displaying contemporary two-dimensional designs on paper. This is not surprising given that "frameability" is one of the quintessential criteria for aestheticization found in Western art practice (Steiner 1994:120).
6. The phrase "exodus of masks" comes from a letter from Helen Codere to Harry Hawthorn, November 12, 1951 (Codere 1951).
7. Phil Nuytten recounts (personal communication, November 1998) how Jimmy Sewid, an influential chief and politician in Alert Bay in the 1950s and 60s, explained the matter to him: "The mask is like a deed to your house. The piece of paper is evidence of your ownership, but if you lose it, you get another. Someone can take it and frame it and hang it on their wall as a nice decoration, but that person would never think they owned your house."
8. Arjun Appadurai (1986:26) suggests that such "diversification of commodities from specified paths is always a sign of creativity or crisis, whether aesthetic or economic. Such crises may take a variety of forms: economic hardship, in all manner of societies, drives families to part with heirlooms, antiques and memorabilia and to commoditize them."
9. Holm built a Kwakwaka'wakw-style big house on Lopez Island in 1956 and held "play-potlatches" for both camp children and Natives. Martin "acted as a regulator" in limiting the number of friends and relatives who would travel there to perform, as well as an advisor for Holm regarding the performances themselves (Bill Holm, personal communication, March, 1998).
10. After 1951, members of Kwakwaka'wakw communities also initiated concerted efforts at repatriating confiscated potlatch regalia; thereby using political channels to force the return of objects similar to those they were simultaneously alienating for economic reasons. Regalia demanded for return by Kwakwaka'wakw communities were seen as something markedly distinct from the masks

being sold; the former were desired as a political redress for historical abuses and as an educational means of revitalizing cultural practices, while the latter were replaceable items of personal property that had a growing market value. The transformation of the latter into the former (of personal property, through status as commodity and museum art/artifact, into cultural patrimony) relies on many nodes in the dynamic social networks through which indigenous objects circulate. Recovering the specific details of object value, museum collection practice, and historical articulation is of paramount importance in today's climate of treaty negotiations and repatriation claims.

11. There is little written about Martin's life before he arrived at UBC. The lack of accuracy surrounding nearly all the dates and details of his life helps contribute to the "mythic" and somewhat ahistorical status he now enjoys.
12. Nuytten (1982:129) suggests that the artist was Martin's stepfather Charlie James. These stories likely entered public accounts with information provided to Audrey Hawthorn by Martin himself while visiting at MOA, and were reiterated in the literature with more or less consistency (see a note dated October 15 (no year given) in Martin n.d. a).
13. Martin carved replica totem poles for Native communities throughout BC; in 1956 he carved the (then) world's tallest totem pole, funded in part by shareholders all over the world; in 1957 he carved a Centennial pole for the Queen, whom he met in England for the dedication; he also carved other poles commissioned by the Province as gifts destined for England and Mexico.
14. I am hesitant, however, to extend the term "brokerage" to any context or process or relationship of mediation or, even more broadly, "representation." Brokerage assumes the transmission of some thing between two independent and discreet parties; it is not simply sending some bit of manipulated knowledge or material out into the world.
15. See the Appendix for summaries of letters regarding "the Knox Collection," what may be the best-documented set of written exchanges surrounding a sale that Martin negotiated. Notice how the term "collection" is used to describe the set of objects, aiding in the aestheticization and elevation of the group over any particular item (see Stewart 1984:151).
16. Two letters from Martin and his wife to Audrey Hawthorn from Ft. Rupert in February and May of 1952 include thanks for financial aid: "I received your most welcome letter and check and was so very pleased with the check as this is the time of the year we really need it" (Martin n.d. a). Likewise, "When Mungo turned over his masks to the museum, he offered to do so—free. But Duff applied for 'special funds' of $1,000.00 to make the purchase, and that money saw Mungo through the winter lay-off at almost precisely his usual salary. A year later, at lay-off time, Duff again had Mungo donate something of such value that 'special funds' would have undoubtedly been available" (Nuytten 1982:109).
17. See Nuytten (1982:111) for Duff's discussion of the staged "sales" of Martin's valuable copper as it passed through a variety of exchanges.
18. He even knew Navajo and Japanese songs, learned by earlier relatives who had traveled to the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (Hawthorn 1979:257).
19. In fact, he held three different versions of it (see Nuytten 1982:90). Notably, he adapted the public night so it was shorter (lacking the drawn out oratory of Kwakwaka'wakw ceremonies), more dramatic and theatrical; he even had a "souvenir program" printed (Nuytten 1982:99).
20. Even the treatment of Martin's body was "bicultural": he lay in state wrapped in a Hudson's Bay Company blanket (itself a perfect symbol of transculturation), and inside a yellow cedar box designed by his relatives and carving protégés.
21. Audrey Hawthorn is fond of recounting how he would instruct her or Harry to write down what he was telling them, then look it over and make them say it aloud and try again if they got it wrong (Hawthorn 1979:vii; personal communication, November 1998).
22. The "two worlds" described in such essentialist terms are far from clearly distinct in the daily life of modern, colonized people. By focusing on "hybridity," we run the risk of naturalizing the source categories that are described as being fused; likewise, by asserting an unproblematized process of fluid cultural translation, we run the risk of occluding the political nature of brokerage and all social interaction. The important point is that power and identity are reciprocally, if asymmetrically, constituted.
23. For Bakhtin (1981), the chronotope provides an analytical lens through which the temporal and spatial qualities of source contexts/cultures can be "read" in texts. Moreover, he reveals the extent to which temporal and spatial forms, qualities, and connotations are mutually reinforcing and resonant for any designated historical period, be it that of a novel's author, characters, or readers.
24. While this may have been the intention of the B.C. Indian Arts Society, Nuytten's intention was clearly to honor the Native individuals with whom he was closely connected. Nonetheless, to a general readership, it has the effect of "othering" the people depicted.
25. Abaya Martin wrote to Audrey Hawthorn from Victoria on October 6, 1952, saying that she and Martin were going to "make a *holiday* at Ft. Rupert soon," implying that Victoria was now "home" and the villages mere travel destinations (in Martin n.d. a, emphasis added).
26. Jay Powell (personal communication, November 1998) suggests that this moniker was coined by Peggy Martin, owner of a gallery in Vancouver's Pacific Centre, to refer to *all of the artists* who bridged the generation gap in Kwakwaka'wakw communities, including Willie Seaweed and Henry Hunt as well as Mungo Martin. By titling their traveling exhibit and film "Mungo Martin: A Slender Thread," his relatives at the U'mista Cultural Centre (in Alert Bay) privileged him in this history.
27. This feature of traditional ethnic arts may already be mitigated on the Northwest Coast by a lack of object fetishization in general (see above).
28. As I write this, MOA is implementing a long-term project, called the Reciprocal Research Network, through which cultural and collections-based knowledge will be shared with indigenous source communities via collaboration, consultation, and digital networking. The Kwakwaka'wakw, represented by the U'mista Cultural

Centre in Alert Bay, are one of the first three communities to develop the project, a partial bi-product of the legacy of Martin's presence there.

29. It seems as if sea life stands in as a common rhetorical "other." Maybe it would have been possible to succeed in his "impossible translation exercise" of understanding the "historical consciousness" of ocean life, if only James Clifford had found a Mungo Martin of sea otters (Clifford 1997:325)!

30. There are actually numerous studies of such collectors, culture brokers, and mediators on the Northwest Coast; see Glass 2004b:193–96 for a discussion of some, including Chief Maquinna, Arthur Wellington Clah, Princess Tom, Albert Edenshaw, William Beynon, and Louis Shotridge.

31. This is emphatically not true, as many have since pointed out. Jay Powell (personal communication, November 1998) argues that the "thin chord" was not so thin, that there were many practicing artists and ritual experts still active through this period (see Nuytten 1982:94 and Macnair et. al 1984 for some names). The fact that MOA prepared a list of artists who worked in the museum at the time or whose creations are stored there reinforces the notion that the public history is a selective one (see Hawthorn 1979:256).

32. While it is true that Martin restored and replicated non-Kwakwaka'wakw poles at the BCPM, this extension from Kwakwaka'wakw artistic and cultural activity to that of the entire Northwest Coast has a history going back to the voluminous work of Franz Boas and its often loose citation by subsequent scholars.

33. Such a language of individual genius and cultural revitalization would be shifted onto Bill Reid in the decades to follow, where it proved to be of greater lasting influence (Glass 2004b).

34. Wayne Suttles (personal communication, March 1999) reports the same language among the Coast Salish, and suggests it may be endemic to societies based on oral tradition.

35. This means there is also competition for such status. There were some cases of divergent interpretation regarding regalia, differences attributed to "individual motives" (A. Hawthorn 1979:255). Harry Hawthorn (1961:67) cites specific cases in which people offered their differing versions of status, privilege and quality based on MOA's collections. There is some record of a specific rivalry between Martin and Willie Seaweed: some visitors to MOA, probably sympathetic to Martin, criticized Seaweed as vain and untalented (Hawthorn 1961:67); likewise, Seaweed was reported to have questioned the Hawthorn's use of Martin as an informant as he felt himself to be more qualified (Peter Macnair, personal communication, November 1998). Chiefs also apparently criticized Martin's recording of songs for anthropologists (Nuytten 1982:85) and his claims to certain ceremonial names (Nuytten 1982:107; personal communication, November 1998). These factors all hold true for the museum collection work of George Hunt, Charlie Nowell and others.

36. Today, Kwakwaka'wakw communities routinely use the Boas/Hunt texts, as well as tapes of Martin singing, to legitimate and reconstruct cultural practices. However, these are never used uncritically; instead, such ethnographic resources are vigorously debated locally as to accuracy and quality as well as to the intent of the original motivation to record it in the first place (see Glass 2006).

37. One pole at MOA and one in Victoria represent Martin's family crests; another MOA pole and the (then) world's tallest pole depict his village crests; many crests of the Kwakwaka'wakw are depicted on the Queen's pole in England and on another pole at the BCPM.

38. Discussing the similarly strategic commodification of Tlingit ceremonial regalia, Edmund Carpenter (1976:66–7) describes how "the physical object was only part of a complex pattern, and at times could become almost irrelevant. . . . One member of the Whale House, speaking in council, urged that the [highly valued] screen and posts be sold: 'What is it that we Chilkat respect? Power and money. We hire artists. A Tsimshian made the Rain Screen for us. We bought it for prestige and power. We should sell it for the same reasons.' Art, like so much else in Tlingit life, was often used for power. It was even used as a weapon."

39. It may be possible to view this era in indigenous British Columbia during the 1950s and 60s as one of cultural "restoration," modeled on the British Tudor period in which bourgeois families scrambled for aristocratic claims of privilege and attempted to build "houses," lineages and traditions to validate their claims (Ruth Phillips suggested the historical comparison). This suggests an alternative to the dominant "renaissance" metaphor of Northwest Coast cultural revitalization (see Glass 2004b).

40. Hence the increasing disavowal of the "art" frame by many First Nations activists in arguing for the "sacred" or "cultural property" status of objects in treaty and repatriation negotiations.

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Appendix

This appendix provides a summary of letters regarding the purchase of objects from James Knox.

(1) November 12, 1951: Helen Codere (in Alert Bay) informs A. and H. Hawthorn that there is quality material in need of salvage. "I was there during the exodus of masks. I also saw the Knox collection, know he wants to sell them and have procured his promise to sell them to me, i.e. you, if you want them." She asks for particulars on recent purchases and adds, "I also want a couple of them for myself . . . I am sure I could find a purchaser among U.S. museums, but could I take them out of the country?" (Martin n.d. a).

(2) November 14, 1951: H. Hawthorn replies: "As it seems absolutely imperative that B.C. retain the material which people at Ft. Rupert are willing to sell, I will buy it all. We just bought the Hunt collection," which Martin inspected and helped determine prices for. Kingcome Inlet sent stuff directly. Dan Cranmer advised them not to buy from Harry Mountain, as his stuff lacked authenticity. Duff is not in competition to collect with them (Martin n.d. a).

(3) January 1, 1952: Mungo Martin (from Ft. Rupert) to "friend": "James Knox is willing to sell all his masks and rattles. They are master pieces" (Martin n.d. a).

(4) January 16, 1952: Harry Hawthorn to James Knox: Codere and Martin say Knox might consider selling masks. Assures him the items would be safe. Asks him to crate them carefully and ship them down, at which point the Museum would make an offer (Martin n.d. b).

(5) February 11, 1952: Hawthorn letter to Macmillan (MOA's patron): material has been offered from Kingcome and James Knox's entire collection is in excellent condition. Requests permission to buy. (Martin n.d. b)

(6) February 14, 1952: Abaya Martin (Ft Rupert) to A. Hawthorn: James Knox is busy and won't be able to send masks right away. (Martin n.d. a)

(7) February 17, 1952: Mungo Martin (Victoria) to A. Hawthorn: received letter from home, looking to find buyer for 2 Hamatsa masks, "I think this will be the last to be sold as its pretty well died out now" (Martin n.d. a).

(8) March 15, 1952: Mungo Martin (Ft. Rupert) to A. Hawthorn: "About James Knox masks. I had quite a time with him for his masks. He didn't want to sell it, and he set his price for it all, and I told you about his masks as its the best I seen because he look after them and we going to tell you how much he wants for the whole thing. Because I had quite a time for him sell them to you. He didn't want to sell it in the first place so its up to you now to think it over. Because it only the best I seen around here very few people got it" (Martin n.d. a).

(9) March 21, 1952: H. Hawthorn to Mungo Martin: thanks Martin for asking James Knox to sell his masks. Confirms they will pay asking price. Asks Martin to tell James not to cut masks to ease shipping. Assures Martin that Knox has made good decision, the masks will be kept together as the family's collection, will not be destroyed by fire, and that the Knox's and their friends can come and see them whenever they want (Martin n.d. b).

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