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Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures

vol. 2 no. 2 2018

SPECIAL ISSUE: The Entangled Gaze

The Pennsylvania State University Press

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REVIEWS

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Cover image: Blak Douglas (aka Adam Hill), *Kloset Koori, 2009.*

The Entangled Gaze: Indigenous and European Views of Each Other

Gerald McMaster, Julia Lum, and Kaitlin McCormick

Introduction

Gerald McMaster

The meeting, or rather fictional wedding, between Kent Monkman (a Canadian artist of Cree and Irish descent) and French fashion designer Jean Paul Gaultier had all the trappings of a great story. The setting for this 2017 performance was the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA), where Gaultier's *Love Is Love* exhibition (May 22–October 22, 2017) was on display.[1] In the weeks leading up to the mock wedding, the exhibition had been the target of public outcry because Gaultier used an eagle-feather headdress as inspiration for one of his wedding dresses—to many eyes, cultural appropriation.[2] Both Gaultier's exhibition and the wedding received plenty of press attention, and it was Monkman's alter ego, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, who quickly and expertly defused the cultural bombshell.

Gaultier's oversight or mistake could easily have gone unchallenged in the gallery, had it not been for the attentiveness of the MMFA's director, Nathalie Bondil, who had only recently helped organize *Once upon a time . . . The Western: A New Frontier in Art and Film* (October 14, 2017– February 4, 2018), a sweeping exhibition about the Western film genre's obsession with "cowboys and Indians."[3] That exhibition showed how Indigenous peoples of the Plains have long been pitted—in nineteenth-century paintings and Hollywood films—against the White American cowboy to create an imbalanced and misleading binary.[4] But it was Monkman, an artist present both in the *Once upon a time* exhibition and in the MMFA's permanent collection, who prompted Bondil to stage an apology by way of a very public intervention/spectacle: a meeting between the comic seriousness of Miss Chief Eagle Testickle and her surprised, yet willing, marriage partner Jean Paul Gaultier.

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

Like Gaultier, many artists have, over the centuries, discovered fresh ideas and images among the cultures of the Great Plains (something that was vividly apparent in *Once upon a time*). But it is the eagle-feather headdress, a symbol of accomplishment and veneration for the peoples of the Great Plains, that has a particularly strong hold in popular culture worldwide, whether at Mardi Gras parades, music festivals, or in fashion magazines. Most non-Indigenous designers and wearers are unlikely to know anything of its significance. The eagle-feather headdress's customary function, meanwhile, continues among various Indigenous peoples across the Plains to signify a leader or chief. A headdress might also be conferred on a person—including prime ministers, presidents, and royalty—as a sign of honor and respect. For anyone else, however, appropriating this regalia is dishonorable. As a cultural symbol, the eagle-feather headdress has come to occupy a position at the crossroads between cultures, operating at the levels of honor, prestige, and sometimes misrepresentation.

Monkman/Miss Chief's creative inspiration, on the other hand, was in direct response to Gaultier's appropriation of this revered Indigenous symbol. At stake was Gaultier's choice of inspiration and its impact in a public venue like the MMFA, where once-silenced voices have only recently begun to be heard. Throughout his career, Gaultier has drawn inspiration from the fine arts, decorative arts, and even entire cultures. Similarly, Monkman often looks to European art for his inspiration—and, at times, objects of appropriation. Although it is one thing for an Indigenous artist to transform a European image, it is quite another thing for someone from a powerful European culture to take images or forms from marginalized cultures (who have little opportunity to respond) and use them as decorative tropes. Such an act as Gaultier's continues along the well-trodden pop-culture road where the feathered headdress image is used ad infinitum. As Mary Louise Pratt pointed out, the "contact zone," or "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other," is riven by unequal power relations (Pratt 2008, 8). These days, however, the critical role Indigenous contemporary artists play in addressing urgent and timely issues is enough to give pause over how representations of Indigenous peoples are deployed. The Indigenous subject is no longer in a de facto subservient position. Although the power politics within mainstream culture and society often continue to have colonialist undertones, I pause to consider how certain creative acts in the contact zone and their entanglements can—and perhaps must—be brought to bear on destabilizing the colonial subject/object relationship by decentralizing the European/settler gaze as the primary site of power.

Marriage à la Mode?

Following the MMFA wedding/performance, Monkman created *To Have and to Clothe Until Death Do Us Part* (2018), a black-and-white nineteenth-century-style cabinet studio photograph (in collaboration with Chris Chapman) in which Miss Chief (the presumed bride) stands with her left hand placed on the right shoulder of the seated Gaultier (the presumed groom) (fig. 1). Gaultier is now entangled, in either Miss Chief's dreamcatcher bra or her ruse. She has tamed the wild Parisian boy who now obediently faces the camera. The Miss Chief-Gaultier wedding has been described as "an artistic union and aesthetic alliance founded on mutual respect and cultural understanding."[5] Indeed, the highly stylized photograph commemorating the occasion signifies more than the performative conjugation of two art world stars engaging in open dialogue. The wedding and the image presents an amicable coming together whereby Miss Chief in her ruse-like performance has complicated the traditional power relations of European male versus Indigenous female.

Compare Monkman's studio portrait with that of an argillite sculpture made by a Haida artist circa 1840–60. Here, a large female figure links arms with, and carries, a smaller male figure (fig. 2). The woman wears a long floral dress, and the man wears a knee-length frock coat and holds a sack. She wraps her arm tight around his midsection, appearing to lift him off the ground. His arm, not seen in this image, stretches across the back of her shoulder. Despite his small size, he is likely an adult; my sense is that the artist intentionally carved the figures' disproportionate sizes as a subtle form of Haida humor. As Haida scholar Kathy Bedard Sparrow explains, traditional Haida jokes and anecdotes pivoted on the rhetorical device of inversion, or in other words, on belittling oneself and others (Sparrow 2003, 19). I am more inclined to think of this work as a criticism of settler relationships with Indigenous peoples. As Monkman has shown, artists frequently have more power than we often attribute to them. Although the woman wears a European-style dress, as art historian Robin K. Wright has argued, very few if any White women were seen on the Northwest Coast in the mid-nineteenth century, so it is unlikely that this figure represents a White woman. Wright further contends that White men were likely not attracted to labret-wearing, nose-pierced, high-class Haida women, but were instead attracted to lower-ranked or enslaved women (Wright 2001, 227). Does this pair reflect a subtle form of Haida humor, in the same vein as *To Have and To Clothe*? By depicting a half-man, is the artist saying the European is a coward, weakling, or lesser person for being attracted to a low-ranked woman? Is the sculptor, and his community, looking down on such a union?

Figure 1 | Kent Monkman in collaboration with Chris Chapman, *To Have and to Clothe Until Death Do Us Part* (detail). 2018. Edition of 25 + 5 AP.

Figure 2 | Once-known Haida artist, figure of a woman and a man, made of argillite. British Museum. Am.9392, AN916092001. © British Museum.

These two artists, the once-known Haida sculptor and Monkman—each from different cultures and time periods—represent their worlds in their particular ways and for their particular purposes. Both inhabit cultures, societies, and zeitgeists that influence their perceptions of the world. And

both use art as a critical tool and powerful form of seeing. In both cases, Monkman and the nineteenth-century Haida artist demonstrate they have particular perceptual experiences that inspire them to create. Each artist draws on particular concepts through which they see the world. Indeed, these are just some of the perspectives that underpinned the conference *The Entangled Gaze: Indigenous and European Views of Each Other*, to which I will now turn.

The Entangled Gaze

The "Entangled Gaze" was the title and guiding concept of a conference jointly hosted by OCAD University[6] and the Art Gallery of Ontario in October 2017. Over the course of three days, scholars, artists, museum professionals, and Indigenous leaders gathered to discuss the various and creative ways that Indigenous artists around the globe have represented *others* (usually European settlers and their descendants) in historical and contemporary contexts.[7] The conference focused on two principal questions: how do we represent people who are different from ourselves, and what are the consequences that arise from such representation?

North American Indigenous nations have many names for newcomers. The Iroquois, besides using a term that meant "white skin," also called the White man a name meaning "he makes axes." The Huron used the epithet "iron people," and the Wyandot used the terms "morning-light people" and "big knife." The Sioux, meanwhile, used the same term, as well as "iron maker" and "rich people." To denote American colonists, some Eastern tribes spoke of a "long knife"; and the British were specifically called "coat men." Out west, the Blackfoot Confederacy used "Napikwans," meaning "old-man persons." And my own people, the Plains Cree, use "Moonyawuk" (meaning "people from Montréal"), "Wapskewiasuk" (literally, "white- meat people"), or "Kicimookimanuk" ("long-knives people" or White Americans).

Although scholars have identified such linguistic terms, the *visual* vocabularies used by Indigenous artists to represent strangers who arrived in North America have yet to be fully examined, even though various representational schemes either incorporate, reject, or transform elements of European cultures. For instance, the use of ivory against black argillite, and the representations of large black hats, long black robes, and maybe even facial hair are some visual signifiers used to represent the European *other*.

In the wake of postcolonial theory, many scholars have researched, analyzed, and deconstructed Western representations of non-Western/

non-European peoples. Examples include David Bindman and Louis Henry Gates Jr.'s massive five-volume series *The Image of the Black in Western Art* and Robert Berkhofer's 1979 classic *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present*. In 1992 (appropriately), American historian Silvio Bedini published *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, which establishes the long European history of visually representing/documenting Indigenous *others*, opening with Columbus's articulation of the idea of savagery and its application to Indigenous North Americans. In this volume, Bedini argues that *otherness* is achieved through distance, which was also a "precondition of [the] existence [of Indigenous others]" (Bedini 1992, 293–94). Distance from, and proximity to, foreign peoples affects the degree to which they are *othered* in a society.

Since the 1970s, gaze theory has been applied to analyze the dynamics of gender, race, and ethnicity to theorize power relations between the sexes as well as relations between colonizers and colonized peoples in imperial and postcolonial situations (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2006; Butler 1990; Mulvey 1975). Research on the reverse gaze—the agency Indigenous artists have exerted in representations of settlers and newcomer societies, as well as of other Indigenous groups—is much less robust.[8] The entangled gaze, as presented in the conference, departs theoretically from concepts of the gaze as a one-way street to examine the ways that Indigenous peoples and Europeans have viewed each other in different contexts of encounter. Perhaps it is in the foundational text *The Savage Hits Back* by anthropologist Julius Lips, written during the rise of the Nazis in Germany and published in 1937, where we begin to see the first articulation of the reverse gaze (see Brus's essay in this issue). Later texts include Burland (1968), Rosenstiel (1983), Macnair and Hoover (1984), and Menut (2010).

While working at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now the Canadian Museum of History) in the late 1990s, I came across a carving by a Thule artist, collected by the American archaeologist Deborah Sabo in 1972 on southern Baffin Island. Dating from circa 1250–1300 C.E., this carving is the earliest known representation of the European *other*. The figure is likely a Norseman who wears a long tunic with a border and split at the bottom. He wears a hood (for warmth?) and a Christian cross etched over his chest. Remnants of chain mail found at the same site is further evidence that this figure represents a Norseman.

My interest in this subject area grew in the mid-2000s when I worked at the Art Gallery of Ontario, where, while preparing to install the Canadian Wing, I recommended the acquisition of a sea captain figure carved by a Haida artist circa 1840.[9] This Haida sculpture was collected in the 1850s and

passed down through a collector's family, until finally surfacing at Sotheby's in 2007. The ivory of the figure's face signifies, of course, that he is White.

The work of Haida artists is extensively represented in global collections, and scholars have identified the period between 1830 and 1865 as the time when Haida artists developed a new genre of images documenting the arrival of and contact with Euro-Americans. From Russian colonization of northwestern North America in the mid-eighteenth century, and then later with the maritime fur trade stimulated by the visits of Spanish and British explorers, the Haida have seen all types of arrivals and colonizers: sailors, missionaries, tourists, settlers, and anthropologists. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Haida artists mirrored their realities through personal initiative or by being commissioned by newcomers. Their preferred material for sculpting the likenesses and behavior of their *others* was argillite (a soft, black, carbonaceous shale), although cedar wood and walrus ivory were also used.

Far inland, the Indigenous cultures of the Plains gained legendary status and an international identity focused on warriors and buffalo hunters. The first, wary contacts between Plains tribes and Whites quickly escalated into tense confrontations, as more and more Euro-American settlers made their way westward in search of opportunities endorsed in the United States as "manifest destiny." Indeed, even by the early nineteenth century, land was being stripped from Indigenous peoples through land-cession treaties.

The earliest settler-Indigenous relations tended, however, to be diplomatic in character. European artists like Karl Bodmer in the 1830s depicted the Plains tribes in noble terms. Similarly, Plains artists tended to represent Whites in a rather neutral, even prosaic, manner. It was only after foreign diseases had decimated the Indigenous population, the buffalo had been hunted to near extinction, and vast tracts of land had been expropriated that previous equanimity was replaced by acute tension. From roughly 1865 to 1935, Plains artists depicted their exploits through images of conflict and war. This new approach was based on interpersonal violence, which became a source of pride for Indigenous warriors. Killing, maiming, or embarrassing an opponent needed to occur before it could be represented in paintings, drawings, or beadwork.

Further east, Europeans came into contact very early with the many Indigenous cultures living in the Woodlands/Great Lakes area. In 1830, under the direction of President Andrew Jackson, the United States Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which displaced virtually all Indigenous peoples southeast of the Mississippi to Indian Territory (much of present-day Oklahoma and parts of Kansas). No such event happened in Canada, though for Woodlands cultures in Canada, dispossession nevertheless occurred

through the early encroachment of settlement, the neglect of treaty relationships, and the reserve system.

Natural resources of the Woodlands region were quickly seized upon. Although tobacco was a plant indigenous to the Americas, Europeans—in particular, settlers in Virginia and North Carolina—took hold of it as a commodity and a main source of trade. By contrast, Indigenous peoples viewed tobacco as a gift from the Creator that carried many sacred and significant connotations. The many pipes made by artists from the Woodlands, Northwest Coast, and Plains indicate tobacco's profound use and function. Later, inspired by commissions or personal interest in their European counterparts, Indigenous artists began carving Europeans onto pipes (Wright 1980).

Much of the scholarly discourse debating historical Indigenous-European relations has been oppositional, often conducted in binary terms. I suggest, however, that dualities present only a partial view of intercultural histories. Taking a fresh look at art generated by Indigenous peoples in the contact zones reveals near-limitless complexities. How can careful historical and cultural analysis, coupled with more recent decolonial aesthetic theory and practice, help us understand the past, present, and future of intercultural relations?

Thinking Through the Entangled Gaze

Kaitlin McCormick and Julia Lum

Two conceptual frameworks, well-known in the disciplines of anthropology and art history, came to mind in the process of naming and framing the Entangled Gaze conference. The question of the "entangled gaze," which also guides the essays in this special issue, merges two distinct but complementary postcolonial and postmodern concepts. Our framework draws respectively on anthropologist Nicholas Thomas's "entanglement" analysis of the contingent, incommensurate character of colonial encounters and their products (Thomas 1991), and the gaze: an analytic and metaphor for measuring power asymmetries and visual hierarchies, long invoked across a range of disciplines, and for which there is voluminous literature. Anthropologists, for instance, have shown us how objects and materials "entangle" people in complex, asymmetrical (and ongoing) social relations; art and film historians have revealed the power dynamics underlying the act of looking, both on the canvas or screen, and outside it. Each framework asks us to question the tools through which power is mediated in different societies and times.

What is an "entangled gaze"? The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes the transitive verb "entangled" as causing, necessarily with some object, "to

become twisted together with or caught in." Another meaning is to "involve (someone) in difficulties or complicated circumstances from which it is difficult to escape." We might interpret the first of these definitions as referencing an encounter, and perhaps the second as its legacy. As Thomas demonstrated in *Entangled Objects* (1991), the meetings between colonizing and colonized peoples in the Pacific (but also other colonized places around the world) convened exchanges of objects both tangible and intangible that were differently experienced and asymmetrical. In examples of the tangible objects that changed hands during such encounters, these sometimes acquired values that were linked neither to material worth nor original function. In the Marquesas, for instance, European firearms were absorbed into preexisting social rites as ceremonial clubs, decorated and inlaid with shells (Thomas 1991, 105).

Intercultural forces that determine how and when objects are made and circulated is not peculiar to the colonial Pacific context. To acknowledge art and material belongings as part of the dynamic and relational worlds in which they traveled is to challenge previously held anthropological essentialisms about cultures as static. And if we read artworks as primary historical documents, we find many instances of creative adaptation, resilience, and resistance to colonial processes.

"Entangled objects" still bind the descendants of colonizing and colonized people in various ways. In Canada, for instance, museums' repatriation of certain items of Indigenous material heritage is intended in part as redress for the removal of such items in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under the Indian Act (1876) and the paradigm of salvage anthropology. The ongoing process of return, not to mention the other creative collaborations between Indigenous peoples and museums, may be understood as a contemporary iteration of these historically entangled relationships.

Mieke Bal's interpretation of "the gaze" as a rhetorical strategy may help us understand the applicability of this term to art of the contact zone. Among the many iterations of the gaze, Bal's view is not of a singular line of vision to be simply returned or reversed as the main act of resistance in an asymmetrical power relationship. Rather, Bal reads the gaze on a canvas, or in literary narrative, as a dispersed visual field with various, decentralized "points" (Bryson and Bal 2001, 15). These points, understood as the actors or elements of a painting or narrative (e.g., painter, viewer, narrator, story), can have agency (Gell 1998) and are, theoretically, capable of reversing the power relation "at each node of [an] image's focalization" (Bryson and Bal 2001, 15). Bal's idea of the gaze as a field of separable focal points is a critique of binaries—as between viewer (subject) and viewed (object)—established by earlier theorists of the gendered or imperial gaze (Kaplan 1997; Mulvey

1975; Said 1979). When extended to the analysis of Indigenous arts, Bal's critique helps challenge the binaries that historically have been used to order and classify Indigenous arts from a Eurocentric perspective, as, for instance, "traditional/modern," "authentic/inauthentic."

Perhaps a dislocated gaze, with its reference to perspectives and relations that occur within a more dispersed field, provides a pathway to escape the asymmetrical implications of entanglement. We might also question whether vision (of the camera, of the eye) is a representational precondition of the gaze. "Indigenous epistemologies of perception" are fundamental to questions of the entangled gaze, as Gerald McMaster suggests. We must therefore attend to Indigenous hierarchies of the senses and adopt analyses that account for art's potential to engender and initiate oration, dance, and haptic encounter (see Edwards, Gosden, and Phillips 2006).

If a dislocated or nonoculocentric gaze provides the means to rearrange our frame of reference about art, then what is the meaning of the "entangled gaze," and is this a useful analytic to understand the vast body of creative assertions that emerge from intercultural encounters? As scholars have shown us, eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century Indigenous arts from around the globe are material evidence of the many creative responses to settler-colonial policies and practices (Phillips 1998; Phillips and Steiner 1999; Glass 2011). In the twenty-first century, contemporary Indigenous artists continue to cast their gaze toward the unfinished business of settler colonialism.

With such questions in mind, this special issue's articles and conference excerpts prompt new directions for the study of contact zone art. Artist and scholar Rick Hill (Tuscarora) deftly pivots between the gaze of the colonizers and that of his ancestors to reconstruct the "View from the Canoe vs. the View from the Ship: The Art of Alliance." Vessels, in Hill's terms, both constitute physical spaces of viewing and are powerful metaphors for European and Indigenous vantage points—perspectives inhabited by Indigenous makers whose objects were essential to brokering early colonial relationships. The diplomatic and material compact between the "People of the Canoe" and the "People of the Ship" is poignantly represented in one of Hill's examples, the *Dekni: deyoha:de* (Two Paths/Roads) wampum, representing the side-by-side vessels of the Dutch and Haudenosaunee (Iroquois confederacy) flowing in different, but parallel, movements. European violations of this reciprocal respect eroded the links, and the mutual trust, represented by the belt's powerful metaphor.

Indeed, intercultural objects such as those Hill describes have only in recent decades been given rigorous scholarly attention. Orthodox art historical and anthropological accounts have largely neglected the study of

Indigenous and European representations of each other—whether in the form of material culture, portraiture, print culture, or objects made for the tourist trade (Phillips and Steiner 1999). In this issue, Rainer Hatoum provides original translations of the letters and field notes of Franz Boas, a founding figure in the American school of anthropology. Through Hatoum's meticulous work we come to understand that although the anthropologist documented crucial moments of Indigenous entanglement with European culture, he was also complicit with its excision from the published record. Just as we might gain insights from Boas's biography and writings, we might also reassess those who first took interest in Indigenous representations of outsiders. During the lead up to the Second World War, the German anthropologist and museum director Julius Lips created the first sustained study of Europeans as representational "Other" in *The Savage Hits Back or the White Man Through Native Eyes* (1937). Anna Brus charts the history of Lips's intervention, suggesting that, in his dual indictment of both colonialism and Fascism, he was also very much a product of his own cultural milieu.

Such entanglements are unmasked in plain sight not only because of the work of twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars and theorists, but also thanks in large part to the work of contemporary Indigenous artists. According to Monika Siebert, whose paper traces a genealogy of portraiture representing Indigenous sitters, *The Shirt* (2003) by Shelly Niro (Mohawk) reconfigures the structure of historic European portraiture of Indigenous figures. Niro's film plays with the conventions of the genre by intercutting footage of Navajo/Muscogee-Seminole photographer Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie, who stands wearing mirrored glasses and a series of sloganed T-shirts proclaiming statements of protest against settler colonial invasion, with panning shots of the US-Canadian border landscape. Siebert seizes on moments where Tsinhnahjinnee looks back at the viewer, but also where the gaze might be refracted to an elsewhere that is inaccessible by the viewer, "bypass[ing] the scopic regime that endows the viewer with mastery" (in this issue, p. 207). Just as Siebert raises questions about power and portraiture, Nicole Perry's article gives a detailed account of the popular German enthusiasm for *Indianer* stereotypes by highlighting artists that turn such imagery on its head. Kent Monkman's *Dance to Miss Chief* (2010), for instance, portrays the artist's alter-ego Miss Chief Eagle Testickle actively queering the reception of German stereotypes by exchanging erotically charged looks with "Winnetou," a film character adapted from Karl May's bestselling books. Their entangled gazes, as Perry suggests, play up the contest between the static *Indianer* and a Two Spirit cultural force whose image is both dynamic and generative.

The Indigenous artistic appropriations of European tropes are not just recent phenomena. On the Northwest Coast, Indigenous makers came into negotiation with European and American cultural forms beginning with the late eighteenth-century maritime fur trade. By the nineteenth century, artists developed a highly sophisticated visual and material language to navigate their relationships with *others*. As Kaitlin McCormick details, the Tsimshian artist Frederick Alexcee's practice included a range of media including woodcarving, oil and watercolor painting, and glass lanternslides. His work expressed a uniquely Tsimshian understanding of the intercultural context at Lax Kw'alaams (Fort/Port Simpson), strategically deploying an "intended doubleness" in his manipulation of both European and Tsimshian styles and subjects.

Curators Jisgang Nika Collison (Haida Gwaii Museum) and Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse (the Burke Museum) reproduce the entangledness of their objects by presenting an interwoven and multivocal text. Objects made for trade and tourism deliberately displayed iconography, such as the eagle, which could perform in multiple cultural registers: American and Haida. With these forms, Haida makers displayed their inherent right to interpret and control the terms of cultural translation. Jisgang Nika Collison's text describes the ways her ancestors expressed these rights to status and authority through a selective use of European imagery and its supposed naturalism. As both products of resilience and self-reflection, such objects continue to serve as models for present generations.

Such instances of cross-cultural artistic expression throw into question the usefulness of conventional art historical stylistic categories. Christopher Green's example of postwar Tlingit artist Nathan Jackson suggests a career that does not fit neatly into conventional narratives of the twentieth-century Northwest Coast revival, or "Renaissance." Jackson's early artistic experiments with a range of mediums—including textiles, prints, and paintings—were informed by the techniques he absorbed at the Institute of American Indian Art (Santa Fe) and from his exposure to recent developments in American modernist circles. Jackson did not fully embrace classic Tlingit formal vocabularies until well into the 1960s, and therefore Jackson's trajectory as an artist complicates what we might think of as the "traditional" versus the "modern."

This false binary is equally vexing as it pertains to the history of Inuit art. In the mid-twentieth century, Inuit artists turned to art making as a means of cultural survival; changes in resource availability, enforced settlement, and the introduction of Western capitalist economies transformed Inuit ways of life. Krista Ulujuk Zawadski explains that Inuit artists consciously adopted an autoethnographic approach as a means to

navigate the view from outside. The upsurge in market demand imposed a set of conditions that led to Inuit autoethnographic strategies that made conspicuous art's interface between insider and outsider knowledge. This multiplied gaze simultaneously occupies both colonial and Inuit perspectives, a duality visible in Jimmy Kamimmalik's bird's-eye view that offers up the abstraction of aerial cartography and the intimate details of a road well-traveled by the artist. According to Zawadski, "this art [is] a response to the demands of the art market, but also a way for Inuit artists to show what is important to us, to Inuit" (in this issue, p. 152).

Each of the essays in this special issue interprets the concept of the entangled gaze differently, in light of the opportunities and challenges that their authors perceive. Furthermore, the entangled gaze may be as much about rethinking the relationship between the academy and the people and communities it aims to serve as it is about the art discussed in this issue. Working from within intersecting fields of art history, history, anthropology, and museum studies (to name a few), academics must rethink the meaning of expertise in order to empower knowledgeable individuals who work beyond the academy, or across its borders. Indigenous artists, elders, curators, and community historians and scholars must shape narratives of a shared history with outsiders. A "paradoxical condition of distinctness and connectedness" characterizes the "double vision" of cultural contact zones (Thomas and Losche 1999, 6). Our task—across cultures, disciplines, and agendas—is to closely follow the lines connecting our entangled positions.

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NOTES

1. See www.mbam.qc.ca/en/exhibitions/past/love-is-love/.

2. For a summary of the critique, see Everett-Green 2017.

3. See www.mbam.qc.ca/en/exhibitions/past/once-upon-a-time-the-western/.

4. Throughout this volume, authors will capitalize the term "White" when referring to the culture or people of northern European descent and in contrast to Indigenous cultures and peoples.

5. See https://scotiabankcontactphoto.com/2018/public-installation/billboards-at-dundas-st-w-and-glenlake-ave-united-in-love.

6. OCAD University is the Ontario College of Art and Design University.

7. See www.entangledgaze.ca.

8. The "reverse gaze" is a term described in the anthropology of tourism and film theory; however, this essay imagines a broader application of the expression. See Gillespie 2006. It is important to note, furthermore, that Europeans were only one group of *others* that Indigenous peoples encountered and represented in their extensive trade and travel networks. See Jisgang Nika Collison and Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse's essay in this special issue.

9. Sea Captain Figure, Haida artist, c. 1840, argillite, ivory, purchased with the funds from Estate of Mary Eileen Ash, cat.no. 2008/43, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

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View from the Canoe vs. the View from the Ship: The Art of Alliance

Rick Hill

ABSTRACT | Histories of art and popular culture have made more familiar the inaccurate images of Indigenous bodies as they were fantasized from the perspective of what I am calling "People of the Ship"—Europeans. Yet, we appear to lack similar views from "People of the Canoe"—Indigenous artists. European images made me wonder: how did my ancestors, in their bark canoes, perceive the funny-looking people who arrived in the big sailing ships? Were their images of the newcomers equally distorted? This essay is about art and material culture that speaks to the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and Europeans.

KEYWORDS | Haudenosaunee, art, alliance, diplomacy

In 1807, a satirical illustration was published in a book of poetry, *The Echo: With Other Poems*. In it, a tall Indigenous man with two feather plumes topping his shaved head appears among some well-dressed ladies of Philadelphia who are admiring and caressing his arms. Designed by Elkanah Tisdale and engraved by William S. Leney, the image is titled "Blind Sam, the royal Indian's visit and reception at Philadelphia." This is not the kind of stereotype you would expect to see, given the fantasies of bloodthirsty savagery created by three previous centuries of explorers, missionaries, soldiers, and settlers. The Native man appears a bit perplexed as he stands in what looks like a toga, which reveals his naked arms, legs, and chest. The White man accompanying the group appears not too amused by this scene.

The inscription tells us why: "In crowds ladies ran, all wish'd to see and touch the Tawny man," a line in the accompanying poem (Alsop 1807). There

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was a notion that touching an Indigenous man would increase the fertility of American women. Off to the right, slightly behind the groping women, a group of young boys taunt a dancing monkey, suggesting a commentary about how Blind Sam was perceived. The boys are delightfully entertained by the dancing ape, in much the same fashion that the grown-up women are amused by their Indigenous visitor.

Tisdale and Leney's illustration contrasts sharply with *The Indian: The Dying Chief Contemplating the Progress of Civilization*, completed by Thomas Crawford in 1846. The sculpture shows an Indigenous figure completely naked, resting wistfully on a rock, his tomahawk useless and slightly hidden by a fur robe at his feet. As the title tells us, he is at the end of his trail. His well-toned body is no defense to the overwhelming tide of western expansion that is soon to smother him. He appears to have given up the fight.

These are only a couple of the thousands of European images that reveal less about Indigenous peoples and more about how European and Euro-North Americans saw their own societies. Histories of art and popular culture have made more familiar the inaccurate images of Indigenous bodies as they were fantasized from the perspective of what I am calling "People of the Ship"—Europeans. Yet, we appear to lack similar views from "People of the Canoe"—Indigenous artists. European images made me wonder: how did my ancestors, in their bark canoes, perceive the funny-looking people who arrived in the big sailing ships? Were their images of the newcomers equally distorted? How accurate are the images of colonial newcomers by the Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse)? My ancestors did not have an artistic tradition of realistic portraiture. Their approach was more metaphorical.

The first time my ancestors saw Caucasians, they made a wampum belt to commemorate that occasion. When Jacques Cartier, the first French man to come into contact with the St. Lawrence Iroquoians, arrived in 1535, my ancestors created a belt referred to as *First Sighting of People With Pale Faces.* There are four sets of diagonal purple lines on a white background. The oral history associated with this wampum belt prescribes that each design set represents two strong Haudenosaunee men, holding up a sickly White man between them. Thus, the outside rows in each set are two beads wide, with the inside row a single bead wide. The story continues, stating that when the people with the pale faces arrived, they were *really* pale—suffering from scurvy. They were dying. Cartier wrote that most of his crew was suffering from a lack of proper nutrition. The long, arduous ocean voyage took its toll. His men began to die. He writes that his Iroquoian hosts made a tea from pine branches and that this was the medicine his men needed to recover. Ironically, to show his appreciation, he kidnapped several of the locals and

transported them back to France, where most died. First meetings with Cartier and his men resulted in a century-long war with French colonists.

One of the ways our ancestors began to understand and view each other was through treaty relationships. To this day, for the Haudenosaunee, this means understanding each other's cultures as vessels flowing side-by-side on the River of Life, as per the *Two Row* Wampum. The formal name of the *Two Row* wampum is actually *Dekni: deyoha:de* (Two Paths/Roads), often mistakenly called the *Kaswenta* (which simply means "wampum belt"). While this well-known wampum belt does not depict humans, its symbolic nature speaks to the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Europeans, as the result of the first treaty established near the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers in New York State. This is where the People of the Ship met and made an agreement with the People of the Canoe. In this scenario, vessels are metaphors for the distinctiveness of each culture. The oral history tells us that the laws, beliefs, and culture of each were placed inside their vessels, and that the treaty partners pledged not to interfere in the other's sovereignty. In 1667, after the British defeated the Dutch and took over administration of their New York Colony, one of their first orders of business was to secure the peace and friendship of the Haudenosaunee. This was accomplished with a special treaty in which the Covenant Chain that had bound the Dutch and the Haudenosaunee was turned into a silver chain, which provided a peaceful way for the Seneca, Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, and later Tuscarora Nations to settle their matters with Great Britain.

At one point in the oral narrative of the wampum, the question is asked: how will we be able to tell, in the future, who is from the ship and who is from the canoe? It was determined that we will be able to tell by the way we dress. This point will become important in a moment.

Europeans through Seneca Eyes

The earliest examples of Haudenosaunee art to represent the human figure were ceramics. Early to mid-seventeenth-century Seneca art shows a wide range in how human faces and bodies were depicted. They often have exaggerated features, some intentional, others crudely formed. We cannot say for sure what deeper meaning these exaggerations may have had. In one case, a clay pipe features an unusual human figure that surrounds the pipe bowl. It is a style thought to have originated among the Huron-Wendat in the late sixteenth century. The large oval eyes and large nose is offset by small arms and hands that appear to be pulling or pinching at the sides of

the mouth. The cheeks appear to be slightly sunken, as if emaciated or dead. The figure is wearing a conical headpiece. Breasts seem to jut out, emphasized by radiating lines carved into the surface of the clay. Interestingly, this same form was found at archaeological sites in both New York State and Southern Ontario (Noble 1979; Mathews 1981). The figures, called "pinched face" effigies, are so similar despite coming from sites that are hundreds of miles apart. One might even assume they were made by the same artist. Instead, this similarity suggests a common aesthetic at work from diverse Iroquoian communities in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ontario. There are obvious cultural similarities in the person depicted, but our oral history did not capture that collective meaning.

We can gain other interesting insights about how the Seneca viewed Europeans from a variety of moose-antler hair combs made in the seventeenth century. Figures in unusual clothing begin to appear as the Senecas come into contact first with the Dutch, then the French, and finally the British. The artisans were able to craft remarkable images because of the availability of metal tools such as fine saw blades and sharp files.

In 1677 the Dutch census taker Wentworth Greenhalgh made an extensive journey on horse through Haudenosaunee territory. The first time a horse was seen in Seneca territory, a local artist carved a likeness of the horse and the rider on his back. The rider wears a three-cornered hat and carries what might be a musket. The artist exaggerated the muzzle of the horse, as this was likely made from the visual memory of seeing the Dutch ride into the Seneca villages. In this regard the artist serves as a historian who documents the arrival of the People of the Horse!

Seneca artists also used some interesting stylistic devices to represent both Dutch and Seneca people. Based on Seneca hair combs in the collection of the Rochester Museum and Science Center, human bodies are carved as basic hourglass figures, and their arms or hands are often joined together. Visual balance was important to these Seneca artists, and antler combs are noted for their bilateral symmetry. Interestingly, some of the depictions of the Dutch do not exhibit this same symmetry. Yet the long waistcoats, pantaloons, and rows of buttons on their clothing make the Dutch people recognizable. The fact that the Haudenosaunee made the monumental Two Row Treaty with the Dutch suggests the reason for the visual representation of the Dutch as fairly passive. In the 1680s and 1690s the French raided Haudenosaunee country and burned several villages and acres of corn. There is no known art that would show the French in a positive light, given that history. By the time the British became treaty partners with the Haudenosaunee, mutual representations emphasize peace and friendship.

Viewing Each Other through the Covenant Chain

The symbol that was created by the British is seen in the Silver Covenant Chain Wampum Belt, also called the Friendship Belt, in which two human figures, one at either end, are seen holding a "chain" or "path" between them. The simple geometric figures made from purple wampum beads stand out against a white background. One figure has a solid white chest, said to represent the Haudenosaunee leadership. The opposite figure is solid purple, with one white bead in the center of its chest, representing the heart. When such a belt was presented, the words that accompanied it often referred to the treaty partners as having one mind, one heart, even one blood.

This indicates that the relationship was more than a political agreement. In order to make peace with the Europeans, Haudenosaunee cultural protocol required each treaty partners to consider the other as members of one family. Called *Tehontatenentsonterontahkhwa*, meaning "The thing by which they link arms," this eighteenth-century wampum's symbolism represents an agreement to provide mutual assistance and support. The central chain is the safe, open path of communication needed to sustain such a relationship. In all likelihood, this design was of British creation, expertly conceived to be a powerful symbol of the intended relationship. The British made such a wampum belt and gave it, along with many variations, to the Haudenosaunee and later to the Anishinabek.

Moving beyond Stereotypes

The fur trade and treaty relations produced its own set of images of Indigenous trading partners. In 1710 a Haudenosaunee diplomatic mission traveled to England to meet Queen Anne to petition her to launch a war against the French in Canada. The four delegates appear in formal portraits by Dutch painter Johannes Verelst (1648–1734), which were circulated as popular prints. More than allegorical figures, the images convey the men's identities through an unusual combination of Indigenous body art (tattoos) and formal European portrait formulas.

One of the delegates was named Sa-Ga-Yeath-Qua-Pieth-Tow, thought to be the grandfather of the famed Mohawk Warrior Joseph Brant. In the portrait by Verelst, he is seen wearing only a toga-like kilt, revealing the graphic tattoos that cover his upper chest and face. He is draped in a red blanket as he proudly holds his musket. While on tour in Britain, these exotic leaders were quite a sensation, the darlings of the press, and were seen in juxtaposition to the upper class of that time. You could say that they presented the concept of

the "Noble Savage," the wild men of the Americas who were rendered tame for the European connoisseurs of art. It allowed viewers to gain a degree of empathy for the Native-Naïve characters, as they faced before them the coming tidal wave of colonization and their inevitable extermination.

Figure 1 | John Simon (after Johannes Verelst), Portraits of Four Indian Kings of Canada: Sa Ga Yeath Pieth Tow, King of the Maquas, c. 1755. Mezzotint, third state, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

The face of Sa-Ga-Yeath-Qua-Pieth-Tow is covered with tattoos that represent his war exploits. The tradition is that only warriors who saw physical combat would have such facial art. The design on his chest was said to present a crawfish, which at first glance might seem unwarrior-like. But Sa-Ga-Yeath-Qua-Pieth-Tow explained that it was his warrior totem. Like a crawfish, he always faces his enemy head on, with his pincers ready to attack. Also like a crawfish, if he needs to retreat, he moves backward, guarding his retreat, not turning tail and running. These original tattoos were made with gun powders, so we don't know how lead would have affected the health of the wearer, but in those times, these were honored symbols of identity, power, and intimidation. This was not the first time Europeans depicted tattoos of the Haudenosaunee. Notations in a Dutch trader's journal from the seventeenth century included a small drawing of the facial tattoos of men who were extended credit at a trading post near Albany, New York. Dutch traders could not write the names of these men accurately, so they decided to make a drawing of their body art, which included the face, neck, and chest.

The way that the Haudenosaunee peace leaders envisioned themselves can be found in numerous treaty "signatures." Unable to write their full names in Roman orthography, they chose instead to make a symbol or glyph of their name, clan, or nation. Some are fairly easy to decipher—turtle, bear, deer, heron, and so forth. Others show a symbol of the nation, such as a large pipe for the Cayugas or People of the Great Pipe, or a round stone resting in a tripod of wood poles, representing the Oneidas as People of the Standing Stone. In these cases the identity of the peace leaders stood in as representative of the larger group, not individual characteristics, as in the warrior's tattoos.

The art of treaty making also produced European art that symbolized the nature of the relationship. The British developed a series of silver medallions, called peace medals, to be given to their faithful allies. Understanding that their Indigenous allies were visual learners, the overt symbolism on these medals was meant to project the intention of that relationship. One medal from the mid-eighteenth century depicts a British official and an Indigenous ally, seated but shaking hands. They sit under a great oak tree, often the site for treaty councils. The Indigenous ally holds a large smoking pipe, which was a mutual symbol of peacemaking. Arching overhead are the words "HAPPY WHILE UNITED." They sit together on the borderlands between the encroaching British settlements in the east and the rugged lands to the west.

The Chain as Inviolable

Even though Indigenous leaders adopted European-made medals and other honorifics, the Haudenosaunee reminded their allies that their intention was

to keep their Indigenous identity, culture, and government: "We are Indians and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are" (Hodinohsó:ni to Rev. David Brainerd 1916).

A print memorializing the diplomatic mission of Col. Henry Louis Bouquet (1719–1765) makes a clear distinction in clothing styles between Indigenous and European figures. Benjamin West's *The Indians giving a talk to Colonel Bouquet in a conference at a council fire near his camp on the Banks of Muskingum in North American in October 1764, 1765* depicts a Seneca speaker addressing the British officers while holding a wampum belt. Between them burns the council fire, and everyone appears engaged with the message that is being delivered. Clothing styles makes it easy to determine who the players are. It gives us a sense of what wilderness politics might have actually been like.

Yet as time went on the Haudenosaunee began to look more and more like their treaty partners, who offered British clothing and trade goods. This change can be seen in the etching *The brave old Hendrick the great sachem or chief of the Mohawk Indians* (1755, artist unknown). Although Old Hendrick (the Mohawk leader Hendrick Theyanoguin, ca.1691–1755), an honored speaker in his time, still wears his facial tattoos and carries a wampum belt, he also wears a bright red coat and three-cornered hat. Other images take a more fanciful interpretation. *Grand Chef de Guerriers* by Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur depicts a Mohawk leader allied with the French in 1795. His fancy green waist coast is trimmed with gold lace, and he makes an interesting figure of the "re-dressed" native, wearing French clothing likely acquired as a gift or treaty present.

One exceptional image of a Euro-American is in the collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian. Attributed to famed Mohawk warrior Joseph Brant (ca.1742–1807), it is a unique smoking pipe carved of black stone with a figure of a White man. The long-stemmed pipe has a seated figure, wearing a powdered wig, looking pensively back at the smoker. I could not help but think the figure is a portrait of Brant's mentor and brother-in-law, Sir William Johnson (ca. 1715–1774). Was it a gift commissioned by Johnson, or a tribute commissioned by Brant? We most likely will never know; however, it has the stylistic characteristics of other native-made pipes from that era. If it was native made, it is one of the earliest attempts at a specific portraiture of the White man through the eyes of the Indigenous pipe maker.

Thought to have been made about 1785, the effigy pipe would have been created after Johnson's death. The long stem is wrapped with colorful porcupine quills, and the bowl is attached to the stem by a tiny silver chain.

Figure 2 | Effigy pipe associated with Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant, Mohawk, ca. 1742–1807) ca. 1785. New York. Wood, slate, porcupine quill, dye, silver. Presented by Joseph Keppler (18/6071), National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

Although we do not know for sure whether this was made by Brant, he was known to have gifted a pipe to Dr. Caleb Benton (1758–1825), a physician in the Catskills. There is one watercolor portrait, attributed to James Peachey, of Brant holding such a pipe, which was known as a calumet because it has eagle feathers suspended from its long stem.

In 1890, the Chiefs of the Six Nations sent a crayon drawing and a written speech to England, to the attention of HRH the Duke of Connaught. The Chiefs from Grand River were sending a series of illustrated petitions to various royal family members seeking a determination on the unique standing of the Haudenosaunee as a result of their longstanding friendship with Great Britain. To the Haudenosaunee, realism or dramatic representation was less meaningful than the meaning of the items they depicted: the council fire, the Covenant Chain, the brother sun. The Haudenosaunee allies are dressed according to their own tradition. Full of treaty council metaphors, this image is perhaps the most indicative of how the Haudenosaunee leadership projected an image of themselves: as faithful allies and peacebuilders, and of their fierce determination to hold on to their identity, culture, lands, and citizens.

Another rich source of imagery, of both themselves and their other allies, can be found in the oral history from the last several centuries. In that record,

the Haudenosaunee paint an image of the Europeans as "Young Brother" in need of advice and mentoring by the "Older Brother." However, a century of betrayals damaged those relations, and the Haudenosaunee grew to think of the People of the Ship as being untrustworthy, with an insatiable appetite for land and an inability to keep the Covenant Chain functional. Thus, contemporary Haudenosaunee often attack the roots of the colonial thinking that can still be seen in the thoughts and actions of the descendants of the people who once held the chain as inviolable. The contemporary English have pretty much ignored the Haudenosaunee in their art and literature of today.

The historian George R. Hamell asks essential but unanswerable questions about the experience of one Mohawk traveler, Sychnecta, who was taken to England and put on public "display" in 1764: "What were the subsequent transculturative roles played by such individuals . . . ? What preconceptions or perceptions did they have of Europeans and European culture, and how did these structure and orient their subsequent behavior within the two culture contexts of their colonial homelands?" (Hamell 1999, 189). It would take more words than I have here to try to address Hamell's questions, but they are important to consider as we move forward. Just how did preconceptions or perceptions affect actual relations, as well as images of one's own culture? How significant was the gaze from the Ship and the Canoe in creating true understanding? How can our art of today carry us past the haze of that gaze?

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Qaujimanira: Inuit Art as Autoethnography

Krista Ulujuk Zawadski

ABSTRACT | Inuit art has a history of representing Inuit ways of life, beliefs, and stories through an autoethnographic lens. An examination of the history of Inuit art reveals the Inuit gaze is dominated by Inuit representations of ourselves, allowing for Inuit agency in what is represented in the art.

KEYWORDS | Inuit art, autoethnography, Indigenous methodology, museum collection, Nunavut

Qaujimanira means "my knowledge" in Inuktitut. This concept of *qaujimanira* is very important to Inuit because we strongly believe you can truly understand something and talk about something only if you have experienced it, which renders your knowledge true.

I believe Inuit art represents and encompasses this virtue. Inuit art has the capacity to portray things that the artist believes to be true, and when you examine the history of Inuit art you can see how autoethnography often transcends the influence of the Inuit art market.

The Government of Nunavut Fine Art Collection (GNFAC) has a broad selection of art, including printmaking, sculpture, and photography. This collection consists of fine art collected throughout the history of Nunavut, including works assembled by the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) art programs from the 1950s to the 1990s. Since the creation of Nunavut in 1999, the GNWT transferred a very large number of museum pieces, including the current GNFAC, to the Government of Nunavut (GN). The GNFAC was held in storage at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre until 2015, when it was transferred to the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG) through an agreement between the WAG and the GN. At the Winnipeg Art Gallery there are 7,383 pieces in the collection, which does not include art at the storage facility in Iqaluit.

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A third of the collection was collected in the 1970s. A good portion was also collected in the '60s and in the '80s, totaling about two-thirds of the entire collection from those three decades alone, providing us with a good sample of Inuit art made between 1960 and 1990.

Inuit art from this time period, and the great number of artworks commissioned, shows the influence of the Inuit art market during this time period, where Inuit were highly encouraged by "others" to create art to be sold to non-Inuit markets. It also demonstrates the influx of outsiders in the Inuit world. The widespread social and cultural upheaval experienced by Inuit around the mid-1900s, especially during the 1940s and 1950s, set Inuit artists in an artmaking-for-economic-reasons trajectory.[1] The impact of a colonial incursion on Inuit communities resulted in an enforced "contact zone" in which Inuit livelihoods were made to exist side-by-side Western power systems.

In 1991 Mary Louise Pratt introduced the concept of "contact zones." She described "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt 1991, 34). Inuit contemporary art is very much a product of the contact zone.

So, how is this represented in the art itself? In my research, I attempt to understand the artists from their own perspective, employing Indigenous and Inuit interpretive methods as a way to decolonize art history. As an Inuk myself, I feel it is important to offer an Inuk perspective.

As for the conference theme, the GNFAC certainly has art that depicts *others*. But even in pieces depicting *others*, there were often elements of Inuit culture. I interpret this art as a response to the demands of the art market, but also as a way for Inuit artists to show what is important to us, to Inuit. Not only are the artists creating art that is in demand, the kind of "nice" stereotypes collectors like to see, but they are also demonstrating the incursion of the outside world.

Pratt takes the contact zone further and also introduces the idea of autoethnography. She describes it as "a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them (Pratt 1991, 35)." In anthropology, the central concept behind autoethnography is that the researcher is a highly visible social actor within the written text (Anderson 2006, 384). In autoethnography, researchers are positioned in their own research and are included as participants in their ethnographic studies of others, and as such "the life of the researcher becomes a conscious part of what is studied" (Ellis 2008, 48).

Just as Inuit contemporary art is a product of the contact zone, it is very much autoethnographic. Carolyn Ellis describes autoethnography in a creative way.

> Autoethnographers gaze back and forth. First, they look through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience. Next, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations. As they zoom backward and forward, inward and outward, distinctions between the personal and the cultural become blurred, sometimes beyond distinct recognition. (Ellis 2008, 48)

Whether the artists (or collectors) were aware of this concept or not, Inuit artists of the later twentieth century left us with art that is filled with meaning on many levels, including depictions of Inuit identity, ways of life, beliefs, values, language, and what was (and still is) important to us.

Inuit contemporary art, such as the work of Annie Pootoogook (1969–2016), has done a wonderful job at representing the issues that many Inuit face today, including suicide, abuse, loss of identity, and poverty. Taking into account what I said about using autoethnography to interpret older Inuit art, how can we use this approach to look at the content of Inuit contemporary art?

Figure 1 | Jimmy Kamimmalik, *Road to the Mine,* 2009. Stonecut and stencil. Collection of the author.

I met Jimmy Kamimmalik recently and had the privilege of speaking to him about an artwork, *Road to the Mine* (2009) and the traditional and local knowledge held in this art. He spoke about traveling this route between Baker Lake and Gjoa Haven, which is a *long* way—three days travel on snow mobile! Jimmy is from Gjoa Haven but lives in Baker Lake, so he still travels this route regularly and has done so since he was sixteen years old. He talked about the traditional knowledge that was passed down to him from his uncle while on this route, which is a big part of his life and his identity.

The biggest change since his first trip at sixteen is the creation of the Meadowbank mine and the development of 175 km Road north of Baker Lake. I think this piece encompasses *so much*, including the skill of the artist, of course, but more importantly the importance of what the stories behind the artwork say about Inuit identity.

Figure 2 | Ulayu Pingwartok, *Family Camping,* 1977. Printed by Timothy Ottochie. Canadian Museum of History (CD 1977-060). Reproduced with the permission of Dorset Fine Arts.

I think contemporary art does a fantastic job at showing that, despite the introduction of the outside world, and despite the contact zones that we continue to navigate, our Inuit knowledge and identity is still with us.

Going back to my opening comments about truly knowing something from experience: when I look at *Family Camping* (1977) by Ulayu Pingwartok, I know what is portrayed is real and that the artist has experienced this scene. Why? Because I, too, have experienced this and know it to be accurate.

My parents visited a museum where the interior of an *iglu* was on display, like the one in this print. They immediately noticed that the sleeping platform was set up backward and notified the curator, who had never been in an *iglu* nor had ever been in the Arctic and had set it up based on his own assumptions.

What does this say about contact zones and the representation of others and ourselves?

I leave that for you to dwell on.

Qujannamiik. Thank you.

KRISTA ULUJUK ZAWADSKI is participating in the revitalization of Inuit cultural heritage by engaging with cultural material that has fallen out of the category of "everyday use" objects—specifically, bird-skin baskets and needle cases. Through this process of engagement with her own community's material culture, Ulujuk Zawadski has observed that knowledge about these belongings is brought to the forefront of conversation and passed on to younger generations of Inuit, enriching their culture and encouraging young Inuit to become active participants in the dissemination of Inuit traditional knowledge. This process of engagement with cultural material is reminiscent of the Inuit traditional education system. Today, Ulujuk Zawadski is using this system to educate Inuit about their own culture as a step toward the decolonization of Inuit culture and is encouraging the reinterpretation of museum collections through Inuit eyes. Ulujuk Zawadski began her Ph.D. studies at Carleton University in fall 2018.

NOTE

1. For a more thorough reading of this history, please see Damas 2002, Igloliorte 2010, Tester and Kulchyski 1995, Williamson 1974 and 1981.

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"The First Real Indians That I Have Seen": Franz Boas and the Disentanglement of the Entangled

Rainer Hatoum

ABSTRACT | Franz Boas is known for his role in professionalizing the scholarly outlook of native North America, which in turn has strongly influenced the general perception of them by its "products"—its collections, museum displays, and academic output—even if only by critically dealing with these. In that connection, Boas the scholar and ethnographer has received increased attention, too. His shorthand field notes fall into this category. My analysis of these notes, which I decipher here for the first time, sheds new light on Boas, the field-person, and reveals new aspects of his encounters. This article will show that whereas Boas tried to seek a deeper understanding of Indigenous peoples, he did so by ignoring much of the reality of his encounters with them. In my analysis, I not only shed light on Boas's attempts to "disentangle" the "entangled" in the name of science but also revisit the original contexts of interaction.

KEYWORDS | anthropology, Franz Boas, fieldnotes, shorthand

There are compelling reasons to include German-born anthropologist Franz Boas in our discussion of the "entangled gaze" of Indigenous North Americans and Europeans. The most important of these reasons is that he has had a lasting impact—good and bad—on our views of Indigenous cultures in America. He paved the way for a non-Indigenous public to perceive Indigenous cultural diversity and art forms in their own right. But part of Boas's and anthropology's success story, when it came to raising funds for research projects and collections, was the skillful "manipulation" of the then-held notion of North American Indigenous peoples as a "vanishing race."[1] It was "salvage anthropology" that produced the bulk of any lasting tangible anthropological legacy—and burden—in public perception, as it was at that time the main incentive behind museum anthropology and the first monographs about Indigenous peoples.[2] These museum collections and publications have had a lasting impact and still are readily available and consulted

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

by Indigenous peoples themselves. Whereas Boas's school of anthropology came to be the epitomization of a "traditional" Americanist anthropology, it also came to be the target of criticism by contemporary Indigenous communities (and anthropologists) who assert that their peoples and cultures are still very much alive and thriving. In that way, Boas's legacy continues to shape Indigenous and European views of each other.

These circumstances have also led to recent concerted efforts to shed more light on the very nature of Boas's work. Particularly noteworthy are two ongoing major Boas projects, both of which regard collaboration with Indigenous communities as fundamental to their new approach to Boas and his legacy: the University of Western Ontario–based, multivolume *Franz Boas Papers: Documentary Edition*,[3] and the *Edition of the Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (1897), based at the Bard Graduate Center in New York.[4] The latter, in particular, provided the context for my own work[5] on Boas's shorthand field notes, which work lies at the core of my contribution here (Glass, Berman, and Hatoum 2017).

Figure 1 | Kwakwaka'wakw hamats'a dancers and singers before a painted screen: George Hunt (seated, third from left), David Hunt (standing, left of the dancer coming through the screen), World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago. Photo by John H. Grabill [?], 1893 (AMNH neg. no. 338326).

Figure 2 | Franz Boas posing as a Hamats'a dancer for the sculptor at the Smithsonian Institution in the process of producing a diorama of the scene of Figure 1 (The Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, No. 8292).

All this clearly shows that Boas's work and legacy are not something of a long past but rather an element of enduring contemporary anthropological and Indigenous interest and concern.

The Impact of Franz Boas on the "Entangled Gaze"

In regard to the person of Franz Boas and issues of the "entangled gaze," one cannot let pass a beautiful quote from one of his letter-diary entries, which captures his first sighting of what he called "real Indians" on July 18, 1888, during a train stop in Windemere, British Columbia:

> We were received by a whole party of Kootenay right away. These are *the first real Indians that I have seen.* Red skin, eagle noses, the famous blanket, moccasins, rabbit[?] apron and deerskin jacket. The hair long and loose or braided, and guys ["Kerls"] more than 6 feet tall. (Franz Boas Professional Papers 1888, 125; translation and emphasis by author)

Figure 3 | Diorama designed by Franz Boas for the Smithsonian Institution, titled "Hamats'a Coming out of a Secret room" (The Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, No. 77-10,037).

Although this quote did not seem particularly noteworthy at first glance, it became quite remarkable upon second glance, as I realized this was a remark that Boas had written at the very end of his second research trip to the Northwest Coast in 1888, that is, after months of research in Indigenous communities over a period of two years. So, it became clear that one should read this quote with the same ironic smirk Boas must have exhibited when describing the scene. It must have been a moment in which he had felt the strong powers of popular imagery reminding him and us of the continuous influence of stereotypes in our interactions.

But it is not Boas as victim of widespread views about Indigenous peoples that is of interest here, but rather Boas as the producer of such. How did he end up being what he came to be? Born July 9, 1858, in the German city of Minden, Boas's general role unfolded after he decided to immigrate to the United States in 1885. As his main career stations here have been amply reflected on in literature (see for example Darnell 2000; Stocking 1996; Cole 1999), it suffices to state that Boas had a preeminant role in educating the first generation of professionally trained anthropologists in the United States. His students came to occupy most of the new and existing museum and university positions by the 1920s, and they also shaped the general perception

of anthropology. Hence, the widespread notion of Boas being the "father" of American anthropology, despite the fact that its roots had actually been much older and diverse. I will now turn to my work on Boas's formerly indecipherable shorthand field notes, which reveal new insights about his role as participant in and reflector of "entangled gaze" encounters. My first-time access to Boas's shorthand field notes[6] and the opportunity to offer transcriptions and translations[7] of what he actually recorded now allows us to shed more light on Boas the field-person, and to gain a better understanding of the processes of knowledge production he was involved in and directed.

Boas as Participant, Processor, and Reflector of Entangled Gaze Encounters

A look at Boas's biography reveals, unsurprisingly, that he had been involved in a multitude of multifaceted encounters with Indigenous peoples. Three contact zones are particularly noteworthy with regard to his ethnological research in North America:[8] Baffin Island, the Northwest Coast, and the American Southwest. For each of these areas, Boas's work and output featured its own characteristics, which I will detail in the following paragraphs.

"Like an Eskimo among Eskimos"—Reflections on Boas's Baffin Island Experience (1883–1884)

Boas's fieldwork, as such, did not come out of the blue. His first work was conducted on Baffin Island, a trip remarkable for his attempts to experience Inuit daily life and to capture the Indigenous view of their land. This constituted an important station on his way to anthropology and is therefore necessary to discuss within an overview of Boas's academic career. Boas's career as anthropologist took shape right after he obtained his Ph.D. in physics from Christian-Albrecht University in Kiel in 1881. At that point, he felt that his true interests drew him to a different academic discipline, geography, which had fascinated him since childhood and which had been a constant part of his university studies in Heidelberg, Bonn, and Kiel. In this discipline he was intrigued by a wide range of topics, including the relationship between people and their natural environment. As will be detailed further on, such "geographical/anthropological" questions were one facet of a multifaceted approach to anthropological questions pursued by German-speaking scholars (Cole 1999; Müller-Wille 2014). But at that time, Boas was still fascinated by the ideas of geographers like Carl Ritter and, particularly, Friedrich Ratzel. Although Boas soon came to reject "geographical determinism," it was an important step toward becoming a full-fledged anthropologist, as it took

him, owing to the high visibility of Arctic science in Germany at that time, to the "Eskimo" of Baffin Island (N. Boas 2004, 73; Müller-Wille 2014, 32). And so by 1883 the setting for his next academic career step was set; he prepared for his habilitation in geography.[9]

With regard to our topic it is particularly interesting that Boas's notes have survived, which capture very well his first-encounter impressions with the local Inuit population:

> When our ship . . . was about to enter the port of Kikkerton . . . there came a boat-load of Eskimos to offer us their help. I had not formed a good opinion of the appearance of these people. . . . The little bandy-legged fellows who ran laughing and chewing over the deck of the vessel, with their long black hair, flat faces, and dripping eyes, made an extremely repulsive impression. . . . I was afterward surprised by many a cheerful and pleasant face, or a strong, well-built figure. (Boas 1885, 771–72)

Distinct in Boas's history of field work, his research on Baffin Island temporarily even culminated in prolonged periods of time during which he took part in the daily activities of his Inuit hosts, the families of his main "informants." Boas also came to share some of their hardships, including hunting. This brought him quite close to one of his stated goals prior to his departure, which was *"to live like an Eskimo among Eskimos"* (Knötsch 1992, 58). In a similar fashion, Boas confided to the diary he kept for his future wife Marie Krackowizer during his stay on Baffin Island the following:

> As you see Marie, I am now a true Eskimo. I live as they do, hunt with them and belong to the men of Anarnitung. I have hardly any European food left, eat only seal and drink coffee. I hope in this way soon to have acquired a sufficient number of seal so that I can soon start on my journey to Nettilling. Although seal hunting bores me dreadfully, I do it as it is the only way of obtaining what I need. (Cole 1985, 40)

Reading Boas's aforementioned goals and quote, both of which clearly support his goals to blend into the lives of his hosts (an idea closely associated with the later models of anthropological "classical field work"), we have to realize that all this was unique to his Baffin Island research and would at no point in his career as anthropologist recur. And so, from a contemporary perspective, Boas had probably never been more of an "anthropologist" than when he was still a "geographer."

Figure 4 | "Boas in Inuit clothing," photo U5.1.13, Mss.B.B61 (American Philosophical Society).

Since much has already been written on Boas's Baffin Island time and work on the basis of his many private and professional notes taken in the field (e.g., Cole 1985, 1999; Müller-Wille 1992, 2014), I would like to highlight and briefly revisit two points that seem particularly enlightening for our

discussion. The first of these is his report of an incident in which the name by which he had come to be known among his Inuit hosts and neighbors, *doctora'dluk* (the big doctor), was mistaken by them to mean a "healer"; they knew the meaning of that title from previous European encounters. After several futile, goodwill attempts to respond to requests to tend to the sick and dying, Boas left "a trail" of deceased former patients in the wake of an outbreak of diphtheria, which in turn gave rise to the rumor that he was the source. This in turn became almost life-threatening for Boas, as this misinformed view eventually led to the near-complete withdrawl of Inuit support, shelter, and provision of sledge dogs—deadly in the ice of Baffin Island. Ironically, this misunderstanding was probably rooted in Boas's insistence that his servant, Willhelm Weike, should continue addressing him with the honorary title "Herr Doktor Boas [Mr. Doctor Boas]."[10] Hence, it was a seemingly banal case of upholding European norms that almost led to disaster. Secondly, Boas's mapping activities comprised an important part of his early, cross-cultural engagement. Although, his extensive ethnographic note taking on a wide range of topics is usually highlighted as an early indication of his "anthropological turn," his mapping activities on Baffin Island, actually some of the primary purposes of his expedition, are particularly noteworthy. Boas diliberately chose a different path than traditional mapping, a means by which Europeans laid claims to foreign lands. Boas drew many maps during that year, and a number of maps by Inuit collaborators clearly show that he actually had a stark interest in retaining the local Inuit names and that he tried to capture the native's view of their lands. And he kept this approach even in his publications. In "Baffin-Land" (1895), his first monograph, the appendix features both Inuit place names, their German translations, and synonyms of names given by explorers and whalers. This was and is quite extraordinary—especially at that time. This impression is even more fortified by Boas's additional shorthand notes on the original hand-drawn maps. Aside from remarks such as "*we cannot cross here*,"[11] "*small river*—[its water] *goes up to the hips*,"[12] or "[from] *here you can see the sun night and day*,"[13] one also finds pieces of historically and culturally relevant information. Crosses may mark spots where "*a long time ago many Eskimos lived here in summer and winter*,"[14] or "*here, many Eskimos are living.*"[15] Other additional remarks bring life to the maps by explaining, for example, "*here he* [my guide and collaborator] *saw the* [European?] *stranger*,"[16] "*where he slept in a small Tupis*[/Tupiks/tupiq = tent[17]] *while hunting*,"[18] "*here is a long strip of land reaching almost to Iquim, he doesn't know its name*,"[19] or simply "*Whale-fossil.*"[20]

While Boas's nominal tie to the field of geography remained a stopover on his way to anthropology, it should be noted that his interest in issues

of cross-cultural geography and the relationship between people and their natural environment continued. In particular the study of "geographic names" continued to be a priority in Boas's later field collecting and publications, especially the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw.

"Spanish Tales"—Reflections from the American Southwest (1919, 1920, 1921, 1922)

Before turning to Boas's main regional focus, the Northwest Coast, I will briefly deal with his later work in the Southwest. Relatively little is known about his work in this region. Apparently, it was the sociologist Elsie Clews Parsons's enthusiasm for Southwest culture and particularly folklore that drew his attention to it. Parsons, a wealthy graduate of Barnard College, New York, met Boas in 1915 during his stay in Santa Fe. After Boas drew Parsons to anthropology, she attempted to raise interest among her Columbia colleagues in anthropological work in the Southwest, and she repeatedly sponsored such work, including all three of Boas's research trips to the area. This resulted in visits to the pueblos of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Laguna, and Zuni in 1919, 1920, 1921, and 1922.

Figure 5 | Franz Boas in a boat leaving Cochiti pueblo on the Rio Grande River, ca. 1922 (The Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, No. 92-1664).

While there are a few spotty notes on kachinas (Pueblo spirit beings) and other ethnographic details, Boas seemed to stick to his favorite topics of mythology and folklore. Parsons left her mark on Boas's Southwest work, evident in some of the publications that are unique within his career. Nowhere else in his work do we encounter titles such as "Tales of Spanish Provenience from Zuni" (1922) or "Romance Folklore among American Indians" (1925). Particularly noteworthy is that Boas's dealing with Spanish elements in Indigenous mythology is as atypical as it can be in Boas's salvage anthropological work, and of central interest for our discussion of the "entangled gaze." Although he did sometimes mention the integration of European elements in Native American folklore (e.g., Boas 1914), he never actually pursued this subject, nor did he publish on it—with this one exception. There is no doubt that this atypical fieldwork of Boas's had been encouraged by Elsie Clews Parsons's own interest in this subject, as she had already published "Pueblo Indian Folk-Tales, probably of Spanish Provenience" in 1918. Furthermore, Boas's first such essay, "Spanish Tales from Laguna and Zuni, New Mexico" (1920), was jointly authored with Parsons.

Surviving shorthand notes from Zuni include historical reflections about the Spanish conquest and the resulting Indigenous rebellion, reflections that have been passed down through the generations through oral histories. The following is the beginning of an edited and translated excerpt of the shorthand notes, with which Boas "captured" what had been reported to him:[21]

> {The} Mex{ican} **father**{/ priest} *said that they want to kill* {the} Zuni *next Sunday after church*{.} *And a young man understood* {what was said} *and reported it to* {the} **war chief**. *And one night*{,} *they called in* {a} **council**. *And* {they} *said*{: „}The Mex{icans} *want to kill us after* {the} **meeting**{/ mass."} *And* {the} **war chiefs** *came together. They were* 40 *or* 50 *then. And they took* {their} *bows and arrows and* {their} **war club**{s}. *And* {they} *hid them underneath* {their} ***blanket***{s}. *And they went to church. And after sermon and* {after the} *people sang*{, a} mex{ican} *song, the* **war chief**{s – about} 10 *or* 15 {of them –} *stood at the door. And* {they} *said* {to those, the} *boys and* {. . .}[//]{. . .} *girls* {attending mass,} *to hurry out*{.} *And everyone went home. And they closed the door and they killed all* Mex.{icans.} *A man ran into another room* {. There were} 10 *or* 15 *rooms on each side* {of the church.} *And* {the} **father**{/ priest} *sat on* {the} *altar close to* santu{,} *and crossed himself. And* {the} **war chief**{, who found him,} *did not hurt him*{.} *He* {just} *tied his hands* {on the } back{.} *And another* mex.{ican fled} *into* {a} *different room. He crept out of* {the} chimney *and he escaped and went*

back to Mex.{ico.} *And* {the} Zuni *went onto* Corn Mt. *There existed* 7 {Zuni-} cities *back then* {,} *and all came onto that* mesa. (Franz Boas Papers 1920, 49, 50)[22]

This example of Indigenous oral history, which had been passed down through time, attests to the many cross-cultural encounters involving Europeans and Indigenous peoples that eventually turned violent. Typically, these stories have endured through European eyes. This is one of the rare early attempts to produce a document that captured an Indigenous take of such historic events.

"Because I Had Bought Nothing"—Boas on the Northwest Coast (1886–1931)

If Boas's name were associated with any single region, it would be the Northwest Coast. Depending on the way one counts, Boas dedicated either forty-five (1886–1931) or fifty-seven (1885–1942) years of his life to the study of the Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast (the first number just counts the period of him actually conducting field research there, the second the time he pursued anthropological work related to that area). Thereby one should be reminded that all this actually began in Germany, with a two-week research encounter with a traveling troupe of nine Bella Coola (Nuxalk) in Berlin in 1886, which also resulted in his first Northwest Coast research publications before he ever set foot in the region (Cole 1982, 118).

A look at Boas's actual field-trip-related activities shows that these were composed of a dozen relatively brief research trips averaging two to three months. Excluding Boas's Kootenai research in eastern British Columbia in 1914, one can discern two main periods of Northwest Coast field research: trips conducted between 1886 and 1900[23] and between 1922 and 1931.[24] The two periods were separated by Boas's peak academic period, during which he not only supervised a large number of PhDs, but also finished up some major publications, the two most influential of which appeared in 1911.[25] Then followed what I am inclined to call his "Latin-American phase." To this I count not only his work in Mexico (1911, 1912) and Puerto Rico (1915), but also his research in the Spanish-influenced Southwest, particularly as this period clearly left its mark on his publications.

Boas's Northwest Coast field trips were characteristically aimed at multiple objectives embracing ethnography, physical anthropology, linguistics, and folklore. Often, the choice of particular goals was strongly influenced by the parties funding the research, who voiced their respective expectations. This work played out in a number of different subregional settings within the Northwest

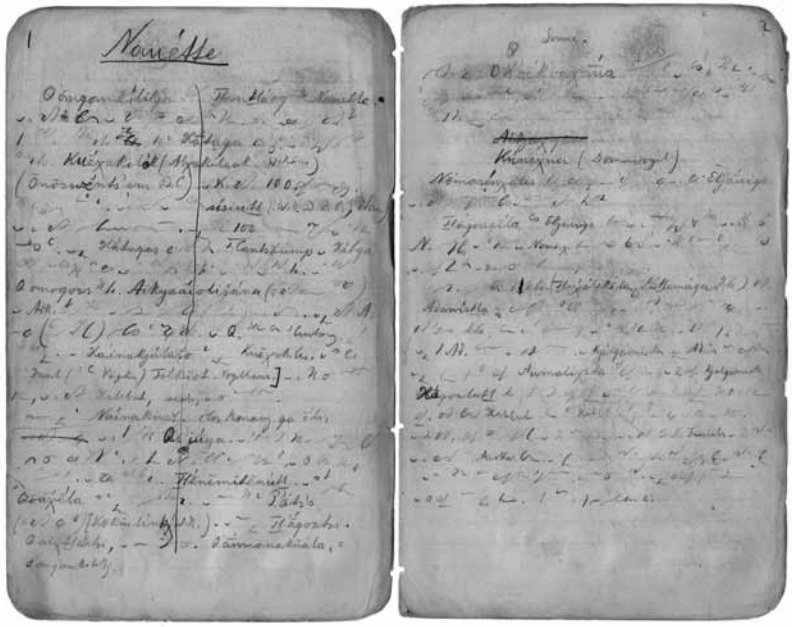

Figure 6 | "Newettee" page spread from Boas field notebook, 1886 #1, Mss.B.B61.5 (American Philosophical Society).

Coast, whereby some were more central to Boas's work over time than others. This is particularly true for Boas's Fort Rupert experience. Among the few other villages in Boas's Kwakwaka'wakw research was Newitti, or Xwamdasbe' ("place where there is otter"[26]) as it was known among its local inhabitants. It owes its special place to the fact that this was the site of Boas's first field research activities among the Kwakwaka'wakw. Therefore, it is fortunate that a written reflection of his first visit there has survived in the "letter diary" he kept for his parents, though unfortunately not directly in the words of his hosts. Picking out just a few highlights from his entries, we learn the following:

> Eventually, I noticed that I had become the subject of their speeches. . . . Finally they sent a young man who had spent some time in Victoria to interpret their content for me. I must add that for the natives much of what I was doing and what I want had remained unclear, of course, and that they were guessing all sorts of things. . . . At first, I had to be a priest, and now, *because I had bought nothing* yet, they got the idea, that I had to be a government agent, and they asked me whether I had come to put a stop to their feast like missionaries and the Indian Agent do (Franz Boas Professional Papers 1886, 61; translation by author).

This quote includes a number of relevant points for our discussion, the most striking of which is that Boas aroused suspicion because he did not attempt to collect objects immediately upon arrival. Obviously, Boas acted weird in the eyes of his hosts. He did not quite fit into their existing stereotypes of European visitors. And they were correct in their observations, as Boas actually did arrive in their village with quite a new set of ideas and assumptions rooted in German anthropology.

To explain why and how Boas came to reshape the existing contact zone at Newitti, it is necessary to outline the state of German anthropology at that time. With roots reaching back to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it features influences from the fields of linguistics, history, and geography—representatives of these two latter disciplines produced the first ethnographers—and later also the natural sciences including anatomy, philosophy, and psychology (Vermeulen 2015; Bunzl 1996, 2003; Zimmerman 2001). In the second half of the nineteenth century, a new culture-historical ethnological tradition emerged, which considered itself—in contrast to the older ones—a natural science. The central figure and founding father of this modern ethnology was physician and world traveler Adolf Bastian. He founded and was the first director of the *Königliche Museum für Völkerkunde* in Berlin and became the first professor for ethnology in Germany. Bastian perceived his modern ethnology to be a progressive natural science of mankind, one that challenged the position of the formerly intellectually ruling Enlightenment "historians" ("old ethnology") by stressing among others the fundamental importance of material objects, as cultural facts, for the reconstruction of otherwise undocumented historical processes involving the spread of cultural elements and of "elementary ideas." These ideas, paired with the widely shared assumption of the rapid disappearance of Indigenous peoples in the face of civilization, led to the establishment of the Berlin Museum and the dispatch of its first major collecting expedition, conducted by Norwegian collector, Captain Adrian Jacobsen. It was this very collection that would shape Boas's views on collecting and collection fundamentally. Although initially it was assumed that information could be deduced from the collected items themselves, Boas's confrontation with the poorly documented Jacobsen collection soon came to the conclusion that only well-documented objects were "scientifically" valuable collections (Glass and Hatoum, forthcoming).[27] So, when Boas first arrived in Newitti in 1886, he was indeed a new type of collector, both with regard to his standards and consequently also his strategy and range of his collecting and documenting interests.

The differences between his and other approaches to collecting become quite apparent when contrasting the collection notes of Jacobsen and Boas,

which were taken during their respected visits of the same Kwakwaka'wakw village of Newitti only four years apart. Jacobsen's Newitti entries resulted in a one-and-a-half-page-long list of the items, which consisted of an enumeration of the number of collected items of a category, a catch phrase, sometimes native designation, and the amount paid he paid for the item(s). Boas, by contrast, barely gets started on his first page of his 1886 fieldnotes from that village, in his characteristic blend of German, English, Kwak'wala, and idiosyncratic shorthand script:

> Nauétte
>
> Q'ōmqomkilikya *finds* Tlantla'oq ***{near?} Nauette. *And he makes* {a} *river and later salmon* {that} *shall go up. After he had made the land beautiful*{,} *he threw a pine-needle ~~into the brook // water~~, so that* Hātăqa *would eat it. And she receives a child . . .*

This first page, which renders a mythical account of K'umxk'umkaligi' or U'meł the trickster raven, his daughter Hadaga, and the son of Q'omugue, the ruler of the undersea world, belonged to a family origin story in which Hadaga's descendants ground their origin and cultural prerogatives and rights (among them a mask Boas collected on that trip). In our context it is decisive that these notes tie the myth to a historically identifiable individual by the name of Q'ăummonakŭála, Qu'menakula, or K'umana'kwala, nicknamed "Cheap" (a corruption of "chief"). His name keeps popping up in Boas's work. In 1888, then, K'umana'kwala's name suddenly received a negative connotation when Boas published a warning to all "future explorers not to trust the man 'Cheap,' . . . as he is the 'greatest liar' on the whole coast" (Boas 1888b, 206). The exact reasons for Boas's accusations are not known, but for our discussion it is particularly important that this accusation implicitly allows us to get a glimpse of an indigenous contact zone implicating Boas. Whereas literature usually depicts Boas as the clever one in his interaction with the people of Nuwitti (Nauétte),[28] he claimed to have first staged a feast and waited some seven days before breaking the news that he, too, was also interested in buying objects. This example shows that his hosts, too, must have vetted him. Apparently, at least K'umana'kwala then used his assessment to successfully sell Boas objects and information, the latter of which turned out not to be the case, at some later point. In that sense, this example stands as representative for all of those cases in which local individuals quite successfully managed their own interests in the contact zone experiences fostered by Boas.

Boas and the Production of Scientific Records

In dealing with Boas's work, a number of questions are central: to what extent did Boas's anthropological agenda influence his encounters with Indigenous people? How did his attempts to collect "hard cultural data" and his dedication to salvage anthropology influence his encounters with local peoples and what he took out of them? Reflecting on my current state of research, there appears to be a sudden disappearance of Boas, the person, from his field notes as well as publications (with a few exceptions, e.g., Boas 1888b, 1891) following his Baffin Island work. As he left no remark on the subject, one can only speculate on the basis of what we know. A number of factors seem to have contributed to the contrast between Boas's Baffin Island and post-Baffin Island field notes—or at least to the impression that there is one. One of these factors probably had been Boas's habilitation supervisor Heinrich Kiepert. A proponent of "old" historical geography at Humboldt University, Kiepert reportedly had been very critical of the kind of research that Boas was pursuing (Cole 1999, 89). For these and other more personal reasons he opposed Boas strongly to the very end of the habilitation process, founding this opposition with his doubt about the scientific value of Boas's achievements—for example, by equating it to a mere travelogue of little or no scientific value (Cole 1999, 91, 92; Müller-Wille 2014, 98). A letter that Boas wrote to his future wife Marie Krackowizer in November 1885 captures the general tone of an overheard statement by Kiepert: *"Boo, there he* [Boas] *travelled around a bit with one family* [of Eskimos] *and imagines to have achieved goodness knows what. If that should represent ethnological research, then this may become a splendid ethnography! And about that, he wants to write a thick book now!"* (Boas 1885; as quoted in Müller-Wille 2014, 98)

All this undoubtedly had a profound effect on Boas, who did all he could to gain respect as a scholar and an anthropologist. Other factors will have directed Boas's focus on collecting "scientifically valuable," hard cultural data. Among the obvious ones were, first, that Boas had basically been cut off for almost a year from the outside world and his fiancé in particular, for whom he kept a detailed letter diary (as she did for him), and second, that he had entered an agreement with the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* to write a series of travel reports. It might very well be due to these circumstances, themselves unique in Boas's career as field researcher, that we have a much more vivid picture of Boas's work on Baffin Island than for most of his later research. Exceptions probably are his first four trips to the Northwest Coast (1886, 1888, 1889, and 1890), during most of which he kept letter diaries for his parents, which have survived more or less complete. About most of his remaining research trip we can learn only bits and pieces about

Boas the field researcher from surviving letters and letter diaries. Among the impressions especially noteworthy are those preserved in the letter diary notes of 1886, and here in particularly those taken during his visit to Newitti. Almost ironic from today's perspective, they convey the impression that Boas seems to have viewed most of the actual cultural activities he witnessed to be a waste of his time, if not a threat to the success of his mission. And so, we learn the following from an entry he made on October 9: "*The men again had a potlatch. Fortunately they were finished at noon and I had the opportunity to get a story.*"[29] Two days later, on October 11, there is a similar remark: "*There is a small or large potlatch almost every day, which of course interrupts my work.*"[30] Yet another day later, October 12, Boas got seriously angry about his hosts, who were continually feasting: "*I had a miserable day today. The natives held a big potlatch again. I was unable to get hold of anyone and had to snatch at whatever I could get.*"[31] Interestingly, Boas's views on feasting never changed throughout the years. And so, pretty much in the same way as some forty-four years before in Newetti, we find similar remarks in Boas's 1930/31 letters: "*My work here is going along so-so. There are many interruptions— dances, dinners, speeches, etc.*"[32] As it seems, Boas feared the most that these kinds of "socializing activities" kept him from doing "real" work.

Nonetheless, the same letter entries also suggest that the ceremonial "winter dances" seem to have been an exception. Such is indicated, for example, by a remark to his sister Toni from 1930: "*It seems that we are lucky. There is a rumor that a winter ceremony will be held this year.*"[33] This notion that "winter dances" clearly captured Boas's scholarly attention—probably since working with the Nuxalk in Berlin in 1886—is also supported by the fact that he had written in detail about the winter dances he witnessed in Fort Rupert in 1894, which made an important contribution to his 1897 monograph *The Social Organization*. In fact, notations from that time are the only remarkable "participant observations" that are known. Yet, if one looks at these very notes it becomes clear that they, over large parts, have been strongly influenced by George Hunt, Boas's main native collaborator among the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw (Hatoum 2016, 230–32). Only toward the end of these notes, when Hunt did not have time to work with Boas as intensively as before, do we encounter some original Boas notes and get an idea of how he struggled to capture his impressions as a rather typical "outside" observer. They may also give us an idea of why Boas was not so much taken by the idea of assigning "scientific" value to such uninformed observations as his own. It must have been that realization that led him eventually to produce with the help of Hunt an "improved" and more informed, albeit constructed, version of what supposedly had taken place,

one that did not include him, the European outsider, who had no place in his delivered reconstruction of cultural activities prior to European arrival (Glass, Berman, and Hatoum 2017).

Given Boas's focus on the particular kinds of data and certain kinds of ethnographic records he was seeking, it is important to reflect on the processes that were involved in the question of what was collected, in what manner and how it would be "enhanced" on its way to publication. Recent research has uncovered some revealing examples that shed light on this very issue (e.g., Berman 2001; Glass 2018; Hatoum 2016; Jacknis 1984). One example relates to the description of George Hunt as one of the main actors in Boas's 1894 Fort Rupert winter dance account, which became one of the main pillars of his 1897 monograph on the "Kwakiutl." Here, comparison between the shorthand field notes and their published equivalent reveal that Boas not only covered the fact that Hunt had been the main organizer of the events described, but also that Boas deleted all references to Hunt's nonnative background. He thereby quite successfully disguised the fact that Hunt was actually of English and Tlingit descent, which certainly would have raised the eyebrows of his readers, to whom he explicitly presented an "eyewitness" account of a "typical" Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw cultural affair (Hatoum 2016). Nevertheless, this example still leaves a question mark as to the influence of Boas's view of anthropology on his data collecting and processing work because it remains to be determined whether he disguised Hunt's background out of anthropological concerns or in order to protect him in times when the potlatch was banned by the Canadian government (1885–1951) and participants were sometimes arrested.

Among the scientific records that Boas favored most throughtout his career were myths as transcribed into texts. These he either collected himself or had native collaborators collect for him (Briggs and Bauman 1999, 2003). To shed some light on this broad topic, I would like to close with a last example, which relates to the story of "Qā´is," as supposedly told to Boas by Chief Joseph from the Mission reserve of the Squamish of North Vancouver. In fact, it is one of the extremely rare cases in which Boas not only identifies his source but has also left us some contextual information as to the circumstances of how the data was collected. At the same time, it shows us how strongly Boas himself was involved, at least sometimes, in the processes of producing cultural data, which he presented to the public in his publications, in this case in the 1895 book *Sagen*,[34] and particularly in the chapter "Legends of the Sk.qomic." As it is crucial to know what Boas had actually recorded, I will render a transcription and translation of his notes, which hold as closely as possible to the German original of what he recorded from Chief Joseph on June 2, 1888:

Skqō'míc.

Qā'is *made all* people, *together with the land*. ō'qomih plur. *of* **Indian**, *he made men and women*.

Tste'lmuq = Indians.

Slaā'lekam = Qā'is *as deity*.

He transforms {a} *bad* {person} *into stone, if he is stupid/ignorant and foolish*{.}

{The} *story of the deer. He*{/a man} *sharpens* {his} *stone knife near the sea. And* Qā'is *asks him, what are you doing. He* {said he} *will kill* Qā'is.

Bird Sk'kāka. *Red underneath the belly. He is*{/originally was} *a doctor at the side of a sick person*. Qā'is *comes and claps his hands and transforms* {him} into a bird.

Qā'is *is bad*{/angry}. *He transformed only bad men*{/people} *into birds*, {the} *good ones remain* *** {human}. *The latter increase*.

Qā'aqa = Qā'is.

Some people became bad. Qā'is *burns all, makes a big fire. Only* ~~xxxx~~ 2 *women and* 2 *men remain remain* {sic!} *and are saved.* {And} *they become many again*. Qā'is *gets angry again. It rains and rains.* 1 *man knew it,* {and} *made a rope. And fastened his boat*. Ntc'kā'i //in Skqo'mic\\ *two mountains. He ties his* **Canoe** *to these. At the river these* *** *remained*{?}. 3 *times he had turned bad/angry. You shall be good, now, if we become bad, then he will be angry again. Then came the smallpox.*

~~Dann{?} kommt Schnee.~~

Then[?] comes snow.

In the past no salmon came. It was winter and snow {came}. *Snow came and more and more. Everything was full of snow*{.} *His father has seen it.*

He {Qā'is} *is the sun.* (*Then I come*{,} Joseph) (Franz Boas Papers 1888, 1–3)[35]

In order to get an impression of the margin of the difference between the original notes and the published version, I will quote the beginning part of the published version here:

> Qā´is, the sun, created the earth, the sea, humans and fish. He is also called Qā´aqa or Slaā´lEk.am. In the course of time, the people became evil and didn't obey the commandments of Qā´is anymore. So he descended to earth from above and transformed all who were

evil or foolish into stones and animals. One man who had heard that he was coming decided to kill him. He sharpened his shell knives on a wet-stone. When Qā´is approached and saw him, he asked him what he was doing. The man answered, "I want to kill Qā´is when he arrives." "That is fine," the latter replied, "why don't you let me have a look at your knives?" He handed them over and Qā´is forced them into his forehead and transformed him into a deer. . . . Later, Qā´is sent smallpox and one winter sent a deep snow to the people as punishment for their wickedness. (Told by Chief Joseph) (Bouchard and Kennedy 2002, 159–60)

How strong Boas's editorial hand had been in this case is obvious. In fact, it is so strong that it should be labeled "(re)constructed by Boas on the basis of notes taken from Chief Joseph." Likewise, one should have realized why the story of Qā´is, the sun,[36] a reflection of the origin story of the Squamish, had actually been presented as the first of the stories of Squamish. Yet the real dimension of this example with regard to our discussion unfolds if we take the contextual notes into consideration. In the shorthand field notes, these immediately precede the notes to the story.

" Qā'is = God. *My land is* {as} *vast* {as} *that of the White people and the* {other} *Indians, god made it. He made everything, the birds etc. When I* {Boas should} *see the Queen*{, I am supposed to} *tell her that* 3 *White people came to see the land and take it, and she does not know how it is* {over here}. *The heart of the Indians is sad about it.* Chief Joseph *says this:* {"}Yeke momuk K'au kopa{,}[37] *** {White?} **men**.{"} Chief Joseph *says,* {"}*This is my land, I am mad at those* 3 *people. The* Queen *shall come and see* Chief Joseph's *land.*{"} *(*{And Joseph said: "}*You* {Boas} *should not say, he says, but rather say that it is* Chief Joseph *who says so*{."}*).* (Franz Boas Papers 1888, 1; close transcription of the German original)

As it still might be difficult to derive meaning from these notes, we can consider ourselves fortunate that further research has revealed another source—remarks in a surviving letter diary that Boas kept for his parents—that illuminates the context:

Then we had the following conversation: . . . Now write down what I say: Three men came (that is, the Indian agent and two commissioners) and they made treaties with us and said this is the Queen's land. That has made us sad and we are angry at the 3 men. . . . God gave this

> land to my ancestors, and it is not right that the 3 men took it. . . . It is useless to cut short such outpouring if one wishes to find out anything. I stayed there until five in the evening and found out a lot of what I needed to know. (Franz Boas Professional Papers 1888, 81; translation by author)

Taking all sources together, the following picture emerges: Chief Joseph had quite a serious reason for mentioning to Boas the story of the transformer creating the land that was given to the Squamish as their home. It was his laying claim and voicing protest against the most recent theft of land by government agents. We learn that Chief Joseph had tried to elicit support from Boas by asking him to present the Squamish's case to the Queen of England. But rather than acknowledging that fact, Boas's letter diary instead makes clear that he interpreted Chief Joseph's words as an anecdote to demonstrate to his readers (his parents) what kind of stories one has to endure before one can actually get to serious work. As nothing from this background story appears in connection with the published account of this myth, this example gives us not only a vivid impression of the differing hopes and expectations of the parties involved in the contact zone experiences sought by Boas but also an idea of his determination to produce scientifically valuable cultural data. With that, Boas clearly meant cultural data "unpolluted" by influences of "European entanglements" (e.g., Jonaitis 1988; Jacknis 2002), that is, of the realization of the actually existing omnipresent colonial context, which he rarely addressed in his writings at all (e.g., Boas 1888, 1891). That this also involved the need to cut himself and his role in the process out of the picture is likewise demonstrated. And so he went quite a ways to de-entangle the entangled.

Closing Remarks

In conclusion, one may wonder whether Boas's goals and attitudes discussed above have been subject to change over time. Regarding this question, his last research trip to Fort Rupert in 1930/31 is particularly revealing. Whereas Boas's professional field notes do not show any substantial change in subject matter, a large number of letters surviving from that trip show a noticeable shift toward more anthropological subjects and detail, which might be the result of changing letter recipients. As Boas's wife had just passed away the year prior to his Fort Rupert trip, his letters from this visit were directed to multiple readers: his sister Toni, his children (especially his son Ernst), and to fellow anthropologists/colleagues. Some of his letters were even conceived as group letters, such as that addressed to anthropologist Gladys

Richard, who was then renting a room in Boas's house: "*Dear Gladys, I am writing to you to-day instead of writing to one of the children. So, please, let them see this letter. I am writing this way also partly because I want you to show this letter in Columbia*."[38]

It is quite probably due to these circumstances that these letters display elements of participant observation, which sometimes resulted in vivid descriptions of activities taking place during his stay ("Last night a deputation came from the Newettee (Nawiti). In the darkness from the boat a speaker spoke with the voice of thunder"), including rather lengthy and detailed notes, such as that about a marriage ceremony.[39] Some of Boas's observations also attest to the radical changes that had taken place since he first visited Fort Rupert: "*Civilization has infringed badly in the lives of the Indians . . . there are no more hardships. Everything is strange. There was a radio on the steamer*,"[40] "*The village here has greatly shrunk*."[41] Among the most impressive statements is the following:

> Yesterday there was quite a mess. The chief, who is hated by everyone, gave a great feast. . . . A speech was given while the meat was distributed. He said, "This bowl in the shape of a bear (is) for you, and you, and so on; for each group a bowl." The bowls, however, are no longer here. They are in the museum in New York and Berlin. Only the speech is still the same . . . but these are only words. It is strange how these people cling to the form though the content is almost gone. But this still makes them happy. (As quoted in Rohner 1969, 297)

Among the things that did not change over the years was his rather critical attitude toward George Hunt, his collaborator for over forty years: "*For the time being I have to work with George Hunt, to revise everything and to answer grammatical questions. This means hard labor in his case because he has no understanding of grammar*."[42] Or, "*Today a man told me a long story. I have to let several people repeat a story to me in order to control Hunt's style. Otherwise I can't get a picture of the linguistic feeling of the natives, and I am very anxious to get a picture of their style.*"[43]

Boas's 1930/31 letters also speak of continuity and change even regarding some of his long-lasting interests, such as the mode of collecting texts: "*I am getting texts from different informants. The style is partly uniform, although some people have their individual mannerisms*."[44] Or, "*I am worrying now about the style of oratory because I do not yet know how to get it down. Most orators talk so rapidly that I cannot follow it, except now and then.*"[45] Whereas Boas's use of a phonograph in 1930/31 was no novelty, as he had already employed such a device at the Chicago World's Fair in

1893, film as a medium was certainly new. With his ethnographic films,[46] Boas hoped to capture cultural aspects that were hard to verbalize, such as "dance": "*The dance problem is difficult. I hope that the films will give us adequate material for making a real study.*"[47] But Boas's letters also have some completely new subjects, in some cases intermingled with longstanding interests of his.

> The language also has baffling problems. There is no good informant, because all of them are satisfied with a variety of forms. I rather think this is due to the merging of several dialects into one, which is not equal in all individuals. I am mindful that this is an acculturation problem and I hope we shall get enough on that point! (As quoted in Rohner 1969, 291)

Acculturation, as a term and subject, is a novelty in Boas's 1930/31 field writings.[48] Obviously, changes among the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw had been very dramatic and had reached the discussion of that concept within the field of anthropology by that time. Thus, Boas did not just take notice of the drastic changes that had occurred since his last visit but regarded them as a subject of study in and of themselves, although this did not quite show in his field notes or his publications.

> We are getting quite a little acculturation material. It is marvelous how the old life continues under the surface of the life of a poor fishing people. I am getting some more rather interesting data regarding the development of the whole modern system. I think even the order of seats among the bulk of the tribes is less than a hundred years old. (As quoted in Rohner 1969, 291)

It should be noted that Boas talked about "we"—meaning himself and his student assistant Julia Averkiewa on that trip—when mentioning gathering such material. The lack of such material in his field notes, in combination with a hint in one of his letters,[49] seems to indicate the work load was probably split between the two, with Boas reviewing older notes, supervising the recording of songs, and focusing on his favorite topics, while Averkiewa explored new fields.

The 1930/31 letters likewise seem to indicate that Boas has become much more vocal politically, which correlates with what is also known from his biography. For one, this is expressed by his longstanding and continuous opposition to the "potlatch" ban. "*There is a rumor that a winter ceremony will be held this year in secret, because the feasts are forbidden by the*

government. But if there is nobody to watch they do whatever they like. The interference with the Indians on the part of the government is really scandalous."[50] From a different letter we learn furthermore: "*I had a council with the Indians, who are really suffering because of the stupid persecution of their customs by the government. I can do nothing about it but promised to do my best in Ottawa.*"[51] Other cases left him basically helpless, such as the conditions at the Alert Bay Residential School: "*I am not at all certain what I can do, because the missionaries here are behind it all. It goes so far that the children in school are not allowed to draw in the traditional style of their people but according to prescribed models.*"[52] In other cases during that same trip, Boas became active right away and even confronted the authorities: "*I . . . went to see the Indian agent, to be polite, and right away we had a controversy over the fact that I notified Victoria of the dysentery epidemic, against which nothing was being done. In any case, I accomplished this much—that the water from the latrines may no longer run into the drinking water.*"[53] In a similar way, Boas noted in yet another letter, "*Friday we were invited by the missionary, and we had to accept. He seemed very decent in comparison with the former missionary. I have written to the [lieutenant] governor of British Columbia and asked him for an interview. If I can see him, I want to inform him of all these matters. I don't know for sure whether it will be of any help.*"[54]

This rather lengthy excursion into the world of the surviving 1930/31 letters clearly shows that at least the "private" Boas was venturing into new fields toward the end of his life, even though this is not manifest on the level of his own professional output. These final remarks indicate that Boas—despite his lifelong work to untangle the tangled when producing his "professional" results so "out of sync" with realities—was actually very much aware of what was going on, at least at the end of his life. He was even leaning toward regarding these changes—that is, the entangled realities—as valid objectives of his studies.

In conclusion, it should become clear that the case of Boas not only represents a very particular example in our discussion of the "entangled gaze," it also demonstrates how complicated it is to discuss this topic, even on an individual level.

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NOTES

1. The concept of Native Americans as a "vanishing race" came to replace the earlier anthropological quests regarding the origins of Native Americans and their place in human evolution. It served Boas repeatedly as a strong argument for raising funds for research projects and collecting activities, most apparent in the "Vanishing Tribes Project," which bore fruit between 1898 and 1904 (Cole 1999, 205–7). As such, the sense of urgency that fueled much of Boasian research and collecting activities echoes the very same arguments employed by Adolf Bastian, the founding director of the Royal Anthropological Museum in Berlin. It should be noted that the fear of extinction in the wake of the spread of Western civilization was not limited to Native Americans alone but applied to native and other minorities worldwide. It should be noted, too, that the early clashes between Boas and the anthropological establishment of his time, as exemplified by the Boas and Mason controversy of 1887, actually have to be interpreted in many ways as clashes of German and American traditions of anthropological thought (Penny and Bunzel 2003).

2. As recently as the 1960s to the late 1980s, Canada's national museum of human history (now called the Canadian Museum of History) funded an Urgent Ethnology program, which commissioned external field research about cultures perceived to be at immanent risk of loss.

3. The project is headed by Regna Darnell.

4. The main editors of this project are Aaron Glass and Judith Berman.

5. My research so far has been kindly supported financially by the American Philosophical Society (Franklin Research Grant), the "Boas Critical Edition" project, an NEH Digital Humanities Start Up Grant for the "Boas 1897" project, a three-year NEH grant for this latter project, and finally by a two-year grant by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). To all of these funding agencies, I would like to express my gratitude. Additionally, I am greatly obliged to a number of individuals. I would like to warmly thank Aaron Glass, Judith Berman, Ira Jacknis, Regna Darnell, and the wonderful staff at the APS, of whom I would like to single out at this point Brian Carpenter. With regard to this essay, I would also like to extend my warmest thanks to Gerald McMaster and his team from the OCAD University.

6. I first encountered an example of Boas's shorthand in 2011. After finding out that no one had dealt with that task before, I took to it. It turned out that we are dealing with Boas's version of a particular highly specialized German shorthand system developed in the 1840s, the Stolze-System, which has not been in use since the beginning of the twentieth century. The process that led to this conclusion involved nearly two years of searching for answers regarding what basic system Boas had used, learning it, and then proceeding into figuring out the specificities of his idiosyncratic version of it. Only after these steps did I finally become increasingly able to decipher Boas's shorthand field notes (Hatoum 2016).

7. Generally speaking, Boas's shorthand notes are quite peculiar—that is, they often feature unfinished sentences and nonstandard German grammar, which might even reflect the "Indian-English" used by his collaborators. Often, Boas skips words or includes the writing of words, which allow different readings. This turns the transcription of his notes into a challenge, both in German and even more so in English. In order to give the English reader a sense of the original notes and a transcription that he or she can follow with the original notes when interested, I would ideally offer, had space allowed, a transcription/translation in both languages and as close as possible to the original. However, because of the special restraints of this paper, I had to make choices. As a result, I had to skip the inclusion of the

transcriptions of the German original and use either the rather free or the closer forms of transcription, depending on the context.

8. Boas had also conducted some mostly archaeological field studies in Mexico (1911) and Puerto Rico (1915).

9. This is a second kind of dissertation needed to become a professor in German academia.

10. Boas would simply call him "Wilhelm" in return (Knötsch 1992, 61).

11. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes (Composed of Separate Sheets) 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270, NAA INV 08599000, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270 (030), NAA INV 08598200, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

15. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270 (013), NAA INV 08596700, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

16. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes (Composed of Separate Sheets) 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270, NAA INV 08599000, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

17. Müller-Wille 1992, 43.

18. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes (Composed of Separate Sheets) 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270, NAA INV 08599000, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

19. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270 (030), NAA INV 08598200, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

20. Map Showing Part of Baffin Island Coastline with Annotated Place Names and Notes (Composed of Separate Sheets) 1883 Drawing. Manuscript 169270, NAA INV 08599000, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

21. These field notes were the basis for the published account in Boas's "Tales of Spanish Provenience from Zuni" (1922, 97).

22. Close transcription of the German original:

italic	Shorthand transcription and/or translation
roman	Words not written in shorthand
bold	English words not written in shorthand
bold* + *italic	English words written in shorthand
***	Illegible
{}; {/}	Additions; alternate reading

23. 1886, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1893 (Chicago Fair), 1894/95, 1897, and 1900.

24. 1922, 1923, 1927, and 1930/31. Boas's 1914 two-week research among the Kootenay may or may not be counted in this list. Though they reside in contemporary British Columbia, they cannot be counted "Northwest Coast" culturally.

25. The two publications were "The Mind of the Primitive Man" and the "Handbook of American Indian Languages."

26. Bouchard and Kennedy 2002, 394.

27. Bunzl 1996, 2003; Darnell 2000; Vermeulen 2015; Penny 2002, 2003; Penny and Bunzl 2003; Zimmerman 2001.

28. There are many different forms of spelling for this name, among them the one appearing in the quote. In the text I use the U'mista spelling.

29. Letter diary to parents, Newitti, October 9, 1886; as quoted in Rohner 1969, 36–37.

30. Ibid. 38.

31. Ibid.

32. Letter to Children (Ernst), December 14, 1930; as quoted in Rohner 1969, 296.

33. Letter to Toni, October 27, 1930; as quoted in Rohner 1969, 289.

34. An edited and translated version of that book was published in 2002 by Bouchard and Kennedy.

35. Close transcription of the German original.

36. According to Bouchard and Kennedy (2002, 159) this identification of the transformer as sun has not been recorded by anyone else.

37. "He/she ties it to" (his land). Translation from Chinook Jargon by David Robertson, December 3, 2015.

38. Franz Boas Professional Papers. American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, PA. Mss.B.B61p., Box 21, December 25, 1930.

39. As quoted in Rohner 1969, 294–95.

40. Ibid. 289.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid. 289–90.

44. Ibid. 289.

45. Ibid. 293.

46. Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse, director of the Bill Holm Center, Burke Museum, is working on editing the film footage that Boas shot at that time.

47. Rohner 1969, 291.

48. Boas's new insights reflected in his 1932 publication "Current Beliefs of the Kwakiutl Indians."

49. "*Julia is gradually getting some data on their modern economic life*" (Rohner 1969, 291).

50. Ibid. 290.

51. Ibid. 291.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid. 299.

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Art as a Weapon: The Inverted Gaze in Julius Lips *The Savage Hits Back*

Anna Katharina Brus

ABSTRACT | This article investigates the history of the book, *The Savage Hits Back or the White Man Through Native Eyes* (Yale University Press, 1937), which opened up a kaleidoscopic view of global representations of Europeans, thus inverting the colonial gaze on the "Other." The author, the German anthropologist and museum director Julius Lips, published his book in the heyday of race theory in Germany. Driven into exile by the Nazis, he read Indigenous representations of Westerners as a tool of empowerment against the hegemony of colonial power and merged a critique of colonialism and fascism. By analyzing the scholarly reception of *The Savage Hits Back*, the author revisits Lips's crucial assumptions. Honing in on Lips's ambiguous and strategic use of Indigenous North American objects against the background of his exile in the United States, this article illuminates the mutual imbrication of Lips's biography and his scholarly work in politically volatile times.

KEYWORDS | anti-colonialism, transcultural visuality, German anthropology, colonial contact zones, historiography of Native American art

> In thousands of volumes, the White man's view of the culture of natural peoples is available in numerous libraries all over the world. As if with a formidable faceted eye, the Western world has observed, dissected, cut into pieces, and tried to explain the culture of the colored people. It has always been an object for us with which we have more or less dabbled. The art expressions of the natural peoples have also been the subject of manifold discussions in the last decades, which often—as in the case of Negro sculpture—have read into it much more ingenuity (*Geist*) and European disingenuousness (*Ungeist*) than was helpful for the recognition of the facts. The European was far too arrogant and presumptuous to investigate how the black, red, yellow man looked at European culture, a culture that broke, destroyed, or at best degenerated his own.[1]
>
> — Julius Lips, *Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung*, May 13, 1933, 501

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

This choice of words, which itself orders human cultures in a racialized color scheme, clearly positions this author as "White." The use of the German word *Ungeist* became notorious in the ideological propaganda of the Third Reich and marks this rather subversive text as part of conflicting discourses prevalent in Germany in the 1930s. Other aspects, however, might surprise the reader, since the article raises issues that became pivotal in postcolonial theory only much later. The author, the German ethnologist Julius Lips,[2] refers to the panoptic gaze[3] that Europe had turned on its various *others*. It criticizes the hypocrisy with which Europeans explored, observed, and represented people in the "peripheries" without taking into account that these *others* might equally explore, observe, and represent Europeans. Lips also distances himself from the prevailing Primitivism as expressed in Carl Einstein's book *Negerplastik* of 1915. In his book, Einstein unfolds an analysis of "pure cultural forms" in African sculpture that were—literally—stripped of their meaning, undressed, and freed of all accessories. The author of these lines, however, had publicly claimed that any reading of these objects needs to take into account the specific cultural contexts and cannot refer to (European) aesthetic principles alone.

Moreover, in the article cited above, Lips alludes to the anthropological research of his time, which turned toward natural science by promoting a biologistic vision of race. German physical anthropology was the racist alter ego of the humanistic and cultural relativist project, which was crucial for the cultural-historical school of *Völkerkunde* that Lips himself followed.[4] Lips seems to distance himself here from scholars adhering to what in Germany was then called *Sozialanthropologie*, a field that took a bow to racial theories and the genetically based "racial research" of the Third Reich that was to follow.

When Julius Lips published these lines in a local newspaper in 1933, he had already been "given leave" from his lifetime post as a director of the Cologne Museum of Anthropology, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum. His museum was to be under the flag of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP), his post was later given to Martin Heydrich, a Nazi and early member of the brownshirts (SA), and Lips soon realized that his future was threatened in Germany.[5]

Obstinate Objects: Fragmenting the Western Gaze

Since the late 1920s, Lips collected the images shown in this richly illustrated article for the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.[6] These sculptures and drawings were produced in colonial contact zones, and Lips identified them as depictions of European and American strangers—soldiers, sailors, missionaries, traders, colonizers, teachers, researchers, and foreign

Figure 1 | *Kölnische Illustrierte Zeitung* from May 13, 1933, with a newspaper article by Julius Lips, "So sieht der Schwarze den Weissen Mann" ("How the black man sees the White man").

rulers. Lips purchased various sculptures, mainly from the Congo region,[7] from German traders and assembled a huge collection of photographs he requested from museums and private collections in Europe and the United States, focusing on the global "genre" of the Westerner and his goods.

Although Lips also collected oral traditions, he believed that the images provide the viewer with the voice of "the unknown artist, who should have his say at last . . . for the most part he has no other writing" (Lips 1937, xxi).

Thus, the exhibition Lips wanted to curate with these objects would have turned the scientific project of anthropology on its head. It would have confronted the German public with the underrecognized fact that these *others* usually presented on display in ethnographic museums were looking back at the Western observer—that they were gazing with critical eyes upon their European contemporaries.[8]

Lips's reading of the objects, which he presented to the public in various lectures on the topic, was quite unusual for his time. Lips was an adherent of the *Kulturkreislehre* (culture area concept), a school that presumed a diffusion of dominant cultural traits and that did not leave much space for the idea of artistic creativity. But he did not assume that these objects were simply a result of European "influence" and a sign of "cultural decay," as many of his contemporaries did. In 1927, at the time Lips started to investigate the topic, Hermann Baumann, a German Africanist, beat Lips to it. Baumann published a tabloid article in the magazine *Die Woche* entitled "The Black Man Caricatures the White." Not unlike Lips, Baumann saw caricature in certain depictions of Europeans. However, Baumann's approach differed substantially from Lips's. Baumann seemed to feel the need to excuse himself for bothering his audience with such poor and inferior images. In this article, he refers to the representations as "amateurish," "devoid of sense," and even "unpleasant"[9] (Baumann 1927, 723). The almost physical uneasiness regarding these hybrid objects fit the spirit of his time. These obstinate objects turned the aesthetic premises of scientific concepts upside down. Between the wars, an already widely accepted canon of "primitive art" was established. The art of *others* was expected to be abstract, ornamental, and symbolic. "Primitive art" was perceived as frozen in time in a presumably unchangeable, ancient, and original tradition, untouched by external influence and surrounded by an aura of the ritual. The visual hybridity and naturalism that characterizes many representations of Europeans did not fit into these primitivist ideas but were seen as "inauthentic." This authenticity paradigm had become prevalent by 1900 and disqualified these objects as degenerate and worthless. The fact that many of the artefacts Lips had selected belonged to the category of portraiture produced for a European clientele rendered them worthless in the eyes of professional collectors, just as some art objects were later derogated as "tourist art." As Ruth Phillips points out, "art connoisseurs interested in 'primitive' art and anthropologists studying the evolution of world cultures resoundingly rejected most commoditized objects as inauthentic on the grounds of their stylistic hybridity and their production for an external market" (Phillips 1998, 18).[10]

Lips was the first scientist to devote years of research to this topic, bringing together an astonishing collection of images, and he was the first to devote a whole book to what this special issue of *ab-Original* terms the "entangled gaze." His interpretational frame for the objects differed, since he appreciated their aesthetic quality and designated the producers as artists. But Lips not only analyzed the visual appearance and aesthetics of the artworks, he also acknowledged the intellectual output and critical facility of the producer. He saw in the images depicting Europeans an attempt to appropriate the power of the foreigner and a perfect depiction of the weaknesses of the White man. Lips presumed a subtle satirical and subversive potential and an aspect of protest against the hegemonic power of colonialism. As he wrote later, "When we are confronted with these works of art, reflections and self-criticism are required" (Lips 1937, 58).

Lips's book thus stands in the tradition of the *Persian Letters*, a literary genre of the Enlightenment commonly ascribed to Montesquieu (1689–1755) (Malinowski 1937, viii). This genre inverts the perspective on Europe by describing and criticizing European morals, customs, and politics through the voice of an imagined cultural outsider. Lips's book shares with this epistolary genre of fiction the satirical intention and the impetus of *Kulturkritik* (cultural critique). But then Lips's approach differs crucially, since it brings into play an outsider's perspective that is not imagined but real, and not a letter, but matter.

Whether or not Lips intended a radical critique of Europe and the European from the beginning, the array of images he collected fragmented the hegemonial Western gaze. The kaleidoscopic view set up by hundreds of images showing diverse viewpoints on European culture as represented in colonial regions is a powerful argument in itself. He saw these artworks as a means to express satire and resistance against colonial hegemony. And indeed, the array of objects fragmented the Western gaze; it exposed the observer as being observed, and it transferred agency to the colonial subject. Although each object needs to be contextualized in its own right and the provenance of Lips's collection has still to be explored in detail, this is not the purpose of this paper. Rather, in what follows, I want to lay out the mutual imbrication of Lips's biography and his scholarly work in politically volatile times and to zoom in on Julius and his wife Eva Lips's ambiguous and strategic use of Indigenous North American objects against the background of their exile in the United States.

Cast Out

With his form of cultural critique, Lips was sailing against the wind of time. Criticism as articulated in these objects by a cultural outsider was certainly not much appreciated by the rising totalitarian regime. In 1933, the

Nazis were elected in Cologne and immediately imposed *Gleichschaltung*, a system of totalitarian control over all aspects of cultural and political life in Germany. Lips was an important and well-known public figure in the cultural life of the city and had stood for the leftist Social Democratic Party, the SPD, as a candidate for Cologne's city council in the same year. After the Nazis' seizure of power, he was one of the first targets of pressure exerted against political enemies. Quickly he was dismissed from his post as a director and from his post as professor of anthropology at Cologne University and found himself under ever-increasing scrutiny.

In Lips's version of the story, the Gestapo tried everything to get hold of his scientific files and his collection of photographs, since they were perceived, as Lips observed, "as an insult to the Aryan race." The very fact that he conceded "the black man a human personality and in fact a critical power" (Lips 1937, xxvi) aroused suspicion, or so Lips claimed when in exile. Whether this part of the narrative is true or belongs, instead, to the kind of myths that Lips tended to spread to give his stories a dramatic twist is hard to say.[11] Although it seems that Lips was mainly persecuted for being a member of the SPD, it is indeed possible that the Nazi officials—well-versed in the manipulative power of images—might have opposed Lips's plans and the monograph he wanted to publish on the topic. What is certain in any case is that the planned exhibition never materialized and that Lips started to search desperately, in Europe and the United States, for a new job and a home for himself and his wife Eva Lips, who very likely coauthored many of his texts. Finally, Lips was appointed to a temporary position at Columbia University in New York with the help of German-born anthropologist Franz Boas. According to Lips, Eva, who later followed him, was able to save the collection of photographs from the Gestapo and bring it along with her to New York.[12] In the dramatic circumstances of her emigration from Germany, the transport of this collection helps us understand the relevance Lips and his wife ascribed to these images as part of their years of work, but also as bearers of subversive and, ultimately, political power.

Who Is Hitting Back?

In 1937, Lips finally succeeded in finishing his manuscript and published a book on his material, which appeared simultaneously in the United States and in England.

In the preface, titled "The Story of This Book," Lips adduces the argument that would become central in the reception of his work: the idea that art is a weapon used by an Indigenous artist to "take vengeance upon his colonizer" (Lips 1937, xxii). According to this argument, the Indigenous artist sees the colonizer as "a clown with sensitive feet and stunted instincts" (xxi),

reflecting European eccentricities. The European becomes an ungraceful human being with strange habits and rituals. Lips sees "pictures so devoid of pity, so sharp in their criticism and so true" (xxi) that he wants to shroud his face before them. As he puts it, the objects encourage "the coloured man to consider his own strength" (58), as a way to regain agency.

The former rather moderate and descriptive title *The White Men through Native Eyes* moved into the subtitle of the book. Instead, he chose the eye-catching polemic headline: *The Savage Hits Back*. From today's perspective, this title is pejorative and so is the language Lips, as a product of his time, employs in his book. But even in Lips's time and in his scientific community, the word "savage" was not seen as appropriate. From the preface of the book, we learn that the title *The Savage Hits Back* was chosen carefully and expresses Lips's ambition well. The meaning of the book was twofold: it referred not only to the unheard voices of unknown artists, but also to Lips himself.

> The idea of the proposed work was contrary to the racial theories of the Führer. . . . So it happened that the title of the book became the motto of my life. . . . The illustrations were safe, and my determination to defend them was irrevocable, even if I myself in persisting became a 'Savage.' (xxv–xxvii)

The book's cover illustration, a drawing of a carved and brightly painted figure, well represents Lips's equivocal intention. The original carving, to this day in the collection of the RJM in Cologne, is an arresting, almost life-size sculpture from the Nicobar Islands (eastern Indian Ocean). The *Kareau*[13] or "fright figure" has the appearance of an English colonial soldier with a red frock, white trousers, and pith helmet. The face of the soldier is distorted to an atrocious grimace with bared teeth in a wide-opened mouth. As described in various travel accounts, such "fright figures" resembling mythical half-human, half-animal beings were set up at the entrances of houses to ward off illnesses. In this particular sculpture, the intruder himself is incorporated to provide protection. Although the object is not made to criticize the colonizer, it gives us a truthful image of the soldier who tries to gain authority by force. The object reenacts the intimidating body language and the threat that these soldiers embodied. It is a highly performative object charged with the cruelty of colonialism.

The figure's arm is raised in a gesture of attack and, in Lips argumentative framework, is seen as a reference to the *Sieg Heil* greeting of the Nazis in a mirror-inverted way: the barbarism of colonialism and fascism seem to merge in this aggressive object. Seen in this context, the Nicobarean figure exposes the Nazis' *Herrenmenschentum* (belief in a master race) universally as barbaric.[14]

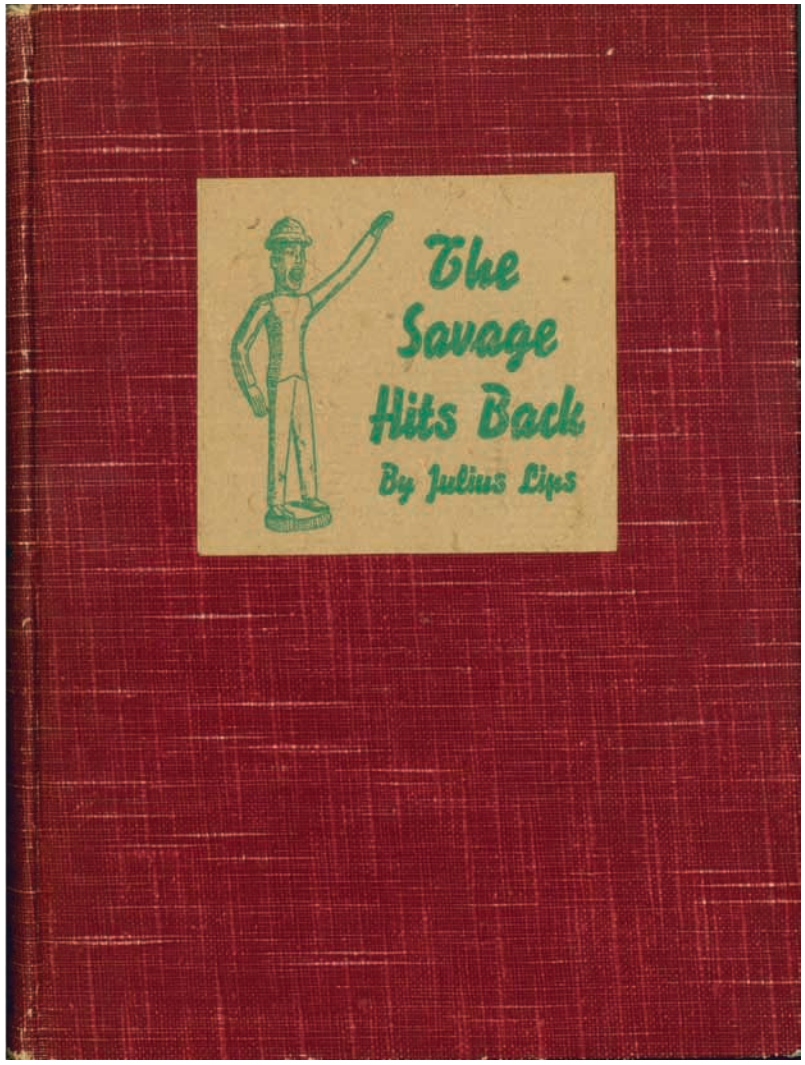

Figure 2 | Cover image. Julius E. Lips, *The Savage Hits Back or the White Man through Native Eyes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937).

Rereading *The Savage Hits Back*

The Savage Hits Back puts forward various provocations against and ruptures in the mainstream reasoning of its time, but often, it seems, unintentionally. Although Lips was in many ways ahead of his time, *The Savage Hits*

Figure 3 | Unknown artist, *Kareau* (Fright figure), Nicobar Islands, ca. 1900. Wood, pigment binder, mother of pearl, tooth, h. 119.9 cm. RJM 23331© Rheinisches Bildarchiv Cologne. Photo: Wolfgang Meier.

Back remains a product of its day. From today's perspective, the author's superior, authoritative, and sometimes patronizing positioning is disturbing. The vocabulary is discriminatory, and his anthropological conviction in higher and lower cultural strata reverberates throughout his text.

Reading the book, the arguments are seldom made as explicit as in the preface, and one finds ambiguous and even contradictory viewpoints. The descriptive parts of the book sometimes fall slightly behind the "postcolonial" perspective avant la lettre that the framing narrative offers. The German anthropologist Fritz Kramer was probably right that only at the moment he was exiled did Lips realize that the pictures at hand enabled him to put forth a radical cultural critique (Kramer 1987, viii). Lips was later criticized for using his collection of objects for his own purpose. Anthropologist Matthias Krings has pointed out that Lips "misses the chance to give the other a voice" (Krings 2001, 230). The book contains no first-person narrative from Indigenous people; instead, it is only Lips's own voice resounding throughout the book. His authoritative viewpoint, the problematic form of "ethnographic representation," and his sparse knowledge of the particular cultural background of the objects has been at the center of criticism. Lips's totalizing view of objects from all over the world was already out of date at the time, and his highly speculative, emphatic reading and visual analysis of artefacts was considered unscientific.

When Lips published his book, anthropologists had just begun to realize that looking at material culture in museum collections was not enough to understand culture, and so extensive fieldwork and "participant observation" became the leading method of this discipline. Anthropologists became less interested in material culture and turned to "informants" and their explanations of their cultures. Against this background, it seems paradoxical that Bronislaw Malinowski, the "founding father of anthropological fieldwork," wrote in the praising introduction to Lips's book that "Lips presents us with the only objective, clear, and telling documentation of native opinion on Europeans, because it is in the plastic and decorative arts that man expresses himself fully, unambiguously, and in a manner which lasts and can be reproduced" (Malinowski 1937, viii).

Malinowski admired the idea of inverting the European perspective on the world and sees in Lips's book "one of the most fruitful approaches to anthropology" (Malinowski 1937, vii). Malinowski's thought-provoking introductory lines have added to the fame of the book. "Anthropology is the science of the sense of humour. It can thus be defined without too much pretension or facetiousness. For to see ourselves as others see us is but the reverse and the counterpart of the gift to see others as they really are and as they want to be" (vii). Even though Lips's book was marginalized during the war, *The Savage Hits Back* became a pioneering work for a new generation

of anthropologists.[15] In the 1970s, young German anthropologists perceived Lips's work as a long-sought cornerstone to rebuild the discipline vis-à-vis the generation of their teachers, many of whom were involved directly or indirectly in the inhumane politics and mass murders of Nazi Germany. In the turbulent intellectual years following the 1960s, Lips himself was not spared the feverish deconstruction of his, the preceding, generation. Ironically, some of the younger anthropologists drew on Nazi polemics against Lips to expose dishonest motives for his work and publications. Julius and Eva Lips are themselves responsible for the ongoing obscurity of their biographies and political position. Their tendency to merge seemingly objective reports with a good portion of strategically applied fiction, and in particular Eva Lips's efforts to posthumously place her husband in a good or almost divine light, has robbed them of their credibility.[16] As a result, researchers have doubted the trustworthiness of almost everything the couple claimed.

Besides this mostly inner-German debate, most of Lips's critics have turned against his idea of the artist taking revenge. Lips said the artist is holding up a mirror as though to say "Look! That is what you White men are" (Lips 1937, 58). Although it seems that Lips meant this rather in a figurative sense, referring to the meaning the objects have for the Western observer, this hypothesis was taken very literally. It is only fair to say that this is not Lips's sole argument in the book. He also saw non-Western representations of Westerners as a material strategy to obtain some of their power through mimetic appropriation of Western habitus, objects, and symbols of power. But the argument that the colonizers are confronted with a cultural critique of the colonized, pushed forward by the title, has drawn all the attention. Lips's critics acknowledged the impressive anti-imperialistic gesture but denounced his analyses of the objects in his book as a misconception.

The most substantial critical examination and elaboration of Lips's approach can be found in the work of Fritz Kramer. By contrasting the depictions in Lips's book with his study of images of strangers in various ritual settings in African societies, he claimed that the European is just one barbaric stranger among others. He thus reversed the inversion and laid bare a crucial, Eurocentric bias in Lips's focus on images of Europeans. For Kramer, the European stranger of the colonial era is situated in local cosmologies as a variation of the generic stranger, the cultural outsider as part of the "wilderness" in opposition to "culture." Kramer focused on mimetic replications of European behavior in ritual performances that center on spirit possession and various masquerades. Without being able to give credit to the complexity of Kramer's argument in this paper, it can be summed up that, in his reading, these representations of Europeans appeared in ritual performances to treat spirit possession and various forms of crises, but also

in secular performances to entertain or to criticize the inappropriate behavior of cultural insiders (Kramer 1987).

Like Fritz Kramer, the historian Edward G. Norris ascertains that African images of Europeans were not made for dialogue with the person represented (Norris 1983, 16). Instead, they served their own purposes within the specific culture in which they were enacted. Norris's critique, just like Kramer's, was bound to the assumption that the images of Westerners collected in Lips's book stem from ritual contexts, addressing a local audience.

In her recent book on "humor and violence" in West Central African images of Europeans, art historian Zoe Strother has posed the substantial question anew: "Who was speaking to whom, when, and under what conditions of exchange?" (Strother 2016, 9). Strother comes to a different conclusion, pointing out that Kramer was analyzing ritual representations, whereas Lips's collection of African artefacts includes mostly secular objects made for the Western market (Strother 2016, 8). It is the great merit of Strother's recent intervention to bring a corpus of artworks into focus that art historical and anthropological research has long neglected—precisely because they were seen as souvenirs.

Strother's work centers on West Central African art, but her crucial assumption that most objects showing Europeans are made for the market also applies to most objects of Indigenous North American origin in Lips's book. Although there might be figures that were made for internal use, like Cuna images of Europeans from San Blas in Panama,[17] Lips focused on objects made for the market. For instance, he reproduced a circumpolar drawing and various examples of Haida argillite carvings from the Northwest Coast (today British Columbia): panel pipes and portraits of sailors and traders that were exclusively made for Western buyers at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Hoover and Macnair 2003). To be sure, objects made for internal use differ from those made for transcultural mediation or trade. But that does not necessarily mean that a souvenir is devoid of further meaning or is culturally insignificant.

As Strother argues, the questions that must be asked concerning these objects head in completely different directions. The objects not only show how Europeans were seen, but—following the logic of the market—also how Europeans wanted to be seen, or how artists pleased their European clients. What did the sculptor think of his product? Were these images always as innocent as the foreign patron thought?

Through her close locally and historically situated reading of Loango ivories made for sale and her masterful discussion of their iconography, Strother shows how artists inscribed hidden messages into their objects. The objects unfold their full meaning only to the cultural insider, and thus Strother finds

a subversive potential within these artworks. Strother fans out the different meanings, transferences, and reactions the various actors ascribed to and encountered with these objects, and she shows how they become multifaceted means of coping with the history of slavery and the ongoing regimes of violence brought about by trade and colonialism. Not unlike other souvenir art from colonial contact zones, these objects are media of transcultural communication, serving different interests and allowing different readings by patron and artist.

Although the aforementioned studies focus mostly on African contexts, some of the underlying questions and assumptions might be usefully applied to an Indigenous North American context where transcultural aesthetic expressions emerged in the production of souvenir art.

Haida Argillite Carvings as Seen by Julius Lips

In his book, Lips paid special attention to Haida argillite carving, which he very much admired, and commented on the realistic style that he perceived to be devoid of the symbolism usually employed in Haida art.

What critics saw as Lips's greatest methodical weakness was also his greatest strength as an author: the beguiling and emphatic interpretations that vitalize the images. In the following quote, Lips refers to the habitus of a sculptural group which depicts a husband, wife, daughter and a little dog, now in Berlin's Ethnological Museum collection.[18] Lips overcomes his lack of knowledge with his talent for entertaining and amusing the reader.

> They have not the slightest connection with the habit of Indians, but are entirely European in their peculiarities. No Indian mother will clasp her child in this fashion by the wrist. No Indian woman will lay her arms in her husband's in such a stiff and solemn way and, finally, no Indian man will put his fingertips to his hip pockets in this elegant countrified manner . . . all this has been borrowed from the European peculiarities, and even though all the figures were headless, we should still recognize the Russian married couple of the eighteenth century. . . . We can see that this is the product of a master of observation and an expert carver in slate. Even the character of the woman represented is discernible from her attitude, for the perfection of her dress and the energetic grip she has upon her daughter's wrist and husband's arm show that in her household order reigns. (Lips 1937, 220)

His humorous reading, spiced with a pinch of misogyny, refers to the kind of interethnic humor that comments on particular behaviors of strangers

Figure 4 | Unknown artist. Couple with child and dog. Haida, second half of the nineteenth century, argillite. Ethnologisches Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Inv. No IVA 7391. (Image from Lips 1937, 220.)

that are incongruent with local norms and practices. The size of the woman and the superiority that her body language expresses can also be explained differently. The women depicted were often locals married to Europeans, thus the sculpture comments on the relationship between a European man

and his Indigenous wife.[19] Whether this is right or wrong, it points to something Lips was not really aware of. The images might sometimes show local people who appropriated Western culture and who became go-betweens and cultural brokers. European dress and European habits do not necessarily signify a European. They were used also as symbols of power and wealth that resulted from trade. Furthermore, the sculpture most probably does not represent the generic other but is rather shaped by individual encounter, showing named individuals.[20] Confronted with these artworks, we can think with Lips not only about the binaries and conflict of the West and the rest but also about the role that the depicted actors play and the socioeconomic role of the artist himself as a cultural broker.[21] The simple dichotomies Lips is applying cannot be upheld in the context of the complexities of Haida argillite carving. The dualistic scheme of "them" and "us" is overlaid by much more diverse social interactions in colonial contact zones.[22]

Encounter

While in Germany, Lips's interpretations were inspired mostly by analyzing the visual appearance of the artworks and reading ethnographic literature and travelogues. He emphatically tried to see his own culture through the eyes of *others* from the perspective of his armchair. Although in the preface Lips maintained that he experienced direct encounters and even lived "the life of these people" as a "modern Haroun al-Raschid," these claims are misleading. As was common for most German museum anthropologists, Julius and Eva Lips stayed mostly within the walls of the museum storage spaces. In the United States, the situation changed. Julius and Eva went on "field trips" to study Indigenous law and customs of the Naskapi (Innu). Their preoccupation with Indigenous North American cultures became a lifelong devotion for both of them.

Starting in the summer of 1935, Julius and Eva Lips lived for a few months with the Montagnais and Naskapi[23] on the coast and in the forests of Labrador.[24] The preface of Lips's book *The Savage Hits Back* is framed by a romantic tale set on the shore of Lake Chibougamau in Labrador. Sitting in a tent at night listening to the stories of his "Indian friends," a message from his publisher reaches Julius Lips requesting an introduction to his book. Lips is displeased and afraid to conjure the ghosts of the past; and having lived for months by the lakes of Labrador, everything that happens in Germany seems unreal and faraway: "When I thought of this, it seemed as though a shaman had frightened me with his *mista'peo,* his wizard spirit" (Lips 1937, xix). In what follows, Lips unfolds the story of his systematic disenfranchisement and how he resisted absurd accusations in interrogations and trials

because he "had studied law and, in consequence, the old superstition concerning the primacy of justice was still too strongly rooted in me for me to be willing to abandon it" (xxix).

Here Lips deploys the figure of cultural critique through inversion in various ways and contrasts the decline of law in Germany with the Indigenous law that he came in order to learn: "And truly, in this sphere of law, what a stretch it is from the barbarians of the Third Reich to the 'primitive' men of Labrador. What moral heights, what humanity, and what immemorial justice do the simple codes of the social life of these Indians show, compared with the new German law" (Lips 1937, xx).

After giving detailed descriptions of the decay of character in friends and colleagues and their willingness to cooperate with the new regime, he turns back to the "noble savage." The preface ends by taking the reader back to the peacefulness of a starlit night among the lakes of Labrador and Lips philosophizing with Wa.pachioo, the "Very Old," about universal human rights:

> Wa.pachioo flung back the flap of the tent; stepped out into the brilliant night. The air was pure and cold. Above us streamed the northern lights with their three-fold crown of short vertical lines of stars.
>
> "What are the greatest blessings in your life?" I asked the old man, and he answered without hesitation: "Peace, freedom and justice." (Lips 1937, xxxi)

This conversation makes one think that Indigenous peoples of North America in the 1930s were far from living in peace, freedom, and justice, but Lips does not consistently pursue this train of thought.

The lakes of Labrador became a place of longing in Julius and Eva Lips's memories, and whenever it was possible, they came back for a visit. In her later writings, Eva Lips remembers the "Indians" as her best friends in North America. This statement can easily be read as a rather typical example of German peculiar and rather phantasmatic relations or even exaggerated identification with Indigenous peoples.[25] But it is very likely that the Lips felt drawn to their native interlocutors by a sense of relatedness that emerged from the couple's specific situation in exile. Julius and Eva Lips were struggling to accommodate to living in the United States. Especially Eva Lips gained a certain fame for her rousing speeches against the ideology of the Third Reich, and both were active in antifascist circles and in regular contact with other exiled German intellectuals. And still they always felt like strangers and longed to go back to Europe. Lips obviously felt that, as Germans, they, too, were becoming another version of the "savage" in mainstream American life. And whereas Eva Lips managed to adjust to living in

exile relatively easily, Julius Lips had difficulties with the language and was not exactly on good terms with his new colleagues. Both were shocked by the strict segregation and the color line that separated the U.S. population in all aspects of life.[26]

Also, living in the United States meant living in a settler society, and Julius Lips eagerly collected newspaper articles that reported on Indigenous North American life and in particular any reports of attempted resistance against the occupation of their lands. As anthropologist Cora Bender puts it, the Lipses were actually doing in the United States what was proposed in *The Savage Hits Back*: studying the Indigenous North American reaction to colonial oppression and using the encounter as a mirror for self-reflection.[27]

Images of Violence

Against this background, it is quite puzzling that Lips did not take up the theme of the persistent fight of Indigenous peoples against the colonizers. Many scenes of violence and counterstrikes testifying to resistance to the European invaders are documented in ledger book drawings from the Great Plains, and these drawing were known to Lips.

When he left Cologne, he took the collection of photographs with him to the United States, but the heavy glass slides and several duplications remain to this day in the museum drawers. This archive proves that Lips knew the iconic ledger drawings that the Minneconjou Lakota Sioux warrior Red Horse made after the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876. Lips copied the images of Sioux warriors charging and killing American soldiers from Garrick Mallery's *Picture-Writings of the American Indians*, published in 1894. Obviously, he planned to write about these images when he conducted his research in Germany. The question remains: Why did he then exclude these scenes of violence from his publication?

In Lips's image collection in Cologne is a particularly eye-catching scene of Indigenous-European encounter that would have fit perfectly in the message of *The Savage Hits Back*. It is a photograph of a drawing attributed to a "Chippewa" artist but untraceable to an existing collection. The drawing suggests the encounter between a very small, duplicitous European man and a comparatively large Indigenous man. Both act in antagonistic ways. Whereas the White man lifts his top hat as a greeting and holds a sword hidden on his back, the Indigenous man shows a peace pipe in front of his body but also holds a battle-axe, ready for the onset of violence. This drawing gets its humor not only from the caricature-like style but also from the ambivalent situation; it seems to show as well that the Indigenous man is well aware of the deceitfulness of the European and is prepared for a counterattack.

Figure 5 | Unknown artist. Photograph from Julius Lips photograph collection, RJM (date unknown).

The question why Lips did not include images of actual violence against colonizers remains a puzzling one. Lips might have feared that, set in his interpretational framework, such images would have offended the American reader of the 1930s. The history of the "pioneers" and the great trail to the West at the heart of American patriotism made this issue too sensitive to push to the extreme. The time was not yet ripe and Lips's position in exile too fragile to criticize the hosts of his place of refuge. Furthermore, Lips might have been aware of the primitivistic stereotype of the excessively violent Indian that vindicated the marginalization of Indigenous peoples from American society. The native interlocuters Lips met were not bloodthirsty warriors. Eva Lips, who seemed to have looked for the stereotypical Indian hero of German popular culture when traveling to Labrador in 1935, expresses in her field notes impressions of her first encounters marked by disappointment at finding only "toothless tigers."[28]

Furthermore, the images of warfare and the mutilated bodies of American soldiers in ledger drawings might not have supported Lips's aim to show the counterstrike in the figurative sense. On the contrary, showing the carnage of war might have conveyed the image of "Indian savagery" and supported the idea of the imperative need to subjugate and "civilize" Indigenous peoples. Seen in this light, it makes sense that *The Savage Hits Back*, despite its provocative title, showed not a single image of actual violence.[29] The provocation of *The Savage Hits Back* was carefully considered and calibrated to suit Lips's American audience.

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NOTES

1. "In Tausenden von Bänden liegt die Ansicht des weißen Mannes über die Kultur der Naturvölker in zahlreichen Bibliotheken auf der ganzen Welt vor. Wie mit einem ungeheuren Facettenauge hat die abendländische Welt die Kultur der Farbigen beobachtet, zerteilt, in Stücke geschnitten und zu erklären versucht. Sie ist immer Objekt gewesen für uns, an dem wir mehr oder minder herumexperimentiert haben. Auch die Kunstäußerungen der Naturvölker sind in den letzten Jahrzehnten Gegenstand mannigfacher Erörterungen geweßen, die oftmals viel mehr—etwa bei der Negerplastik—hineingeheimnißten an Geist und europäischem Ungeist, als für das Erkennen der Tatsachen gut war. Viel zu hochmütig und anmaßend war der Europäer, um einmal nachzuforschen, wie denn der schwarze, rote, gelbe Mann seine, die europäische Kultur betrachtete, eine Kultur, welche die eigene zerbrach, vernichtete oder bestenfalls verflachte." Lips 1933.

2. For Julius Lips's contested biography, which is still controversially discussed today in the historical context of the nascent Nazi regime, see Pützstück 1995 and Kreide-Damani 2010a.

3. See Foucault 1995, 200. Foucault refers to incarcerated prisoners, but his description has been applied to the Western gaze on the *other*.

4. On the entanglement of the different strands of German anthropology, see Schmuhl 2009.

5. See Kreide-Damani 2010b. Kreide-Damani has contrasted the careers of the two German anthropologists Julius Lips and Martin Heydrich before and after World War Two and shown not only the complicity of German anthropology with Nazi ideology, but also the unabated continuation of Heydrich's career in the shadow of the Cold War.

6. For Lips's unusual curatorial practice in Cologne see Brus 2013 and 2018a.

7. This collection of sculptures will be published in Brus 2019. The accompanying scientific contributions will zoom in on particular histories and specific contexts of exchange between Colonizers and Colonized. More recent research has shown that it is possible to trace some of these works to individual artists like the Nigerian sculptor Thomas Onajeje Odulate and the Australian Aboriginal Tommy McRae/Yakaduna, who sold much of their work to European and American settlers, travelers, and colonial officials. Otherwise, much research on the provenance of these objects remains to be done. Lips's collection can be accessed at the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum and the archives of the University of Leipzig. Parts of the collection have recently been shown in the exhibition "The Savage Hits Back"—Colonial Era Depictions of Europeans in the Lips Collection (see Halder and Himmelheber 2018) and will again form the core of the exhibition "Spectral-White. The Appearance of Colonial Europeans" in 2019 in the HKW (Haus der Kulturen der Welt) in Berlin.

8. Funds for researching and writing this article were generously provided by the DFG-funded Graduate Research Training Group "Locating Media" of the University of Siegen. For commenting on earlier drafts of this article, I thank the participants of the 2017 conference "Entangled Gaze: Indigenous and European Views of Each Other" held in the Art Gallery of

Ontario in Toronto, as well as Gerald McMaster, Julia Lum, Erhard Schüttpelz, Cora Bender, and Martin Zillinger. In particular, I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

9. The German here is "dillettantisch," "leer," "unerquicklich."

10. In her groundbreaking study on the souvenir in North American art from the Northeast, Ruth Phillips indicated the effect of "salvage anthropology" and other essentialist discourses on the scientific reception and exhibitionary politics concerning "hybrid" art forms. See Phillips 1998, 3–71.

11. See Pützstück 1995: 222–24. Pützstück, who searched without results for evidence in the sources of the National Democrats, considers this part of the story a legend.

12. Ibid., 224–29.

13. The Nicobar Islands, a small group of tropical islands in the Indian Ocean, were annexed by the British in the nineteenth century and used as prison islands; this brought deadly diseases to the local population. See Brus 2018b.

14. A year later, in 1938, Eva Lips published her U.S. bestseller, the autobiographic book *Savage Symphony*. The book contains an extended version of the preface of *The Savage Hits Back* and tells the story of the couple's social and material deprivation in Nazi Germany, not without dramatizing the facts with a few elements of fiction. The uncompromising description of German society provoked the immediate ban not only of *Savage Symphony* but also of *The Savage Hits Back* in Germany. Thereafter the couple was expatriated, their properties in Germany confiscated, and Julius Lips's doctoral degree revoked.

15. See Kohl 1984, 11; Krings 2001, 227; see also Kramer 1977 and 1987.

16. See in particular E. Lips 1965. Eva Lips had been working for her husband until his death in 1950 and made a scientific career only afterward in the German Democratic Republic. Her share in Lips's publications hasn't been identified yet; it is probable that parts of *The Savage Hits Back* might have been written by her.

17. For the ritual use of sculptures with Western clothing and physiognomy, see Taussig 1993 and Severi 2001.

18. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ethnologisches Museum IV.A.7391.

19. Interview with Gerald McMaster, July 17, 2017.

20. Quarcoopome, who gave profound insights in the complexity of African representations of Europeans in his exhibitionary catalogue *Through African Eyes*, has pointed out that images of Europeans in African Art often show individuals and not the generic *other*. See Quarcoopome 2010, 15. Some of his basic theses can be applied to other colonial contact zones.

21. Although the focus of this article is on Lips's reception of the Indigenous *other*, a more symmetrical approach would be necessary to balance the research on this particular entangled history of Indigenous and European views of each other. A deeper study of the Indigenous artistic expressions that Lips discussed would need further research by a specialized scholar and in-depth studies of single objects, individual artists, and specific cultural contexts. Working on Lips's collection, I have been doing an exemplary study in an Australian and West-African context, combining archival with cooperative research in the case of the Nigerian sculptor Thomas Onajeje Odulate. See "Realism in the Trading Zone of Cultural Encounter: Thomas Onajeje Odulate and Tommy McRae" in Brus 2019.

22. Quarcoopome 2010 refers to the naivety of a simple separation between "us" and "them" and points to the various intermediaries depicted in Western clothing (17–18) .

23. Both groups are also known today under their Indigenous name as "Innu" and inhabit an area in Canada that comprises parts of the province of Quebec and some eastern portions of Labrador.

24. In summer 1947, just before Julius and Eva Lips were about to leave the United States and return to Germany, they conducted another field trip to the Chippewa in northern Minnesota and the Sioux in South Dakota. See Pützstück 1995, 268.

25. See, for example, Penny 2013.

26. Lips wrote an autobiographic novel about his experiences teaching at Washington University (Lips 1950). See also Kreide-Damani, "Writing in Exile: 'The Best Way of Working Together (Is) to Work Separately,'" in Brus 2019.

27. Cora Bender gave a more thorough exploration of the Lips's encounter with Indigenous peoples in her paper for the conference "*The Savage Hits Back* Revisited. Art and Global Contemporaneity in the Colonial Encounter," Cologne, February 12, 2016.

28. University of Leipzig, NA Lips.

29. Realistic images of violence against colonizers are rare. Apart from Indigenous art, it is hard to find such representations, and in Lips's archive, these are the only examples. In most African Art before 1950, violence is shown in much more encoded ways.

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Pocahontas Looks Back and Then Looks Elsewhere: The Entangled Gaze in Contemporary Indigenous Art

Monika Siebert

ABSTRACT | In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, various genres of visual art in North America feature Indigenous subjects looking from the canvas or the screen at the viewers to interpellate them as implicated in the gaze framing the artwork. In this article, I provide an historical genealogy of this returned gaze, starting with Simon van de Passe's 1616 engraving, *Matoaka als Lady Rebecca*. I show how subsequent depictions of Pocahontas depart from the reciprocal gaze of Van de Passe's portrait and how contemporary art returns to this theme of the returned gaze, using Shelley Niro's video work *The Shirt* (2003) as an example. *The Shirt* deploys the returned gaze as an indictment of settler colonialism in North America yet frets that this kind of indictment becomes too easily co-opted as the familiar trope of the Indian complaint, its public circulation strengthening the multiculturalist credentials of North American democracies. So Niro frames *The Shirt* with two momentary gestures of willful looking away from the camera, to some unrepresented elsewhere, thus reconfiguring the entangled gaze of contemporary North American art. The looking elsewhere bypasses the scopic regime that endows the viewer with mastery while it reduces the Indigenous subject to the object of this masterful gaze. Further, it implies a political and social space of privacy and agency that does not have to be made transparent and accessible for the benefit of the settler viewer's enlightenment. *The Shirt* makes clear, however, that such an attempt is paradoxical: the looking elsewhere reconfigures the dominant gaze but remains entangled with it nevertheless.

KEYWORDS | contemporary Indigenous art, gaze, video/film, settler colonialism, Shelley Niro, *The Shirt* (2003)

There's a curious moment in the opening sequences of Shelley Niro's 2003 video work *The Shirt*. Seemingly insignificant—a mere few seconds in a six-minute long film—it features a panning medium shot that brings into view a woman standing in a green meadow looking off to the side and laughing, as if she were engaged in good conversation, perhaps with the support

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

crew, who remain outside the frame and thus invisible to the spectators (figure 1). As the pan brings her into the center, the woman slowly turns to face the camera and contends with its presence, as laughter gradually fades from her face and her expression freezes into an ironized version of a stereotype pervasive in U.S. cultural iconography, the stoic Indian. Yet, her jeans, T-shirt, reflective sunglasses, and the U.S. flag folded into a bandana on her head also recall the Indigenous North Americans depicted in Fritz Scholder's and T. C. Cannon's paintings or Sam English's posters: figures embodying the contemporary syncretic iterations of North American indigeneity (figure 1). The emphatic change in her facial expression suggests that looking away from and looking back at the camera involve different kinds of engagement with the object of her gaze beyond the frame, on one hand, and with the spectator, on the other.

However, this initial moment of a joyous interaction with an explicitly extradiegetic reality risks being overlooked. The rest of Niro's video repeatedly reprises the woman's gaze straight into the camera, which in subsequent shots is paired with indictments of expropriation, removal, and treaty abrogation visited on Indigenous peoples by North American colonial governments, printed in black on the white T-shirt she is wearing (figure 2). The film intercuts the images of the woman looking at us with images from a camera tracking from right to left (and from east to west) along Grand River all the way to Niagara Falls, passing natural and industrial scapes on the U.S.-Canada border. By intertwining these panning and tracking shots in a consistent pattern, the film juxtaposes the woman's direct gaze resolutely trained on the camera against the viewers' indirect gaze sweeping across the land and the woman's

Figure 1 | Shelley Niro, *The Shirt*, 2003. Left: DVD screen-capture, Toronto, Canada: Vtape. Right: print, courtesy of the artist.

body, thus reflecting two different postures toward the land: one rooted and the other migratory. As our eyes travel across the various landscapes and return to her, still standing in her initial spot in shot after shot, to read the next page of the T-shirt book, we can't help but assume the migratory stance. Throughout the film, then, viewers look, intermittently, at the land passing before them and at the woman looking at them looking at her, the arrangement evidenced by the reflection of the camera in the woman's glasses.[1] An entangled gaze indeed. And a familiar one as well; by the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, various genres of visual art in North America have been populated by Indigenous subjects looking back from the canvas or the screen to interpellate the viewers as participants in the gaze framing the artwork and to level pointed indictments of settler colonialism.

There is so much intensity, and familiarity, in this returned gaze that by the time the video ends, the viewers have likely forgotten that it began, a mere five minutes earlier, with the woman looking someplace else altogether, as if in a fleeting prefatory gesture to the serious work of contestation and resistance that follows. So, albeit fleetingly again, in its final second of fading into black, *The Shirt*'s concluding shot reenacts the opening gesture of looking elsewhere, now with a different woman wearing the white shirt with the same final inscription.[2] Yet if *The Shirt*'s main interest is historical revisionist work, why frame the video with this kind of formal digression constituting a clear departure from its otherwise consistent structural

Figure 2 | Shelley Niro, *The Shirt,* 2003, prints courtesy of the artist.

design? Given the obvious cultural capital of looking back at the camera to assert subjectivity and expose the various investments of the viewers' gaze, what is the power of looking not just away but elsewhere? Why engage the viewers only to point out their exclusion from an implied but invisible physical universe and its joyous circle of sociality? What is the rhetorical function of this willful looking away and toward where the viewers cannot follow, if we consider the full extent to which looking has been theorized in the visual arts scholarship and bring the political histories of Indigenous nations in North America to bear on the concept of the gaze and its practices in contemporary North American Indigenous art?

To answer these questions, I first offer a genealogy of the returned gaze prevalent in particular in contemporary Indigenous art. I do this by going all the way back to, arguably, its first precedent and the most consequential image of an Indigenous person looking back at the viewers examining her likeness: *Matoaka als Lady Rebecca*, a famous portrait of Pocahontas by Dutch engraver Simon van de Passe. I then investigate how subsequent depictions of Pocahontas depart from the reciprocal gaze of Van de Passe's portrait and how contemporary Indigenous art returns to it, using *The Shirt* as the central example. I conclude by arguing that Niro's video work deploys the returned gaze to offer an indictment of settler colonialism in North America yet frets that this kind of indictment becomes too easily co-opted as its public circulation via indigenous artworks strengthens the multiculturalist credentials of North American democracies. In this context, the gesture of looking elsewhere opening *The Shirt* takes on important meaning. It shifts the entangled gaze of contemporary North American art by refusing the scopic relation that imbues the viewer with mastery and subjectivity at the expense of the indigenous object of the gaze, all the while implying a political and social space of privacy and agency that excludes the viewer. It also makes clear, however, that such a shift is thoroughly paradoxical: the looking elsewhere reconfigures the dominant gaze but remains entangled with it nevertheless.

Images of Pocahontas are central to U.S. iconography, because the figure of this Powhatan woman has so persistently been used to make sense of the complicated engagement between the European colonial empires and Indigenous nations in North America. She has been variously claimed as the mother of all Americans, denounced as a traitor, the North American La Malinche,[3] and reclaimed as a diplomat, spy, and medicine woman (Allen 2003). That most recently she has returned in *Americans*, a major exhibition at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., as one of the four narratives/symbols of the twisted nexus of American attitudes regarding Indigenous peoples, further testifies to how

indispensable she has been to the self-understanding of the United States as a nation (see P. N. Barrera's review in this issue). Van de Passe's engraving reminds us that who Pocahontas is taken to be, and how her images are deployed as expedient cultural capital, has much to do with where she is looking and what her gaze reveals about the scopic regimes encoded in her depictions at various historical junctions.

Figure 3 | Simon van de Passe, *Matoaks als Rebecca daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan*, 1616, engraving, London, UK: The British Museum, 1863,0509.625.

Created in 1616 during Pocahontas's visit to London with her husband John Rolfe and infant son Thomas, Van de Passe's engraving was printed and reprinted often in the early seventeenth century (figure 3). It has inspired countless reprisals over the last four hundred years by European, American, and Indigenous artists, resulting in a variety of Pocahontases, each suited to the ideological exigencies of the historical moment of its production. In a very concrete sense, then, Van de Passe's engraving serves as an apt point of origin for the subsequent entanglements of the American gaze, understood as the vast catalogue of the various acts of looking at each other undertaken by European and American settlers and Indigenous peoples in North America as well as the subjectivities and relationships that this very looking both constituted and undermined, all evidenced to some extent in the resulting artwork.

Her original likeness, believed to be taken from life, depicts Pocahontas in the then-contemporary conventions of royal portraiture,[4] wearing European dress and holding an ostrich feather in her right hand, her eyes meeting the artist's and the presumed viewers' gaze. In this returned gaze, the portrait encodes visually a reciprocal engagement between Powhatan Matoaka as Lady Rebecca and her English hosts, Pocahontas being looked at but also looking back, enacting her complex subjectivity and political agency, both aptly captured in her two names and in her parentage, which is detailed in the inscription surrounding her image. She is an object of the painter's and then of the public's gaze, certainly one of those "Indians" brought back to the European courts from the American voyages as curiosities testifying to the wonders of the New World, especially its promise for both spiritual and economic harvests. Yet she is clearly the subject of her own gaze too, acknowledging the viewers' eyes by meeting them with her own; perhaps, contemporary scholars might want to imagine, even aware of the ideological ends to which her likeness would be put in efforts to raise funds for the Virginia Company's continuing support. Van de Passe extends to Pocahontas a subjectivity similar to that assumed by and of European royalty at the time via the imperial accoutrements, the conventions of royal portraiture, and her direct gaze. Thus, his portrait reflects the then-reciprocal political and economic relations between England and the Powhatan Confederacy, as well as between English colonists and Indigenous nations elsewhere in North America well into the eighteenth century, as testified to by the practice of treaty negotiations. If we take this reciprocal gaze structuring Pocahontas's first portrait as an origin point of the history of the North American entangled gaze, then we can trace how subsequent representations regress from it, return to it, and perhaps move beyond it to other possibilities both representational and political.

To capture the particular ways in which depictions of Pocahontas by artists in the United States in particular depart from the reciprocal gaze of Van de Passe's portrait, we can turn to the four artworks featuring her on display in the U.S. Capitol building in Washington, D.C.: Antonio Capellano's 1825 sandstone carving (figure 4) and a section of Constantino Brumidi's *Frieze of American History* (1859, 1877),[5] both depicting the purported rescue of John Smith; John Gadsby Chapman's 1839 *Baptism of Pocahontas*, one of the eight monumental Historic Rotunda Paintings (figure 4); and a copy of the eighteenth-century Booton Hall oil painting after Van de Passe's 1616 engraving, now held by the U.S. Senate (figure 5). Sanctioned by the U.S. government at various historical junctions, these four depictions readily represent the general trend in representing Pocahontas as an object rather than a subject of the gaze. The two works that depict the mythical Smith rescue exemplify a tradition that emerged nearly contemporaneously with Van de Passe's portrait (with its first known example included in John Smith's 1624 *Generall Historie*), to become central to U.S. national creation stories in the early nineteenth century and endure in popular culture, from thousands of children's books to Disney films. In the Capitol pieces, as in other Smith rescue images, Pocahontas is undeniably a figure of action: she dramatically interposes herself between the prostrate Smith and the club-wielding Powhatan men, her arms and eyes raised imploringly toward them. But her agency does not stem from her direct gaze signaling a reciprocal engagement with the viewers that reconfirms the subjectivities of both, as in Van de Passe's portrait. Rather, her agency arises from her intervention on behalf of Smith, an act meaningful only to the extent that it is auxiliary to American settler colonialism, and thus marks a particularly ironic historic turning point, the beginning of the rise of the British colonial empire

Figure 4 | Left: Antonio Capellano, *Preservation of Captain Smith by Pocahontas, 1606*, 1825, sandstone, Washington, D.C.: Capitol Rotunda. Right: John Gadsby Chapman, *Baptism of Pocahontas*, 1840, oil on canvas, Washington, D.C.: Capitol Rotunda.

and the demise of the Powhatan one. Pocahontas's feather skirt and headdress serve to highlight the liminality of this moment: although her clothing signifies her Indianness, she already grasps the incoming future by aligning her imploring look with that of Smith.[6] The gaze deployed in these images reflects the favorite American fantasy that translates a bloody conquest into a story of romance and marriage featuring a willing Indigenous woman[7] precisely by containing Pocahontas's vision within the dominant scopic regime, subsuming her in the nineteenth-century's U.S. nationalist myth making.[8]

Chapman's *Baptism of Pocahontas*, a logical extension of the Smith rescue depictions,[9] forecloses Pocahontas's gaze even further: in fact, she does not look at anybody or anything at all; her gaze is notable for its lack of object (figure 4). Thus it has no power other than that of signaling submission to a higher authority, one she cannot even implore, let alone challenge. Although Chapman's painting somewhat abides by historical fact by having replaced John Smith with Pocahontas's English husband to be, John Rolfe,[10] it allegorizes Pocahontas as the willing handmaid to British colonialism, and by extension, when it was installed in the Capitol in 1840, to U.S. continental expansionism.[11] And yet, the painting also preserves the traces of her former gaze, the one at the center of Van de Passe's engraving: whereas Pocahontas lowers her eyes while kneeling in front of Reverend Whitaker with Rolfe standing right behind her, thus framed/captured by the English patriarchal order about to become ascendant in North America,[12] her brother Nantequaus and her uncle Opechankanough participate in the event by refusing to serve witness to it, each purposefully averting his gaze, the latter almost—but not quite—meeting the viewers' eyes as a result.[13] However indicative that refusal might be of a residual Powhatan subjectivity and political agency, the formal strategies of the painting—from calculated juxtapositions in the placing of the figures, heightened by the strategic use of light and dark colors, to the intertwining of various acts of looking within the image—literally plunge the Powhatan elite into the darkness of the past as they recede before the light of Christianity and English civilization. The painting celebrates Pocahontas's choice of alliance as divinely sanctioned and historically prescient, thus legitimating the conquest and settlement of North America as Manifest Destiny; at the painting's illuminated center, Pocahontas is rescued from historical oblivion, but at the cost of her Powhatan self. The less subjectivity Pocahontas claims and performs, the more emphatically she is the mother of Americans, her agency reduced to her subjection to religious and political authority, an abdication best communicated by her downcast gaze.

The copy of the Booton Hall portrait displayed in the Senate chambers exemplifies the changes in Pocahontas's portraiture—the disappearance of her Powhatan features and the diminishing of her gaze—that go hand in

hand with the Smith rescue images (figure 5). The original oil painting translated Van de Passe's engraving into color while retaining the iconic posture, clothing, accessories, and Pocahontas's direct gaze. But it likened its subject to European women: the skin is rendered pale, the hair brown, the facial features lacking the distinctiveness of Van de Passes portrait. Believed to be painted by 1760 or 1770, though its author remains unidentified, this image of Pocahontas gets taken up by the nineteenth-century American portraitists. Richard Norris-Brooke's *Pocahontas*, for example, begun in the 1880s but not completed until 1907, for the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown, reinterprets the Booton Hall painting as a standing portrait, faithfully preserving the details of the clothing (figure 5). Norris-Brooke's Pocahontas looks back at the viewers, but her gaze is deemphasized by the rescaling of the portrait from bust to full figure, thus no longer a focal point as was the case in the Van de Passe and Booton Hall versions. In addition, the phenotypic conversion begun in the Booton Hall painting runs full course here: Pocahontas looks altogether like a White American woman, her tiny face nearly obliterated by her elaborate clothing. Gone as well is her geopolitical context made visible in the inscription surrounding her portrait by Van de Passe and retained in the Booton Hall version. Posed on a blank black background, with an adoption of European culture signified by her dress as her only relevant context, she has become fully incorporated into the U.S. foundational myth. Except for the name in the title, her Powhatan provenience is erased; one could quip that Pocahontas becomes an immigrant in her own country.

Figure 5 | Left: Unknown artist, *Pocahontas*, after 1616, oil on canvas, Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, NPG.65.61. Center: Richard Norris Brooke, *Pocahontas*, 1889–1907, oil on canvas, 84 x 52 in., Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of John Barton Payne, 19.1.51. Right: Thomas Sully, *Pocahontas*, 1852, oil on canvas, Richmond: Virginia Museum of History and Culture, 852.2.

Whereas in the Norris-Brooke painting Pocahontas looks back at the viewers, albeit as a White woman whose direct gaze cedes the stage to her properly attired body signifying the success of the American civilizational progress, in other nineteenth-century portraits she is often represented facing the viewers but looking off to the side. Rather than meeting their gaze, she facilitates its uncontested deployment. Thomas Sully's 1852 painting, for example, depicts Pocahontas seated, in European attire and adorned in pearls, the ostrich feather replaced by a flower, the dramatic landscape in the background an acknowledgment of the period's aesthetic conventions (figure 5). Her hair flows long and black; her features have been described as Mediterranean rather than Powhatan; she is looking off to the side, not at anything in particular, with a placid expression on her face. By the mid-nineteenth century, Pocahontas is firmly ensconced in the U.S. national mythology as a mother of the nation, and she is particularly revered in Virginia as the progenitor of local aristocracy. And so in Sully's portrait, she delivers herself, presumably willingly, to the nation's appropriating gaze, just as she does in Chapman's painting over a decade earlier. When she does look back at the viewer, as she does in Norris-Brooke's painting fifty years later, it is as a Christianized handmaid to the American empire, first imagined in the Smith rescue renderings, now entirely committed—her body fully clothed in Western attire—to the American imperial project.

These depictions of Pocahontas as a willing object of the imperial (male) gaze solidify into a long-lived aesthetic convention of depicting Indigenous subjects, and women in particular, in new media as well, beginning with photography, which was buoyed especially by the rise of ethnology in the late nineteenth century. For a telling example, we might recall the work of the most prolific photographer of North America's Indigenous peoples, Edward Curtis. In his portraits in particular, Indigenous men and women either look away to facilitate the deployment of the ethnographic gaze, typically focused on the highlighted details of material culture and presumed phenotype, or look back, only to affirm the civilizational superiority of North American settler culture, as the photographs' captions offered by the author himself often insist.[14] The hold of this ethnographic convention, which reflected the notion of Indians as the vanishing race and the mandate of salvage ethnography, has been tenacious. It is not until the second half of the twentieth century that Pocahontas starts looking back again, so to say, as an assertively Indigenous woman; this time she does so in decidedly contestatory ways as well. Working to recapture Indigenous subjectivity and agency from the legacy of objectification, if not outright erasure, contemporary North American visual artists focus on the valences of Pocahontas's direct gaze, as if purposely going back to Van de Passe's portrait to offer its updated versions.

Overt rejoinders to depictions such as the Booton Hall and Norris-Brooke's paintings imbue Pocahontas's gaze with explicitly Indigenous subjectivity by restoring her features highlighted in Van de Passe. The cultural capital of the explicitly Indigenous subject's returned gaze invigorates the broader late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century project of remaking the American Indian portraiture in the work of artists such as Dougan Aguilar, Pamela Shields, Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, Shelley Niro, Richard Ray Whitman, Matika Wilbur, and Gwendolen Cates, among others. Indigenous women and men look from canvases or screens in these works, intently and often in extreme close-up, explicitly interpellating the viewers as active participants in the various transactions of recognition taking place across the artworks, in their acknowledgement and reconfiguration of the gaze. Unlike Van de Passe's engraving, where Pocahontas's returned gaze signified reciprocal engagement of equals, these depictions deploy the direct looking back of their subjects with the added imperative of contesting the dominant gaze and the scopic regime it reflects and maintains.

Shelley Niro's *The Shirt* eloquently reaffirms the political efficacy of this kind of deliberately performed stance of looking back at the viewer in the context of Indigenous representation in European and North American visual arts, especially its ability to claim representational agency, both political and cultural, for Indigenous peoples. That the woman at the center of Niro's film is Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie, an acclaimed visual artist whose body of work explicitly engages the politics of the gaze, reinforces the centrality of this issue in *The Shirt*. Both Niro and Tsinhnahjinnie often deploy the direct gaze of the Indigenous subject in their artworks.[15] Niro turns to it throughout her career, for example, in *Rebel* (1987), *Mohawks in Beehives* (1991), *This Land Is Mime Land* (1992), *Abnormally Aboriginal* (2013), and in multiple self-portraits, some serious and some tongue-in-cheek, many often both at the same time. In her triptychs, a genre Niro engages frequently, the returned gaze is at times put into sharper relief by comparison to its obverse, the subject depicted in dark glasses covering her eyes in *Abnormally Aboriginal* or with her back turned to the camera in *This Land Is Mime Land*, for example. This multivalent returned gaze structures much of Tsinhnahjinnie's work as well, such as the *Portraits against Amnesia* (2003) collection, and in pieces such as *It's Time to Go Home* from *Photographic Memoirs of an Aboriginal Savant* (1994) and *The Promises Were So Sweet* from *Double Vision* (2010)—works that recover Indigenous agency from the settler photographic archive by digitally manipulating nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Curtis-like portraits of American Indians. The returned gaze takes on a particularly explicit political edge in Tsinhnahjinnie's four-minute video, *An Aboriginal Worldview* (2002),[16] in which

a woman, clad in full burka made of American flags, her hands bound in front of her, dances to a soundtrack of drumming and singing all across the American continent in a series of increasingly visually distorted images, alternating in long and medium shots. The last shot of the video features the only part of her body not obliterated by the flag burka, a sliver of her eyes centered in the shot and trained intensely on the viewer in an increasingly extreme close-up, explicitly drawing the attention of the U.S. public away from the post-9/11 war on terror and toward the ongoing colonial subjugation of Indigenous North Americans.

Like *An Aboriginal Worldview, The Shirt* repopulates the American landscape with Indigenous subjects cognizant of their history and asserting their political agency. Against the expectations instilled by multiculturalism, Niro's film eschews any ethnographic narrative, offering in its place an indictment of North American settler colonialism, an indictment that does not have to be made legitimate by autoethnographic displays of Indigenous cultures. It foregrounds instead contemporary economic and political issues affecting Indigenous peoples in North America. Images of waterfalls, rivers, and electric power lines serve to highlight the importance of land and water rights. The visual references to what is often called the *Guswenta*, the Haudenosaunee wampum belt (see R. Hill's conference extract in this issue),[17] in the film's opening shot, remind us of the continued relevance of the historic treaties negotiated between Indigenous nations and European and American colonial governments. With this evocation of the long history of diplomacy, *The Shirt* also harkens back to Pocahontas's direct gaze in Van de Passe's engraving, investing the returned gaze of Niro's protagonist with the authority derived from political sovereignty of Indigenous nations. The film's framing and editing reinforces the notion of political sovereignty with that of indigeneity understood literally as rootedness in place. The juxtaposition of the landscape shots continuously tracking east to west against the shots featuring the two shirt wearers, which pan to the left to bring the figure to the center and then pan back to the right, also emphasize their rootedness in place: very literally, the shirt wearers never move at all. By the film's final sequences, the camera ceases to move as well. The recurring tracking shots across the landscape yield to alternating shots of water and of the second shirt wearer, but without any tracking or panning, all movement of the frame gone as the final stable shot fades to black, the land itself joining the shirt wearers in gazing back at the viewer. The direct gaze of the video's protagonists, and their rootedness in place and in the land, carry the authority of the *The Shirt*'s specific interjection into the dominant North American scopic regime.

Still, embedded in *The Shirt* are worries about the efficacy of this kind of oppositional gaze, especially when focused primarily on the indictment of settler colonialism. Since the rise of the multiculturalist ethos in North America in the late twentieth century, art critics and scholars have argued that such indictments leveled at the dominant culture in minority art have become an expected form of cultural expression in North America. For example, in "Legal Aliens," an essay included in his 1992 collection of art criticism, *A Certain Lack of Coherence*, Jimmie Durham observed that

> it is curious that our most intense works, showing the pain and crises of being 'non-white' in a racist society, have become so popular that they are almost obligatory. . . . In the most harshly accusatory works there's comfort for the white art world. It is not threatened, but it comes to the show with the pretense that it will be threatened. It enjoys the pretense in direct ration to how well we ourselves are into it; in other words, it has come to see its own show in which we are enlisted as bit-players. . . . Letting us scream at them is their ace up the sleeve and ultimately another roadside attraction. (Durham 1992, 225–26)

A decade later, in *The Protestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Rey Chow identified a similar dynamic suggesting that "ethnic struggles have become . . . an indisputable symptom of the thoroughly and irrevocably mediatized relations of capitalism and its biopolitics" (Chow 2002, 48). She argued further that

> *to be ethnic is to protest*—but perhaps less for actual emancipation of any kind than for the benefits of worldwide visibility, currency, circulation. In the age of globalization, ethnics are first and foremost protesting ethnics, but this is not because they are possessed of some "soul" or "humanity" that cannot be changed into commodities. Rather, it is because protesting constitutes the economically logical and socially viable vocation for them to assume. (ibid.)

The North American multiculturalist art market puts a premium on minority-authored articulations of historic suffering, or the performed complaint of the protestant ethnic, because they help legitimize the claims of North American democracies (Canada and the United States) to a reformed and avowedly multicultural present. The public circulation of art featuring the protestant Indians in particular in settler colonial societies provides evidence that the former colonial state has been reformed, because it now extends cultural recognition to Indigenous and minority ethnic populations via their art.

In this context, Tsinhnahjinnie's shirt wearer both is the putative protesting ethnic and refuses to be one. As the former she offers lessons in political history in place of ethnographic gloss familiar from Curtis's portraits and captions, in a kind of visual finger in the face of settler notions of Indigenous authenticity. *The Shirt* makes clear, however, that for that history to register, it has to be choreographed through recognizable "Indian" poses, especially those, like in Chapman's *Baptism of Pocahontas*, featuring the averted gaze and made popular by settler painters, photographers, and sculptors, as well as contemporary Indigenous artists. When in one of the shots Tsinhnahjinnie slowly and deliberately turns her head away from the camera to reveal her profile, she mimics "the stoic Indian" perpetuated in Edward Curtis photographs and the "Buffalo nickel," while her dark sunglasses reprise T. C. Cannon, Fritz Scholder, and Sam English. Like these artists, Niro is acutely aware of the centrality of this image to American iconography and of how it has been deployed to subsume Indigenous protests into the national myth. How relentless this co-option can be is additionally obvious from the fact that even when Tsinhnahjinnie looks straight back at the spectator, her gaze is refracted. What she sees while looking at the camera is embedded, mirror-like, in the shot but only as a mediated image, through its reflection in her glasses, rather than in the diegesis through shot/reverse shot editing. In Cannon and Scholder's self-portraits, the sunglasses obscuring the subjects' eyes served as metaphors for demand for privacy, refusal of objectification, and denial of access to eye-to-eye contact and the illusion of authenticity such personal contact implies, and thus to insider cultural knowledge. They also yanked its subjects from the sepia-toned portraits of the past into the modernity via the cool factor associated with the celebrity. Niro's use of the reflective sunglasses suggests yet another layer of reflection (!) on the complexities of both the returned and the refused gaze as well as the risk of the latter's co-option in turn. Despite its potential to intimidate by refusing the exchange via the use of the sunglasses, and thus creating an uneven scopic relation with the viewer, Niro's subject's gaze is circumscribed again, or is representable only via the viewers' gaze. A strong sense of the limitations of such refraction might help explain why for one shot, and her last appearance, Tsinhnahjinnie discards the glasses, the shirt, and the flag bandana—all settler technologies of communication: the reproduced image, the book, the nation—and confronts the camera with her unobstructed eyes trained on the viewers, evoking the final shot of her own work, *An Aboriginal Worldview*, but with the body now nude, arms crossed against her chest, abandoning the alphabetic writing of the T-shirts for the signifying tattoos visible on her arms. And yet, her left eyebrow lifts up ironically as the shot lingers, perhaps in acknowledgement of the risk involved in evoking the convention

of (ethnographic) representation that historically built its legitimacy by disrobing Indigenous women (figure 6). No matter whether the subject extends or refuses the returned gaze, she encounters representational precedent circumscribing the meanings of her looking. The predicament intensifies further when the T-shirt returns in a comic twist at the film's conclusion, reading "And all I's get is this shirt," evoking both Durham's minority artist as a tourist attraction and Chow's commodified protestant ethnic. And further still, when in the video's final shot it is sported, with the same inscription, by the second shirt wearer, Veronica Passalaqua, smiling pleasantly at the viewer, American flag bandana now adorning her neck but the reflective sunglasses, and all the attending ironies, nowhere in sight. Niro's last gesture is a poignant critique of the relentless commodification of Indigenous history and culture, including the Indian protest, in North America (figure 6).[18]

The Shirt's rehearsal of these various Indian poses—alternating between being an object and subject of the gaze—posits the urgent question of the very possibility of engaging the dominant gaze in ways that avoid cooption by the American nationalist mythmaking, multiculturalist or not. Which brings us back to the initial query, the function of the momentary looking away beyond the frame in Tsinhnahjinnie's first appearance, especially so, that it returns in the final second of the film, as the last shot fades to black. In that moment, Veronica Passalaqua, the second shirt wearer, turns to her right to look in the same direction Tsinhnahjinnie looks just before she starts posing for the camera as the stoic or protestant Indian in the film's opening. As Passalaqua turns, her smile for the camera transforms into laughter for somebody beyond the frame, shoulders shrugging as if she has just gotten away with a good prank. The moment is fleeting and easily missed as it gets eclipsed by the fade to black, yet if we do pay attention, it is long enough

Figure 6 | Shelley Niro, *The Shirt,* 2003, prints courtesy of the artist.

to evoke its opening counterpart and thus make clear that *The Shirt* hints at some "before" and "after" the entanglement of the North American gaze, with which it otherwise appears primarily preoccupied, as well as some contemporaneous "elsewhere" beyond its reach. As the shirt wearers' gaze shifts direction, the camera does not follow, either by panning, tracking, or shot/reverse shot editing, thus explicitly circumscribing the viewers' gaze. Historically, the camera has often been understood to be a tool of intrusion; here, however, it functions to exclude, literally to refuse admittance. Scholars of literature and museology have argued that such gestures of deliberate refusal or displayed withholding of access function to reassert Indigenous agency in the overdetermined colonial context, in which Indigenous expression is coopted or erased (Sommer 1999; Lawlor 2006). The looking away in *The Shirt* enacts Indigenous subjectivity that is not dependent on a scopic engagement with the viewer, initiated by a returned gaze (as in Van de Passe's engraving and all its contemporary reiterations), but rather by an engagement with somebody beyond the frame in the inaccessible elsewhere. Filming in historical Haudenosaunee territory,[19] now divided by the U.S.-Canada border, which was imposed in 1794 without regard to then-existing local political, economic, and social relations, Niro establishes her own purposefully impassable borders, exercising political authority by keeping the presumptuous immigrants out, so to speak. In that gesture, *The Shirt* offers a cinematographic equivalent to what Mohawk anthropologist Audra Simpson has identified in her 2014 book *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States* as (Indigenous) ethnographic refusal deployed in the confrontation with the (settler) anthropological need for access. For Simpson, this refusal is important, primarily, for the possibilities it engenders in the elsewhere, such as "subject formation, but also politics and resurgent histories" and for "an *enjoyment in the reveal*" (Simpson 2014, 106–7), in other words, the joyfulness we see captured in the opening and closing shots of Niro's film. In those moments of joyful looking elsewhere, the indigenous subject also refuses the commodified trope of the protestant Indian.

The gesture of looking away from the camera reconfigures the gaze within *The Shirt* to highlight the protagonists' subjectivity and agency as rooted in notions of indigeneity and political sovereignty. In the process, this gesture undermines the presumed mastery of the viewers within that gaze. Much of nineteenth-century American landscape painting (for example The Hudson River School) as well as early photography (especially the work commissioned by the U.S federal surveyors) allows the viewers to assume what Mary Louise Pratt calls the-master-of-all-I-survey position: from a vantage point on a high promontory, looking out over the land, the viewers imaginatively consolidate their colonial/imperial subjectivity. Such paintings and

photographs served to generate the paradoxical fantasy of simultaneous dominance—the country showing itself to the viewer, not unlike Pocahontas in all the depictions featuring her averted gaze—and noninterference, powerlessness even, in the face of the land's enormity, thus obscuring the imperial stake in the European presence there (Pratt 1992, 59). *The Shirt* knocks the viewers off their promontory by dramatically reducing the scope of their gaze and by confronting them with the Indigenous subject's direct gaze, all in medium shots, and more face-to-face, perhaps even inducing reactions of embarrassment and shame out of our intrusion. The looking away gesture refashions the viewers into accidental witnesses to the fact that Indigenous lives unfold elsewhere, to whatever extent possible in the context of ongoing settler colonialism, apart and on their own terms.

In *The Shirt*, looking back at the camera and looking away from it work in tandem, responding to the long history of European and Anglo-American representations of Indigenous people. Once Indigenous subjectivity and agency within the North American cultural and political representation is secured by the returned direct gaze, once the specter of co-optation of this oppositional gaze by the multiculturalist ethos emerges, the looking elsewhere I describe as framing Niro's film surfaces as a plea for disengagement from the entangled North American gaze, from its contests over agency and subjectivity and from the imperatives of resistance it imposes. Indigenous artists know very well how central, and how ideologically overdetermined, images of Indigenous peoples, whether authored by Indigenous or non-Indigenous artists, have been to the various forms of national definition in North American settler colonial nations. Informed by this knowledge, the looking elsewhere expresses a desire to be released from this imposed significatory function in the mainstream imagination, including the imperative to confront and resist mainstream's misrepresentations, ironically embodied in the figure of the protestant Indian. The looking elsewhere implies a political and social space of privacy and agency that does not have to be made transparent and accessible, or made into ethnography, for the benefit of the settler viewers' enlightenment; a universe that demands recognition a priori rather than at the end of a prolonged process of (photographic) exposure. Perhaps it even implies that the most progressive politics of Indigenous self-representation would not include the outsider/settler viewer into the field of power relations that is the gaze, instead focusing on community-specific cultural production, one shaped primarily by each community's own concerns, apart from the context of settler colonialism.

Yet, imagining the irrelevance of the colonial state in the conditions of ongoing colonialism is difficult, and it is risky. *The Shirt*'s wish for such a disentanglement is an aspirational horizon of possibility, evocative of the "long

outwaiting" from N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1999). In the meantime, willful looking elsewhere within the entangled North American gaze is paradoxical: it is a performance of representational agency that depends on viewers being there to grasp its rhetorical functions. It expresses a desire to disentangle from the North American gaze while testifying to the impossibility of such disengagement at the same time. There's no escaping the entangled gaze of North American art, historical and contemporary; there are only new configurations of recognition.

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NOTES

1. Until the video's very last shot, that is, in which a different woman replaces the first shirt wearer; on the identities of the shirt wearers, and the significance thereof, please read on and see footnote 18 below.

2. The moment is fleeting indeed; though clearly discernible in the fade to black on the DVD version of the work, it is hardly so in the version available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kx2lkFUJAY4.

3. La Malinche, or Malintzin, or Dona Marina was an indigenous woman who became the sixteenth-century Spanish conquistador Hernan Cortez's lover, translator, and aide, as well as the mother of his child.

4. Cecile Ganteaume points this out by setting Van de Passe's engraving side by side with Renold Elstrack's engraving of Queen Elizabeth included with thirty-one other portrait of sovereigns published in 1618 in *Baziliologia: A Booke of Kings*. Pocahontas's engraving appears in some of the later editions of the collection; https://www.smithsonianmag.com/blogs/national-museum-american-indian/2017/04/03/400th-anniversary-pocahontas-death/.

5. The image of Brumidi's frieze is available online at https://www.aoc.gov/art/frieze-american-history/captain-smith-and-pocahontas.

6. Contemporary historians have reinterpreted this encounter as a ritual of adoption performed at Powhatan's command; these readings might productively note that in the Cappellano and Brumidi works, Pocahontas's look is also aligned with that of her father rather than confronting or imploring him, as if acting on his behalf rather than against it, a dutiful rather than rebellious daughter.

7. The only Indigenous women depicted in the art on display at the U.S. Capitol are Pocahontas and Sacajawea, both commemorated for their crucially supportive roles in the process of American colonization.

8. Scopic regime, a term coined by Christian Metz (1982), refers to culturally specific ways of seeing the world and objects and people in it, variously mediated by technological and ideological systems and apparatuses.

9. Chapman completed a painting of the Smith rescue prior to finishing *Baptism of Pocahontas*. See http://www.nyhistory.org/exhibit/pocahontas-saving-life-captain-john-smith.

10. For the wide gap between the historical facts surrounding Pocahontas's actual baptism and Chapman's interpretation, see Ganteaume 2017.

11. Chapman completed *Baptism of Pocahontas* in 1839 at the same time as the Cherokee suffered the Trail of Tears and Death; the painting was installed in the Capitol Rotunda in 1840, exactly a decade after the U.S. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

12. Pocahontas was a captive at Jamestown Settlement at the time of her baptism, held as a bargaining chip in the negotiations between the English colonists and the Powhatan Confederacy.

13. The description of the painting at the Architect of the Capitol website identifies the historical figures depicted: https://www.aoc.gov/art/historic-rotunda-paintings/baptism-pocahontas.

14. For example, the caption of *A Son of the Desert – Navaho, 1904* reads: "In the early morning, this boy, as if springing from the earth itself, came to the author's desert camp. Indeed, he seemed a part of the very desert. His eyes bespeak all the curiosity, all the wonder of his primitive mind striving to grasp the meaning of the strange things about him" (Cardozo 1993, 95).

15. Many of Shelley Niro's and Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie's works can be viewed on the artists' websites at http://www.shelleyniro.ca/index.php and http://www.hulleah.com/. Shelley Niro speaks about inspiration for some of the images from *The Shirt* in an interview with the Art Gallery of Ontario (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUDop2VgIEg) and more broadly about her art, and portraiture in particular, in interviews with the National Gallery of Canada (https://www.gallery.ca/magazine/artists/interviews/an-interview-with-shelley-niro), with Larry Abbott (http://dev.cushing.org/abbott/sniro.htm), and G44 Blog (http://g44blogs.tumblr.com/post/101854627616/an-interview-with-shelley-niro). Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie describes her approach to photography in "When Is Photography Worth a Thousand Words?" (Tsinhnahjinnie 2003), which is available on her website, http://www.hulleah.com/9to5/1000words.htm.

16. *An Aboriginal Worldview* is available for viewing on the artist's website: http://www.hulleah.com/Video/AWV.htm.

17. On the origin and meanings of the *Guswenta*, see Onondaga Nation's site: http://www.onondaganation.org/culture/wampum/two-row-wampum-belt-guswenta/.

18. Veronica Passalacqua is a scholar of Native American art and a curator at the CN Gorman Museum at the University of California, Davis, where Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie is the museum director. Passalacqua and Tsinhnahjinnie collaborate frequently on exhibitions and catalogues (for example, *Our People, Our Land, Our Images: International Indigenous Photography* (2007). Passalacqua has written about Tsinhnahjinnie's work. See for example http://www.hulleah.com/essay.htm.

19. The shots of the river and Niagara Falls evoke the historical Haudenosaunee territory around what is now the U.S.-Canada border. The two women shirt wearers were filmed near Davis, California.

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Verwoben in "Indianthusiasm": A Uniquely German Entanglement

Nicole Perry

ABSTRACT | The German fascination with North American Indigenous peoples is extensive. Primarily based on the writings of the nineteenth-century German author Karl May, the *Indianer* permeates German culture, and yet it is little known outside Central Europe. Many North American Indigenous artists, writers, filmmakers, and performance artists are aware of this phenomenon and are often met with resistance from a German perspective when they intervene and assert their voices into the conversation. This article examines the German fascination with North American Indigenous peoples and contemporary Indigenous responses. Kent Monkman and Drew Hayden Taylor challenge the constructed German images of Indigeneity by practicing what Gerald Vizenor has termed "Native survivance." Ideas of colonialism, sexuality, and contemporaneity are challenged and expose deep-rooted cultural and societal truths regarding Indigenous peoples in North America and their *Indianer* counterparts.

KEYWORDS | Germany, neo-romantic, *Indianer*, Indigenous present, Native survivance

Verwoben: Entangled

Remarking on his first visit to the *Karl-May-Festspiele* in Bad Segeberg, Germany, Anishinaabe writer Drew Hayden Taylor mused, "I started my indigenous theatre career in the wrong country" (Taylor 2015). For the past sixty-five years, the *Festspiele* (theatrical festival) has been an annual staging of the nineteenth-century German author Karl May's works featuring his most famous fictional characters, the Apache Winnetou and the German immigrant to America, Old Shatterhand. Of the three most prominent *Karl-May-Festspiele*[1] that take place in Germany every year, Bad Segeberg is by far the most popular; during the 2017 summer season, a record 372,646 people viewed the play *Old Surehand.* Karl May's three

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

volume *Winnetou* (1893) book series and its legacy is a significant reason why, as of 2015, Taylor has had over fifteen lecture tours in Germany (Taylor 2015). The *Festspiele* are just one manifestation of the German enthusiasm for North American Indigenous peoples, a phenomenon that, although it is part of a pan-European fascination (Feest 2002, 26) directly linked to the lived Euro-American experience, is also specifically German. It is above all a fascination rooted predominantly in fantasy rather than colonial legacies.

From May's books to the stage and screen, Winnetou with his noble savage physicality and his German sensibilities is the embodiment of the *Indianer*,[2] based on the expectations of his German-speaking readership but devoid of Indigenous substance. Scholarship investigating the role of North American Indigenous peoples in the German cultural imagination has had a tendency to be limited to debate surrounding May and his *Winnetou* series. Although research focusing on the *Indianer* image and its cultural reproduction has gained momentum over the past decade, the scholarship has been primarily from a historical or ethnographic perspective. Used in German literature and culture for a host of ideological purposes, the *Indianer* image reveals its crucial role as symbol, cultural myth, and stereotype that has helped define a national identity. Yet there is also a remarkable amount of art, literature, multimedia, and performative critique and commentary of the *Indianer* image from Indigenous perspectives, such as the Spiderwoman Theater and their play *Winnetou's Snake Oil Show from Wigwam City* (1988) and Stephen Loft's curated "Culture Shock" panel, which premiered at the ImagineNATIVE Film Festival in Toronto, Canada, in 2008. Gerald McMaster's 2007 article "The Double Entendre of Re-enactment"[3] has significantly contributed to the understanding of the *Indianer* in the Euro-American context and how young Indigenous artists have reinterpreted this gaze. The creative subversions of the *Indianer*, a mythical figure rooted in fantasy, hyperbole, and hyper-masculinity, is significant as it addresses both the power and danger of the German imagination gone wild—especially in popular culture. As a simulacrum of an Indigenous identity, the *Indianer* reveals more about German than Indigenous culture but also creates the potential for critical intercultural communication, debate, and introspection.

Extending beyond simple escapism, the *Indianer* represents a blood brotherhood, one that has traversed the Atlantic. Hartmut Lutzs' term *Indianertümelei* or "Indianthusiasm" is a "yearning for all things Indian" (Lutz 2002, 167) and creates a German framework from which to analyze the German preoccupation with North American Indigeneity.[4] Indianthusiasm compliments Gerald Vizenor's concept of Native survivance, an active Indigenous presence that is found in the creative works of Kent Monkman

and Drew Hayden Taylor as their subversions of the *Indianer* trope expose the shortcomings of Germany's fascination. Their engagement with and creative subversions of the *Indianer* through a variety of multimedia texts will be the focus of this article. Monkman has engaged with the *Indianer* image in a variety of multimedia texts including film, painting, installation pieces, and performance. Whereas Monkman's video *Dance to Miss Chief* (2010) and his 2011 painting *East Vs. West* uses sexuality and humor to critique the German *Indianer* films of the 1950s and '60s and the general notion of North American Indigeneity in German culture, Taylor approaches the *Indianer* differently. Taylor's *The Berlin Blues* (2007) is critical of the *Indianer* but also explores stereotypes surrounding both Germans and Indigeneity. It is a self-reflexive text in which the protagonists from the fictional Otter Lake Reserve must grapple with how they understand and view themselves as North American Indigenous people when confronted with the *Indianer* image in excess. To this end, *Dance to Miss Chief*, *East Vs. West*, and *The Berlin Blues* are true examples of a *verwobener Blick* or "entangled gaze."

Constructed Images: *Indianer* and the German Nation-Building Project

The German-speaking Jewish writer Franz Kafka, one of the most influential writers of the twentieth century, explored ideas that still resonate with readers over a century later. Universal themes such as guilt, existential anxiety, and alienation permeate his works, which have led to actual situations that resemble those in his stories simply being referred to as "Kafkaesque." His 1912 fragment "Wunsch Indianer zu werden" (Wish to be an Indian) expresses feelings of alienation and hopelessness, indicative of modern society, while it also illuminates a German populist understanding of Indigenous North Americans and Indigenous culture: "If only one were an Indian, always prepared and on a racing horse, tilting into the wind, trembling with a jolt again and again over the trembling ground until one shed one's spurs, for there were no spurs, and threw away the reins, for there were no reins, hardly seeing the land in front of one as a smoothly cut heath, the horse's neck and head already gone" (Kafka 1912, 77; my translation).

In this short text, the narrator describes the freedom of a Plains Indian riding a mustang bareback through the prairie—a freedom he wished he knew. It is an archetype of a neo-romantic idea, built on the tensions of antimodernism at the end of the nineteenth century. Those tensions reflected modern Euro-American society's apprehension toward industrialization and modernization and were an attempt to come to terms with the senses

of loss and anxiety toward the new century, a desire for a type of "authentic" lifestyle and immediate experience seen to be embodied in preindustrial societies. The fragmentary wording reflects the instability of the *Indianer* in German culture. It is an image that the reader cannot grasp as it offers only "the possibility of an image . . . its own subsequent movement retracts or suspends" (Anderson 1992, 103). Kafka's own "vanishing Indian," much like the *Indianer* of German culture, confronts the reader with an image that "presents itself with uncommon force and vividness, only to erase itself in a series of ambiguous, contradictory, and anti-mimetic gestures" (Anderson 1992, 105). Kafka's text guides the imagination toward a polemic and problematic understanding of the "red Indian" in this text, allowing him to become whatever the reader wants or needs him to be. A similar act of imagination is still operative today in the representation of Indigenous North Americans in German culture; from the Enlightenment onward, the trope emerges at particular moments of intensified cultural struggle for a national identity.

To understand the role of the *Indianer* in German culture, we have to have a clear understanding of the political and social climate that led to this type of historic precedence and the legacies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which formed the foundational attitudes of these German cultural productions. A part of this legacy is linked to the broader European concept of the noble savage. A misnomer, the noble savage has come to be representative of contradictory ideas in the European mindset, functioning either as a *noble* savage or a noble *savage*, depending on the needs and desires of the authors.[5] These tendencies reflected the struggle of modernity to locate itself in an ever-changing and technologically advancing world. Although the noble savage has occupied the minds of Europeans for generations,[6] the rediscovery of the Roman writer Tacitus's text *Germania* (98 CE) in 1450 provided an opportunity for Germans to identify with a concept that can be traced back to antiquity, and in the context of the Romantic movement in Germany, link the Germans as noble savages and thus closer to nature. *Germania* is often cited to help explain the German affinity toward Indigenous North Americans.[7] The parallels are convincing: Tacitus viewed the Germans as a fierce, warlike people who settled in a harsh climate, regarding them as *noble savages* rather than barbaric or uncivilized. He believed them to be the original inhabitants of the land and cites the uninviting climate as the reason Germans have remained uncorrupted (Kontje 2004, 35). These parallels are also apparent in Enlightenment-era European representations of the noble savage, such as the contemplative warrior who appears in Benjamin West's Enlightenment painting *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770).[8]

For Germans, it was above all a question of a national identity. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germans not only reached back to Tacitus to find their roots but also created "imagined communities"[9] to address questions of national identity and origins. The notion of imagined communities was also used by the German Romantics in an attempt to establish a common Germanic ethnicity (Lutz 2002, 172). In the struggle against eighteenth-century French cultural imperialism, writers and philosophers such as Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Johann Gottfried von Herder, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and others tried to define a German nation.[10] It was on the literary plane that German identity was reformulated, or arguably even created. Within this framework the image of North American Indigenous peoples became an important source of identification. They were understood to be in a similar predicament to the Germans, as German-speaking principalities struggled to form a German nation in the face of French and Russian political and cultural encroachment. The tenuous argument created the beginnings of a perceived "blood brotherhood" between Germans and Indigenous North Americans.

Whereas the German Romantic movement was infatuated with Indigenous culture and the perceived affinity between the two cultures, the political reality contradicted this romanticized image. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, colonial expansion was a central topic of debate in liberal, enlightened, and progressive circles in Germany. Aware and influenced by the French Revolution and its repercussions, the debates paid close attention to colonial developments in the young American republic. The American westward expansion was seen as an inspiration (Guettel 2013, 85), something for the fledgling German nation to strive toward in the development of their own colonial interests, and consequently the problematic role of Indigenous peoples from an imperialist perspective became a topic of interest. The German fascination shifted from a noble-savage, blood-brotherhood ideal to one that prioritized the political self-interest of a nation. The American government's economic momentum dictated that the land should be used for agricultural purposes to support the American citizens, not exclusively as the traditional territories of a population that had purportedly "melted away," in the words of President Andrew Jackson. These tensions highlight the underpinnings of what was, in the American context, later to be called "Manifest Destiny" and foreshadowed Germany's own colonial endeavors in the late nineteenth century.

In the German literary sphere, until the mid-nineteenth century, Indigenous characters became a part of the collective memory as a stock figure, primarily the image of the noble savage. Large-scale emigration was transforming the face of Germany, and America was one of the most popular

destinations. The greatest exodus of German emigrants to America occurred between 1820 and 1914, with approximately five million Germans crossing the Atlantic to the United States (Mikoletzky 1988, 3). Stories depicting the German experience in America were becoming increasingly popular, with a series of German travel writers and novelists who capitalized on the curiosity about the young democracy across the Atlantic.[11] As colonial attitudes and travel to America increased, the image of Indigenous peoples shifted to that of an ignoble savage, in its extreme form advocating for the assimilation and even annihilation of Indigenous peoples under the guise of westward expansion by the dominant American republic. With the rise of antimodernism and the closing of the American frontier in 1890, the *Indianer* image began to shift once again, and German author Karl May's eponymous character Winnetou came to embody both the German ideal of the *Indianer* and the demise of an entire people.

Karl May was not the first European or German author to write about Indigenous peoples, but May created a legendary German-influenced figure that has come to represent not only the "dying man" (May 2013, 9) but also the imagined kinship between two distinct cultures. In 1893 May published a three-volume series based in the American West and centered around the German immigrant Old Shatterhand and his Apache blood brother Winnetou. The series was wildly popular, with 400,000 volumes being published by 1896. May combined the fascination with America and the Indigenous population with a German cultural narrative and created the most famous German Western ever, with its influence still resonating, even today. May gives Winnetou and the Apache, in general, decidedly European countenances. He described them as noble; their features are Roman and do not embody the nineteenth-century stereotypes of "Indian" characteristics, as with other Indigenous tribes present in May's stories. Their demeanor is described as more sophisticated and educated than that of the other Indigenous characters because of their affiliation with and acceptance of a German man into their tribe. Kleiki-petra, a man who fled during the 1848 German Revolution, came to find a home among the Apache and even introduced them to Christianity, leading to their "Germanization" and noble savage status. May describes the Apache skin tones as light brown or bronze and sets up the Germans as a morally superior people, especially compared to the land-grabbing Yankees, Americans of non-German descent. He thus reinforces the idea of a blood brotherhood between the two archetypes of Indigenous and White cultures. In creating an overly masculine adventure narrative that favors conversation and mutual understanding over violence in the face of potentially explosive situations, May teaches the reader that it is through a strong belief in Christianity, hard work, and discipline that Old

Shatterhand garners so much fame and respect. And these values are not lost on the German reader. Winnetou remains the epitome of the noble savage in Germany, but he is also widely considered an *Apfel-Indianer*: red on the outside, White/German on the inside—a term also used in some North American contexts to refer to Indigenous people who have either assimilated into European culture or no longer honor the values of their communities. Hartmut Lutz writes in more detail: "Since Winnetou is a stereotype, an empty cliché, without Indian content or identity, his only use here is as a vehicle for white—here German—ideology. Winnetou, 'the red Gentleman,' upon further reflection turns out to be nothing but a petit-bourgeois German in Indian costume" (Lutz 1985, 354).[12]

The portrayal of Winnetou and the interplay of Indigenous, German, and Yankee cultures support the idea of not only the Germans as better, more humane colonizers but also German superiority over the Yankees. These sentiments are continually underscored in the most famous German novels of the American Wild West.

The role and function of Germany's *Indianer* in the twentieth century was marred by war and political divisions, which again highlighted the ambiguous and polemic nature of Kafka's "red Indian." With the rise of National Socialism shortly after World War I, Fichte and Herder's patriotic early nineteenth-century writings advocating for a German nation-state or a common German culture were misappropriated to serve the National Socialist mandate. The ideals and discipline of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Prussian military were important in the development of the National Socialist military power and ethos. Winnetou's brave warrior and noble savage clichés were perverted for the ideological purposes of the National Socialists. Hitler was a fan of *Winnetou*, and during the Battle of Stalingrad he purportedly sent copies of the books to the front as a source of inspiration (Gemünden 2001, 30).

In the aftermath of the Second World War *Winnetou* was able to reach another generation of Germans, this time both East and West Germans. The Karl May film adaptations, or the "Sauerkraut Westerns" of West Germany, are considered the predecessors of the Italian-made Spaghetti Westerns (Schneider 1995) and also inspired East Germany to develop its own version of the Western—dubbed the "Red Western." 1950s and '60s *Indianerfilme* in both East and West Germany were wildly popular, offering viewers an escape from the harsh realities of postwar life. Although the Sauerkraut Westerns were based on Karl May's writings, they deviated substantially from the content written by May. Known as Karl May adaptations, twenty-three were produced between 1920 and 1968. The Red Westerns on the other hand were based on "historically accurate" stories regarding the American

West and Indigenous peoples. The fiction of Liselotte Welskopf-Heinrich, the first female professor of ancient history at the Humboldt University in Berlin, was often used in the East German films. The heroes of the films in both Germanies were not the American settlers but Indigenous characters who were defending their land from American expansion West. Winnetou, portrayed in West Germany by the French actor Pierre Brice, became one of the most recognizable faces in German culture, with Brice constantly reviving and reliving his Winnetou character in various forms up until his death in 2015. The most famous actor of the East German films to portray an Indigenous hero was Gojko Mitić, an actor from the former Yugoslavia, who even participated in the *Karl-May-Festspiele* until 2006. The 2003 German film *The Shoe of Manitu* parodies the German fascination with not only the *Indianer* but also the Wild West. A tongue-in-cheek spoof of the *Winnetou* books and film adaptations that borrows heavily from Mel Brooks' *Blazing Saddles* (1974), *The Shoe of Manitu* is the highest grossing German film ever produced. Well into the new millennium, *Winnetou* has not lost its cultural relevancy or currency. In a made-for-television spectacle, December 2016 saw the release of three new Winnetou films. Packaged under one title, *Winnetou: Der Mythos Lebt*, the films introduced yet another generation to the Winnetou *Indianer* phenomenon.

And so Kafka's image comes full circle. The *Indianer* is still binary and still shifting. The image that embodies the nineteenth-century *Indianer* trope, which suggests Indigenous peoples belong to the past, has remained entrenched in the German consciousness. This perpetuation of reductivist imagery catalyzes a struggle for reappropriation and reclaiming of the *Indianer* image from an Indigenous perspective. Indigenous writers and artists who critically engage with the *Indianer* image are continually confronted with the same fictional and unstable image that has endured in the German imagination—an image that has more in common with German cultural heritage than with Indigenous peoples and histories. As these artists challenge the entangled and entrenched aspects of the *Indianer*, it is hardly a surprise that their challenges are met with resistance from a German perspective.

Dead Indians, Indianthusiasm, and Native Survivance

In his award-winning book *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (2012), Cherokee author Thomas King informs us that there are three types of "Indian": dead, live, and legal. King's distinction for North America, between "dead Indians" and "live Indians," is as follows: "Dead Indians are dignified, noble, silent, suitably garbed. And dead. Live

Indians are invisible, unruly, disappointing. And breathing. One is a romantic reminder of a heroic but fictional past. The other is simply an unpleasant, contemporary surprise" (King 2012, 66). "Legal Indians" are those individuals who are recognized as being affiliated with an Indigenous nation by the Canadian and U.S. governments. King's summary of "dead Indians" resonates with the *Indianer* image. Both in the North American and German context the "dead Indian" and *Indianer*, perhaps the true blood brothers of May's stories, act as simulacra, as place holders for the hopes and fears of the dominant societies. King suggests the "dead Indian," and by extension the *Indianer,* are archetypes of a neo-romantic idea, a stock figure that embodies the fatalistic view that Indigenous peoples and their way of life were not congruent with a dominant North American society (King 2012, 66). It also let the German readers posit themselves as the more humane colonizers. These romanticized images reflect a settler colonial cultural mentality, which made a point of "celebrating" Indigenous society at the very moment when it was being effaced. Both the "dead Indian" and the *Indianer* do not acknowledge contemporary Indigenous peoples or issues. As simulacra the two images also represent something that never existed. Anishinaabe scholar and writer Gerald Vizenor has called this the absence of an Indigenous presence in the Euro-American narrative:

> The *indian* is a misnomer, a simulation with no referent and with the absence of natives; *indians* are the other, the names of sacrifice and victimry. Natives are a *native* creation in the stories of survivance. The *indigene* is the noble savage, the stoical warrior, evermore the metaphor of the native at the littoral, the passive native in the treeline. The history of the *indian* is an aesthetic sacrifice, an absence of natives that has become a perverse presence of the other, the modernist manner of a counter simulation, and that absence is a commodity. (Vizenor 1998, 27)

The absence is the commodity because it allows the "dead Indian" to represent the wants or desires of the dominant discourse; they are a series of functioning and ever present stereotypes and clichés with little, if any, actual Indigenous content. With regard to the "dead Indian" culture in North America, King argues that "there's nothing worse than having the original available when you're trying to sell the counterfeit" (King 2012, 75). This highlights the instability and inconsistencies of the "dead Indian" trope, reminiscent of Kafka's "red Indian." For Vizenor, the indictment of dominant culture represents what he has called "Native survivance." Although he acknowledges the complicated nature and obscurity of a precise definition, he writes that "Native survivance is an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance

is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however pertinent" (Vizenor 2008, 1).

Survivance is precisely why artists and writers like Monkman and Taylor are essential to contemporary Indigenous reappropriations and rewritings. In addressing the cultural appropriation of the Indigenous image, Monkman and Taylor challenge constructed notions and deep-rooted cultural stereotypes. By adding their voices and participating in an active presence, Monkman and Taylor force their viewers and readers to critically reexamine attitudes toward North American Indigenous peoples, reassess the historical accuracy of these images, and acknowledge contemporary Indigenous issues.

Both Vizenor and King's assessments of the North American context reflects the standpoint of Hartmut Lutz, who coined the term German "Indianthusiasm," which he defines as:

> a yearning for all things Indian, a fascination with American Indians, a romanticizing about a supposed Indian essence . . . racialized in that it refers to Indianness (*Indianertum*) as an essentializing bioracial and cultural ethnic identity that ossifies into stereotype. It tends to historicize Indians as figures of the past, and it assumes that anybody "truly Indian" will follow cultural practices and resemble in clothing and physiognomy First Nations people before or during first contact. Relatively seldom does *Indianertümelei* focus on *contemporary Native American realities*. (Lutz 2002, 168–69)[13]

The anachronistic elements highlighted by Lutz firmly situates the German fascination in the past as reminiscent of both the noble savage/"dead Indian" trope found in Karl May's "dying man" (May 2013, 9) analogy and Thomas King's work. Furthermore, the expectation that "true" Indigenous North Americans will continue to follow certain cultural practices and adhere to antiquated colonial ideas of Indigeneity solidifies antimodernist stereotypes and colonial attitudes. Winnetou, the character, has little to do with Indigenous peoples and the current problems and challenges facing communities; rather, it emphasizes the role and power of the German reader or viewer, reflecting desire manifested in a German image that lacks any grounding in Indigenous content.

And so the question is raised: How does one combat a hyperreality that has little or no Indigenous content? In the cases of Kent Monkman and Drew Hayden Taylor, the answer becomes clear: by overtly challenging the German image, both artists are mounting a resistance by mobilizing an active presence.

Deconstructing Winnetou

Dance to Miss Chief

Kent Monkman hardly needs an introduction. A Canadian artist of Cree descent whose work encompasses a variety of multimedia platforms including painting, film, and performance, Monkman's work is unabashedly provocative and spiced with a hint of playfulness as he challenges and contests dominant Euro-American mindsets of Indigeneity. Through an Indigenous lens, Monkman practices Native survivance as he reconfigures his multimedia platforms to focus explicitly on Euro-American histories from an Indigenous perspective. A central figure in his work is Miss Chief Eagle Testickle. A play on the words mischief and egotistical, Miss Chief is the leader of her own nation (Monkman 2013), "a postindian diva warrior" (McIntosh 2006, 17) and—as I will highlight in this article—the bride of Winnetou. She is an ingenious figure who is able to both expose and embrace stereotypical representations in order to revise and critique Indigenous and heteronormative identities. What makes his work so compelling is that Monkman, through the persona of Miss Chief, critiques and exposes misrepresentations and mythologies of Indigenous peoples in the dominant Western discourses of power, sexuality, gender, and knowledge.

Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, in her 2010 film *Dance to Miss Chief*, addresses the Karl May phenomenon in her on-screen romance with Winnetou. She challenges ideas of colonialism, sexuality, and the neo-romantic image of the Karl May film adaptations, all to the tune of a great club track. Less than five minutes in length and presented as a music video, the viewer is immediately taken by the soundtrack that frames the video. The track, *Dance to Miss Chief*, repeats this phrase throughout. The first words on the screen appear in German: *Urban Nation bringt* [Urban Nation presents], followed by a montage of Karl May film adaptations rife with ersatz *Indianer* playing Indian, while the hero, Winnetou, is riding his horse, fending off attacks, and saving White women. Jump cuts flip back and forth between Winnetou and the ersatz *Indianer*, producing a high-tempo rhythm that makes the viewer want to dance. As the action continues, the viewer is finally introduced to Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, dressed in a sheer red ensemble with her stomach exposed in belly dancer fashion, emphasizing her femininity along with her exotic and erotic nature. She is complimented by contemporary Indigenous male dancers, some dressed in leather vinyl buckskin chaps and others dressed as dandies, in styles reminiscent of some of Monkman's previous works. By juxtaposing the contemporary image of Miss Chief and her entourage with the German ersatz *Indianer,* Monkman undermines the problematic structures of Indianthusiasm and the heteronormativity

of the dominant Euro-American culture. Through this juxtaposition, he is exposing the viewer to the ludicrous nature of the German *Indianer*, a simulacrum of the "dead Indian."

The continuous montage sequence of the video jumps between ersatz *Indianer*, contemporary Indigenous dancers, and Miss Chief dancing against a black backdrop with the same two clips from the Karl May film adaptations flanking her; the *Indianer* are seated and enthusiastically beating on drums. Different clips of Pierre Brice as Winnetou, edited to suggest he is either smiling or enamored with the aloof and very sexy Miss Chief, continuously appear as Miss Chief invites and rebuffs his advances, choosing to continue dancing. Bright billboard style clips appear intermittently in either English or German, further elaborating on the love story between Miss Chief and Winnetou. The "Bride of Winnetou" billboard is replaced by Winnetou speaking German with the English subtitles: "Our fate and the path of our people choose [sic] depend on this marriage." At the same time, the song shifts with the lyrics "Dance to remember, dance to stay alive" repeating continuously, reflecting the importance of dance to Indigenous cultures and traditions—creating an active presence. Miss Chief, of course, represents the end of the *Indianer* but the continuity of the German fascination of the *other*: she is a trickster, a two-spirit person, a creative subversion—an entangled desire.

East vs. West

In his 2011 painting *East Vs. West*, Monkman addresses the blood brotherhood of the two Germanies. Repainting a nineteenth-century landscape of the American West by the German-American painter Albert Bierstadt, *Yosemite Valley* (ca. 1863–75), Monkman meticulously reimagines the scene with a distinct German and Miss Chief Eagle Testickle flare. Surrounded by an imposing mountain range in the background, the action on the left bank of a river draws the viewer's immediate attention. Two identical blonde-haired men dressed up as the Pierre Brice version of Winnetou, including identical buckskins, are fighting one another. The blonde hair indicates the stereotype of all Germans being fair skinned and blonde—even when playing Indian, while also emphasizing the physical similarities of the two Germanies. Behind the ersatz *Indianer* are two cars: a black Mercedes that has been struck on the driver's side by a small, yellow Trabant, a car manufactured in the former East Germany that has become a nostalgic cultural symbol of the East German state. Off to the right of the action, but still on the same bank, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle is in control of the scene as she plays the role of the artist, painting the fight while seminude—clad in pink

seven-inch heels, a sheer pink sheath covering her buttocks, and a headdress with pink garnishes grazing the ground. On her canvas the viewer does not see a scene depicting the two men fighting but rather an unfinished painting, a reinterpretation of a neoclassical sculpture that Monkman has already appropriated in another work.

Two Spirits (Monkman, 2011) is Monkman's interpretation of Daniel Chester French's 1923 sculpture *The Sons of God Saw the Daughters of Men That They Were Fair.* The original sculpture depicts a male angel lifting a young nude woman in the air while forcefully holding the back of her head. The strength of the angel is evident, as is the struggle of the young woman resisting his grip on her head. The title of the piece is part of a biblical reference: "That the sons of God saw that the daughters of mankind were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose" (Genesis 6:2). The verse is significant in an Indigenous context: similar to the first wave of explorers in what is now Canada, furriers and explorers would set up trading posts and take women from the local Indigenous populations as wives in a form of sexual colonization. Monkman, however, queers the reception because the young woman is replaced by a man. The man of the new version is preventing the male angel from flying. But the angel gazes longingly at Miss Chief Eagle Testickle sitting to the left of the struggle, while Miss Chief catches the angel's white feathers. She is nude except for her seven-inch heels and the classic brown Louis Vuitton bag filled with the now black feathers by her side. The man trying to stop the angel from ascending can be read as Old Shatterhand trying to prevent his blood brother Winnetou's ascension to heaven, reminiscent of the artist Sascha Schneider's 1904 cover of *Winnetou III*.

In *East vs. West,* Miss Chief's unfinished painting represents Germany's fractured past. The two ersatz warriors and their cars are the most obvious reference in the painting. Representing the former East and West German states, Monkman highlights the similarity between the two warriors and their depiction of Indigenous peoples. The Mercedes is representative of the financial and material wealth West Germany possessed in comparison to the East. The Trabant hindering the progress of the Mercedes symbolizes the problems of reunification, but Monkman's message suggests an inability to support a true blood brother. Miss Chief and her painting add a subtle layer; she is in the process of painting what looks like a reworking of *Two Spirits*. The angel on the left is holding the other aloft in what seems to be a protective position. Miss Chief looks displeased as she watches the two men fight, almost as in condemnation of their behavior. Winnetou is portrayed as the savior of (the German) man, but it is also a commentary on the need of the stronger West Germany to protect his weaker and legitimate brother.

The Berlin Blues

The paintings and performances of Kent Monkman are complimented by the written pages of Drew Hayden Taylor, one of Canada's leading Indigenous playwrights and humorists. Taylor can also be considered an expert on the German *Indianer* image. On January 28, 2018, Taylor narrated a CBC production entitled "Searching for Winnetou" in which he introduced the Canadian public to the German fascination with Indigenous North America. Taylor's engagement with Indianthusiasm is not only indicative of Native survivance but also an entangled gaze. With a dire sense of humor and a flair for satire, Taylor's 2007 play *The Berlin Blues,* much like his work in general, is rich with "laughter while exploding stereotypes and exposing bitter truths" (Marshal and Nunn 2014). *The Berlin Blues* explores stereotypes on both sides of the Atlantic.[14]

Taylor seamlessly transitions between tropes, clichés, and stereotypes of both his Indigenous and German characters, exposing the cultural currencies of the *Indianer* and German *Indianer* enthusiasts. On the fictional Otter Lake Reserve in Northern Ontario, Taylor describes the monotonous lives and daydreams of four of the local members of the reserve. The tiresome routine is put on hold when two German entrepreneurs, Birgit and Reinhart, set on creating an Indigenous-themed amusement park, OjibwayWorld, make their way to Northern Ontario in order to entice the members with significant financial gain—at a cultural price. A play in two acts, the four Otter Lake protagonists all work (or don't) on the reserve, with one of the characters, Angie, acknowledging that she is peddling Indigenous crafts and thereby "demean[ing] our sacred and ancient culture by cynically capitalizing on its spirituality and uniqueness" (Taylor 2007, 8). Taylor's dry humor and indicting statements are reserved not only for the members of Otter Lake. Taylor plays with the German stereotype of punctuality when Birgit mentions that they are exactly seventeen minutes early for their meeting with Ms. Donalda Kokoko, the economic development officer for the Band (Taylor 2007, 15).

Birgit and Reinhart represent the company German Recreational Entertainments, Arts & Technology (GREAT). OjibwayWorld is their brainchild, which attempts to capitalize on the "*great* interest in Germany for Indigenous Peoples" (Taylor 2007, 18). In a know-it-all fashion, the Germans are quick to point out that they know the proper name of the Ojibway is actually Anishinaabe, but uneducated enthusiasts (which the Germans would never be) would more easily recognize the colloquial name (Perry 2016, 549). GREAT is willing to invest precisely one hundred sixty-four million dollars into the remote northern Ontario reserve, but some of the residents display concern in terms of cultural

representations and appropriations. The Germans, however, are not to be deterred. Birgit considers herself an expert and an echo of the German professor who, in the episode "Der deutsche Indianer" of the short-lived CBC production *The Rez* (1997), visits a reserve to learn more about Indigenous culture only for the lead characters to discover that the German knows more than they do. Yet Birgit's answer reveals only her Indianthusiasm and ignorance: "We will try to incorporate aspects of as many other great and proud First Nations as possible into the design of the project. After all, you are all brothers and sisters, aren't you?" (Taylor 2007, 20). The members of the reserve, in the beginning ostensibly giddy at the prospect of earning a significant amount of money, compromise their identity as Donalda remarks unenthusiastically at the end of scene 2: "OjibwayWorld! It's Ojibway-tastic!" (Taylor 2007, 22).

Taylor also addresses the problematic of the "pan-Indian" *Indianer* image. Angie is the sole character who is from the onset concerned about sweeping generalizations and likens *Indianer* culture to a scenario about a Native character on *Star Trek*: "They never say what nation he is from. If they're gonna use him, they should explain him and his heritage instead of making some vague references to his *aboriginality*" (Taylor 2007, 33). Taylor alludes to non-Indigenous understandings of Indigeneity in a broader discourse than simply the *Indianer* trope. By comparing *Star Trek* and the Germans' generalizations, Taylor explores the "pan-Indianness" of both simulacra. Angie is convinced Ojibway culture will become economically profitable but culturally appropriated and littered with stereotypes, such as powwows and casinos. Angie's protestations fall on deaf ears as Pretty Gal (formerly known as Donalda, until the Germans thought Pretty Gal was her traditional Ojibway name) responds, "Well, considering Germans know practically everything about Native people, they would more than likely know that we never had bridges" (Taylor 2007, 36).

Both Birgit and Reinhart are fascinated with Indigenous peoples, but they arrived at their affinity in markedly different ways. Birgit concedes that her Indianthusiasm began with Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. She also confesses that she was a member of the Indian hobbyist movement: people who dress up in predominantly Plains Indian costumes on the weekend and effectively "play Indian." Although this exists in other countries, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, Indian hobbyism is most prevalent in Germany, with approximately 40,000 enthusiasts (Lopinto 2009). Birgit has always felt a special, imagined connection with the Ojibway in particular, or an Ojibway trope that is undoubtedly a simulacrum. Similar to Birgit, Reinhart also confesses that he is fascinated with Indigenous culture. Reinhart's experience is, however, different than Birgit's because he has lived

among different tribes, even becoming an honorary chief with the Lakota after spending a summer with them. But both Birgit and Reinhart's fascination with the *other* is also indicative of Kafka's "red Indian" and their search for what is missing in their own lives—the alienation and dissatisfaction that Birgit and Reinhart feel in modern Euro-Canadian society and their search for an explanation for their loneliness.

OjibwayWorld begins to unravel as the members of the Otter Lake Reserve feel that the Germans have started to exhibit "mean and efficient" (Taylor 2007, 76) tendencies and the cultural appropriation and Indianthusiasm has started to create a rift between the uncompromising Germans and the members of the Otter Lake Reserve, who begin to realize the implication of their own German enthusiasm. Working with both German and Indigenous stereotypes, Taylor shows that the blood brotherhood made famous by Winnetou and Old Shatterhand will not survive.

Conclusion: Verwobener Blick

The German image of North American Indigeneity is one that, not surprisingly, lacks Indigenous content. It is situated in a German discourse, representing German histories and ideals. Winnetou, the German *Apfel-Indianer*, is problematic because the trope of Winnetou acts as an ersatz or proxy for Indigenous identities in the German cultural context. A number of cultural examples represent Vizenor's definition of native simulation, a phenomenon that locates Indigenous peoples in false discourses. Examples include Hollywood, Sauerkraut, and "Red Western" films; recent cinema; literature; theatre from non-Indigenous and specifically German perspectives—all of which require further deconstruction. Mohawk curator Steven Loft acknowledges that, while the German Indianthusiasm is a more compassionate portrayal of Indigenous peoples than in the American context, it still situates Indigenous peoples in a discourse of victimry (Loft 2012).[15] By reappropriating and challenging the German ideas of Indigenous peoples, contemporary artists and writers such as Kent Monkman and Drew Hayden Taylor are contributing to the deconstruction and indictment of Indianthusiasm and other stereotypes—imaginary or not. But as Taylor acknowledges, "I have to say it—Native people, however we are perceived at home, are sure popular over there. In many ways we are romanticized, exoticized, and adorized" (Taylor 2010, 77), which contributes directly to a *verworbener Blick*, or entangled gaze.

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NOTES

1. The two other performances are the *Elspe Festival* in Elspe and the *Karl-May-Festtage* in Karl May's hometown of Radebeul.

2. For the purposes of this article I will use the term "German" to encompass German-speaking areas of Europe both past and present. When referring to the German image, I use the word *Indianer* to indicate that the term designates (an imaginary) literary-cultural construct rather than mimetically representing actual Indigenous peoples, historical or contemporary. When referring to Indigenous writers and artists, I will identify their tribal affiliation; when this is not possible I will use the term "Indigenous."

3. See Gerald McMaster, "The Double Entendre of Re-Enactment," http://www.vtape.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Vtape-Double-Entendre-of-Re-Enactment-imagineNATIVE-2007.pdf.

4. German Indianthusiasm can be summed up as a German fascination of all things Native American and will be explored in more detail later in the article.

5. I borrow this emphasis from Sammons 1998, 33.

6. Although I do not focus on the broader Euro-American discourse on primitivism, especially the concept of the noble savage, this is important to the historical background of the article. Boas and Lovejoy's *Contributions on the History of Primitivism* (1948), especially antiquity, can be read alongside Tacitus's understanding of the Germanii. Roy Harvey Pearce's revised work *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (1953/1988), along with Robert F. Berkhofer Jr.'s *The White Man's Indian* (1978) are influential in this discourse. More recently, Daniel Francis's *The Imaginary Indian* (1992), the Tsimshian-Haida author Maria Crosby's essay "Construction of the Imaginary Indian" (1991), Marianna Torgovnick's 1990 book *Gone Primitive*, and Ter Ellingson's *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (2001) all indicate just how firmly situated this fascination is in a larger Euro-American context.

7. See Lutz 1985, 2002; Kontje 2004; Penny 2013; and Stetler 2012.

8. Francis 1992 refers to this painting as an example of a depiction of "the noble savage."

9. I am borrowing the phrase from Anderson 1983, a pioneering study on nationalism.

10. The most important figures were Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814). The idea of an ethnically founded *Kulturnation* first began toward the middle and end of the nineteenth century. For an in-depth look at Herder and his influence on the Romantics, see Kontje 2004.

11. The most notable of these writers are Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, and Balduin Möllhausen, all of whom traveled to and lived in the United States of America.

12. "Da Winnetou ein Stereotyp ist, ein leeres Klischee, ohne indianische Inhalte oder Identität, ist er so gut zu gebrauchen als Vehikel für weiße- hier deutsche- Ideologie. Winnetou „der rote Gentleman", entpuppt sich bei näherer Betrachtung als deutscher Kleinbürger im Indianerkostüm."

13. Emphasis added.

14. For a close reading of the play and the German and Indigenous tropes, see Perry 2016.

15. Gerald Vizenor uses the term "victimry" to define the role of the victim in which Indigenous North Americans often find themselves in the dominant Euro-American discourse. See Vizenor 1999, vii.

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Frederick Alexcee's Entangled Gazes

Kaitlin McCormick

ABSTRACT | This article discusses how Tsimshian artist Frederick Alexcee (1853–1939) represented his community of Lax Kw'alaams (Fort/Port Simpson) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Created for sale to non-Indigenous people, Alexcee's works in various media reveal a distinctly Tsimshian—and perhaps personal—perspective, which, it is argued, reversed the colonial gaze. Alexcee's artistic perspectives, and the choices he made in determining the content and style of his work present in the ethnographic record, speak to the ways he represented Tsimshian history and identity. Although his work was ostensibly directed at Euro-Canadian settler audiences, the various ways that he decentered, or chose not to represent, European presences in Lax Kw'alaams raise the question of who his works were really for.

KEYWORDS | Frederick Alexcee, Lax Kw'alaams/Fort/Port Simpson, Tsimshian art

In a 1999 essay, Gitxsan scholar and artist Doreen Jensen wrote that the artist Frederick Alexcee (1853–1939) "lived, as we all do, in a convergence of time and place." In this convergence, Alexcee's "imagination created work that flowed from the past, spoke in the present and helped create the future" (Jensen 1999, 1). Alexcee's paintings, carvings, and lanternslide illustrations documented life in his native Lax Kw'alaams, a Tsimshian village on the northern British Columbia coast. Described historically as naïve, folk, and primitive, Alexcee's works have most recently been fitted into a modernist framework concerned with understanding how Indigenous artists chose to document their communities' history and identity.[1] Art historians Janet C. Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips have outlined the criteria by which scholars describe modern Indian art: that the artists produced work for audiences outside their communities, that their artworks communicated ideas to foreign audiences, and that they worked in resistance to colonial forces (Berlo and Phillips 2015, 252–53). Alexcee found ways to document his community's experiences by creating two- and three-dimensional works, sometimes using new materials and technologies, leaving as his

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

legacy a compelling visual record of Lax Kw'alaams. For instance Alexcee's lanternslides, discussed further in this essay, promoted images of precolonial Tsimshian lifeways for local audiences. This essay considers how Alexcee's paintings and carvings, made for a non-Indigenous audience, were aimed equally at a Tsimshian audience as Indigenous representations of Lax Kw'alaams history and identity. Alexcee's oeuvre comprises his own expressions of Tsimshian cultural sovereignty and resistance to colonization of Lax Kw'alaams.

Frederick Alexcee, known in some sources as Wiksomnen ("Great Deer Woman"),[2] was a Tsimshian carver, painter, and illustrator. Through his mother's lineage, Alexcee was a member of the Tsimshian Giluts'aaw (Thunderbird) tribe and the Gispuwudwuda (Killerwhale) clan (McCormick 2010, 54–55). According to ethnographers William Beynon and Viola Garfield, his father was an Iroquoian-French Canadian fur trader who had traveled to Fort Simpson with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) when the British fur trading outfit arrived on the Northwest Coast in the first half of the nineteenth century.[3] Like his contemporaries George Hunt and William Beynon, each of whom had Indigenous mothers and British fathers, Alexcee was exposed to Indigenous and settler cultures and societies. Speaking Tsimshian and some English, performing wage work in various locations, and involved in both Tsimshian and Methodist ritual contexts, Alexcee was equipped to bridge both cultures.[4] It is reasonable to imagine that his involvement in each context may have influenced his artistic choices and audience and may also have left him as somewhat of an outsider to both Tsimshian chiefly society and the Methodist mission.

Born and raised in a matrilineal culture, Alexcee was descended from a group of Lax Kw'alaams families who refused to join Anglican lay missionary William Duncan and his following of Tsimshian converts in founding the Christian model town of Metlakatla in 1862. Resistance to Duncan and to forced relocation was influenced by Legaic, a wealthy and powerful Gispaxlo'ots chief. Lax Kw'alaams, also named Fort Simpson and, later, Port Simpson, was the subject and backdrop of much of Alexcee's work, which he completed in a range of media from the 1880s to 1930s. For instance, in his oil painting *Pole Raising at Port Simpson* (ca. 1900), Alexcee depicted Chief Legaic emerging from his plank house at a feast and pole-raising ceremony (Garfield 1950, 9; Barbeau et al. 1987, 53; Jonaitis 2006, 234; Berlo and Phillips 2015, 253). This essay draws on examples of Alexcee's oil paintings, carvings, and lanternslides in order to illustrate episodes in his life and the social life of his community, as the Lax Kw'alaams Tsimshian negotiated the impositions, obligations, and opportunities of the modernizing Canadian state.

Lax Kw'alaams

Lax Kw'alaams translates as "place of the wild roses" in the Tsimshian language. Prior to the HBC's construction of Fort Simpson, Lax Kw'alaams served as a temporary camp for the Tsimshian Gispaxlo'ots tribe.[5] In 1834, the HBC decided to move Fort Simpson from its original location near the mouth of the Nass River to the coast. This move was negotiated, in part, through the marriage of trader John Kennedy to the daughter of Chief Legaic, an alliance that benefitted both parties.[6] Tsimshian oral history speaks to Legaic's role in the establishment of Fort Simpson at Lax Kw'alaams. Legaic told Kennedy, "I have a place for you and your people. Come to Laxlgu'alaams. Here we can visit you more frequently and help you in many ways" (Marsden 1991, 111). Tsimshian oral histories confirm the power of tribal chiefdoms at the time of early European settlement; thus, from an Indigenous perspective, Fort Simpson was established on territory given to the company by Legaic in 1834. From the British perspective, this fort was erected in order to advance the HBC's agenda, which was to intercept the flow of furs from its inland New Caledonia region before they reached American ships on the coast.[7]

Each of the nine Tsimshian tribes (Alexcee was descended from the Giluts'aaw) built seasonal camps at Lax Kw'alaams, positioning themselves as brokers of the land-based fur trade. Legaic and other Tsimshian chiefs enjoyed trading privileges that allowed them to control the prices of furs obtained from Indigenous trappers in the interior to be processed, sorted, and exported from Fort Simpson's "Indian shop" (MacDonald 1984, 42). The wealth that Tsimshian traders earned stimulated their economy and supported the raising of new plank houses and crest poles, validated through potlatch ceremonies such as that depicted in Alexcee's *Pole Raising at Port Simpson* (ca. 1900). In Alexcee's paintings, the village features as the central setting for evolving politics of power, trade, and chiefly prestige. In this painting (see Berlo and Phillips 2015, 253), Legaic emerges from the plank house behind two attendants who carry coppers, which symbolize the wealth he acquired through trade. On either side of the pole, men carry guns and piles of clothing and blankets for distribution, as other figures hold up blankets and a processed pelt. Alexcee's painting mirrors the purpose behind his people's erection of monumental art, works with which Tsimshian displayed their history, territory, and power (Marsden 1991, 112). For non-Indigenous and Indigenous people who went to trade at Fort Simpson, including the Tlingit, Haida, and the northern and southern Tsimshian, access to the fort was the prerogative of Legaic, and trade operated within the Tsimshian

exchange system of obligatory gift giving and the observance of visual and political protocols (Marsden and Galois 1995, 177). Art historians describe this as a history painting, in which Alexcee recorded chiefly feats and assertions of power in the face of missionary and colonial encroachment (Berlo and Phillips 2015, 253). In 1880, Fort Simpson was renamed Port Simpson, and in 1986, it was renamed Lax Kw'alaams after over a century of nominal association with the HBC trading post (Neylan 2003, 396).

Alexcee's life as an artist began as a young man when he was trained as a carver of *naxnox*, images that manifest supernatural power and are ritually acted out in winter *halait* ceremonies involving the initiation of elites. These displays are essential threads in the Tsimshian social fabric and were suppressed by Christian missionaries and Tsimshian converts in the nineteenth century, when Alexcee was a young man (Miller 1984, 29; Simmons 1991, 84). In 1874 at the age of twenty-one, he was baptized as a Methodist by William Pollard, the first Methodist missionary in Fort Simpson.[8] Four years later, Fort Simpson Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby married Alexcee and his wife Angeline in a ceremony witnessed by Alfred Dudoward, the influential chief of the Gitundo tribe.[9] Subsequently, six of Alexcee and Angeline's seven children were baptized in Fort/Port Simpson's Grace Indian Methodist Church, which was the venue for a baptismal font said to have been carved and painted by Alexcee before 1886, discussed further in this essay.[10]

Baptized and married as Methodists, Frederick and Angeline Alexcee and their children underwent important rites of passage at the mission church in Port Simpson. Still, it seems that he and Angeline were not considered full members since church records of 1883 and 1884 document them as being "on trial."[11] Following baptism, new converts to Methodism were required to complete a probationary period in order to attain complete membership. Historically, Methodist church membership depended on the convert's willingness to fully embrace and enact its spiritual, moral, and behavioral tenets. Rejecting the idea of the spiritual elect, the faithful were recognized as free agents who could accept or reject God's grace. Conversion, or "rebirth," was just the first step toward full membership. Because Methodists believed that Christians were worldly people, the church required its members to sacrifice and renounce customs that were considered incompatible with its beliefs, including severing ties with one's previous way of life (Semple 1996, 55–56). Frederick and Angeline Alexcee's status as trial members in the Methodist church suggests they chose not to turn away from obligations within Tsimshian society. Although it is not clear the extent to which Alexcee's mixed heritage may have limited his participation in Tsimshian chiefly society, perhaps his trial membership with the Methodist church allowed

him to retain agency over his religious and social identity by keeping a foot in both worlds.

In his lifetime, Alexcee had many occupations. As a young man, he took wage work as a stoker and engineer on the church mission ship, the *Glad Tidings.* He fished and worked in the hop fields of Seattle. Occasionally, he shared his knowledge of Tsimshian customs and everyday life with Garfield, Beynon, and Marius Barbeau, the National Museum of Man ethnologist who employed Beynon as an ethnographic consultant in the first half of the twentieth century. Alexcee's oeuvre documented events and experiences in the life of the Fort Simpson Tsimshian, and his work is known to exist in public art and ethnographic collections in Canada, the United States, and England. Raised at Fort Simpson, Alexcee witnessed the decline of the land-based fur trade, the arrival and impact of missionaries, and the consolidation of the Canadian state.[12] Lax Kw'alaams was a place at which Tsimshian and Euro-North American epistemologies, identities, and agendas converged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Alexcee experienced the transition between changing cultural practices and social obligations, which likely influenced his artistic choices.

Painting Lax Kw'alaams

The HBC's Fort Simpson featured prominently in Alexcee's paintings, though the fort building does not seem to have been the central subject in his compositions from between ca. 1896 and 1916. Paintings that feature the fort or other events in the life of Lax Kw'alaams resemble earlier oil and watercolor paintings by English artists who documented Fort Simpson in nearly identical composition and style (see Simmons 1991, 87 [fig. 3]). Pym Nevins Compton's *Fort Simpson* (1863), Gordon Lockerby's *Fort Simpson* (1895),[13] and an undated work in the collection of the U.S. National Archives, *Fort Simpson B.C. in 1857*, each depict the fort in the center of the composition, its white walls and stockades rising higher than, and in contrast to, the Tsimshian plank houses that flank either side of the fort. In the paintings of British artists such as Compton and Lockerby, Tsimshian and British architecture compete for space on the strip of land between sea and forest, characteristic of some Northwest Coast villages today. In their paintings, human activity occurs on the beach and in the single canoe that each painter has depicted in the left foreground, occupying six, seven, or eight paddlers. Art historian Deidre Simmons has shown how Compton's *Fort Simpson* likely influenced Alexcee's work, since Compton's paintings were copied by other artists (Meilleur 1980; Simmons 1991, 87). Compton, an English HBC clerk posted at Fort Simpson in the 1860s, painted in a style that reflects the

nineteenth-century English topographical watercolor tradition, in which artists rendered British Columbia landscapes in panoramas that aimed to capture the color and light quality characteristic of the Northwest Coast (Harper 1970, 72; Simmons 1991, 87). Art historian J. Russell Harper traced this tradition's roots in Canada to the late eighteenth century when English royal engineers and artillerymen were trained to prepare maps, elevation plans, and landscape features for military and colonial purposes (Harper 1969, 42). Compton's *Fort Simpson* was in turn copied by English HBC clerk Gordon Lockerby (1895) and by Charles Dudoward, the son of chief Alfred Dudoward, who painted in the 1870s and who, like Alexcee, had acted as an ethnographic consultant for Barbeau (Simmons 1991, 88).

Alexcee's oil painting *A Fight between the Haida and Tsimshian, Port Simpson, B.C.* (ca. 1896) (figure 1) seems at first view to follow Compton's work, with its contrast between HBC and Tsimshian structures and human activity in canoes and on the beach depicted with diminutive figures. Alexcee painted this for John Flewin, a government agent stationed at Fort Simpson, who told Barbeau that Alexcee "painted [it] for me in 1896 as I wanted

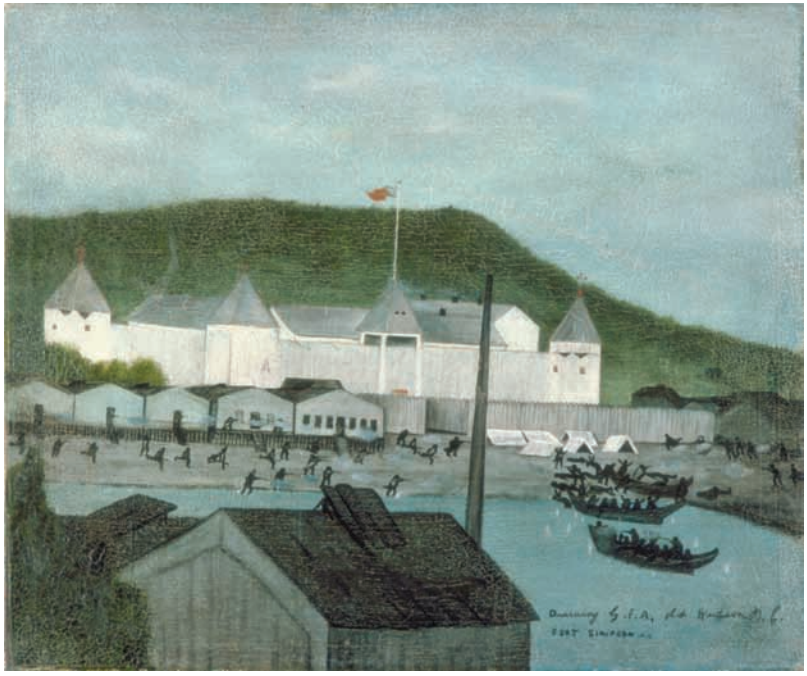

Figure 1 | Frederick Alexcee. *A Fight between the Haida and the Tsimshian, Port Simpson, B.C.*, ca. 1896. Oil on cloth. VII-C-1805. Permission granted from Canadian Museum of History.

a picture of the old fort and [Alexcee] told me he could paint."[14] Barbeau purchased the painting from Flewin in the 1920s. It, along with his watercolor painting *Indian Village of Port Simpson* (ca. 1915–16), was included in the National Gallery of Canada/National Museum of Man's *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* (1927) (McCormick 2010).[15] Barbeau's colleague and exhibition cocurator Eric Brown, director of the National Gallery, wrote that the "picture [is] interesting—[with] great spirit & feeling & remarkable for someone without training or opportunity of seeing art."[16] Brown was wrong: Alexcee had seen European art in a range of sources—in catalogs, probably in newspapers, and at the HBC store at Port Simpson (McCormick 2010, 23). Although perhaps not formally trained in British painting traditions, his depiction of the fort and plank houses are rendered in the topographical perspective characteristic of Compton's and Lockerby's work. Rather than documenting the fort as the center of activity as a colonial topographer might, Alexcee centers Tsimshian life and history. Though Flewin commissioned *A Fight between the Haida and Tsimshian* to commemorate Fort Simpson's early days, I suggest that Alexcee's version reveals his personal perspective, informed by a Tsimshian worldview. Alexcee's conversations with Garfield in the 1930s (documented in her field notes) suggest that he felt nostalgic for the days before colonialism took root in Lax Kw'alaams.

Though this painting has been described as "flat" (Simmons 1991, 86), I would argue that the composition shows depth in the way Alexcee executed its fore-, middle, and backgrounds. The viewer gazes on the scene as if from behind the protection of the plank house (its roof is painted with raised smoke slats) and pole in the foreground, while the drama, said to represent an epic battle between the Haida and Tsimshian in 1855, unfolds with the landing of (presumably) Haida canoes and a skirmish on the beach (Barbeau 1940, 22). In this painting, Fort Simpson is depicted as the backdrop to an episode of Indigenous conflict that may have begun before the fort was established. Alexcee's depiction of this event would have been informed by his knowledge of the site and his community's oral histories (Simmons 1991, 86). The painting is a panoramic rendering of a notable episode in Tsimshian and Haida history and not only illustrates the early fort for its buyer but portrays a specific moment in time from Alexcee's perspective.

Although Fort Simpson is a background structure in Alexcee's *A Fight between the Haida and the Tsimshian* (ca. 1896), it does not enter the frame of *Pole Raising at Port Simpson* (ca. 1900), nor *Indian Village of Port Simpson* (1915–16).[17] In Alexcee's panoramic *Fort Simpson* (1900) (figure 2), the fort is slightly off center, and in *Beaver at Port Simpson* (1902?), it

Figure 2 | Frederick Alexcee. *Fort Simpson*, ca. 1900. Oil and graphite on canvas. Permission granted from National Gallery of Canada, Photo: NGC Accession No. 42366.

appears as a distant structure, outnumbered by the Tsimshian houses in the fore-, middle, and backgrounds.[18] In *Fort Simpson* (1900), the fort's outer walls and bastions overlap with Tsimshian plank houses. The perspective resembles that of the British paintings, but with the plank houses in the center of the picture. Alexcee's oil painting features over two dozen finely painted plank houses and eight crest poles, with Tsimshian people gathered on the beach and at work paddling in not one but two canoes. This painting gives the impression of an active village scene in which Alexcee has shifted the perspective from the fort to focus instead on Tsimshian architecture, people, and occupations. Purchased in 2009 by the National Gallery of Canada (NGC), *Fort Simpson* (1900) was commissioned by Hans Peter Brentzen, a Norwegian laborer employed by the HBC alongside Alexcee's father at the fort in the mid-1860s. Brentzen's son, Henry, and English clerk Gordon Lockerby both worked in or around Fort Simpson's Indian store, where Alexcee bought supplies.[19] It is conceivable that Henry Brentzen, raised at Fort Simpson and of Norwegian and Alaskan Haida parentage (McIntyre Watson 2010, 195), spoke Tsimshian and that Alexcee purchased his painting supplies from him at the Indian store. Perhaps it was there he was able to look at English artists' paintings of Fort Simpson, such as Lockerby's and perhaps Compton's in the 1890s. Exactly ninety years after *A Fight between the Haida and the Tsimshian* (ca. 1896) and *Indian Village of Port Simpson* (ca. 1915–16) were displayed as examples of "primitive" painting (Brown and Barbeau 1927, 13), Alexcee's *Fort Simpson* (1900) hangs in the newly renovated Canadian and Indigenous Art galleries at the National Gallery of Canada. Today, this work is displayed in service to the gallery's intentional convergence of Indigenous and Canadian art/histories in a nation that is working to indigenize its institutions.

Alexcee's Carvings

Alexcee's dated works suggest that he was active as a painter from circa 1896 to 1916. Over the course of his career, he produced many more woodcarvings than paintings, though individual carvings are lesser known, perhaps because, unlike his paintings, he rarely signed his works for the tourist trade, which are now dispersed in several public and private North American collections.[20] When anthropologist Viola Garfield consulted Alexcee in 1934 while undertaking fieldwork at Port Simpson for her monograph *Tsimshian Clan and Society* (1939), she noted that he made his tourist trade works—mainly the carvings—later in his life, carving "almost exclusively" as an elderly man by the mid-1930s.[21] Garfield wrote that Alexcee never made art for ritual, ceremonial, or daily use in Tsimshian society.[22] And although Alexcee told Beynon that he had been trained as a *halait* carver (that is, a carver who has been endowed with supernatural power), he did not mention specific teachers, nor did he discuss pieces that were made and used in ceremonials.[23] Trained to carve as a youth, and having converted to Christianity as a young man, the *naxnox* (objects endowed with supernatural power) that Alexcee claimed to have made are unknown.[24]

A baptismal font said to have been carved for the Grace Indian Methodist Church in the late nineteenth century is perhaps one of the best known works associated with Alexcee's oeuvre (figure 3). The font was purchased from Methodist minister George Raley by the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in 1948. MoA's catalog record states that it was made in 1886 in Port Simpson/Lax Kw'alaams and collected between 1893 and 1934. The font is visible in photographs of Raley's 1934 collection (McCormick 2010, 116). According to a former MoA collections manager, the Alexcee attribution was added to its record after MoA acquired the font (ibid.), and its authorship has been disputed by scholars familiar with his distinctive, folkish carving style.[25] Anthropologist Peter Macnair, for instance, suggests that the font's muted colors differ from the black, white, yellow, red, and green paints Alexcee typically used in his carvings. Also, one could argue that the skillful execution of the carving appears to differ from what Macnair characterizes as Alexcee's "fairly amorphous" sculptural style (Macnair 1990, 1–4). Its unusual form and aesthetic—a Tsimshian masklike face and trunklike body clothed in realistic robes and angel wings—is striking, evoking what Jensen calls a "dynamic tension" between different and perhaps competing worldviews (Jensen 1999, 1). This piece feels emotionally charged. Perhaps in retrospect, it can be seen as an embodiment of colonial violence and its effects on Tsimshian society, including the 1884 potlatch ban and missionary pressure to renounce

Figure 3 | Frederick Alexcee (attributed). Baptismal font, ca. 1886. Wood, paint, metals. Courtesy of UBC Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada, No. A1777.

Indigenous beliefs, values, and customs.[26] The uncertainty around the font's authorship, the time frame during which it was used for baptisms, and the question of the carver's relationship with Christianity lend the piece a sense of ambivalence. The tension between Tsimshian and Christian influences parallels—if not possibly embodies—Alexcee's dual identity as a Tsimshian man and Methodist convert who had spiritual stakes in both belief systems and obligations in both societies. Tsimshian scholar Mique'l Askren has written about fluidity of Tsimshian epistemologies, in that "individual views

and lived experience with . . . ancient ways of knowing exist simultaneously alongside and counter to other epistemologies" (Askren 2011, 38). Contact zones like Fort/Port Simpson/Lax Kw'alaams were places where distinctness and connectedness intersected, setting the conditions for unique and creative assertions of identity, culture, and art (Thomas and Losche 1999)

Although Alexcee's carvings warrant more in-depth discussion regarding their attributions, style, and content,[27] it is clear that his work fascinated contemporaries in the museum world. Barbeau recalled being fascinated with Alexcee's "wood carvings of a strange type . . . [that] more and more their strange quality beckoned and puzzled me; they remained outside the regular categories of Indian and Canadian art" (Barbeau 1944, 21). Despite labeling Alexcee as a primitive, Barbeau acknowledged the diversity of his works and how they seemed to unsettle conventional cultural and aesthetic categories, such as the native/modern and craft/art binaries central to the 1927 *Exhibition of West Coast Art, Native and Modern* (Morrison 1991; Dawn 2006). Alexcee also defied conventions in the Tsimshian context. Garfield—who consulted the artist for his knowledge of secret society dances and dramatizations—noted with surprise that Alexcee's carvings combined imagery from different clans, suggesting he was not concerned with upholding the rules of crest display as she may have expected (McCormick 2010, 60).[28] Speaking with Alexcee as he carved, Garfield noted that he lamented the decline of traditional practices, including the roles of Tsimshian women and the loss of ceremonial knowledge. "If some of the old people could see [a traditional dance scene he drew for Garfield], they would grieve for the past that it represents" (Garfield, field notes, in McCormick 2010, 66). Alexcee's works and the oral accounts relayed by observers like Garfield, Barbeau, and Beynon show that he mourned the decline of Tsimshian customs in his day. Alongside the works he carved for tourists, a set of painted lanternslides, the third medium discussed here, suggest that Alexcee nonetheless found clever ways to perpetuate knowledge about his culture and history in mediums accessible to Tsimshian and settlers in Lax Kw'alaams.

Alexcee's Lanternslides

Alexcee's thirty-nine lanternslides, painted in the 1920s with eulachon oil and natural pigments on glass, are in the collections of the Museum of Vancouver and the Vancouver City Archives. Collectively, the slides, like his paintings, represent Tsimshian people and events presumably before the missionary period began in Fort Simpson in the 1870s. To contemporaries like the Indian agents and collectors C. C. Perry and Thomas Deasy, these slides were authentic Indian artworks that captured ways of life at once

discouraged yet lamented as disappearing in the modern era. What Alexcee managed to achieve in his paintings, Deasy thought, which non-Native painters failed to accomplish, was "the real manner in which [Alexcee] depicts scenes, dress and other performances which few whites even witnessed" (McCormick 2010, 110).[29] These slides each feature scenes in which Tsimshian are represented in occupations related to hunting, eulachon oil harvesting, architecture, and potlatching. *Hudson's Bay Trader and Tsimshian Indian Bartering a Gaudy Handkerchief for an Otter Skin!!* (ca. 1921) is unique in that it depicts a trade encounter between a Tsimshian trapper and European trader (figure 4). The face-off appears to illustrate fur trade power dynamics at Fort Simpson. Like his paintings, this image challenges a view of European dominance at Lax Kw'alaams: here, the trader begs the Tsimshian man to accept his textile, while observers gaze ahead from the background. This slide acknowledges Lax Kw'alaams/Fort Simpson's shared history while asserting the Tsimshian's role in establishing Fort Simpson as the preeminent trading post on the northern Northwest Coast. Alexcee's decision to decenter European presence at Lax Kw'alaams, or return the European gaze in his two-dimensional works, is especially apparent in these lanternslides. Who was meant to look at these images?

During fieldwork at Port Simpson in the winter of 1915, Marius Barbeau attended a lanternslide presentation in the Port Simpson church hosted by missionary J. C. Spencer.[30] Audience members included HBC employees, the Indian Agent C. C. Perry, Methodist missionaries, and Tsimshian community members. Although he overlooked Alexcee, who was not a member of the Lax Kw'alaams chiefly class, Barbeau was struck by the "naiveté and ingenuity with which [Alexcee's slides] illustrated stories and legends of the local Tsimsyan tribe": "I have not yet forgotten the impression left by that peculiar display of coloured illustrations of Indian stories . . . as [Alexcee] did not count among the Tsimsyan chiefs, whose pedigree and history were worth recording, I overlooked him, and I left Port Simpson in the spring, knowing no more about him than I had learned during the winter evening at the mission; he sat there with the others in the audience, silent—he did not speak English very well—while the missionary commented on his cartoons and drawings" (Barbeau 1944, 20). The slides that Barbeau recalled seeing were probably an earlier set than the thirty-nine extant reverse glass paintings in the collection in the Museum of Vancouver and Vancouver City Archives collections. These were first purchased by Perry, who sold them to Deasy in 1924. Deasy in turn offered the slides to Vancouver city archivist J. S. Matthews in 1934, along with Perry's 1921 collector notes, which lists and describes each slide painting with a note attesting to their authenticity: "the original work of Alexcee, the only full-blooded Indian (Tsimpshean)

Figure 4 | Frederick Alexcee. *HB Trader and Indian Bartering a Gaudy Handkerchief for an Otter Skin!!* ca. 1920. Glass, eulachon oil, Native pigments, twill tape. Courtesy of Museum of Vancouver, Collection No. AA 2777.

picture painter in colours that I have found amongst them in 14 years intimate association with the Indians."[31] Convinced that the collection's novelty and historical value warranted space in a public institution, Matthews brokered their sale to the Vancouver City Museum (now the Museum of Vancouver). T. P. O. Menzies, the Museum's director, purchased them for $100.[32] Matthews kept the thirty-ninth slide, a painted glass panorama of Fort Simpson now in the Vancouver City Archives collection. For Perry, Deasy, Matthews, and Menzies—four men involved in the collection and preservation of this slide collection—their uniqueness and authenticity lay in Alexcee's use of Indigenous pigments and subject matter. "The value of the collection of paintings is that an Indian painted them," wrote Deasy, "and they are as the Indians carried on, in the early days. In fact, the remaining few are still potlatching, fishing and doing as described, in our day. The one

thing that the White painter fails in producing is the real manner in which this Indian depicts scenes, dress and other performances which few Whites even witnessed."[33] Painted with fish oil and natural pigments on glass lanternslides, a modern medium and technology, these images were nonetheless accepted as authentic representations of Tsimshian indigeneity. "Some may not consider them works of art," Deasy wrote, "but they are most illuminating portrayals of Indian life before the whitemans [sic] came, and I doubt are not absolutely authentic in their description pictorially."[34]

Although she did not personally witness his lanternslide shows, Garfield describes them in her field notes as scenes reenacted from ceremonial events. "These," Garfield writes, "he showed to the village population once each winter until they were burned about eight years ago [ca. 1926]. Due to his dramatic ability this annual event is still talked of in the village."[35] Thus the ethnographic record shows that while Alexcee narrated his lanternslide shows to Tsimshian and settlers at Lax Kw'alaams, he also produced at least one other set (perhaps that seen by Barbeau), which he used to illustrate and bear witness to important events in Tsimshian society and culture. Although the slide collections were either destroyed or departed Lax Kw'alaams for collections in Vancouver institutions, Garfield attested to their lasting impact on the village.

It may be significant that Alexcee's lanternslide shows were performed during the winter time, historically a social and religious season for the Tsimshian. As Neylan has pointed out, in Tsimshian cosmology, the presence of *naxnox* and other supernatural forces were strongest in the late fall and winter and were enacted in winter ceremonies and dances. Members of the four Tsimshian secret societies and the Tsimshian lineages performed dances and presentations during the winter season only, when their *naxnox*, the sources of their spiritual power, were available and could be activated through drama, ceremony, and ritual. The winter dances and performances dramatized ancestral contact with the supernatural beings, demonstrating "real" powers (Neylan 2003, 190–91). Two of the thirty-eight slides at the Museum of Vancouver depict scenes of ceremonial dancing, *Chief in Full Regalia—Ceremonial Dancing* (ca. 1921) and *Indian Chief in Costume and Mask Doing Ceremonial Dance. Man Beating Wooden Drum* (ca. 1921).[36] We know that Alexcee illustrated ceremonial dances for Garfield. Could Alexcee have dramatized the scenes in his winter slide shows as an opportunity to educate his viewers about the ceremonial complexes?

As archivist Elizabeth Shepard has pointed out, lanternslides had a deep impact as an instructional device in religious and public presentations and in formal education in North America (Shepard 1987, 91). In the nineteenth century, missionaries used lanternslides for religious instruction and

entertainment, and photographers would put on shows to promote both their own lanternslides and photographic skills (ibid.). Alexcee's lanternslides were narrated by both himself and the missionary, though the impact of Alexcee's dramatizations suggests that he may also have used his slide presentations to promote his work to potential buyers, including Indian agents and museum people. If Alexcee had been trained as a *halait* carver (as he told Beynon), perhaps he leveraged his slide performances as another way to demonstrate a special ability, or distinguishing act, that would set him apart from other Tsimshian and elevate his profile in Lax Kw'alaams and in settler society. Significantly, the performances may also have served to missionize Tsimshian culture at home. In this light, we might consider Alexcee's lanternslide production as an opportunity to elevate his social status, appropriate Christian indoctrination, and invert the colonial function of the lanternslide medium. More broadly, his promotion of the Tsimshian worldview for Indigenous and settler audiences in multiple media at Lax Kw'alaams and beyond is a lasting inversion of the colonial gaze.

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NOTES

The author would like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers, as well as Gerald McMaster and Julia Lum. Their thoughtful feedback and comments improved this article. She would also like to thank Allan Ryan and Andrea Laforet for their support as advisors during her master's research on Frederick Alexcee (2010) at Carleton University, Ottawa.

1. For instance, art historian J. Russell Harper wrote that Alexcee painted "naïve Skeena [River] and Port Simpson landscapes, using fish oil" (1970, 6). Although not discussed here, Alexcee's contemporary and fellow Tsimshian visualizer, Benjamin A. Haldane, also documented his community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Haldane owned his own portrait photography studio and photographed community events, including potlatches. See Askren 2009.

2. Ethnologists William Beynon and Viola Garfield asserted that Alexcee's Tsimshian name was Wiksomnen, meaning "Great Deer Woman." However, discrepancies between Beynon's 1915 map of Port Simpson's residential lots (at the Museum of Anthropology Archives, University of British Columbia), and his list of lots and tenants (archived in Barbeau's Northwest Coast Fonds at the Canadian Museum of History), suggest that this name was held by a Joseph Alexcee, also of Port Simpson. See McCormick 2010, 53–54.

3. Correspondence from William Beynon to Marius Barbeau, B-F-159, Box B14, Northwest Coast File, "Frederick Alexee [sic] a Canadian 'Primitive,'" Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of History Archives, Gatineau, Quebec; Viola Garfield, "Wood Carving

and Painting, Introduction," in *Modern Tsimshian Decorative Arts, Aug.–Sept. 1934,* Museum of Anthropology Archives, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

4. Alexcee worked as a stoker and engineer on the missionary ship the *Glad Tidings*, and he told Viola Garfield that he had been to Seattle with a large group of Tsimshian who had traveled there to pick hops around 1914 (McCormick 2010, 65–66).

5. See "Lax Kw'alaams," The Bill Reid Centre, https://www.sfu.ca/brc/virtual_village/tsimshian/lax-kw-alaams.html.

6. "Legaic" is the name of a long line of Tsimshian chiefs and does not refer to a single individual. See MacDonald 1985; Knight 1996.

7. New Caledonia was the interior of present-day North-Central British Columbia and is the traditional territory of many Indigenous groups including the Sekani, Wetsuweten (Carrier), Dakelh (Carrier), and the Tsilhqot'in.

8. Port Simpson Grace United Church, Circuit Registry. Box 197, Register of Port Simpson Mission, From 1874 to 1896, Bob Stewart Archives, British Columbia Archival Union List, Vancouver. Neylan notes that "the founding of a Methodist mission among the Tsimshian is truly a story of Native initiative," whereas from the "official" standpoint of the Methodist Church, it "began when the Reverend William Pollard responded to the Dudowards' [Tsimshian community members] request for a missionary" (Neylan 2003, 57).

9. Dudoward and his wife Kate were early converts to Methodism and were proponents of the church's mission at Port Simpson.

10. This baptismal font is in the collections of the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology (A1776 a-c).

11. Port Simpson Grace United Church Circuit Registry, 1874–1896, United Church of Canada British Columbia Conference Archives, Vancouver.

12. The colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island confederated with Canada in 1871, becoming the province of British Columbia. The federal Indian Act was enacted in 1876, and an 1884 amendment instigated a nearly seven-decades-long potlatch ban that outlawed the ceremonies and practices central to the political and cultural structure of Tsimshian society.

13. These paintings are in the collections of the British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria. Their respective accession numbers are PDP03668 and PDP00094, and they are available to view in the online catalog.

14. Correspondence between John Flewin and Marius Barbeau, November 18, 1926, included in "Notes on Frederick Alexie [sic] Paintings in the 1927 West Coast Exhibition," extracts compiled by Charlie Hill, curator of Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada Archives, Ottawa.

15. *Indian Village of Port Simpson* (ca. 1915–16) is in the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

16. Correspondence between Marius Barbeau and John Flewin, November 30, 1926, included in "Notes on Frederick Alexie [sic] Paintings in the 1927 West Coast Exhibition," extracts compiled by Charlie Hill, curator of Canadian Art, National Gallery of Canada Archives, Ottawa.

17. In 1923, Barbeau praised Alexcee's "pictorial reconstruction of the Indian Village of Port Simpson Lahkwaw-Kalamps, 'Place-of-the-wild-roses.' . . . The only two surviving buildings were destroyed by fire [in the] winter of 1915" when Barbeau was there. *Canadian Historical Association Annual Report,* 1923, "Notes on Frecerick Alexcee Paintings in the 1927 West Coast Exhibition (National Gallery of Canada)."

18. This painting is in the collection of the Wellcome Library, London (no. 45055i), and is available to view in its online catalog.

19. A "Port Simpson Indian Debts" list of 1890 records "Alexie" as having a "good debt" of $3.00, indicating that he bought supplies there. "Inspection Report. Port Simpson Post. J. McDougall, Inspecting Officer, 24/30th September, 1890," B.201/e/2 Fort Simpson (Nass) Report 1890, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg.

20. Peter Macnair, "Four Model Poles Owned by George Mess." Unpublished manuscript, July 26, 1990, Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria.

21. Viola Garfield, unpublished field notes. "Modern Tsimshian Decorative Art," Viola Edmundsen Garfield Papers, Speeches and Writings, 1951–1953, 1963, Manuscript Portions: Box/Folder: 2/1-3. Xerox accessed September 2009 at the office of Bill McLennan, Curator, Pacific Northwest, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

22. Garfield, unpublished field notes, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia. One exception may be a frontlet associated with Frederick Alexcee in the collections of the Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, #18700.

23. *Halait* carvers are responsible for producing *naxnox*, or paraphernalia for secret societies (see Hawker 1991, 231–33).

24. *Halait* and *naxnox* have complex meanings that do not translate simply into English. Anthropologist Marie-Francoise Guédon writes that *halait* always implies a human being's participation in the supernatural or the extraordinary. *Naxnox*, similarly, refers to any "being, event, or ability" that expresses extraordinary power (Guédon, 1993, 138–40).

25. Two smaller carved angel figures also attributed to Alexcee are in the collection of the Museum of Northern British Columbia, Prince Rupert.

26. George Raley noted that the font had to be removed from the Grace Indian Methodist Church in Port Simpson because of the frightening effect it had on Tsimshian children. In her book on Tsimshian Christianity, historian Susan Neylan featured Alexcee's font as its cover image, noting that the angel's Tsimshian face, dominated by its large eyes, demonstrated a being "endowed with power," and that it was for this reason that the font had to be removed (Neylan 2002, 261).

27. Art historian Ronald Hawker has pointed out that although Alexcee worked "in a number of styles and functional categories . . . without fail those who have examined his art have focused on his Westernized painting" (Hawker 1991, 249).

28. It is also possible that Alexcee scrambled crest imagery on tourist works in order to uphold Tsimshian laws governing their ownership and representation.

29. Thomas Deasy correspondence, 1901–1921, File 5, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria.

30. Spencer was the Methodist missionary at Port Simpson from 1914 to 1921. See "Dora Flewin Interview," 1974, United Church History Seekers, 1977–1978, accession no. T2403, https://search-bcarchives.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/dora-flewin-interview-rev-robert-faris-interview.

31. C. C. Perry, collector's list (1921), Museum of Vancouver.

32. Correspondence between Matthews and Menzies, August 3, 1934, Major J. S. Matthews' Donor's File, No. 2, Museum of Vancouver.

33. Thomas Deasy correspondence, 1901–1921, File 5, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria.

34. Thomas Deasy correspondence, 1901–1921, File 4, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria.

35. Garfield, unpublished field notes, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

36. The Museum of Vancouver catalogue numbers for these slides are AA2775 and AA2276. There available to view in the Museum's online catalog.

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Gud Gii AanaaGung: *Look at One Another*

Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Jisgang Nika Collison

ABSTRACT | On the Northwest Coast of North America, artwork has always documented identity; relationships with each other, the earth, and the supernatural; and histories held by individuals, clans, or Nations—spanning back to time immemorial. Artists use local and introduced materials and embrace new mediums to represent how to make some sense out of the world. These artworks reflect complicated relationships that artists navigated with European and British explorers, settlers, colonial administrators, and visitors during a period when communities were grappling with fundamental changes in social practices and cultural expressions. Published histories of art from these regions represent historically selective collecting practices and inform what appears to be—but what was *not*—the full range of artistic production. Scholarship and exhibitions must represent the full range of aesthetic creations unstifled by biased conceptions of what constitutes Northwest Coast "art" in order to fully explore the cosmopolitan expressions of First Nations' imagery.

KEYWORDS | art, Haida, Kwakwaka'wakw, exchange, collecting

In October 2017, OCAD University and the Art Gallery of Ontario hosted the conference, "The Entangled Gaze: Indigenous and European Views of Each Other." Although we were invited separately to present our work, we decided to merge our presentations in order to give a paper that embodied the fundamental query of this conference on "entanglement," bringing together the areas in which our work overlaps, representing Indigenous and non-Indigenous heritage and training in the field of Northwest Coast art studies. This paper is the result of conversations, shared information, and collaborative research that represents a deliberate "entanglement" of our scholarship. This article presents artworks and cultural creations as a form of history-making that reflects Indigenous artists' experience of "looking at one another," as well as discussions of how materials, commerce, and even scholarship itself has impacted what has come to be known as "Northwest Coast art."

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

On the Northwest Coast of North America, artwork has always documented identity; relationships with each other, the earth, and the supernatural; and histories held by individuals, clans, or Nations—spanning back to time immemorial. Artists use local and introduced materials and embrace new mediums to represent how to make some sense out of the world. These artworks reflect complicated relationships that artists navigated with European and British explorers, colonial administrators, and visitors during a period when communities were grappling with fundamental changes in social practices and cultural expressions. Published histories of art from the Northwest Coast reflect biased collecting practices that informed what came to be understood as Northwest Coast art but did not in fact represent the full range of artistic production. Additionally, art historical scholarship has relied heavily on texts written by visitors to the Northwest over Indigenous-knowledge and oral histories and on European traditions of aesthetic analysis over Indigenous frames of value. Fortunately, these practices were mitigated by Indigenous scholars who chose to work closely with Western anthropologists to record their interpretations and knowledge. Although the resulting documents are filtered through a Western lens, these records are available for revisiting from a current framework of collaboration, or "entangled scholarship," in which authors like ourselves engage in ongoing collaborations and dialogues. Acknowledging those who have contributed their expertise to the discipline in various ways and across time, we bring our training and worldview into conversation with each other and with contemporary Haida artists, Elders, and community historians, as well as with the oral history record. This method facilitates our goal to fully explore the cosmopolitan expressions of First Nations' imagery, striving to overcome biased conceptions of what constitutes Northwest Coast "art."

Tl'l Kuunsda—*To Start a Story*

Jisgang Nika Collison

When asked "how do we represent people who are different from ourselves," we have to first consider the self. You can't have the *other* without having a *self*. In looking at each other through our respective lenses, we should consider cultural perspectives about concepts like "abstraction" and how these terms are applied to artworks.

Haida "art"[1] is the visual companion to X̲aayda kil (*the Haida language*).[2] Art and language are the fundamental forms of Haida communication and the vehicles for Haida history. Serving both social and economic functions, art also demonstrates the importance our Nation

puts on high aesthetics. In order to read Haida art, the viewer must know the story behind it. It is a form of writing that communicates, among other things, lineage and identity; relationships with each other, the earth, and the supernatural; rank and status; and histories held by individuals, clans, or collectively by our Nation—from those spanning back to a time before human occupation on earth, through to today. Today, as in the past, artists not only use materials gathered from Haida Gwaii (an archipelago off British Columbia's northwest coast) or traded from the mainland, they also embrace new mediums as well as technologies and practices to represent how we look at, document, and make some sense out of the world, ourselves, and the others we share it with.

Lineages, histories, and prerogatives can be found on or within almost all of our historic belongings, and much of our modern-day ones. But presenting identity, history, and social stature transcends material culture. Examples of this include the act of setting identity into our skin via k'idk̲'aalang (*tattoos*), painting who we are onto our faces, piercing rights through our flesh, and binding assertions to our hair and limbs.[3] Names, songs, stories, the rights that one has to use or wear certain things in certain ways, and other acts even more intimate—such as movement and speech—all communicate who we are. As one grows one's history, reflecting on and responding to changes in oneself, society, and the greater world, these articulations of self can also change.

The "First Tree" on Haida Gwaii, a ts'ahl (*pine tree*), appeared on Xagyaah, also known as the Bolkus Islands, located in the southern region of Haida Gwaii. Two clans claimed this tree as their prerogative: the Xagi Laanas and Skoa'laadas. A depiction of this tree was put into the arm of a Skoa'laadas woman in the late 1800s by John Cross, my great-great grandfather (and grandfather to many), a designer, carver, and tattoo artist.[4] The tattoo speaks not only to the first tree to occur after the last Ice Age (approximately 12,500 years before present) (Lacourse and Mathewes 2005, 41), it speaks also to the rank and status of the Skoa'laadas clan, who maintained a reputation fit enough not only to carry such a high crest over generations, but to add additional preciousness to it. The tattoo reflects both ancient connections to our land and materials introduced through Indigenous and Euro-American trade practices. I interpret the square-shapes of property hanging from the tree's branches as earrings made from the beloved abalone shell obtained through trade with Indigenous Peoples. Cross identified the large swaths of fabric on either side of the tree as European trade cloth, and I would suggest that many of the necklaces hanging from the branches are made from European trade beads—like Indigenous trade beads, these commodities were highly valued by our Ancestors (Swanton 1905, 141).

But long before we discovered Europeans in our waters, a SG̲aaga (*shaman*) had a Supernatural Being speak through him, relaying the prophecy of newcomers and what would follow: opportunity, but also devastation.[5] In the 1860s, our population plummeted from introduced disease and withheld vaccinations (Gwaai Edenshaw, in Collison 2013, 23); a population of between ten thousand and thirty thousand was diminished to less than six hundred on Haida Gwaii by the turn of the century. The survivors came together from across Haida Gwaii, moving into two main villages—G̲aw, also known as Old Massett; and HlG̲aagilda, commonly known as Skidegate. Two fires remained, just as the SG̲aaga was told. The survivors of this biological genocide went on to face a cultural genocide facilitated through Canada's Indian Act (1876–present) and residential school system (1892–1996). Hereditary Leader 7IDANsuu, James Hart,[6] explains the strength it took to carry on: "It's stunning how the survivors found ways to live in two worlds and to continue documenting the world around us and within us. We united to survive. They had to be tough and hold it together to get somewhere. They had kids and raised their family. They instilled the Haida way in their family. And, they survived the switch from Haida way to white-man way, carrying Haida along with it" (Jim Hart, in Collison 2013, 23–24).

Before colonial assaults on cultural practices increased in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, relationships with Europeans were mainly economy based, focused on trade (though not without conflicts). Expansive and highly complex economies existed up and down the coast, into the interior and beyond, long before Europeans arrived. It is no surprise that early explorers found our Ancestors, including women, to be highly experienced traders. The first Western-accepted documentation of contact between Haida and foreigners occurred in July 1774.[7] Spanish sailors aboard the *SV Santiago* traded with our Ancestors, commenting in their journals on our relatives' exceptional trading skills.[8] Following this encounter, hundreds of ships entered our waters to do business. Small villages throughout Haida Gwaii began to consolidate, forming large mercantile villages in order to better participate in this new economy, greatly increasing our gross national product. Above all, yaats (*iron*) was the commodity our Ancestors prized most, whereas Europeans sought our rich, finely worked naak'ii (*sea otter fur*).[9] Other trade items desired by Europeans included personal belongings such as fine weaving, intricate carvings, and local foods. These and other goods were exchanged for wares such as muskets, iron pots, brass buttons, and cloth. Eventually our Ancestors accepted silver and gold coins, first to fashion jewelry and later to enter into the cash economy.

Western scholars have dated commercial argillite carvings[10] back to the 1820s/30s, starting with small ornate pipes carved in classical Haida form,[11]

followed by larger, intricate panel pipes carved in the same. In using the term "classical," as well as "orthodox," "customary," and "traditional," I aim to delineate the formline art our people developed and have maintained over thousands of years, distinct from representational forms that became popular postcontact.[12] Made for sale, works depicting various Haida realms in traditional form were enjoyed and collected by sailors and others. Effectively, our Ancestors created a new commercial art market by turning argillite and other materials into "curios"—a highly problematic term that negates these pieces as works of fine art and as critical documentations of history (Bunn-Marcuse expands on this point below).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the sea otter population was hunted to near extinction. With the waning of this fur economy, savvy artists diversified their markets further by adding into their classical repertoire a stylized realism and other new forms inspired by exposure to European people and culture. Whether executed in traditional or representational format, the emergence of this new Haida art form was unusual in that it was created for economic purpose—absent a presiding social function. As noted by Jaalen Edenshaw, "This [new] market created the freedom to be an artist in the Western sense of the word. Now you were creating things, not for utility and beauty, but just for beauty. It would have been an interesting time" (Collison 2013, 25).

As exposure to European lifeways grew, our art continued to change. Ranging in materials from argillite to wood, metal, ivory, and more, models of European sailing ships for example became even more ornate. These works are exhilarating documentation of early relations in the "contact zone" while at the same time a reminder of colonial impacts (see also Macnair and Hoover 1984; Wright 2002).

Masterful works depicting European sailing ships, sea captains, missionaries, merchants, and other imagery taken from interactions with Europeans were integral not only to our economy but to the survival of our own

Figure 1 | Haida Ship Pipe, Ancestral, ca. 1840. Wood, paint, paper, whalebone, metal, glass. E-2599-0, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.

way of life as social-function art became outlawed. Whether created in an orthodox or stylized manner (or a combination of both), these new products were meant to keep both our customers *and* oppressors happy and to maintain control over ourselves.[13]

Whether looking at or traveling aboard European ships, our people documented many of their observations through highly stylized interpretations (figure 1). The incorporation of wondrous plants, animals, and other beings, including some belonging to Haida Gwaii, provide clues about who was aboard and where they traveled. Jaalen Edenshaw shared a story with me, told to him by Elder Steven Brown: when Steven's father, Robert Brown, was around twelve years old in the latter half of the 1800s, he worked as a cabin boy on a sealing ship. During these times, many Haida were employed for marine hunting on European voyages. One morning, two Haida men donned their harbor clothes under their work clothes and asked Steven's dad for extra food before they went out to hunt. As happened every day, they were lowered down from the side of the ship in their canoe. But when their boat hit the water, the men paddled determinedly toward a set of mountains identified as Japan, away from the hunting grounds, and never came back. I heard they went to marry women they'd fancied from an earlier encounter.[14]

The carved records of our encounters were not limited only to ship panels; there are many instances of ship captains and other foreign beings depicted in sculpture, such as masks and model figures of the *other*. An oval-shaped argillite platter held in the Haida Gwaii Museum (cat. # Nb1.355) is an example of our Ancestors' fancying European motifs (Bunn-Marcuse discusses this in detail below). The platter features an American eagle, complete with olives and arrows. Circling the eagle are backward numbers reading "481," encompassed on either side by the name "Barnett," also backward, with what appears to be the letter "I" between. One theory is that the artist might have copied inverted text from the backside of a ship's windowed door (Nathalie Macfarlane, personal communication, 2000). Although the manufacture of argillite plates is thought to have begun in the 1840s, given the quality of earlier argillite carvings and the knowledge that a Captain Barnett of the trading ship *Gustavus III* traded with our people in 1791, it is fair to wonder if the plate might have been made a little earlier (Gunther 1972, 130–31; Howay and Pierce 1973, 11, 25–26).

Whether created for societal use, economic use, aesthetic exploration, or navigating colonialism, Haida art tells a story. The social art of our Nation was developed over millennia, taught to us by the Supernatural, and informed by our environment over the ages. It is largely objective, a visual regulatory of an inspirational nature reminding us Haida who we are and

how we fit into this world. In order to properly "read" this art, we must come well-versed in its context.

The coming of Europeans brought great upheaval and precipitous change to our people and environment. Our Ancestors' ability to adapt to both opportunity and oppression while not losing sight of who we are is why we are still here. This win is not only reflected by the enduring presence of our societal and commercial works in today's world, it is powerfully documented in our Ancestors' "curio" art. Developed over just a few decades rather than thousands of years, this new Haida art form was our visual response to the tumultuous change brought on by capitalism and colonialism. Because of the art's rapid formation, its departure from societal norms, and its documentation of two worlds colliding, reading it is largely subjective.

For far too long, history has been told by the *other*. Bringing Indigenous ethos, scholarship, and sensibility together with Western academia is essential to understanding the shared history of Indigenous Peoples and Settlers, because, like Haida societal art, you cannot properly read curio art without being well-versed in its context. And if we don't have context (stories), how do we know who we are and how we fit into this world?

Imagery of the Colonial Other—Unicorns and Lions and American Eagles

Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse

The central queries of the Entangled Gaze conference were (1) how do we represent people who are different from ourselves and (2) what are the consequences that arise out of this representation? Jisgang Nika Collison and I would add to these questions a third, namely and most significantly, *why* was it critical to represent new and different encounters? Above, Collison has addressed this third and most fundamental question, which lies behind the other two questions. She demonstrates that representing these encounters in material form is a mode of *history making*, documenting encounters *and* self, relationships *and* making sense of the world and one's place in it.

The first question—of looking at how people represent others—is not a new one; intercultural ties run throughout Northwest Coast material. Although the focus in this special issue of *ab-Original* is on encounters between Indigenous peoples and Euro-American visitors and settlers to North America, Northwest Coast art also includes imagery of encounters *between* other First Nations, such as the Gyidakhanis masks among the Kwakwaka'wakw that represent Tlingit dancers imitating an Athabaskan

dance. These masks, created on Vancouver Island, feature feathers plumes similar to those used in headpieces created in Alaska (Holm 1972, 36).[15] Some Tsimshian naxnox masks represent Coastal people from neighboring nations—sometimes with characterizing descriptions such as "Fighting Like Haidas," or "Athabaskan Warrior"—whereas others demonstrate affiliations between people and animal-relations in masks that refer to animal/human transformations or simultaneity, such as Wolverine Women or Bear Man (Halpin 1981, 277–81). The question of how "outsiders" are represented is not just a First Nations/Euro-American binary but a fundamental question of how imaging is complicit in both building and consolidating group identity. The artworks themselves can mediate new experiences that shake one's worldview, often by bringing unfamiliar imagery reflecting novel encounters into familiar forms and uses to elucidate and interpret these experiences.

Additional to the question of "how do we represent people who are different from ourselves" is the question "what do we call artwork that engages this question?" Labels have suggested these objects are "introduced," "unexpected," or "Obstinate Objects," as Anna Brus identifies them (in this issue). This kind of work has also been called "non-traditional," "tourist art," "curios," or the "arts of acculturation,"[16]—the latter pronouncing a judgment on creative inspiration, as if an artwork that references new experiences is somehow one inevitable stop on a perilous journey toward a destination devoid of Indigenous aesthetics or "traditional" form. I have argued previously that what has been glossed as "Euro-American imagery" became an integral part of Northwest Coast expression in the nineteenth century and should just be called "art" (Bunn-Marcuse 2013).[17]

Research on Victorian-style floral and scrollwork and American eagle imagery on nineteenth-century Northwest Coast engraved silver and gold bracelets reveals that the few twentieth-century catalogs that included bracelets with these motifs often dismissed them with the judgmental label "made-for-sale," but these motifs were used both for sale items and for use within community (Bunn-Marcuse 2000). When American eagles and floral work show up on memorial poles, house fronts, or even face stamps, they clearly express clan identity, fully enmeshed in local signification (Bunn-Marcuse 1998; 2017).

Additionally, when American silver dollars were made into bracelets and other jewelry, the trade in material goods resulted in new items for sale and cultural expression. As a silversmith pounded out coins and engraved his own design of a clan symbol or of appropriated Euro-American imagery, the assertion of one value system over the other is doubly marked. Although currency always bears the stamp of the state—what Marx called its "national uniform"—jewelry always bears the stamp of the artist (Marx 1976 [1867],

222). The erasure of the colonial mark by the indexical mark of the Indigenous artist is not necessarily a strategic rejection of that colonial imprint per se but may instead be an assertion of those Indigenous systems and practices that were critical to the perpetuation of social and cultural cohesion (Bunn-Marcuse 2011, 67). Many of these objects speak both to colonial encounters and also to self-representations without regard to those encounters, inhabiting the realm of what anthropologist Nicholas Thomas called "double vision" (Thomas and Losche 1999, 14).

Building on these examples of introduced imagery, I want to explore another case of colonial imagery that Haida and Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw artists brought into their own repertoires in the nineteenth century: lions and unicorns introduced to the Northwest Coast through British heraldic imagery. The imagery of the Royal Arms of Great Britain appears on a pair of Haida silver bracelets made in the 1860s (figure 2).[18] The bracelets both feature the crowned English Lion Rampant and Scottish Unicorn with the motto *Dieu et mon Droit* (God and my Right), with the Order of the Garter's motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense* (Shame on him who thinks evil of it).

Although no direct provenance has been found, it is possible this bracelet was carved by a Haida carver named Waekus (spelled variously as Weynatz or Weenitz). Frederick Dally, a photographer in Victoria, wrote that a local Haida carver known as Waekus was renowned for his faithful renditions

Figure 2 | Haida silver bracelet, Haida artist. Image RBCM 13535 photographed by Nancy Harris and courtesy of the Royal BC Museum and Archives.

of non-Haida imagery, such as a bust of Shakespeare and the most beautiful pair of American eagle bracelets Dally had ever seen (Dally 1862–1883). These bracelets seem within the realm of the type of imagery Waekus was known for and his renown in Victoria may have led to their commissioning. Waekus's skill in executing this type of Victorian scrollwork and European imagery as well as his locale in the city of Victoria would make him a possible candidate as the carver of these bracelets.[19] The bracelets belonged to Emmeline Jane Tod Newton, a resident of Victoria and Fort Langley whose husband and father both worked for the Hudson's Bay Company (Matthews 2011, 83). Although Waekus's "bust of Shakespeare" has not been located, a wooden sculptural portrait of Amor de Cosmos, founder of the *Daily British Colonist* (today's *Victoria Times-Colonist*) and the second premier of British Columbia, seems in keeping with Waekus's reputation for portraiture and works with Euro-American imagery (figure 3). The piece was acquired by Captain Henry Ella in the 1860s, and family lore held that it was made by Waekus. Attribution of these pieces is still quite tentative, but by publishing these suppositions, we start to build a record for artistic production during this era, with particular regard to previously unnamed artists and unattributed artworks. This set of objects and the information on Waekus demonstrates the reputations and abilities of Haida artists in the nineteenth century working with colonial imagery on commissions for local settlers.

Acknowledging these works as part of Haida practice greatly expands what has come to be defined as Haida art. Similar examples are not confined to towns around the seats of government where one might expect to find such imagery: these examples were made for both urban and community audiences. And although one might think that the Royal Coat of Arms would be more readily seen in Victoria than further north on the coast, a bedframe collected in Masset (Haida Gwaii) during the 1879 Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) shows that this imagery was adopted even in private Haida furnishings (figure 4). A close examination of these boards, collected by Israel Powell, shows "carving by a Haida Indian at Massett, QCI" written in pencil on back.[20] Most interestingly, these boards show several different approaches to the carving of Victorian scroll and foliate work, including naturalistic renditions of the lion and unicorn heads, high-relief for floral forms, and low-relief scrollwork. These motifs could have been inspired by a number of possible sources, the most likely of which was similar scroll and foliate work found on the sternboards of American and European ships trading in Haida waters. Floral motifs were the primary decorative elements on sailing ships of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with billet heads featuring scrolled leaves with a rosette or flower at the center and trail boards with intertwined foliate

Figure 3 | Wooden portrait, possibly Amor de Cosmos, Haida artist. Wood, paint. Royal British Columbia Museum catalog number 40271. Photo courtesy of Douglas Reynolds Gallery.

motifs as well. Nineteenth-century argillite pipes, as discussed by Collison here and in much of Robin Wright's research, document the careful observations that Haida artists made of the details of ship's rigging, cabins, hatches, and other decorative and functional elements (Wright 2002; 1977, 83; 1979). These bed siderails, measuring 218 cm in length, show a full-size

Figure 4 | Haida bedframe, Haida artist. Lion + Unicorn Plaque, Haida, pre 1879. Canadian Museum of History / Musée canadien de l'histoire, VII-B-904a, S83-370.

expression of these motifs that most often appear in miniature on argillite pipes and on engraved silver and gold bracelets.[21] The headboard sculpture features the same arrangement of creatures flanking a heraldic crest as seen on the Royal Arms of Great Britain.

Just as the American eagle was understood to be a crest of what were called the "Boston Men," the lion was widely understood to be a crest of the British, similar to the crests of the clans throughout the Northern Northwest Coast. Haida artists subsumed Euro-American symbols of rank and prestige into their own systems. *Appleton's Guide-Book to Alaska and the Northwest Coast*, published in 1893, clearly outlined the analogous heraldry and First Nations' peoples' widespread understanding that the American "eagle [is] the 'Boston man's' totem and the lion and the unicorn the two totems of the 'King George men'" (Scidmore 1893, 44). These European symbols were assimilated into Haida expression on carvings but also through the direct use of European clothing by the Haida.

Haida artists residing in Haida Gwaii (many who traveled to Victoria as well) would have seen this imagery as it appeared on many naval vessels. Flags were also a likely visual source. Historical photos show that flags were acquired everywhere along the Coast.[22] Starting in 1869, the flag of the British embassy, a Union Jack emblazoned with the lion and unicorn of the Royal Coat of Arms, was flown by vessels carrying governors of colonies, military authorities, diplomatic officers, and consular agents.[23] As well, the Royal Coat of Arms appeared on naval uniform buttons as well as on other products that might have made their way to Haida houses through the extensive trade with British and American sailors. An 1881 photo of Paul Nanadjingwas and an 1890 photo of Albert Edward Edenshaw—the uncle of renowned carver Charles Edenshaw—show the two men wearing British Royal Navy sailor's caps and military topcoats commonly worn by the Royal

Marines (Glass 2011). Nineteenth-century British naval dress coat buttons were decorated with the imagery of the Royal Coat of Arms.[24]

The lion and unicorn flanking the great seal also appeared on numerous print sources in the nineteenth century, including the masthead of the *Canada Gazette*, once the official newspaper of the government of Canada (starting in 1841 the *Gazette* published all statutes, regulations, and various government and public notices). Historical photos from Haida Gwaii document that at least two houses in Old Massett—Star House and Chief Wiah's Monster House—had collages of printed material, including newspapers (MacDonald 1983, 144, 86). In 1868, Robert Brown, member of the Royal Geographic Society, noted that figures in slate by Haida artists were often copies of engravings printed in the *Illustrated London News* (Brown 1868–1869, 389). As Collison discussed above with the argillite plate, text as well as imagery adorns Northwest Coast art. Some Haida wooden ship pipes had fragments of text, Kwakwaka'wakw bracelets and pendants sometimes include written names, and signs painted with names and text were posted above the doors to chiefly residences.[25] Through sources such as magazines and newspapers, First Nations' artists had unlimited access to images, texts, and illustrations of European people, places, and objects. Some carvers even had European design pattern books to work from (Scidmore 1885, 49–50). An inventory of possible designs and design combinations would be an endless list (Bunn-Marcuse 1998, 83).

Another maritime source for lion imagery came from the catheads on sailing ships. A lion-head carving collected in Tsimshian territory at Old Metlakatla (RBCM cat. #2876) and several Kwakwaka'wakw (Vancouver Island) "lion nułamała" masks featuring lion whiskers and furrowed muzzle suggest this imagery was adopted up and down the Coast (Seattle Art Museum 1995, 234–35; Holm 1983, 36).[26] Bill Holm suggests that Gusgimukw artists who saw ship catheads applied lion imagery to nułamała (*fool dancer*) regalia. Kwakwaka'wakw artist Beau Dick explained that applying a Euro-American symbol to represent the "'crazy,' big nosed, rule enforcing character is not without significance" (Seattle Art Museum 1995, 234). A mask identified by George Hunt and Franz Boas as a sepa'xalis mask translates to "*One-Shining-Down-From-Above or Shining-Down-Sun-Beam*" (Glass 2011, 149–52).[27] Many of these masks were treated with reflective elements like graphite and mica, and their glinting quality might suggest a visual analogy with the maritime catheads—some of which were even gilded to glimmer in the sun. Their imagery was aligned with the motivating supernatural spirits enacted in the Kwakwaka'wakw Tseyka ceremonies, as seen in this mask and later incorporated in a type of nułamała (Glass 2011, 151–52).

Other artworks with lion imagery that I assert may be by Haida artists but lack any known provenance include a bracelet, a fish club, and an

Figure 5 | Haida wooden lions, Haida artist. Private collection, courtesy of Marquand books.

outstanding pair of fully sculptural lions (figure 5) carved from red cedar or spruce (Brown and Terasaki 2006, fig. 87). As possible sources of inspiration, ship catheads show only the frontal view of a leonine face, and as such, sources revealing the full body of the big cat would be required. In his formal analysis of these lions, historian Steve Brown notes that the nose, whiskers, and mane have a naturalistic touch, while the eyes, eyebrows, and mouth take on Northern coastal characteristics with a profile similar to those seen in northern Northwest Coast masks. Concluding that they are most likely of Haida or Coast Tsimshian origin, Brown also notes that "the flowing manes and tufted tail tips display similarities to the European-style foliate carving of some Northwest Coast silver and gold bracelets. . . . The curled and pierced-through form of the tails is also not unlike some aspects of early argillite carvings, suggesting that the artist may have been a carver of silver bracelets and argillite pipes or figures" (Steve Brown in Brown and Terasaki 2006, fig. 87).

Print sources such as illustrated newspapers and bibles also inspired a number of Haida artists. Charles Edenshaw produced two canes, one with an elephant head and one with serpents around the staff, informed by images in a London pictorial newspaper. (Wright 2001, 275; Swan 1883, 23). Simeon Stilthda, who also looked to printed illustrations, carved a sphinx (now at the British Museum) based on a bible illustration shown to him by Reverend Collison in the late 1870s (Wright 1998, 46; Wright 2001, 289; Kramer, Berlo, and Ash-Milby 2012, 194). And an unknown maker engraved a silver bracelet (figure 6) featuring a winged lion with human features especially visible in the nose and beard. This latter imagery may have had biblical origins as well. The small face, though measuring less than an inch across,

Figure 6 | Haida silver bracelet, Haida artist. Collection of Robert and Margaret Lawson. Photo by Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse.

is surprisingly emotional, with wide eyes and a frowning mouth. I suspect that this lion was inspired by images of the apostle Mark, whose symbol is the winged lion. The symbolism of the apostle, who is often depicted with the lion at his side or as a lion with a paw on the open gospels, may have resonated with the artist as a transformer similar to so many of the human-animal transformations in Haida oral history.

All of this imagery comes together in certain carvings by Charles Edenshaw and his relative and mentor, Duncan Ginaawaan. Edenshaw's familiarity with lion imagery is reflected in a chest made as a possible commission for Princess Louise, the Duchess of Argyll and Queen Victoria's daughter. The chest portrays both a lion and a boar's head, matching that of the coat of arms of the Duke of Argyll, appointed governor general of Canada in 1882. A small figure in a lion's mouth writhes in pain as he is devoured. What was Edenshaw thinking by the inclusion of this poor, mangled person? Why is the bear-mother on the argillite pole so lionlike in appearance? Could there have been some resonance between understanding the power connoted by lions in colonial imagery and the power of bears in Haida epistemologies? It is clear that Haida carvers understood animal iconography as both sign and as mnemonic cue, as this was the fundamental function of Haida art, as the visual expression of Haida language.

What is apparent is that although coastal artists included a wealth of novel imagery, they were still selective about that imagery. Certain imagery

close at hand, such as the American eagle from silver dollars, was reproduced in a variety of forms, whereas other equally ubiquitous imagery was not. Every original silver-dollar-turned-bracelet began as a coin with an American eagle on one side and the seated Lady Liberty on the other. But no bracelet or argillite carving, to my knowledge, has featured Lady Liberty. Clearly, the eagle resonates in ways that Lady Liberty did not. These choices highlight artists' particular preferences in claiming imagery to include in their own aesthetic systems.

Some imagery incorporated into Haida signification was not Haida-made but rather Haida-claimed. When the American schooner, the *Susan Sturgis*, was captured in 1852 by Chiefs Wiah and Stilthda, their whole cargo were taken, including a rumored $1,500 in gold and silver, all the trade items, and even the crew members' clothes. W. H. McNeill, then chief trader for the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote that when the crew was ransomed and returned to Fort Simpson, they were "all completely naked,"[28] reflecting both the complete capture of all the ship's goods as well as the shaming of the crew. In their victory, the Haida chiefs emptied the ship and burned it, just off of the village of Yan. Pieces from the ship were most likely distributed by the chiefs: one extant piece from the *Sturgis* is a compass base, a large circular mahogany disc that was later decorated with two formline whales by Charles Edenshaw, whose uncle, Albert Edward Edenshaw, had been involved in the piloting of the *Sturgis* into Haida waters (Museum of Vancouver, cat. # AA 888). And the *Sturgis*'s eagle sternboard was photographed prominently displayed over the doors of Chief Stilthda's house at Masset (MacDonald 1983, 146). This is a concrete example of the appropriation of symbols of power as a powerful move itself. Some have posited that displaying colonial symbols would signal a friendly reception for, or positive relations with, traders and governmental authorities. I would argue that when you capture a ship, take the cargo, strip the crew naked, and *nail the sternpiece* over your door, it stands as a symbol of autonomous power and authority of the Haida chiefs over their maritime territory.[29] These were acts designed to delineate power dynamics between self and other.

Ging.yang *(Myself)*, Ging.gang *(Yourself)*

Jisgang Nika Collison

You can't have an *other* without having a *self*. In this, it is important to look at how our Ancestors' self-reflections are captured postcontact, leading to a further entanglement. What I've observed in looking at these new forms of art reflects what Chief 7IDANsuu (James Hart) said about our people

surviving—not by becoming "White," but by adapting colonial life into a Haida worldview, ensuring our Haida-ness stayed firmly within us and around us. There are many works that exemplify our maintaining control of our Haida identity while acknowledging the changes around us.

A female Ancestress in the collection of the University of Aberdeen (figure 7) is one of my favorite representations of a person living in two worlds. Believed to be created in the mid-nineteenth century, the sculpture departs from classical Haida form. And although she is devoid of a labret, she wears giigingda (*face paint-rights*) on her face. Although she dons a head scarf and European clothing, she also wears a gung.alang.uu gyáa.ad (*button blanket*) overtop. The robe, made from European cloth, illustrates our turning a new world into a Haida one. Trade cloth was a highly valued commodity. "Already made," this soft, new textile provided warmth, comfort, and a new medium for aesthetic production. Trade blankets and buttons were quickly utilized to make a new style of high-fashion regalia, including tunics, dance aprons, leggings, and robes—usually with the owner's identity represented as a crest design appliquéd overtop. They were (and are) often trimmed with precious Indigenous trade materials such as gul<u>x</u>a (*California abalone shell*) or <u>G</u>uu ts'ing (*dentalia shell*), or European trade materials such as pearl buttons, which like gul<u>x</u>a, catch the light of the fire. So although this woman wears European cloth, it has been worked into the Haida world. If you see women in a potlatch today, you might see a similar look: Western clothing under crestwear and rights. Obviously the look is timeless!

Documenting a period of artistic dynamism, a painted wooden carving in the Museum of Vancouver represents a *s<u>G</u>aaga* or spiritual and medicinal practitioner (figure 8). Visually it presents as a "traditional" rather than transitional image, but the artist's application is both classical and imitative in form. By carving in a naturalistic style, the artist had freedom to work both within and outside the rather strict conventions of classic sculptural form. When reading this figure, we first see the S<u>G</u>aaga is female because of her st'iitga (*labret*), not her breasts—which break from orthodox representations of Haida women—and the large size of her st'iitga documents that she is a highly accomplished and respected older woman. The woman's hat, the circular healing rattles in her hands, and her apron tell us she is a doctor. Her face is carved as it would be if presented on a niijang (*mask*), or a gyaa<u>G</u>ang (*monumental pole*). The S<u>G</u>aaga's apron is styled to represent painted leather with fringes embellished with puffin beaks or the hooves of game; I'd venture her carved cape represents the leather practitioner ones found in museums. The figure wears a hat—representing bear ears—which in real life would have been made from the furred skin of the animal or other materials such as Naaxin (Chilkat) weaving.

Figure 7 | Haida female portrait figure, Ancestral, ca. mid-twentieth century. Wood, paint. University of Aberdeen, cat. # ABDUA 9503.

Works created for social function are shaped by both their intended use and the boundaries of their associated "canvas," resulting in medium-based dialects of Haida formline arts, meaning how formline is modified to work effectively within flat design, sculpture, weaving, and tattoos. In the case of a gyaaGang (*pole*), beings are "fit" into the tree they are carved from—save

Figure 8 | Haida female Shaman figure, Ancestral, ca. late 1800s. Wood, paint. Museum of Vancouver, cat. # AA 671.

for added features such as protruding beaks, fins, or tails—and are often depicted as crouching, or by repositioning elements within themselves or among other beings. If this SG̲aaga were represented on a monumental pole, her body would typically be executed in "pole" dialect with a contained,

formal posture—most likely crouching—her face in the same form, still holding the rattles, sporting her hat and possibly her apron, as can be seen found on a Haida pole held in the British Museum (cat. # Am1903,0314.1). But in model form—though the SGaaga's body holds some of the tension known in our art—it loosens slightly and stretches upward into an "informal" composition roused in part, at least, by European interests and cultural stimuli.

We as contemporary Haida look at how our Ancestors looked at themselves. In discussing the form of this shaman figure with Giida Kuujuus (Walker Brown), and considering aesthetic decisions in pole carving in comparison to model carving, Brown suggests the elongated figure is not as big of a departure from "classical" form as I imply—he sees this type of *SGaaga* carving as a "modern, transportable version of SGaaga grave-protector figures," which stand erect outside of a doctor's grave house.[30]

Although the 1800s saw social-function art gain the company of "curio" art, with much of this new art form exhibiting experimentation with different forms of realism and abstraction, it is worth complicating these categories. When Haida artists adopted realism or a naturalistic approach to carving Euro-American inspired motifs, it was a departure from the customary style of Haida aesthetics that had been in place for generations. Would this new "realism" have seemed an "abstraction" to them? Imagine our Ancestors experiencing something as theoretical as an excess of curvilinear lines that don't follow "the rules," or the incredible "abstraction" of representation through presenting life in realistic form rather than a holistic visual language,[31] and learning of such fantastical creatures—both human and other beings. Our world certainly opened up, just as earlier interactions with Asians and Polynesians must have influenced our people, and vice versa, and just as the European world developed further when we introduced ourselves.

The Haida representation of "self" existed long before the arrival of Europeans, but a Haida headdress frontlet (figure 9) demonstrates inspiration taken from the "abstract" realist aesthetic artists used in items made for sale and then incorporated into works representing status and rank within our world.[32] Suudahl was my great-great grandmother. Her likeness is on the front of a headdress, made for her as a very young girl.[33] Although approaches to realism without the influence of European contact existed, to present a realistic portrait on a headdresses—rather than figures depicting powerful beings associated with its wearer—is not known in earlier times (Wright 1998).

A strategic combination of styles also comes together in a wooden grave marker (figure 10) shaped and painted to resemble a granite tombstone. Having recently found a home in the Haida Gwaii Museum after being

Figure 9 | Haida headdress, portrait of Suudahl (Josephine Gladstone), Ancestral, ca. 1881. Wood, paint, abalone shell, sealion whiskers, flicker feathers, ermine, cloth. Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, cat. # E89186-0.

preserved in a private home for decades, the marker is inscribed with "In the memmery of [name withheld] who died Nov. 24. 1880. aged 38 years. [sic]." The lower inscription reads, "Blessed are dead which die in the Lord." Between the wording protrudes a sculpted figure in a flowing dress, probably a woman and possibly pregnant. Angel-like wings extend from either side of her body while her right hand points upward, presumably to heaven. If the marker date is accurate, the deceased died just three years after Reverend W. H. Collison held the first evangelical meeting in Skidegate, where the marker is said to be from.

I am content in asserting the gravemarker is Haida-made, and I would read the figure on the marker as a European. However, it is possible the deceased's family may have chosen or may have been required to use Christian iconography, given the authority of the church over our Ancestors during this period. Regardless of the angel-like form, Haida beliefs are still present, entangled in the relief carving: looking closely at the figure's human feet reveals bird claws sitting directly on top, representing transformation from an Earth being into a Sky being, much like creatures of the Haida world when presented mid-transformation.

Our Ancestors' resistance to the colonial *other* is evidenced by several examples in Haida art, such as the humorous buffoonery-carvings found on

Figure 10 | Wooden grave marker (detail) from Haida Gwaii, Ancestral, 1880. Wood, paint. Haida Gwaii Museum Collection, Nb1.820. Sean Young photograph.

some panel pipes. But just as naturalistic art was incorporated into Haida society to indicate high status and rank (such as in Suudahl's headdress), so too did it demonstrate our politics of refusal. A well-known story to some is that of two ridicule figures raised in Skidegate ca. the 1870s. It is said that a chief became intoxicated while in Victoria. He was arrested, fined, and imprisoned

for six months by Judge Pemberton of the Victoria Police Court. Upon returning home, the chief carved two large-scale figures in imitative form—one of Pemberton and another of George Smith, Victoria's town clerk—and raised them atop the corner posts of his house. Villagers would walk by laughing at the shame of these men (MacDonald 1983, 45), whereas the men thought they were being honored (Guujaaw, personal communication, 2018).

Why, when we as Haida depict ourselves literally entangled in two worlds, do we not reveal the *other* in the same way? It is rare to find evidence of Europeans represented in classical Haida form, fully enmeshed in the new world we all found ourselves in. There is a special example of a panel pipe located at the National Museum of Denmark (cat. # H.c.601b [Drew and Wilson 1980, 173]) where a European man is entangled with beings of Haida Gwaii. Though he himself is represented naturalistically, he shares a tongue with a Raven carved in classical form. And although facial features reminiscent of Haida forms, such as eyelids, sockets, and brows, can be found on some depictions of Europeans, they still read as European to me because their profiles are similar to that of other artistic renderings of the *other*, such as protruding foreheads and a sharp nose profile. This is the conundrum: just as social-function art cannot be properly "read" without knowing its context as held in our oral histories, neither can the ambiguous compositions found in some curio carvings be simply decoded. Even the depiction of roosters and chickens, which I believe—based on artworks I have found—were beloved by our people (probably because the birds' domestication made eggs easily accessible), maintain a European identity when brought into existence by Haida hands.

Why such delineation? Did our artists simply love the challenge of perfecting realism, or was the European subject matter too foreign to be captured by an art form derived from and for a Haida way of life? As colonialism took root, was this divide maintained because the *other* was too destructive to our way of life?

The Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole (figure 11) includes both Haida and our allies, all on the same level and form. The pole was raised in 2013 in Gwaii Haanas (the southern region of Haida Gwaii) at Hlk'yah GawGa, also known as Windy Bay, to commemorate the twenty-year anniversary of the Gwaii Haanas Agreement.[34] This pole, carved by Jaalen Edenshaw, assisted by his brother Gwaai, chronicles events related to the Lyell Island stand that resulted in the Gwaii Haanas Agreement and to stories relevant to the greater Gwaii Haanas region—from Supernatural times through to today. Within it are Five Good People Standing Together, arms interlinked, some of them wearing gumboots. These figures represent the people who "stood on the line" at Lyell Island, and all the others who worked together to protect Gwaii Haanas. All are presented in classical form, as is a visitor that

Figure 11 | Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole (detail), Jaalen Edenshaw, 2013. Wood, paint. Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole at Hlk'yah GawGa © Parks Canada, B. Yu.

peeks out from a dog's ear, in recognition of those who love Haida Gwaii and her people. Here, the *other* has been brought into our realm—consciously or unconsciously by the artist—perhaps the result of disentangling all of ourselves in order to carefully weave out yet another new world.

Although the monumental act of the Athlii Gwaii stand resulted in an unparalleled example of two worlds coexisting and has paved one path toward reconciliation, we are not there yet. Our Nation survived despite all odds. We have maintained control of our lives through the lowest points in history. But how can we survive the killing of that which makes us Haida: the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii? Although Aboriginal Rights and Title have been acknowledged in Canada's highest court of law and in its constitution, our future continues to be at risk from the impacts of industry—currently, that of oil and gas.

Just as Haida artists continue their commentary by employing classic form, they also continue their commentary through other artistic expressions and materials, asserting and maintaining our inherent rights and title. Gwaai Edenshaw's *Hollow Promises* (figure 12) presents a woman's likeness cast in cotton rag from the face of a high-ranking woman on the *Two Brothers Pole* carved by the artist and his brother Jaalen, which stands in Jasper, British Columbia. Mounted on a half-oil barrel, her face is torn and smeared with our beloved red and black colors. His artist statement reads as follows:

> A hollow, torn form smudged with greasy fingers.
> A worn soul under the heel of "away from home."
> The price of money . . . we cannot bear it.
> The price of oil we will not carry it.
> (Edenshaw 2013)

Created for the Haida Gwaii Museum's 2013 *Thanks, But No Tanks* exhibition, Edenshaw's commentary and his work speaks to the need not only to protect our land and waters from devastation, but also to protect "our girls" from the physical, social, psychological, and spiritual exploitations of the oil and gas industry. Through *Hollow Promises*, Edenshaw brings to light the alarming rise in, and manipulation of, the sex trade that goes hand-in-hand with boom and bust resource-based industries. Edenshaw lists the artwork's materials as "Two hundred years of pain and exploitation, cotton rag, rust and paint." Through this powerful piece we are reminded of the future—should we not disentangle and reconstruct further.

In speaking of our girls, it is important to recognize that my exploration of entanglement has been through what was historically the art of men. However, weaving and textiles—historically an art unique to women—is also

Figure 12 | *Hollow Promises*, Gwaai Edenshaw, 2013, private collection. Two hundred years of pain and exploitation, cotton rag, rust, and paint. Private collection, Jags Brown photograph.

critical in surveying how we look at the "self" and the *other* and deserves further exploration of the gender entanglements that exist. Spruce root weaving is one example. Most historical and contemporary spruce root weavings contain complex geometric designs representing rights, histories, lineages, and paying respect to the natural and Supernatural worlds. These patterns are created through twining, skip-stitching, incorporating dyed roots, or by utilizing grasses and sedges in a technique today referred to as false embroidery. There is also the practice of incorporating "male" art into weaving, through crests and other figures painted overtop the spruce root canvas. Roots are woven into pieces for both ceremonial and utilitarian use, such as ceremonial hats, and utilitarian containers and mats. With the introduction of iron pots and other materials, the weaving of functional works fell out of fashion; later, oppressive regimes pushed social works out of the way. Just

as the male "curio" emerged, so too did the female "curio." Created for both economy and surviving our oppressors, trade baskets and effigy-weavings emulating European wares and fashion were created and collected. The use of false embroidery allowed weavers to incorporate text, just as argillite made room for the documentation of words.

Woven documentation continues today, as seen in the work of spruce root weaver xiihlii kingang or April Churchill's Kunst'aa guu story basket (2013). In this work she utilized natural and dyed spruce root and false embroidery to remember and recount a journey to another unparalleled agreement, the 2009 Kunst'aa Guu Kunstaay'ah Reconciliation Protocol,[35] negotiated between the Council of the Haida Nation and the government of British Columbia to address Canada's misuse of Haida Gwaii. The negotiations leading to the agreement were intended to have been tripartite in nature, "but the government of Canada did not give their representatives the mandate to do so on the principle of Title" (Churchill, in Collison 2014, 113). In other words, Canada did not show up at the table.

The design field at the top of this basket (two dark bands encompassing a caramel-colored band) represents the three different governments' negotiating parties. As with the Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole, we and the *other* are all

Figure 13 | Kunst'aa guu story basket, xiihlii kingang (April Churchill), 2013. Spruce root, maidenhair fern, canary grass, dye. Private collection, Kenji Nagai photograph, courtesy Haida Gwaii Museum.

represented in classical form, in this case through triple-strand twining. No abstraction, no differentiation. Churchill records Canada's lack of participation simply by using a different color (caramel) than that she chose for the Haida Nation and British Columbia. This generous gesture of differentiating Canada solely by color, as opposed to using a completely different material or technique, or by leaving them out entirely, is an integral reminder of the responsibility we have to each other, to all beings, and to the Earth. Whether messy or not, we are entangled. Gina 'waadluux̲an gud ad kwaagid: *everything depends on everything else*.

Conclusion

Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse

The works examined here show how Haida artists wove together the wefts of encounter with foundational warp of their own identity, creating artworks documenting the full scope of their history. Works documenting the "entangled gaze" have been categorized in various ways by scholars. The second question posed by the Entangled Gaze conference, "what are the consequences that arise out of this representation?" applies to the *terminology* we use as well as to these representations. What are the effects of judgments and actions stemming from such terms as the "arts of acculturation"? What were the origins and consequences of this and other terms such as "tourist art"? Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century essentialist anthropological theories demanded that objects outside "traditional" (read pre-European contact) society be excised from study. Non-Indigenous scholars made judgments about which First Nations aesthetic creations validly represented First Nations culture, as defined by their own training and epistemologies. Items made specifically for sale to tourists or collectors were carefully excluded; most items that included Euro-American motifs or subject matters were avoided as well. Those scholars considered Native cultures through Victorian ideas of race, in which cultural hybridity was perceived as degenerative and a corruption of an imagined "pure" form of static, precontact culture. Objects that reflected cross-cultural interaction complicated the anthropological attempt to construct an imagined history of what was then deemed "primitive" art (Boas 1927; Inverarity 1950).

The consequences of this are profound—affecting collecting priorities, consequently skewing the known record of what was made by which artists, and what was published, which in turn affected both public and community understandings of the artistic legacy of previous generations. The devastating history of disease, government policies, and residential schools

means that in some communities, a visual record of what was produced by the ancestors is in part reliant on the accessibility and content of museum collections and even more strongly on *published* collections (especially in the predigital decades in the 1960–90s, when artists and scholars, especially those involved in newly energized artistic revitalization activities, were dependent on print publications), or more recently through direct access to museum collections and repatriated creations.

When recent generations turn to the published history of art forms from their regions, these historically selective collecting practices inform what appears to be—but what was *not* in fact—the range of artistic production from previous centuries. This complicated web of interaction, collection (both ethical and unethical), study, publication, access, and repatriation is a critical part of the questions posed at the Entangled Gaze conference.

The above examples reveal a conversation that happened between cultures in the nineteenth century, but also across time: between today's artists, scholars, and community members and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century White collectors and academics whose decisions excluded these artworks from their *constructed* canon of Haida art. Imagine if artworks reflecting the "entangled gaze" had been incorporated in the original published records of Haida art. Would that have changed the seemingly interminable arguments over concepts like "traditional," "contemporary," "avant-garde," and even "authentic"? How might that more inclusive and Indigenously informed presentation of Northwest Coast art have changed the reception and understanding of recent works reflecting contemporary colonial (or perhaps these days "corporate") encounters?

In order to fully explore and represent the cosmopolitan but also unique expressions of Indigenous imagery, we need to be sure that scholarship, exhibits, and collaborations are open to the full range of productions unstifled by biased conceptions of what constitutes Northwest Coast art. We need to provide wide-ranging context for these works. "Context" comes from the Latin roots *com* (together) and *texere* (to weave). There is a clear need for the ability to weave back together again the full spectrum of Indigenous aesthetics and create a fully inclusive scholarship with collaborative, multiple ways of understanding and looking, what Jisgang Nika Collison and I have presented here as an "entangled scholarship."

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Nations communities and artists to identify research priorities and to activate the Burke Museum's holdings in ways that are responsive to cultural revitalization efforts.

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NOTES

1. This initial use of quotations around the word "art" is meant to introduce an appreciation of the distinctions between Western and Haida understandings of this mode of human expression.

2. X̲aayda kil is the Skidegate dialect for "Haida language." In Old Massett and Alaskan dialect, it is called X̲aad kil. Throughout this article, the Haida words used are in the Skidegate dialect thanks to the critical assistance of the Elders of HlG̲aagilda X̲aayda Kil Naay, through both personal communication and their publication (Elders of the HlG̲aagilda X̲aayda Kil Naay 2016). The exceptions are personal names and this footnote, where Q!ā'dAsgo is spelled in an orthography developed by John R. Swanton. Please note that throughout this essay, we suspend the normal practice of italicizing non-English words and instead leave words from Indigenous language unitalicized to acknowledge Indigenous language terminology as the proper wording. English equivalents are provided parenthetically and in italic.

3. "Assertions" meaning declarations of identity, history, and social stature, along with rights and privileges to properties.

4. Crayon rendition of original tattoo, drawn by John Cross for John Swanton (Swanton 1905, 140).

5. Information shared by Abraham of Those Born-at-Q!ā'dAsgo with John Swanton (Swanton 1905, 311–14). This information was also shared by Chief Git K̲un, John Williams, with the author in 2001.

6. 7IDANsuu, James Hart, is the Hereditary Leader the Saangga.ahl Staastas clan and a master carver. Hart's maternal great-grandfather was Charles Edenshaw, who also held the chiefly name and position of 7IDANsuu and was also a master carver. In the late 1800s, under the duress of the church, Haidas were assigned, or chose, anglicized names. 7IDANsuu chose the name "Edenshaw."

7. The author is referring to the Haida of Haida Gwaii as opposed to those in southeast Alaska. Haida territory extends beyond the nation-state border of Canada and the United States. Haida and Russians were trading in Alaska before 1774. As well, oral histories originating from Haida Gwaii reference pre-European contact interactions with people of regions that are today known as Japan and Hawaii, among others.

8. Other eighteenth-century journals described the influence that women had in trading decisions. Samuel Burling spent two nights in the villages of Daadens and Kiusta in 1798 and described a woman's role in holding Burling as hostage for a chief's safe return from a trading vessel. Burling's journals attest to the autonomy and power that women had in their encounters with traders (Wright 2001, 79–83).

9. Iron was already known through shipwrecks and trade routes but became plentiful with European trade.

10. The type of argillite (a carbonaceous shale) employed by Haida artists is unique to Haida Gwaii. There is only one source for this material on island—atop a very steep and remote mountain.

11. These early pipes were carved in classical Haida form; however, there are at least two examples of small, compact "ship pipes" carved in stylized realism from this same period—one illustrating the billet head of a European sailing ship, the other illustrating not only the billet head but the entire planked hull of the vessel. These two pipes are described as isolated examples, precursors to the elaborate "ship panel pipes" that emerged in the 1840s (Macnair and Hoover 1984, 59).

12. "Formline" art is a term devised by Bill Holm in the mid-1960s—when the Haida language was all but silenced owing to the effects of residential school—to describe what Gwaai Edenshaw calls "the anatomy" of a two- and three-dimensional school of art unique to the North Coast of Canada/South Coast of Alaska. Employed by the Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit, a well-trained eye can decipher the dialectical difference each Nation employs from within the overarching conventions of this school of art.

13. Although art made for social function was effectively outlawed by colonizers, scaled-down versions of Haida material culture, such as model poles (figure 9), figurines, and trade baskets—created in classical form—were considered as acceptable as model artworks reflecting Europeans and their material culture. These shrunken works are credited as integral to the survival of our classical art forms as well as the knowledge embedded within their physical existence.

14. A detailed version of this story was also shared with the author by Michael Nicoll Yahgulanaas, who, with a number of others, learned the story from Henry Geddes, Grace Wilson-Dewitt, and Delores Churchill.

15. Examples can be seen in the Burke Museum (cat. # 25.0/316) or in two masks made by Willie and Joe Seaweed for Ed Walkus in the UBC Museum of Anthropology (cat. # A8427 and A8428).

16. Examining these intercultural artworks is not a new scholarly pursuit, as Julius Lips's 1937 *The Savage Hits Back* demonstrated (Lips and Benson 1937). Under the moniker of "tourist art," many scholars in the last thirty years have taken up the topic, including, among others, the scholars represented in Nelson Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts* and those in Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner's volume, *Unpacking Culture* (Graburn 1976; Phillips and Steiner 1999). On the Northwest Coast this list includes Bill Holm, Robin Wright, Carol Kaufmann, Alan Hoover, Peter Macnair, Victoria Wyatt, and most recently Aaron Glass, whose exhibit and multiauthored catalog *Objects of Exchange* deals with the topic of "intercultural objects" in depth (Glass 2011; Wright 1982; Wright 2001, 276–77; Macnair and Hoover 1984; Wyatt 1983; Kaufmann 1976).

17. Aldona Jonaitis made a similar call for the incorporation of art for sale into the larger scholarly canon of what was considered Haida imagery in *A Wealth of Thought* (1995, 333).

18. These bracelets are in the Royal British Columbia Museum (cat. # 13534 and 13535) and were published in Bunn-Marcuse 2000, 68. This pair of bracelets may have been carved by two different artists. There seem to be differing skills levels and handling of the engraving. More research needs to be done to determine attributions.

19. Dally reported that Waekus won a similar commission for a pair of bracelets for an English admiral's wife, as well as being the artist commissioned to make the wood models for the scrollwork used for the cast-iron railings in the Bank of British Columbia in Victoria

(Bunn-Marcuse 1998, 82). Dally reports that the "clever carver" was hired for the bank commission because he "was renowned for his beautiful carved work in the making of silver bracelets." His fame in Victoria was such that news of a pistol wound that resulted in the loss of his hand was reported in the local paper ("Amputated. Waynatz," *The British Colonist*, 1862).

20. I am indebted to Robin Wright for bringing these bedrails to my attention and for sharing her photos and observations on them.

21. Other full-size example of floral and foliate work exist on poles, such as Chief Skowl's pole carved by Haida artists Duncan Ginaawaan and Dwight Wallace (Bunn-Marcuse 2013, 181). Other small-scale carvings featuring similar work include silver and gold jewelry with foliate and American eagle designs (Bunn-Marcuse 2000).

22. See Alaska State Library image of American flags flown during canoe landings at Sitka in 1904 (ASL-P39-0414) and George Hunt's photo of American and British flags flown at a canoe landings in Fort Rupert in 1900 (American Museum of Natural History collections PN 1804).

23. "In the mid-19th century the distinguishing flag of a British official abroad was a plain Union Jack. In some cases it was flown on a boat or ship, which upset the Admiralty because the Union Jack was the distinguishing flag of the Admiral of the Fleet. To solve the problem a system was instituted in 1869 whereby Governors of Colonies, Military Authorities, Diplomatic Officers and Consular Agents were assigned a defaced Union Jack for use when they embarked in a vessel" (http://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/gb-cons.html). See also http://www.loeser.us/flags/english2.html accessed 3-9-2018.

24. The cap's crowned lion was an emblem also seen on flags bearing the first heraldic provincial symbol for British Columbia. Flags with the crowned lion superimposed on the Union Jack were flown on ships carrying provincial government officials in British Columbia starting in 1870. In 1865 the secretary of state for the colonies advised that vessels in the service of the colony were to fly the blue ensign with the badge or seal of the colony in the fly. In 1870 a dispatch from the colonial secretary authorized lieutenant governors to fly, from boats and other vessels on which they were embarked, the Union Flag bearing in center the provincial arms or badge. Auguste Vachon, "Canada's Coat of Arms: Defining a Country within an Empire," http://heraldicscienceheraldique.com/chapter-3-the-dominion-shield.html accessed 3-9-2018.

25. For Haida pipes featuring text, see University of Aberdeen cat. # 5559, which includes a poem fragment, and Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology catalogue # 1954.128 for a newspaper clipping; for jewelry with text, see Field Museum cat. # A19654 and Bunn-Marcuse 2007, 204; for an image of the Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw village of Newitti with text over doorways, see American Museum of Natural History Library, Image 42298.

26. Tsimshian Lion Head, Royal British Columbia Museum (cat. # 2876); *nuła̲mała* (fool dancer) masks, Seattle Art Museum (cat. # 91.1.27), Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (cat. #2659), and Ipswich Borough Council Museums & Galleries, Ipswich, England.

27. American Museum of Natural History (cat. #16-6887).

28. Giihlgiigaa Tsiit Git'anne (Todd DeVries), http://haidagwaiihistory.blogspot.com/2011/11/wreck-of-susan-sturgis.html.

29. For a discussion of similar actions by Makah chiefs, see Reid 2015.

30. A seemingly unique viewpoint such as this again underlines just how crucial Indigenous knowledge and worldviews are in contemporary explorations and understandings of Indigenous art history.

31. The author is not suggesting that early Haida artist repertoires were void of realism, as there would certainly have been experimentation. More so, it has been said that death masks carved in a deceased one's likeness were made before European contact. This is exemplified

in the ancient narrative *The Image That Came to Life*, which tells of a likeness mask carved for the late wife of a Haida chief (Swanton 1909).

32. The author is not diminishing the role of a death mask in communicating identity, rank, and status; rather, the author is referring to the emergence of realistic portraiture to be utilized by the living. Interestingly, a portrait headdress held in the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (cat. # E221176-0) is said to "represent the favorite daughter of a Haida chief whose untimely death so saddened the father that he had her image carved in this manner in order that he might wear it on ceremonial occasions on the front of his head-dress" (Emmons 1914, 66).

33. See https://www.hakaimagazine.com/article-short/girl-shimmering-eyes/. Many thanks to Heather Pringle for bringing the photo and headdress together.

34. In 1985, after decades-long attempts to stop horrific logging practices on Lyell Island through Canada's justice systems (to no avail), our Nation upheld our responsibility to Haida Gwaii through a peaceful blockade, known as the Athlii Gwaii stand. Seventy-two arrests later, and with the support of *millions* of people from across the globe, the logging stopped and negotiations ensued. In 1993, the groundbreaking Gwaii Haanas Agreement was signed. In it, the Haida Nation and Canada agree to disagree on who has title to the area and instead focus on the preservation of the area for all generations to come. The area is governed by a board equally composed of Haida and Canadians.

35. The Kunst'aa Guu—Kunst'aayah Reconciliation Protocol is the result of the 2005 Islands' Spirit Rising—another stand taken against unsustainable logging practices in the northern half of Haida Gwaii. These lands are now managed by the Council of the Haida Nation and the provincial government of British Columbia, again with a 50/50 decision-making structure. Today, over 50% of Haida Gwaii is protected from industry.

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"Rather Unusual Stuff": Nathan Jackson's Early Advent of a Tlingit Modern

Christopher T. Green

ABSTRACT | This article considers the work of Nathan Jackson, the preeminent Alaskan Tlingit carver and revivalist of the postwar period, who engaged modernist forms and principles in his early career. His paintings, prints, and experiments in textile design combined Tlingit motifs with expressive color fields and abstract space. Developed under instructors associated with modernist movements such as the Indian Space Painters, Jackson's relationship with modernism represents an alternative to the neotraditionalism of his contemporaries. However, despite achieving initial acclaim for his experiments in printmaking and painting, Jackson came to reject this aspect of his training in favor of classical Tlingit forms and practices. Jackson's early oeuvre thus imbricates Euro-American modernism in the history of Northwest Coast Native art alongside the emulation of nineteenth-century forms, and his eventual rejection of modernist styles refutes the relationship between Indigenous and modern art as one of unidirectional appropriation.

KEYWORDS | Tlingit, multiple modernisms, Northwest Coast art, primitivism, Alaskan art

Nathan Jackson (b. 1938) is one of the preeminent living Tlingit carvers. As an artist, dancer, and clan leader, he has been devoted to creating and teaching Tlingit art for over fifty years. A member of the Chilkoot Lukaaxadi (Sockeye Salmon) clan, he is best known for his monumental carving projects, long demonstrated to the public at the carving shed at Saxman Totem Park, outside of Ketchikan in southeast Alaska. The many commissioned crest poles, house posts, panels, and screens that he has carved, and continues to carve, for museums and collectors around the world have placed him in history as the most prominent revivalist of Tlingit carving practices and forms in Alaska. His dedication to the mastery, refinement, and education of the Tlingit style has made him a major figure in the revival of Tlingit carving practices throughout Alaska. He developed his deep understanding of northern formline design, the organizational structure of swelling

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

and narrowing bands and repeated geometric elements (such as ovoids and U-forms) that delineate the structures of totemic figural images and define the space of abstract designs, from years of close study of Tlingit objects and carving techniques.

However, undiscussed in any account of his career, and therefore in the history of modern Tlingit art, are the encounters Jackson had with modern art and teachings from the Euro-American modernist tradition. His early artistic career was a melding of artistic influences, pedagogies, and trajectories that saw him take on Western modernist forms and techniques through self-learning, as well as two years of formalized fine art education at the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe, New Mexico. His encounter with the modernist principles espoused by the likes of artist, educator, and administrator Lloyd Kiva New (Cherokee) and members of primitivist New York schools like the Indian Space Painters was a consequential influence on his development as an artist. Attention continues to grow around the Northwest Coast artists who in the 1970s and '80s began to innovate the conventions of formline (Martin 2010; Kramer 2012; Jonaitis 2014), and recent studies have demonstrated that modernist forms occupied Indigenous artists before the 1960s moment of the so-called Renaissance (Crosby 2009). Jackson's early oeuvre, though, with his experiments in painting, printmaking, and graphic design, challenges the idea that Northwest Coast artists looked to the past before all else.

Rather than the story of a carver rediscovering Tlingit forms as he developed his own practice—a narrative that supports the myth of the so-called Renaissance or rebirth of Northwest Coast art in the 1960s after its supposed twentieth-century decline from a nineteenth-century golden age—Jackson's early artistic career represents an alternative to that now much-critiqued history of postwar Northwest Coast art (Glass 2004; Jonaitis 2004; Glass 2013).[1] Instead, Jackson's career suggests a more complex relationship between modern Northwest Coast art and the primitivisms of Euro-American modernists who looked to Indigenous art for inspiration. The constellation of his artistic training imbricates modernism within the Tlingit revival, troubling binaries between the modern and the traditional beyond their temporal frames.

Most published accounts of Jackson's early artistic career have, with little variation, emphasized his development as a carver based on Jackson's own telling of the story (Sheldon 1974; Eppenbach 1984; Jackson 1993, 1996, 2012; Chandonnet 1999; Henrikson 2010).[2] Jackson describes how as a teenager his clan relative Ted Lawrence (a great-uncle's stepson) challenged him to whittle copies of a four-inch miniature crest pole with X-ACTO and pocket knives, which Jackson worked at until Lawrence was satisfied. Jackson

further learned to carve by watching his uncle Horace Marks carve model poles and masks in Haines, Alaska. Though he witnessed Lawrence selling his miniature poles for impressive prices, Jackson did not expect to make a living from carving and largely dropped the craft when he began service with the U.S. military in Germany from 1957 to 1959. Upon his return to Alaska, he worked in commercial fishing for several years, but in early 1962 he was hospitalized with respiratory illness (the result of inhaling a combination of paint dust and dried jellyfish powder while sanding a boat). Fearing tuberculosis, doctors sent Jackson to Mt. Edgecumbe Hospital in Sitka, where he spent nearly two months before fully recuperating. The hospital had yellow cedar available for occupational therapy, so to fill his time Jackson returned to carving, filling display cases with miniature poles and honing his skills in a productive bout that would start him on his path as a master carver.

While at Mt. Edgecumbe, however, Jackson explored art forms beyond whittling miniature poles. In the hospital he taught himself to draw and paint, engaging in naturalistic two-dimensional depictions that have not been discussed in relation to his carving practice. A fellow patient, a wheelchair-bound man by the name of Arthur F. Kodwat (Tlingit), inspired Jackson to try his hand at drawing when he showed Jackson some of his "really super" drawings.[3] Jackson began drawing by copying pictures he had on hand, such as a photograph of his then girlfriend at the time or images from newspaper clippings. One charcoal portrait he made was of Jim Tagook, his great-great uncle, copied from a black-and-white clipping from *The Voice of the Brotherhood,* the Alaska Native Brotherhood newsletter published by Cyrus Peck.[4] Jackson decided to paint over the portrait in oil with naturalistic colors, producing his first painting. His depiction of the Tlingit elder displays a deft handling of shading and textural differentiation in the *shakee.át* (frontlet) and draped *naaxein* (Chilkat blanket), particularly considering Jackson's self-training. Jackson later said that he found the painting inspiring "because it was a very good likeness" (despite getting "a few things wrong, especially in the Chilkat blanket") (Institute of Alaska Native Arts 1983). After the hospital released Jackson, he found that he had missed most of the fishing season, so he returned to Haines and started painting more and more bust-length portraits, typically three-quarter or head-on depictions of Tlingit figures in ceremonial regalia that sold extremely well to locals and tourists. He experimented in styles, materials, and techniques while selling them around town wherever he could—mainly in bars and at Helen's Shop, the local general store.

As a young man Jackson had learned traditional Tlingit dance with his aunt and uncle, and he recounts that he took up dancing largely in order to spend time with his friends dancing in the Fourth of July parades. Following

Figure 1 | Nathan Jackson, *Untitled (Old man in Chilkat headdress)*, 1965. Oil on velveteen. Sheldon Museum, Haines, AK, #1975.010. Photo courtesy of the Sheldon Museum.

his time in the hospital, he joined the Chilkat Dancers, a Haines-based dance troupe dedicated to cultural revitalization that was founded by the German immigrant Carl Heinmiller in 1957 along with Alaska Indian Arts, Inc. (AIA), a carving and regalia-making program that evolved from a scouting program into a workshop and co-op.[5] In 1960, Heinmiller acquired five years of funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Indian Arts and Crafts Board

(IACB) of the U.S. Interior Department and the Alaska Rural Development Agency for skills training and employment programs based in the revival of Indigenous craft skills and carving traditions. Through the Manpower Development and Training Act Program, a federal program intended to retrain workers displaced by technological change, Heinmiller hired and supported a number of local Haines and Alaska Native artists. Thus, while Jackson danced with the Chilkat Dancers, he also continued to develop his carving technique at AIA, exploring different mediums and larger scales under the influence of the experienced carvers he met there, such as Wesley J. Willard, Edwin Kasko, and Leo Jacobs, the latter of whom Jackson saw translating large crest poles into miniature carvings (Jackson 2012, 142).

AIA sent numerous delegations of dancers and carvers to conduct demonstrations at world's fairs and expositions around the country, including the 1962 Century 21 Exposition in Seattle. Jackson did not accompany the AIA to Seattle, but he joined Heinmiller and the dance group on a Las Vegas tour following the fair, where the Chilkat Dancers performed at a travelers convention. Following this performance, Jackson accompanied Heinmiller on a side trip to Santa Fe to visit the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA), where some students from Haines were enrolled in the institute's opening class. Heinmiller encouraged Jackson to bring some of his paintings to show the IAIA administration, which included principal Wilma Victor (Choctaw). Upon seeing the paintings, the school immediately offered Jackson admission to the school's first class, which had just begun its first semester in October 1962. Jackson accepted and spent the next two years at the IAIA before returning to Haines to work at AIA as an instructor.

Tlingit Forms in New's Southwest

The Institute of American Indian Arts was founded as a national institution for the fine arts training of Indigenous youth of the United States. The IAIA fostered a modernist vision for what would become known as the "New Indian Art Movement," in which Indigenous artists used contemporary idioms and techniques in combination with traditional forms and sources to move beyond stereotypical subject matter and outsider expectations often based in essentialized notions of the past (IAIA 1972; Gritton 2000; Chavarria et al. 2016; New 2016). As the institute's founding art director Lloyd Kiva New emphatically stated, "the future of Indian art lies in the future, not in the past," and he pushed his students to draw on their own traditions for innovation and to evolve new contemporary art forms (New 1959). In exploratory discussions for the school, New suggested that Indian art must "stop looking backward for our standards of Indian art production"

and that "Indian art of the future will be in new forms produced in new media and with new technological methods. The end result will be as Indian as is the Indian" (New 1959). New saw art as a site of creative expression that could aid the Indigenous youth in finding their personal identity in a rapidly changing and modernizing world, and he would encourage his students to draw on their heritage and "cultural difference as a basis for creative expression" in order to develop modern art from traditional forms (New 1968). His innovative theories would become the foundation of the institute's pedagogy. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior recommended the creation of the new art school in 1960, and the BIA officially founded the school in 1962 under the superintendency and administration of educator George Boyce.

From its inception, the IAIA emphasized modern forms and techniques, such as abstraction, expressionistic figuration, and mixed media assemblage, in combination with a basis in traditional cultural forms, particular to the communities and backgrounds of its students. However, scholars like Joy Gritton have shown that the IAIA largely favored a Western, modernist ideology that emphasized innovation, individualism, and experimentation in media understood at the time as non-Indigenous (Gritton 1992, 2000).[6] The arts curriculum favored an approach based on Euro-American modernist aesthetics, with an emphasis on formalist approaches to art making and a reward system of exhibitions and publications that encouraged individualism. Support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Federal BIA had likewise been based in a desire for economic self-sufficiency and capitalistic industry amongst American Indians, and the school likewise emphasized individual commercial success in the non-Indian art market. As Gritton notes, at the IAIA "cultural pluralism thereby came to be defined as the adaptation and distillation of the students' traditional heritage into forms palatable to modernism" (Gritton 1992, 28).

Jackson entered the IAIA when the founding principles of New and the associated individualist modernist ideology were in full force. Having earned his entry into the school with his self-taught painting, Jackson seemed an ideal candidate for this pedagogical track and began his formal fine arts training. Jackson found numerous departments at the school to explore, including sculpture, ceramics, painting, and graphic arts. Unlike the emphasis on Indigenous carving traditions at AIA, however, New's philosophy encouraged using traditional arts as a basis for the exploration of new forms, not the recovery of old ones. And although materials for small-scale whittling and carving were undoubtedly available to him, Jackson's respiratory health, still fragile from his prior illness, required him to pursue painting and graphic. He attempted to join the ceramics studio and the

sculpture studio, the latter run by the Chiricahua Apache modernist sculptor Allan Houser, but the marble, alabaster, clay, and soapstone dust from the classes agitated his lungs. Despite his admiration for Houser's masterful sharp cuts and expressive strokes, Jackson was unable to work long with him in three-dimensional media and focused instead on painting classes and the silkscreen studio, his first encounter with printmaking. He began to expand on and refine his portrait work, producing paintings like the watercolor *Tlinget Dancer* (1963), another depiction of a Tlingit figure in ceremonial regalia not dissimilar from those worn by his Chilkat Dancers troupe. Unlike his static bust portraits, this full-length dancer is depicted in dynamic movement, arms and knees bent and the tassels of the Chilkat dance apron and ermine-fur frontlet trim flowing with the dancer's movements.

Jackson, a keen observer of trends and commercial interests, learned certain techniques from the surrounding art trade of Santa Fe. He once saw a painter in Santa Fe selling portraits of Native children to tourists executed in oil on luscious stretched velvet surfaces, and these painting inspired Jackson to adopt the technique for his own subject matter. He began painting portraits of Tlingit elders in oil on black velveteen, the textured surface adding a depth to the portraits not unlike the dark background of an Edward Curtis photograph, but here with a luxurious sheen. Oil on velveteen became his medium of choice for years as he sold his paintings in Haines for extra income during summers back home and after he left the institute. He also took on the palette and subject matter of Santa Fe; a portrait titled *Old Navajo Lady* (1963), done while at the IAIA (possibly to take advantage of the tourist art market himself), is another bust-length portrait of an elder, but this time a Diné (Navajo) woman rather than a Tlingit chief. Jackson has depicted her in the burnt reddish-brown and orange tones typical of Southwest imagery, with special attention to the crevices and shadows of her aged face. But unlike his velveteen portraits of Tlingit chiefs, Jackson made liberal use of *impasto* technique, namely, in the woman's turquoise necklace, which stands out in bright and thickly applied brushstrokes. The background is also not black or neutral but a fiery mix of red and yellow that stands out in its thick and expressionistic brushwork.

As a student in the silkscreen studio at the IAIA, Jackson gained his first experience with modern commercial studio design. His instructor, New, offered a textile print course to teach his students design principles and processes that were the basis of his successful Scottsdale-based business, Kiva Studio. Surveys of student work produced in the early years of the IAIA have shown how New encouraged the use of vibrant colors and the creative deployment of Indigenous design elements toward a modern design aesthetic (Chavarria et al. 2016, 54–55). New encouraged his textile students to combine

Figure 2 | Nathan Jackson, *Old Navajo Lady*, 1963. Oil. Institute of American Indian Arts Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, NM, #TL-16. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Contemporary Native Arts.

elements from their own heritage with contemporary printing techniques and modish variations in color and texture. The resulting designs used Indigenous motifs in unconventional arrangements and colors, printed in varied lengths on materials such as cotton, linen, and canvas. The experiments of the textile students were primarily used for practical and commercial purposes,

becoming curtains, draperies, table cloths, and clothing throughout the IAIA's facilities and sold to support the school and students. The textile course and silkscreen studios were thus where New most thoroughly demonstrated his goal of modernizing Indian art through the combination of traditional motifs with modern aesthetics as a commercially viable art form. In addition to the utilitarian uses of the student textiles at the school, art exhibitions at the IAIA Gallery included their design work throughout the 1960s, and New sold and promoted the work through his private ventures.

In New's silkscreen and textile shop, Jackson likewise followed the director's methodologies and produced numerous textile designs based on Tlingit forms, a number of which remain in the IAIA collections.[7] New's interest in traditional motifs extended to many different Native American tribes and contexts, including an apparent interest in Northwest Coast regalia, as evidenced by a totemic dress and a hat, inspired by spruce-root crest hats, that he produced in the late 1950s.[8] It is thus unsurprising that he may have encouraged Jackson, one of the few students from the Northwest Coast, to experiment with imagery derived from the formline tradition that, as decades of subsequent print production throughout the Northwest Coast would attest, translated particularly well to graphic design work. The textiles Jackson produced feature designs that recognizably derive from Northwest Coast formline crest figures, often printed on fabrics that exhibit New's favored "color clash" dying technique (combining multiple curving registers of sometimes incongruous tones along the fabric) (Chavarria et al. 2016, 28). Jackson has described these early attempts at formline design as "naïve." Such terminology suggests that the designs are not as complex or refined as the nineteenth-century examples on which they are loosely based and entails a value judgment based on a hierarchical evaluation of formline that reifies classical nineteenth-century forms as the pinnacle of the style's development. Early historians of Northwest Coast art likewise dismissed early to mid-twentieth-century art as having supposedly lost complex understandings of formline's visual language. This devaluation of art from the end of the nineteenth century through the 1960s as "naïve" was a central tenet of the Renaissance discourse, which sought to define Northwest Coast art as a rebirth and rediscovery of classical form, though it is now better understood instead as a modern reclamation (Townsend-Gault 2006).

New and other faculty members, however, appreciated Jackson's work and found his designs successful, as evidenced by the inclusion of one in a special March 1964 *Interior Design* magazine spread, likely written by New. Titled "New Horizons for the American Indian," the spread's introduction emphasizes the "enlightened" programming of the IAIA and its goal of tapping into the "great reservoir of talent inherent in the centuries-old Indian

culture" for great artistic and cultural contributions to the world (Emery 1964, 164). The works depicted in the piece are winners of five cash prizes awarded by *Interior Design* to the IAIA students doing the most creative work in ceramics, sculpture, painting, textiles, and metal arts, as selected by faculty of the institute. Jackson, sharing the textile award with Yuma-Quechan weaver Joe Menta, won for his "Tlinget [sic] textile design in blue." The design, a single-clawed bear figure flanked by abstract shapes emulating the U-forms and ovoids of formline design, draws upon the Tlingit visual traditions that Jackson had not yet refined. But it also subjects the formline design to strict repetition within a decorative grid, presented in the magazine as an appealing curtain or fabric choice for the avant-garde designer. Jackson would later recall that New stressed to him that "the important thing in design work is the background" and the planning of a layout. The close interplay of complimentary silkscreened image and fabric negative in Jackson's design demonstrates how even such a "naïve" take on formline design could translate well to the modernist ambitions of New's textile studio.[9] The design was reproduced at least three times in different color combinations. Jackson's textile is among the first appearances of contemporary Northwest Coast design in such a high-profile American magazine, though not the first silk screened textile to have been produced by a Northwest Coast artist.[10]

Indian Space Encounters

In his posthumously published 2016 memoir *Sound of Drums: A Memoir of Lloyd Kiva New*, New described the IAIA as a place "whose freedom approach encouraged students to express themselves in relationship to the changes taking place in an evolving society" (New 2016, 197). Jackson's experiments in new contemporary art forms can best be seen in a series of prints that he produced in 1963 in the class of Seymour Tubis, the graphic arts and painting instructor at the institute. Titled *Kooshta,* or "land-otter" in Łingit (though perhaps *Kooshta-kaa*, "Land Otter Man" would be more accurate), the print depicts a series of masks and figures executed in a rough formline-style in heavy black line printed against a background of varied color and black wood grain. Several versions of the woodcut were produced, notably a version printed with blue color fields, ovoids, and trigons printed on a lavender, fuchsia, and orange gradated background reminiscent of New's "color clash" textile technique. The blue fills in space on the face of a mask in profile in the top center, as well as on the face and grimacing teeth of the ursine half-face in the bottom left that is ambiguously connected to the upper mask by a black outline that runs into the mask's hair. Blue tail-like elongated split-U forms seem to frame the upper mask, and blue is also used to bedeck the

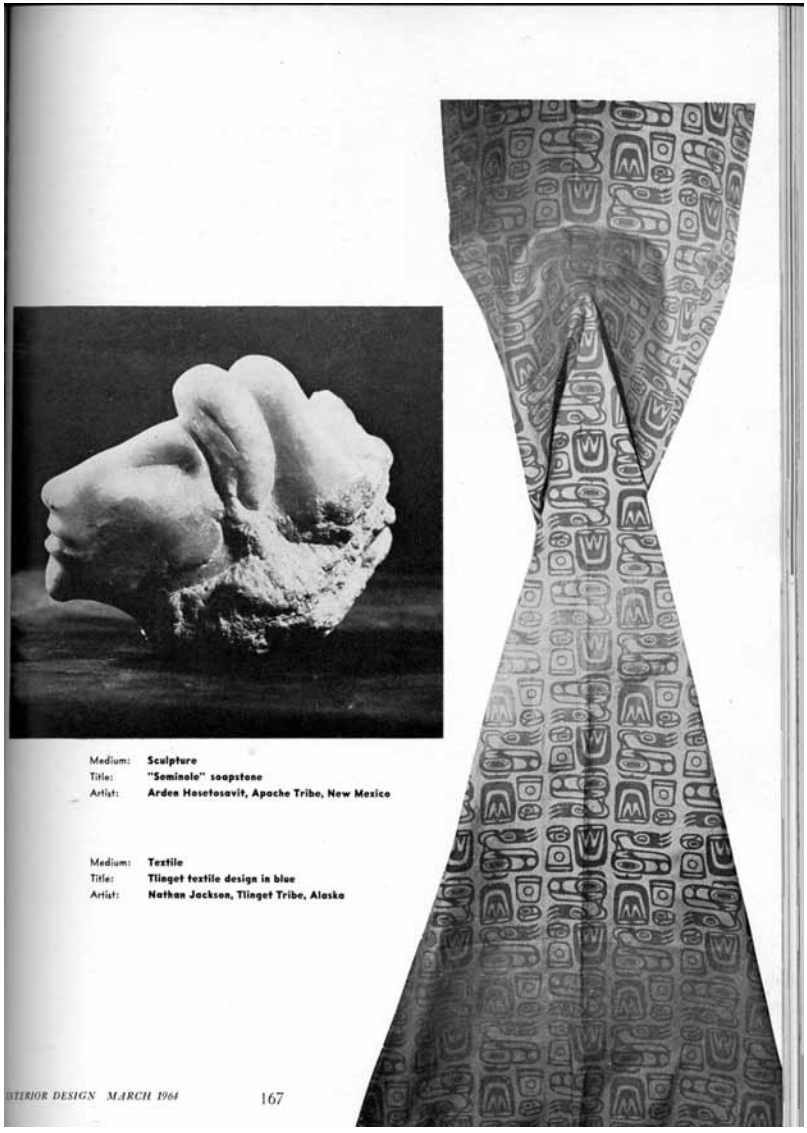

Figure 3 | Detail of "New Horizons for the American Indian," edited by Sherman R. Emery, *Interior Design* 35, no. 3 (March 1964), 167.

black figure sitting at ninety degrees in a robe and potlatch-ringed crest hat. A blue claw mirrors the black claw with salmon-trout head inner ovoid joint, though it is not clear which of these belong to a particular body. Another version of the print was produced in 1964 without the blue tertiary forms, instead opting for abstract blots and a circular field of red, green, orange, and

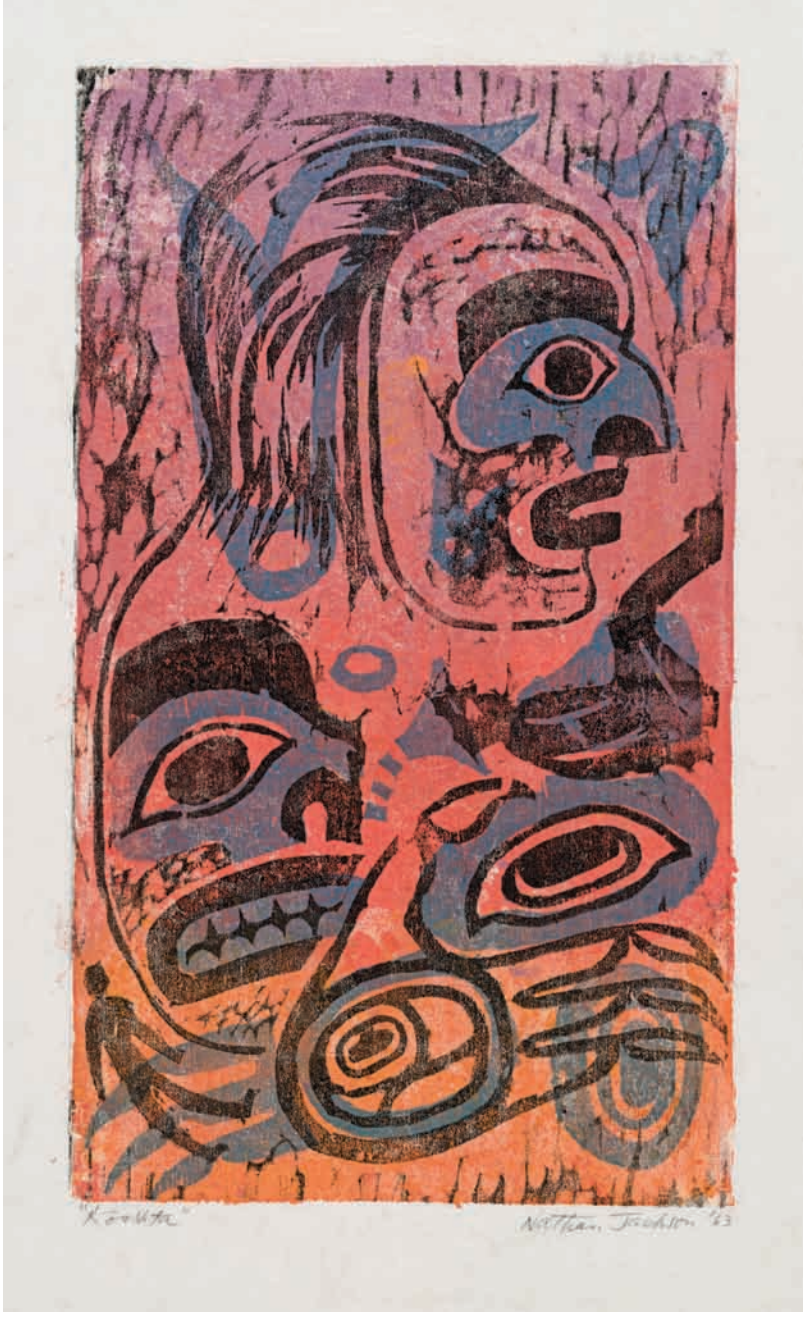

Figure 4 | Nathan Jackson, *Kooshta*, 1963. Woodblock on pellon. Institute of American Indian Arts Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, NM, #TL-2. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Contemporary Native Arts.

purple gestural strokes that produce a centripetal force beneath the black lines of the woodcut. An edition of *Kooshta* was submitted to the 1964 Scottsdale National Indian Art Exhibition where it won best of show, a major coup and cash prize for the young artist (King 1968, 86).[11]

Tubis encouraged Jackson to submit the print to the competition and had closely assisted Jackson in the class where it had been made, purportedly doing the framing and matting of the print for him.[12] Jackson recalled how Tubis invited students over to his house to show them his own work—large abstract paintings as big as a wall that looked to Jackson like he had "thrown a bunch of paint on the canvas."[13] Such abstract work encouraged Jackson to explore vibrant and nonrepresentational color and likely influenced the bright palette of figurative works such as *Old Navajo Lady*. As the instructor of printmaking, painting, and design, Tubis singly established the printmaking department and found that materials such as slate, leather, sand, feathers, cloth, and bark could be valid printmaking tools and matrices (IAIA 1972, 26; Adams 1991, 108). Tubis's teaching practice was very much in line with New's philosophy to make something modern out of the traditional, and he encouraged expressions and experimentation that allowed students to reflect on their roots and personal idioms "allied to some of their traditional crafts" yet explored through modern methods.[14] In choosing stereotypical materials like feathers and bark for his Indigenous students to work within the graphic arts studio, however, there was some romanticizing of "traditional crafts" as preindustrial.

Indeed Tubis was no stranger to the primitivist tendencies of mid-century American painting. He studied at the Art Students League from 1946 to 1949, as well as with the Abstract Expressionist painter Hans Hoffman in 1951. Tubis was a student of and later assistant instructor for Will Barnet, who along with Steve Wheeler, Peter Busa, and Rober Barrell was one of the key figures of the Indian Space Painting movement that grew out of the Art Students League in New York in the 1940s. The Indian Space Painters, as they were primarily known,[15] based their abstract and semiabstract work on Native American art and were drawn to the forms of Northwest Coast art in particular (Gibson 1983; Kraskin and Hollister 1991; Rushing 1995). In 1946, the same year Tubis began at the Art Students League, a group of Indian Space painters hosted the exhibition "Semeiology or 8 and a Totem Pole" at Galerie Neuf, run by the poet Kenneth Beaudoin, and the first issue of Beaudoin's journal *Iconograph* reproduced Indian Space paintings and Native American art (particularly Northwest Coast art), language, symbols, and folk tales.[16] The premise of the show, and Indian Space Painting, was defined in *Iconograph* as "painting a new magic out of old star-driven symbols rooted in an understanding of American Indian Art, using it (not historically but) as a competent vehicle for current representational art."

The paintings stylistically favored all-over composition, two-dimensional abstract design and expressionist coloration, and they were exhibited alongside a small Haida house post that closely resembled a crest pole on display at the Museum of Modern Art (Gibson 1983, 98).

Though Barnet did not exhibit work in the Galerie Neuf show, as a teacher and in his own work he likewise emphasized the spatial structures of Northwest Coast art, specifically the abstraction of form, flattening of space, and the ambiguous relationship between positive and negative space characteristic of Northwest Coast formline design. Inspired by the carved bentwood boxes and crest poles in nearby museum collections, he told his Art Students League classes that there was

> a strength in the decisive way they [Northwest Coast Indigenous peoples] arranged objects—so that there was not only a dynamic movement but a tremendous balance between forces—a sort of equilibrium. It was a two-dimensional space—they had no negatives—they had all positives. That was what interested me. . . . When the design was strong, I wanted to know what the motivation was. The power, the geometry in a form, tells you about the strength of the society. When the forms get weak, the society is decaying.[17]

As a pedagogical strategy Barnet took his classes to New York museums like the American Museum of Natural History and George Gustav Heye's Museum of the American Indian in order to show his students firsthand these features and the "tension-laden relationships" that manifested in objects from historic collections.[18]

In works produced in the late 1940s, when Tubis worked as his assistant, Barnet incorporated these aesthetic principles into his own work. As scholars such as Ann Gibson (1983, 98–103) and Jackson Rushing (1995, 147–52) have pointed out, Northwest Coast form influenced Barnet's oeuvre for much of the late-1940s and '50s. The biomorphic forms contained within rectangular planes and compartments in works such as *Summer Family* (1948), *The Awakening* (1949), and *The Cave* (1949–50) are clearly indebted to Northwest Coast crest poles or house posts. Fields of positive space, vertically organized flat shapes, and X-ray imagery in works such as his *Fourth of July* (1954) and *Big Duluth* (1959–60) demonstrate how Barnet uses Northwest Coast forms and structures in order to emulate the "metamorphic power of tribal art" that the Indian Space Painters considered to be the central theme of Northwest Coast culture.[19]

Barnet's theories influenced Tubis, the former's student and assistant instructor, and Tubis attended class museum visits to view Northwest Coast

Figure 5 | Seymour Tubis, *Space Objects,* 1948. Etching on paper. Private collection. Reproduced with permission from The Nina T. Wooderson Trust (2018). Copyright 2018, Nina T. Wooderson Trust.

art. Having studied at the Art Students League at the height of the Indian Space Painting movement, he could not have avoided their prominent exhibitions and publications at the school. Tubis's oeuvre moved past his own Cubist explorations at the end of the 1940s, mirroring Indian Space Painting's desire to likewise surpass Cubism at this moment, and his own works would come to deeply reflect Barnet's lessons.[20] In his 1948 etching *Space Objects,* organic ovoid forms float in a flattened and ambiguously defined space. Curving lines compartmentalize the space, and pictographic shapes and figures float freely amongst them. Tubis studied bold palettes of high-key colors and expressive brushwork with Hans Hoffman that consistently reappeared throughout his abstract painting practice. Primitivist inspiration, however, also remained a feature of his later work; the geometricized figures in the woodcut *Pueblo Ceremonial Trio* (1975), for example, recall *katchina* dolls and the wall paintings and ceremonial altars found in Pueblo kivas.

The aesthetic principles that Barnet and Tubis had themselves derived in part from Northwest Coast art were thus taught back to Nathan Jackson at the IAIA by Tubis. Formal comparison would suggest as much; on the one hand the treatment of space in Jackson's *Kooshta*, filled with all-over form and pattern and his use of unassociative colors and abstract shapes, shares an interest with Indian Space Painters in the arrangement of geometric motifs in a vertically oriented design within and in relation to defined linear structures. The pictographic figures floating in space throughout *Kooshta* are similar to those in Tubis's *Space Objects*. The forms in *Kooshta,* described

as "just a bunch of masks" by the Jackson, seem at first glance to be unassociated in this abstract space.[21] Black outlines, however, flow between the masks, and the blue tertiary forms follow the curves and outlines of the primary lines in a manner that derives from the spatial principles of Northwest Coast art. Tubis encouraged and taught those principles back to someone *from* the Northwest Coast who was familiar with them, if not completely proficient at this time. In *Kooshta* there is evidence of a genealogy from the abstract and primitivist principles of Indian Space Painting, inspired by Northwest Coast form and passed from Barnet to Tubis before returning to Jackson, who used these principles with his own "naïve" knowledge of formline design to produce a distinct brand of modern Northwest Coast art.

At the urgings of his teachers at the IAIA, Jackson drew on Tlingit forms that he knew but had not mastered. Although he had an idea of formline design, it was New's encouragement to take up his heritage and "study it, revere it, copy it, preserve it, adapt it" to his own needs that pushed Jackson to begin to explore nineteenth-century Northwest Coast forms more deeply (New 2016, 202). The library at the IAIA had an invaluable collection of illustrated publications on Northwest Coast art that allowed Jackson to study classic designs. An untitled black and red woodblock print made at the IAIA in February 1964 is based on bentwood box designs, but these were translated into a more open and loose internal composition within the limits of the paper's rectilinear support, a constraint of the printing technique. The design is nonetheless restricted to black primary and red secondary formlines. Jackson has said that when he was making this work, "I didn't really know or understand much about Northwest Coast art at that point" and that he was "just trying it out."[22] The departures from typical box design—the red tongue and empty space on the far left and right sides and around the red claws in the lower half—demonstrate his self-taught approach to the forms. But his attempt to replicate the principles of such a design in an original composition shows Jackson's emulation of, if not strict adherence to, what would later be canonized as the grammar of formline design.

Contemporary Painting to Carving Workshops

In the summer of 1964, Jackson left the IAIA and traveled to New York to join the AIA team at the world's fair as part of the Alaska Pavilion. A carving crew that included Tlingit artists Leo Jacobs, Peter C. Johnson Sr., Tommy Jimmie Sr., and Wesley Willard conducted carving demonstrations and worked on multiple crest poles throughout the summer (Henry 2010, 11). Jackson worked on the large poles as an assistant carver, but he also continued his two-dimensional work on an individual basis. Tubis gave him the address of

an art supply store where he could pick up paints and rice paper, and he set up a small studio in a back room of the house he shared with all of the Alaskan artists in New York. Carving as an Alaskan Indian artist for the crowds of the world's fair by day and painting and printmaking at night, somewhat to the disdain of the other carvers, the duality of Jackson's artistic practices also led him to a varied experience of the New York art world. Lloyd Kiva New introduced Jackson to Harry V. Anderson, the editor in chief and publisher of *Interior Design* magazine, who took Jackson out on the town. Yet at the same time, as Jackson recalled, he was less interested in the contemporary art galleries of 1960s New York than the American Museum of Natural History, where he found the great treasures of nineteenth-century Northwest Coast art collected primarily by George Emmons. He returned repeatedly to this collection, looking closely at, absorbing, and refining his understanding of Tlingit forms and objects that he had otherwise seen only in books at the IAIA.

After the world's fair, Jackson returned to Santa Fe but did not go back to school, believing he had learned enough from his time at the IAIA. Carl Heinmiller paid for his return journey to Haines and hired him at AIA as an instructor through the Manpower Development and Training Act Program funds, which were nearing the end of their initial five-year span. There he put his experience at the IAIA to use as a silkscreen and printing instructor. Photo documentation of Jackson working and teaching at AIA shows that he styled himself after his former instructors, wearing a shirt, tie, and artist's smock to maintain the air of an arts professional. This act of modernist self-fashioning did not go unnoticed by the other carvers at the co-op, who jokingly referred to him as "Professor" and "Doctor."[23]

From 1965 to 1967, Jackson taught screen printing at the AIA and used the lessons of New to train AIA artists and trainees in textile design. The AIA sold fabrics decorated with Tlingit designs as tablecloths, vests, miniskirts, and other articles of clothing. He ran several printing workshops in Haines from January 1965 to July 1966, funded by a final extension to the Manpower Development and Training Act Program sponsorship. Using whatever materials available, especially blocks of linoleum stripped from fishing boats, he taught the principles of block printing to a younger generation of male and female trainees who it seems took up his lessons in earnest, though few of them are known to have pursued artistic careers. A 1966 special issue of *Smoke Signals,* a publication from the IACB, reproduced a 1965 print by Tlingit trainee Phoebe Hammond titled *Frog* (USDI 1966). The print, produced in a May 1965 workshop, depicts a simple split-form frog design in black on a green background with ovoid joints and rib-like hashes under its sides. The background has been decorated with simulated woodgrain, a technique Jackson utilized himself in his Santa Fe prints.

Figure 6 | Nathan Jackson at Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., 1965. Photo courtesy of the Sheldon Museum, Haines, AK.

Jackson clearly incorporated his aesthetic from the IAIA into his teaching in Alaska, and it lingered in his own work; a print he made in the same May 1965 workshop, titled *Fire Mask* (1965), depicts a deeply shadowed and bearded mask in bright red and black, apparently based on a Tlingit shaman's mask that Jackson saw in a museum.[24] The mask is more modeled and representational than the flatly reduced formline masks in *Kooshta,* with careful attention to the rounded volume of the face and painted markings, derived from real-world face paint examples. Its three-quarter view and expressive

features suggest a portrait more so than the mere copying of an object, recalling the oil portraits that Jackson continued to paint still at this time, but like his earlier prints, *Fire Mask* floats just above a flattened abstract space. Jackson filled the background with wavering lines etched into a flat black wash from which the mask emerges surrounded by a halo of fiery red tendrils that resemble both a woodgrain texture and flickering flames. There is a push and pull of depth in the print as the ground pushes its way forward to make the mask's position rather ambiguous. With its vibrant use of color, abstract textured ground, and figurative rather than stylized representation, *Fire Mask* is a synthesis of different aspects of Jackson's modernist training.

As the MDTA funding expired in 1967, Jackson left AIA to work independently. On top of conflict over the splitting of now strained resources among the co-op members, tension arose between Jackson and Heinmiller stemming from the former's moonlighting. After working for Heinmiller during the day, Jackson would paint at night and sell oil portraits around town. Jackson left AIA to work as a full-time artist, opening a jewelry and carving gallery in Haines, the "Raven's Wing Art Studio." He continued creating contemporary paintings for locals in addition to his jewelry and the portrait business, "rather unusual stuff," he recalls, winning a prize in "Contemporary Painting" in the 1967 Haines Art Show.[25] But local business could not support the studio for long and by 1969 it had shuttered. Jackson continued to work independently, traveling around the state repairing crest poles, teaching workshops, and honing his carving practice.

In this way, by the end of the 1960s Jackson dedicated more and more of his practice to developing and honing his understanding of classic Tlingit style, exchanging the modernist experiments of the IAIA for the formline principles that would be emphasized during the so-called Renaissance. Following his largely self-taught investigations of the style in Santa Fe, Jackson's understanding of formline and carving practices was substantially bolstered by meeting art historian Bill Holm in 1964 in Haines following his return from New York. Holm was in the final stages of his analysis of two-dimensional Northwest Coast form and the vocabulary of its stylistic elements, which he would publish as *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (1965), a central text for the revitalization of Northwest Coast art practice. Upon hearing Holm's lecture on the principles of formline design, Jackson found a shortcut to understanding its conventions. He recalled, "When I found Bill's book I was amazed, because it was all laid out right there" (Jackson 2015, xix). Not only would Jackson learn to see Northwest Coast two-dimensional design in a new light, but Holm also taught him the adzing techniques used on old poles and the style of the old tools, and he encouraged him to practice and focus on his carving.[26]

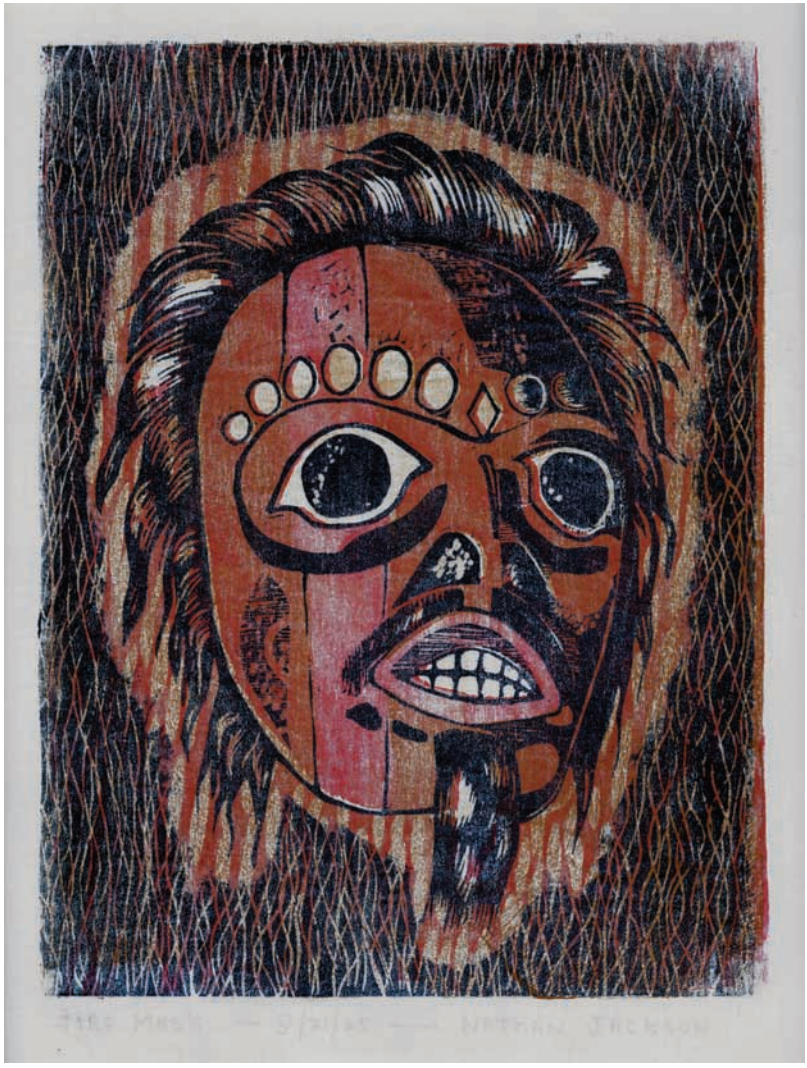

Figure 7 | Nathan Jackson, *Fire Mask*, 1965. Silkscreen (linocut?) on paper. Sheldon Museum, Haines, AK, #2013.070. Photo courtesy of the Sheldon Museum.

Jackson's relationship with Holm and his enhanced skills and understanding of classic Tlingit design would also serve him well acquiring further teaching opportunities. In 1969 the newly formed Kitanmaax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art at 'Ksan in Hazelton, B.C., hired Jackson as a traditional dance instructor. There he met non-Native carver Duane Pasco, another important figure for the revitalization of carving practices and an

inspiration for Jackson.[27] Following his term at 'Ksan, he served as a Tlingit carving and design instructor at the Alaska State Museum and Ketchikan Arts Council through 1970, conducting a carving class with both Holm and Pasco in Ketchikan ("Carver Coming," *Ketchikan Daily News*, September 18, 1970, 7). After leading carving and dancing demonstrations for the Smithsonian Institution Folk Festival and a totem pole restoration project for the City of Ketchikan, in December 1971 the Alaska State Museum invited Jackson for a joint exhibition with Kwakwaka' wakw carver Tony Hunt. The works produced to advertise this exhibition of "Northwest Coast Carvers" and printed shortly thereafter demonstrate how thoroughly Jackson had moved his print practice into a traditionalist mode, with flicker-feather designs and box motifs emulated from Holm's *An Analysis of Form,* or a configurative whale design that demonstrates more interior complexity and sense of balance than his experimental attempts in Santa Fe.[28]

Thus situated as one of the top carvers in Southeast Alaska, and with Holm's book as guide, Jackson took on his first large-scale commissions confident in his ability to create new designs in the classic Tlingit style. His 1973 carved and painted eagle panel for the Ketchikan International Airport would be followed by a carved and painted house screen for the Peabody Museum at Harvard in 1974. The monumental commissions cemented his seeming rejection of modernist experiments and his transition into the refined traditionalist style that he defined as Tlingit. Such work, Jackson would later acknowledge, was trying to "maintain the traditional Tlingit style" in a way that felt to him like that of "a trailblazer who has looked over an old trail covered with brush that needed to be cleared away, so the trail could be reestablished" (Jackson 2012, 46). At the time of his Peabody house screen commission, however, he considered his work to be a "blending of real contemporary form and traditional form . . . contemporary with the adaptation of traditional style" (Jackson and Worl 1974). And unlike how the history of the modern revival of Northwest Coast art is typically told, Jackson moved into the classical style after first working deeply with Western modernist aesthetics. How did those modernist lessons stick with him and inform the working process of what came to be his revivalist practice?

In the film documenting his completion of the Peabody house screen, the footage of Jackson's careful drawing, designing, and painting makes clear how central draftsmanship is to his practice. He handles his paint brush carefully, running it over the spatial delineations drawn onto the panel's surface with long smooth single strokes. One can sense the influence of his Santa Fe training in his painterly marks and in the technique of drawing the layout of the design with large stencils to maintain the regularity of his geometric motifs. The mechanically reproductive nature of stencils echoes his

silkscreen printing process learned years prior. On the house screen, Jackson supplements the reproduced geometric forms of his stenciled ovoids with hand painted color, not unlike his expressive color additions to the different editions of *Kooshta.* Jackson would later say that "drawing, at least for me, is pretty important to come up with a likeness of any Indian art pieces. You have to be to see what you're looking at, and you have to be able to critique your own work" (Jackson 2012, 144). Draftsmanship and the act of critically looking, then, is intrinsic to Jackson's carving practice, as is a kind of mechanical reproduction. Jackson's formative years of fine arts education, especially his lessons in graphic design and spatial layout with New and Tubis, are foundational to his work. Throughout the subsequent decades, as Jackson took on apprentices and passed on his knowledge of the Tlingit style, his pedagogy always began with teaching them to draw, just as his own career began with charcoal drawings in the Mt. Edgecumbe Hospital.

Conclusion: Expanding Out and So On

Whereas Jackson is predominantly known by his reputation as the fundamental Tlingit revivalist and world-renowned master carver, his experimental impulse to paint and draw and the quintessentially modernist character of his education and early work must be considered as interrelated aspects of his development as an artist. In 1983, when an interviewer noted that his work follows the strict conventions of classical Tlingit style, it was perhaps with his history as a painter in mind that he coyly responded, "I don't think I would go too far [outside of tradition] in a carving . . . but maybe in a painting" (Eppenbach 1984, 31). In recent years Jackson has been quite open about his admiration for those who extend beyond the limits of traditional form. The boundary-pushing work of his son, Stephen Jackson, has taken formline into experimental directions. Under the alias Jackson Polys he creates contemporary work in mixed media as well as recent explorations into film, sculpture, and digital image captures. The two *Kaats'* house posts made by the father and son for the Burke Museum, dedicated in 2005, demonstrate the great stylistic differences between the two. Nathan's pole consists of a brown bear holding a human figure between its paws, executed in the classical style of his refined carving practice with spare application of red, black, and blue-green paint. Stephen's pole, on the other hand, depicts the violent writhing of bear children tearing a human figure apart. He cast its organic forms in epoxy resin, and the ovoids and formline elements are interspersed amid flailing limbs and teeth (Moore 2010, 130–32). Two years later the pair collaborated on an untitled pole for the Field Museum that seemed to fuse their styles in a single contemporary work, with Stephen's loose and organic forms spread across the surface of the

pole yet carved in the form-hugging mode of classic Tlingit style more typical of his father. Jackson has said of Stephen's work that "it's important to see an approach to [two-dimensional formline design] that is different. It shows how the tradition can be taken further" (Moore 2010, 132). But this collaboration should not be read just as a new generation pushing the older into new concepts; rather, it is also a return to the experimental origins of his practice in the 1960s. Unsurprisingly, Jackson observed that "the school I went to in Santa Fe, New Mexico, would relish having Stephen as a student because he's more experimental and expanding out and so on" (Jackson 2012, 145).

Recent expansions in formline design by Northwest Coast artists thus belong to a longer history than typically acknowledged, one located apart from the so-called Renaissance and imbricated with a mutual exchange of forms from a variety of sources. The divide between traditional and modernist sources, in the case of Jackson, is unsatisfactory, for as his career shows, a Tlingit artist in the postwar period had to look to a variety of institutions, teachers, and mentors to receive the training that he required. Instead of either traditionalist or modernist, Jackson is best understood as having threaded through a variety of self-directed and institutional pedagogies that emphasized different values and styles at different moments in his career. This context for Jackson's early oeuvre further shows how Tlingit art was not just a subject for the modern primitivist's unidirectional appropriation, but that the gaze was also cast back in modernism's direction.

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NOTES

I would like to thank Steve Henrikson, Jim Simard, Hayley Chambers, Lee Heinmiller, Nina Wooderson, Ryan Flahive, Tatiana Lomahaftewa-Singer, and the staff at the Sheldon Museum for essential guidance and assistance while conducting this research. I would also like to thank Gerald McMaster, Julia Lum, and the peer reviewers for their insightful commentary and support. Above all, I wish to thank Nathan Jackson, Dorica Jackson, and Stephen Jackson, without whom this project would not be possible.

1. Histories of early to mid-twentieth-century Tlingit artists in particular counter the notion that there was a "death" and "rebirth" of carving and art practices. See Moore 2012.

2. These published accounts of Jackson's early life and training, many in his own words, have been supplemented by interviews conducted with the artist in 2017.

3. Nathan Jackson in an interview with the author in Ketchikan, AK, July 25, 2017.

4. Illustrated in *The Voice of the Brotherhood* 8, no. 7 (June 1962), 8.

5. On AIA, see Kramer 2011, 41–46; and Henry 2010.

6. It should be noted that the IAIA has since developed a more culturally informed art curriculum that has deemphasized such modernist ideologies, which are counter to many Indigenous values. See Nancy Mithlo, "Afterword," in Chavarria et al. 2016, 94.

7. Jackson has identified several previously unattributed textiles in the IAIA collection with formline design typical of his early period, #NW-31 and #Prop-3, as being of his hand. The textile #NW-31 is the same design as that reproduced in *Interior Design* magazine in 1964, though in an alternate red and white color scheme. The textile labeled in the magazine as "Tlinget [sic] design in blue" is likely the unattributed textile #NW-35, a blue and turquoise print of the illustrated design. This color scheme was repeated with slight tonal variation in another textile of the same design, #Prop-600 in the IAIA collection. An unattributed textile with a formline whale design in the IAIA collection, #Ath-26, was apparently done by Bill Blackmore in emulation of Northwest Coast design (Nathan Jackson, email communication, September 11, 2017).

8. Lloyd Kiva dress illustrated in New 2016, 163. My thanks to Ryan Flahive, who pointed out that New likely hired out the design to an as-of-yet-unidentified artist with a familiarity with Northwest Coast form.

9. Nathan Jackson in an interview with the author in Ketchikan, AK, July 25, 2017.

10. It is necessary to acknowledge that Kwakwaka'wakw artist Ellen Neel had created silkscreen prints on scarves and fabrics for sale in Vancouver years prior to this. Likewise, in the early 1960s, Kwakwaka'wakw artist Doug Cranmer (Kesu') also produced monochromatic silkscreen prints on cotton and burlap, holding a commercial contract with Industrial Bags from 1964 to 1967 for his designs. See Nuytten 1982 and Kramer 2012.

11. Despite winning such an award, Jackson did not participate in the school's first national exhibition, "Young American Indian Artists" (1965), held at the Riverside Museum in New York in cooperation with the U.S. Department of the Interior, though he did participate that year in the Department of the Interior's Second Annual Invitational Exhibition of American Indian Paintings. Joy Gritton notes that abstraction dominated "Young American Indian Artists" and suggests that works such as *Kooshta* were not abstract enough for the exhibition's unstated theme, though Jackson's departure from the IAIA the year prior to the exhibition may have been another cause for his absence. See Gritton 2000, 119–23; Riverside Museum 1965.

12. The close support for his students is further seen in a book of IAIA student poetry and prints he collected and published. See IAIA 1965.

13. Nathan Jackson in an interview with the author in Ketchikan, AK, July 25, 2017.

14. Seymour Tubis to Clinton Adams, March 19, 1990, quoted in Adams 1991, 108.

15. The movement was also referred to as the "Indian Space group," the "Indian Space movement," or by the alternate name for themselves, "Semeiology," reflecting their interest in exploring the language of symbols.

16. The exhibition at Galerie Neuf took place only six months before Barnett Newman's "Northwest Coast Indian Painting" exhibition at Betty Parsons Gallery, and Northwest Coast art and Haida folktales were prominent elements in *Iconograph* no. 3 (Fall 1946).

17. Will Barnet, interview with Ann Gibson, February 18, 1982. In Kraskin and Hollister 1991, 35.

18. Will Barnet, personal communication with Ann Gibson, New York City, April 25, 1984, cited in Gibson 1983, 104. Reproduced in Rushing 1995, 147.

19. Will Barnet, interview with Sandra Kraskin, New York City, September 6, 1991. In Kraskin and Hollister 1991, 11.

20. On Tubis's career prior to arriving at the IAIA, see s.v. "Seymour Tubis" in Falk 1999, and Nina T. Wooderson, "The Art and Life of Seymour Tubis," http://www.seymourtubis.com.

21. Nathan Jackson in an interview with the author in Ketchikan, AK, July 25, 2017.

22. Ibid.

23. Lee Heinmiller in an interview with the author at Alaska Indian Arts, Inc., Haines, AK, July 17, 2017.

24. Nathan Jackson in an interview with the author in Ketchikan, AK, July 25, 2017. Though Jackson could not recall with precision, the print is likely based on a shaman's maskette in the American Museum of Natural History (cat. no. 19/920). This maskette has a similar painted red stripe, teeth, and facial hair, and Jackson has reduced the suckers of the devilfish tentacles along the maskette's brow into simplified circles.

25. Nathan Jackson in an interview with the author, Ketchikan, AK, July 25, 2017; "Anchorage Museum Historical and Fine Art Museum Questionnaire," Nathan Jackson Artist File, Alaska Artist Files, Anchorage Museum Library, Anchorage, AK.

26. For Jackson's reflections on his relationship with Holm, see especially Jackson 2015, xix; also Jackson 1993, 2; Jackson 2012, 144; and Averill 2003, 21.

27. Jackson describes how meeting Pasco at 'Ksan pushed him to further develop his carving practice: "I saw then that I was really going to have to get with it. I made up my mind that I would really get in and start learning how to use the adze and I started getting bigger tools" (Institute of Alaska Native Arts 1983).

28. Alaska State Museum Collections #APK.MZ.4-A-1, #MV.46-C-5, and #MV.46-C-4, respectively.

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Exhibition Review: *Americans*. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution. Washington, DC, January 18, 2018–2022.

Reviewed by Pablo N. Barrera

Americans is the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian's (NMAI) effort to elucidate on the nation's shared consumption of Euro-American imagery of Indigenous people. The exhibition invites the public to reevaluate their comfort with the ways in which American "Indians" have been portrayed across various media and utilized as a means to imbue brands, products, and ideals with those qualities Indigenous people have been historically burdened with. *Americans* highlights key moments in U.S. history that have served as the catalyst of the nation's most pervasive ideas about Native Americans. Pocahontas, Thanksgiving, the Battle of Little Bighorn, and the Indian Removal Act are summoned as themes to complicate the central gallery of the exhibition composed of a visually arresting, dizzying display of ads, album covers, military weapons, and institutional iconography. *Americans* asks why these are the stories people know, how these stories impact the national imagination, and what these images expose regarding the United States' relationship with both specific and general representations of Native Americans.

Curated by Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche) and Cécile R. Ganteaume, *Americans* signals a recent departure from the NMAI's original Native American community-collaborative approaches to design. Since opening in 2004, the NMAI established its "mission to present the diversity of Native views and experiences" (Evelyn 2006, 54). *Americans*, however, positions the non-Native gaze as central to its arrangement, targeting stories and images most significant for Americans of European descent. In *Officially Indian: Symbols That Define the United States*, the companion book to the exhibition, Ganteaume elaborates on how "real and imaginary relations

ab-Original: Journal of Indigenous Studies and First Nations and First Peoples' Cultures, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2018

between Americans and American Indians . . . are embedded in the U.S. government's official and semiofficial uses of American Indian imagery. A close examination of the imagery reveals far more about the United States than it does about American Indians" (Ganteaume 2017, 21). Likewise, *Americans* speaks to an audience beholden to, not affected by, the images on display, only including their subjects when it enriches our understanding of why American settlers created them. Tribal members were explicitly consulted for specific objects, but within the context of the exhibition, these engagements are in danger of seeming cherry-picked to suit a monolithic narrative. Fortunately, Paul Chaat Smith's mantra, "American Indians are simultaneously everywhere but nowhere," places the imagery in sharp relief with their Eurocentric visions, opening a space for the elephant in the gallery: contemporary Native Americans.

The central gallery of the exhibition is a grand salon where Art Nouveau-style posters of Native women holding consumer products hang alongside Native American caricatures gracing magazine covers, military insignia, or sports logos. Colorful, nostalgic two-dimensional renderings are punctuated by the inclusion of dolls, medallions, or an actual "Indian" motorcycle and "Tomahawk" missile, adding dynamic texture to the tapestry of images comprising the walls. At the far end is a digital collage of Native American stereotypes in film and television, echoing the jumble of imagery throughout the central gallery. An interactive console offers further information about each image's subject matter. The gallery does not direct the viewer, allowing the visitor to pick from the field of pictures surrounding them. The overwhelming quantity gives a sense of the various ways Native Americans entered an American visual lexicon; however, displays often lack critical analysis on what these images evoke. *Americans* targets a more general audience, but the interplay between history and its produced imagery is often teleological: the visual archive presented to the audience is normalized. Viewers are not called to challenge the reception or distribution of these images; they are left participating in their consumption.

The process behind how non-Natives came to view and imagine Native Americans is the task of the side galleries. From the central gallery, five rooms branch out to tackle a featured theme. "Queen of America"[1] demonstrates the NMAI's capacity for robust research, chronicling how the emerging nation intertwined their fate with the life and legend of Amonute (Powhatan, 1596–1617), better known as Pocahontas.[2] A reproduction of Constantino Brumidi's (1805–1880) fresco at the U.S. Capitol best represents John Smith's (1580–1631) fanciful retelling of his encounter, which produced a powerful myth that would later be cannibalized into feather-crowned

"Indian Queen" symbols of independence for the colonies. Similarly, Simon van de Passe's (1595–1647) 1616 engraved portrait depicting Pocahontas in European dress enticed viewers abroad to favorably regard the colonial project. These images evolved into caricatures of the "Indian Princess" for the women's society, Degree of Pocahontas, illuminating thorny aspects of how Pocahontas became symbolically linked with Jamestown aristocracy, including the "Exception Rule" that granted Whites with lineage claims to Pocahontas their property rights despite their "Indian" blood. A video installation shows audience reactions to Pocahontas, their responses spanning from pop culture references of the Disney movie to relating the tragic story of a young woman swept up by political forces. The room's strength lies in how the selected imagery brings up problematics regarding a primarily White narrative of a Native woman packaged for a White audience. The viewer learns how the myth of Pocahontas preys on the life of the same person, combining with imagery perpetuated over time to generate national pride at the expense of Native realities.

"The Invention of Thanksgiving" screens an artfully created animation narrated by Paul Chaat Smith. The short video project reprocesses images found in the central gallery's myriad representations of Native Americans. Adverts from the 1950s become hollow-eyed graphics, combining with flaming brains and naïve, pencil-line drawings of Native people to create a sinister association with the holiday. Smith explains how, like slavery, Native Americans are the "other" challenge to defining the United States as a nation. Cartoonish imagery of Native Americans is a "protective layer to not get too direct about it." Smith reassures how, despite the problematic imagery, Native peoples have become a "powerful idea," celebrating that "however imperfectly we remember . . . we are remembering Indians." The ending betrays a sense of helplessness, as Smith ponders the alternative to being misrepresented: not existing.

"The Indians Win" gallery on the Battle of Little Bighorn relies on the tension between how Whites portrayed Natives and how Natives portrayed themselves. The U.S. Army's unexpected defeat began an obsession with the stoic, warrior Indian as representing all Indian nations, thereby making their eventual colonization feel like a victory over a worthy foe, instead of as the theft of land and resources. The single battle romanticized expansionist efforts into the American Southwest, resulting in Plains Indians becoming the visual marker of Indian-ness within a U.S. imaginary to this day. A monumental narrative painting by Strike the Kettle (Lakota), follower of Chief Sitting Bull, evinces how Natives were already portraying themselves in art. Strike the Kettle highlighted the role of women preparing special meals and materials for what may be a naming ceremony: scenes that generate a

counter-history to depictions of warrior men engaged in battle. His painting's complex visuality of women relatives and ceremonial objects does not become part of the "Wild West" iconography displayed across the room, silently testifying to what American settlers chose to obfuscate. The gallery also contains a Walter Benjamin reference, "Indians in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," but rather than probe how the ubiquity of Native representation diluted their context/meaning, the phrase is a nonsequitur to draw visitors toward interactive displays where one can turn levers to create a "stereotype" or twirl pictures like a zoetrope. Interactive replicas of analogue forms do not critically engage the context in which images were consumed, thereby reinforcing the problematic representations the gallery purports to challenge.

"The Removal Act" gallery visually emphasizes Andrew Jackson's grand design to usurp Southeast Native American territory. The gallery cedes substantial real estate to quotes, historical data, documents, and portraits of politicians on their legacy regarding "Indian policy" but limits Native presence to a quote from a letter from John Ross (Cherokee, 1790–1866) to John C. Calhoun (1782–1850). The term "genocide" and images of the suffering of Native populations are conspicuously absent, despite examining an event that stripped Native Americans of their cultural landscape and directly led to many deaths. Only a small image of poet Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee, 1897–1982) alludes to early 1900s Comanche and Cherokee activists who popularized the phrase "Trail of Tears." Interestingly, Bronson's use of Plains Indian garb echoes the "Indians Win" display, pointing to how her public persona benefited from prior misconceptions of "Indian" stereotypes, but there is a missed opportunity to view Bronson's representative choices alongside Pocahontas to compare the ways Native women have embodied cultural ideals.

Americans is more an explication of how these images appeared and less a critique of how Native Americans are portrayed. The viewpoints of "image" and "history" are barely conceptually integrated; they collide throughout the exhibition, not in a way that creates tension, but in a way that renders them incomprehensible to each other. These images still captivate us, Native and non-Native Americans alike, arresting our attention away from other instances in which Native Americans have been hiding in plain sight. From code-talkers in each World War to steel beams in Manhattan's most iconic buildings to the entertainment industry, Natives continue to be "everywhere and nowhere" (Smith 2009, 10). *Americans* does not peer into these tangible instances, instead electing to privilege what American settlers wanted to see and how we chose to remember it.

NOTES

1. Gallery titles derive from the accompanying NMAI *Americans* exhibition website (https://nmai.si.edu/americans/#stories/the-indians-win).

2. Sarah J Stebbins, "Pocahontas: Her Life and Legend," Historic Jamestowne, National Park Service, Last modified July 17, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/jame/learn/historyculture/pocahontas-her-life-and-legend.htm.

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Brokers and Boundaries: Colonial Exploration in Indigenous Territory. Edited by Tiffany Shellam, Maria Nugent, Shino Konishi, and Allison Cadzow. Canberra: ANU Press and Aboriginal History Inc., 2016. 212 pages. A$41.00 (free online, https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/aboriginal-history-monographs/brokers-andboundaries).

Reviewed by Kate Fullagar

These companion books are the dual product of a conference held at the Australian National University in 2013 entitled "Local Intermediaries in International Exploration." The first collection emphasizes the archival issues and possibilities involved in looking for, and understanding, Indigenous intermediaries in the history of exploration. The second emphasizes the utility of the localized, biographic method for drawing out the agency of such people in fresh ways, given the slanted and complicated archives

left to us. The pair works well to add to our store of knowledge regarding the Indigenous guides, translators, cooks, entertainers, and hosts that were integral to all missions of so-called discovery in the Austral-Pacific between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The introduction to the first volume refutes any easy assumption that exploration archives inevitably hide the history of Indigenous people. At the same time, though, it is careful to acknowledge that recovery work involves more than the application of a scholarly "trowel" (2015, 8). Sometimes we have to add to an archive, the editors explain, by supplementing it with oral histories, environmental knowledge, and even sometimes creative practices. The result will always be uneven, but at least more substantive than once thought. The introduction to the second volume flags its methodological debt to the first, mostly adding here the case for how the local and especially the biographical are useful ways in to thinking through the complex records that remain.

The editors define "intermediary" as a figure who "articulates relationships between disparate worlds" (2015, 2). They are less clear in defining "Indigenous." The assembled chapters suggest that an Indigenous person is a non-European who confronts European empires—a somewhat vague notion that will in future scholarship surely demand more refinement. By implication, an "explorer" is a European: usually male, usually focused on territorial discovery, and usually backed by official or elite authority.

In the first volume, *Indigenous Intermediaries*, the most compelling chapters to me are those by Felix Driver, Maria Nugent, Tiffany Shellam, and Harriet Parsons. Driver offers several illuminating case studies, the most interesting from the archives of the Royal Geographical Society. Curating a selection from the RGS archives for a 2009 exhibition, Driver realized that recovering Indigenous intermediaries involved more than just flinging back shrouds. Instead, he had to add to the fragments where appropriate—for example, a Songhees (Coast Salish) intermediary from North America called Cheealthluc, photographed in perplexing naval uniform, appears differently when the self-styled military portraits of Kurringgai man Bungaree from Australia are added to the analysis. Both Nugent and Shellam offer good examples of how to walk Driver's suggested "fine line between . . . salvage biography and critical history" (25). Nugent delves into the fragments on Jacky Jacky, who accompanied E. B. Kennedy's 1848 expedition to Cape York, and Shellam surveys the traces of Bungaree and those of two Noongar men in early nineteenth-century maritime expeditions. Both authors reveal complicated Indigenous histories reverberating around European exploration, though both also remain wary of overstating the accessibility of Indigenous agency.

Parsons's chapter studies British-Ra'iatean collaborative drawing in the 1760s. She tackles not just the navigational and diplomatic contributions of the Ra'iatean leader Tupaia to Cook's first voyage, which has only in recent years been given proper attention, but also the frequent oversimplification of Cook's own creativity. By picking apart the British copy of Tupaia's map of Oceania, Parsons shows how both Britons and at least one Ra'iatean were deeply engaged in figuring each other out, often in graphic form on paper if not in words, and how both were changed by the effort.

The second volume, *Brokers and Boundaries*, contains especially interesting chapters by Mark Dunn, Allison Cadzow, Dario Di Rosa, and Chris Ballard. Dunn exemplifies some of the amazing recovery work of these two books, investigating five Australian Indigenous guides on expeditions though the Hunter Valley in the early nineteenth century. Cadzow focuses on two women associates on expeditions in the 1830s—less obscure but in many ways also underanalyzed because gender dynamics in exploration history are rarely considered from any angle. Cadzow's chapter contains more (welcomed) historiographic discussion than others in this volume. Her conclusions point to a specific woman-centered kind of diplomacy—surely another notion to ponder further in future studies.

Di Rosa (and to some extent the following chapter by Andrew Connelly) provides intriguing examples of intra-Indigenous communication during European expeditions, which is a feature too often lost in our fascination for "both-sides-of-the-beach" analysis. Di Rosa demonstrates the ways in which the Europeans on board the 1840s *HMS Fly* excursion to the Papuan Gulf relied so heavily on Erubian informants that they internalized specifically Erubian stereotypes of nearby Papuans. Knowledge from exploratory expeditions certainly was coproduced by all involved.

Ballard keeps us in Papua but turns to later expeditions. In many ways, he brings us back to the problem of the archive broached by the first volume. He takes a discursive approach to the narratives left behind, figuring both the European explorer and the Indigenous intermediaries (for him, generously defined) as effects of these texts rather than objects standing behind them. As the final chapter to the final volume, Ballard throws some of the foregoing discussions of "agency" into some confusion. The generally eclectic feel of the twin set, however, makes this move appear more a productive provocation than any kind of disavowal.

Both volumes contain important work by Indigenous scholars. The chapters by Shino Konishi, Clint Bracknell, and Len Collard anchor the others, especially the illuminating dialogue between Collard and his interlocutor Dave Palmer. Collard's insistence on using many Noongar words to sum up the work of these twenty-one chapters underscores the volumes' consistent

effort to find fresh ways into old histories. He explains that his presentation at least draws on "katitjin Noongar (interpreting the 'evidence' using Noongar ways of thinking)" (2015, 190). Collard writes that "some Western-trained historians might not always accept the evidentiary strength of this approach." He continues, "What is important here is that we are trying to move in and out of these traditions, Noongar and non-Noongar history-making" (2015, 191).