
Reassembling *The Social Organization*

Collaboration and Digital Media in (Re)making Boas's 1897 Book

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■ **ABSTRACT:** Franz Boas's 1897 monograph *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* was a landmark in anthropology for its integrative approach to ethnography, the use of multiple media, and the collaborative role of Boas's Indigenous partner, George Hunt. Not only did the volume draw on existing museum collections from around the world, but the two men also left behind a vast and now widely distributed archive of unpublished materials relevant to the creation and afterlife of this seminal text. This article discusses an international and intercultural project to create a new, annotated critical edition of the book that reassembles the dispersed materials and reembeds them within Kwakwaka'wakw ontologies of both persons and things. The project mobilizes digital media to link together disparate collections, scholars, and Indigenous communities in order to recuperate long-dormant ethnographic records for use in current and future cultural revitalization.

■ **KEYWORDS:** anthropology, archives, Franz Boas, digital media, George Hunt, Indigenous ontologies, museums, Northwest Coast First Nations

On 7 June 1920, George Hunt—Indigenous ethnographer among the Kwakwaka'wakw of British Columbia—wrote to Franz Boas regarding the first major publication of their long collaboration: “Now about the book with the many illustrations. There are so many mistakes in the names of the masks and dishes that I think should be put to rights before one of us die.”²¹ The book in question was the 1897 monograph *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*. A synthesis of Boas's first decade of research on the Northwest Coast and materials contributed by Hunt, the book was a pioneering achievement on many fronts, not the least of which was the intercultural collaboration at its roots. It was one of the first holistic ethnographies based on fieldwork, and the first systematic attempt to document an Indigenous North American ceremonial system. Boas and Hunt recorded not only masks, myths, music, and dances but also summer and winter social organization, marriage, the potlatch, and spiritual practices—in sum, the larger social and ritual contexts of what Boas called “mental life,” the cognitive as well as affective landscape of human culture (Berman 1996: 219–221; Boas 1911a: 59). Comparative data on neighboring groups provided important evidence for Boas's theory of diffusion as a driver of historical change and cultural development. The key text for Boas's early research among the Kwakwaka'wakw, it was a milestone in his devastating critique of social evolutionary thought



and his formulation of a modern concept of “culture” as learned, locally situated, and divorced from biology (see Boas 1911b, 1928). The book was also a landmark in anthropology for its use of multiple media technologies, deploying texts, photographs, museum collections, and wax cylinders to achieve its holistic goals.

The monograph’s impact was immediate; as Boas’s academic and public stature increased, and as Boas and Hunt compiled massive museum collections and publications, its reputation only grew. For instance, museums in Chicago and Milwaukee copied Boas’s now-famous Hamat’sa diorama from it (Glass 2009: 105, 110), a popular curio store in Seattle sold duplicates of pictured masks (Duncan 2000: 13), and its photos likely influenced later iconic images by Edward Curtis. The book, which remained Boas’s single most substantive and integrated ethnographic work published in his lifetime, was used as a collection guide by generations of curators and ethnographers, spawned a still-growing body of classic secondary literature (Glass 2006; Jacknis 2002),² and is to this day still the primary source and most cited account of the famous “Kwakiutl” potlatch. Through the 1897 monograph, the Kwakwaka’wakw became one of the great anthropological case studies.³

However, for a variety of reasons to be explored below, the materials that went into producing the book have been dispersed to widely distributed archives, as have several decades’ worth of corrections and additions compiled by both Boas and Hunt, most of which never saw publication and have remained largely unknown (Berman 2001). Boas himself did much to obscure the intercultural conditions of the book’s production, and the intervening years have further shrouded Hunt’s central role. Though hugely influential, the most important ethnographic text by the “father of American anthropology” has remained incomplete, uncorrected, and poorly understood for over a century.

In this article, we introduce an ongoing international collaborative project to produce an annotated, digital edition of the 1897 book that reunites archival materials and collections with the original text and with the Indigenous families whose cultural patrimony it represents (Glass and Berman 2012).⁴ Building on a critical print edition, currently in preparation, our proposed open-access website will be an innovative amalgam of e-book, digital archive, online exhibition, portal to museum databases, and network hub to multiple institutions and communities. Our ambition is to produce a critical genealogy of the book and its role in the history of anthropology; to reassemble and recuperate long-dormant ethnographic records, as well as develop new software to enhance Kwak’waka’ language materials; and to realize some part of Boas and Hunt’s long-deferred vision for their work while retaining their collaborative approach. The project explores the potentials—and pitfalls—of using digital media to mobilize past collections in the present and to imagine the conditions for both Indigenous and intercultural (what the editors of this special section call “cosmo-optimistic”) futures.

Foundations

Following the wave of reflexive critique in anthropology and museums in the 1970s and 1980s that called for the reconfiguration of colonial legacies (e.g., Ames 1992; Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Hymes 1972; Karp and Lavine 1991; Peers and Brown 2003; Simpson 1996), there has been a growing effort to recover Indigenous agency in the formation of archives, museum collections, exhibitions, and fairs dating to anthropology’s origins (Barringer and Flynn 1998; Gosden and Knowles 2001; Henare 2005). These paradigmatically modern sites of, and formats for, cultural display and ethnographic knowledge production are now recognized as drawing mutually (if not always equally) on both Indigenous and anthropological input

(Maxwell 1999; Morton and Edwards 2009; Stocking 1985). A new theoretical tool kit is currently available for disentangling the constitutive relational networks of anthropology's formative moments and for reevaluating its foundational materials. This tool kit supplements "hybridity" (e.g., Bhabha 1994) with notions of entanglement (Hodder 2012; Thomas 1991), articulation (Clifford 2001), intercultural production (Myers 2002), and cosmopolitanism (Appiah 2007), all providing formulations for the complex and fluid identities of both persons and things, especially under colonial conditions. In addition, renewed interest in global flows, distributed agency, and materiality has resulted in models of museums as relational "contact zones" (Clifford 1997), "networks" (Gosden and Larson 2007; Latour 2005), or "meshworks" (Harrison et al. 2013; Ingold 2007) that connect institutions, disciplines, and communities through the circulation of objects, people, and knowledge (Silverman 2015).

Early ethnographic texts, collections, and performance sites are also of increasing interest to the Indigenous people whose ancestors were the field's target subject matter and partners in its practice. Mutual attention to "salvaging salvage anthropology" (Phillips 2016; Turin 2011) is bringing academic and community researchers together to recontextualize collections, field notes, manuscripts, media, correspondence, and accession files within living Indigenous knowledges, languages, kinship systems, and cosmologies (e.g., Bohaker et al. 2015; Christen 2008; Fienup-Riordan 2005; Phillips 2011; Rowly 2013). Building on postcolonial critique, these collaborative efforts are recuperating the colonial archive—reading against the grain of dominant anthropological discourse and its modes and media of representation—in order to assert current cultural and political sovereignty (whether through modern treaty negotiations, revitalization efforts, cultural production, repatriation, or land claims).

Increasingly, such efforts are turning to digital media, often as an adjunct or alternative to the repatriation of original objects or recordings (Glass and Hennessy forthcoming). Many global, collective projects of "digital return" (Bell et al. 2013; cf. Hennessy et al. 2013; Hogsden and Poulter 2012; Holland and Smith 1999; Salmond 2012) additionally develop digital tools—be they local databases or public-facing websites—around Indigenous cultural ontologies and epistemologies, so the structural principles of organization and access to digital "objects" and their metadata are drawn from and support Native ways of being and knowing (Christen 2005, 2012; Duarte and Belarde-Lewis 2015; Glass 2015; Srinivasan et al. 2010).

The use of advanced media by collaborative teams to produce (or reproduce) culturally situated collections takes us directly back to Boas and Hunt's own efforts at the dawn of anthropology. Here we draw on Bruno Latour's (2005) notion of "assemblages" as relational networks of heterogeneous entities (including both human and nonhuman agents) in order to relate three different but interconnected levels or layers of the 1897 text and our planned digital edition of it. First, Kwakwaka'wakw cultural forms themselves (masks, songs, dances, narratives, titles, etc.) belong together in "relational sets" as restricted and hereditary prerogatives (called *k'is'u* in Kwakwaka'wakw, plural *k'ik'as'u*) that are temporarily claimed or "owned" by human custodians and their kin networks. Second, Boas and Hunt's ethnographic objects and records, distributed in archives and museums across media, time, and space, are linked together in reference to the cultural forms they inscribe and describe, though these links are not always obvious in archival records or publications. Third, we are creating metadata in our project's content management system to reconnect and "mark up" digital avatars of the archival research assets in terms of one another and their associated cultural forms. By structuring the digital edition's metadata according to Kwakwaka'wakw ontologies of objects and persons, to genealogical patterns, and to protocols for knowledge circulation, we are attempting to redescribe the ethnographic archive according to holistic cultural principles that never fully emerged in Boas's presentation and are even more difficult to abstract from subsequent institutional catalogue records. We hope to show

how collaboratively recovering key aspects of what Glass (2015) has called “Indigenous provenance” for museum objects—histories of Native transaction and transformation in value—can provide one mechanism for reassembling *The Social Organization*, and for revisioning past and envisioning future social and intercultural relationships built upon its foundation.

History of the 1897 Volume

From the outset of his career, Boas viewed expressive forms as central rather than epiphenomenal to culture, and his pioneering vision for a monograph that would “explain the meaning” of multiple kinds of Northwest Coast expressive culture in relation to each other had begun to take shape before he ever visited British Columbia.⁵ Boas’s first fieldwork on the coast in the autumn of 1886, in which he attempted to document both his own and existing object collections, led him further to the conviction that expressive culture must be viewed within its larger social context (Boas 1887; Rohner 1969: 10–12, 31–41). He was, of course, also motivated by a keen sense of urgency to “salvage” the vestiges of authentic Indigenous cultures before they succumbed to the forces of colonization.

As he toured coastal villages between 1886 and 1891, Boas (1890) quickly realized that both heraldic and ritual objects were subject to strict regimes of private knowledge and hereditary protocols for transmission (Glass 2013). Rejecting the broadly ahistorical, morphological, and typological comparisons characteristic of Victorian evolutionary theory, he focused on recording narrative texts and song lyrics, transcribing music, describing dance performance, and collecting much more detailed provenance—at the level of specific village communities and kin groups—in order to explain the “imminent qualities” (Boas 1887: 589) of the ceremonial regalia and crest-adorned objects that were central to both the social organization and the complex cosmologies of the region.

Boas’s early fieldwork aimed at surveying groups and languages along the length of the coast, and outside of the 1886 trip—during which he spent about three weeks in the communities of *X̱wamdasbi*’ (on Hope Island) and *’Yq̱lis* (Alert Bay)—Kwakwaka’wakw research occupied little of his time. It was his extended encounters in 1893 and 1894 with Hunt that would prove the major turning point. From this time on, the Kwakwaka’wakw became his primary ethnographic focus, with Hunt serving as the principal field-worker and author (not always acknowledged) of the bulk of their ethnographic output. Boas had already begun to formulate what would become one of his key contributions to anthropological theory, the notion of cultural bias (e.g., Boas 1889). Now collaboration with an Indigenous partner assumed a central role in his methodology as a means of bypassing such bias to gain access to what he later called “the culture as it appears to the Indian himself” (1909: 309).

As practiced, however, his collaborative methods were rife with internal contradictions, and their means and extent were rarely visible in his finished ethnographic products (Berman 1996). One of these contradictions was Boas’s designation of Hunt as “Kwakiutl,” a label he continued to use, sometimes with footnoted qualifications, throughout their collaboration. Hunt did grow up speaking Kwak’wala, his first and second marriages were to high-ranking Kwakwaka’wakw women, he received hereditary names and other prerogatives through those marriages, and his children were installed in chiefly potlatch seats. However, Hunt did not consider himself Kwakwaka’wakw, and neither did the Kwakwaka’wakw.

Hunt’s mother, Anein (called Anis̱alaga by the Kwakwaka’wakw), was a high-ranking noblewoman from the Taant’a̱kwáan division of the Alaskan Tlingit, while his English father, Robert Hunt, worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), eventually taking over the operation of the

Fort Rupert trading post on northern Vancouver Island. The HBC was a thoroughly intercultural enterprise, both in its economic model and in its social makeup, the former aspect (buying furs from and selling manufactured goods to Indigenous communities) being aided substantially by the latter (marriages between employees and Indigenous women). On his Tlingit side, Hunt belonged to the seventh generation to engage with the global economy; his lineal ancestors had entered the fur trade in the eighteenth century, before the HBC even reached the coast, and they worked for American and European vessels as hunters, pilots, and interpreters as well (Berman 2015). Hunt was born and grew up inside the small but extremely diverse post of Fort Rupert, where, outside its walls, hundreds if not thousands of Kwakwaka'wakw from several bands had settled (Barbeau 1950 2: 654; Berman n.d.; Gough 1984: 38, 230; Johnson 1972: 4, 8, 10). Employed by the HBC himself from the tender age of 11, by age 17 Hunt was conducting purchasing expeditions for the HBC factors in outlying Indigenous communities.⁶ He additionally served as an interpreter, intermediary, guide, and artifact collector for an array of colonial officials and visitors, including Johan Adrian Jacobsen, who arrived in British Columbia in 1881 on a multiyear expedition for Berlin's Königlische Museum für Völkerkunde (Royal Ethnology Museum; see below).

Given Hunt's history as an intermediary, interpreter, and collector, it was perhaps inevitable that he would go to work for Boas. Their first documented meeting occurred in June 1888, on Boas's second trip to British Columbia. In 1891, Boas was hired as an assistant in the Department of Ethnology for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (WCE) in Chicago, and he engaged Hunt to make artifact collections (Jacknis 2002: 83). He also arranged for Hunt to travel to Chicago with a troupe of Kwakwaka'wakw performers, many of whom our research has now identified as relatives of Hunt's first wife, Lucy. This group spent six months living and performing on the grounds of the Chicago fair, which provided Boas and Hunt their first extended period of collaborative "fieldwork" and the context for recording much of the ethnographic data included in their 1897 monograph. The following autumn, Boas returned to British Columbia and Fort Rupert, where, as George Hunt's guest, he witnessed a large portion of a Kwakwaka'wakw *t'si't'seka*, or winter ceremonial, for the first time (Figure 1).

Back on the East Coast, Boas managed to parlay a commission by the US National Museum (USNM) to produce a catalogue of its own Northwest Coast collection (assembled in part by Boas and Hunt) into his first major monograph on the Kwakwaka'wakw. Boas's aim was to map social and ceremonial structure and to "explain" museum collections with reference to the particular cultural knowledges, kinship affiliations, and ceremonial practices within which they are deeply embedded. To provide this context, the book featured more than 200 museum objects; more than 30 historical and mythic narratives, some in Kwak'wala; a detailed 60-page eyewitness account of the 1894–1895 winter ceremonial; more than 150 songs, many with musical scores; and dozens of photographs. The title page stated that the report was "based on [Boas's] personal observations and on notes made by Mr. George Hunt," in itself a groundbreaking acknowledgment given the differences in academic status between the two men. However, we now know that Hunt's contributions extended far beyond "notes"; the archive has revealed that he directly drafted, or collaboratively coauthored, more than a third of the volume's text. This is not the only significant omission; despite Boas's attention to the social context of the cultural forms described, he entirely elided the colonial conditions in which both he and the book's subjects were operating. In 1885, the federal government had banned the potlatch, and by the late 1920s, it had brought nearly all potlatching to a halt, threatening the very foundations of Indigenous society (Cole and Chaikin 1990). Although this prohibition is never mentioned in the 1897 monograph, or indeed in most of Boas's later ethnographic publications, the Kwakwaka'wakw lived under its shadow from before his first encounter with them until years after his death. In its attempt to reconstruct the "traditional" patterns of Kwakwaka'wakw culture, the monograph failed to make

Figure 1. Franz Boas (top right) and George Hunt (top row, second from left) with Hunt's family in Fort Rupert, British Columbia, November 1894 (photograph by Oregon C. Hastings, courtesy of the American Philosophical Society, neg. no. 466).



explicit the thoroughly modern and intercultural conditions—global commerce, international expositions, colonial assimilation policy—under which its subjects actually lived and labored.

Despite the success of their book, both Boas and Hunt were dissatisfied with it and began to augment and correct the volume almost as soon as it appeared. Initially, these additions were supplementary materials, for example, a stillborn companion volume containing the Kwak'wala versions of the narratives published only in English.⁷ In subsequent years, the two men undertook a massive collection of materials on topics dealt with unsatisfactorily in the 1897 monograph, including social organization, the potlatch system, and the winter ceremonial. Over the course of several decades, Boas made repeated proposals to his publishers for volumes that would in one way or another revise the 1897 monograph, but these proposals were always rejected or ended up so much altered that they failed to achieve that goal. Some of the most important corrections and additions, generated by Hunt from 1920 to 1933, disappeared unpublished into the archive at Boas's death.

Materials in the book and revisions authored by the two men contain divergent perspectives. While a holistic approach was key to Boas's critique of nineteenth-century comparative methods and resulted in the innovative multimedia text of 1897, that book nevertheless used a typological framework for organizing mask and regalia types that effectively decontextualized them as restricted hereditary prerogatives. Boas aimed at a scholarly rather than Native audience and was guided by the larger salvage paradigm under which he worked, thus limiting the utility of the book as published for the Kwakwaka'wakw themselves. Hunt, on the other hand, was always concerned with genealogies of ownership, the narratives that provide the ancestral charters for hereditary prerogatives, and the specific social and political contexts of their performance.

The two men died with their revisions unfinished and largely unpublished, and the tension between their perspectives unresolved. The subsequent global distribution of both the book's preparatory materials and the later corrections and additions, not to mention their assignment to media-specific archives, have further fractured the cultural holism that Boas called for in museum collecting and ethnography. Reassembling the archive is a method of both critical historiography and ethnographic recuperation that will more fully reveal the historical condition of the book's—and anthropology's—own production, while reactivating the cultural heritage materials for those with genealogical claim to them.

The Distributed Text in the Space of the Archive

A brief survey of the vast corpus of relevant materials is necessary. The *material culture* illustrated in the book is distributed across 13 museums on two continents. Many of the items embody early to mid-nineteenth-century styles that were eclipsed during the potlatch prohibition and are not recognized as canonical by contemporary art world standards (e.g., Hawthorn 1979). The bulk of objects pictured are housed at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (formerly the Königliche Museum für Völkerkunde), having been collected between 1881 and 1882 by Johan Adrian Jacobsen with Hunt's assistance, or by Boas on his 1886 field trip (Bolz and Sanner 1999; Glass 2015; Glass and Hatoum forthcoming; Hatoum 2014). Since many items in this collection were looted by the Soviets at the end of World War II, and only returned to Berlin in 1994, they have been particularly inaccessible to scholars and Kwakwaka'wakw, known solely by the small, black-and-white line drawings in the 1897 publication.

The second largest collection is at the National Museum of Natural History (then the US National Museum) in Washington, DC, which commissioned and published the 1897 mono-

graph in its annual report for 1895 (Cole 1985). This set comprises coastal objects collected between the 1860s and 1890s by ethnologists such as James Swan and William Dall, as well as Kwakwaka'wakw items acquired by Boas and Hunt between 1894 and 1896 (the only items published in the book whose ethnographic documentation approximates Boas's ideal of rich contextualizing data). Other major collections featured include those at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York (most collected by Boas and Hunt between 1894 and 1899) and the Field Museum in Chicago (largely purchased by Hunt in the early 1890s for display at the 1893 Chicago fair; Jacknis 2002), although neither repository is consistently identified in the book.⁸ Additionally, small numbers of objects are located in museums in British Columbia, as well as Gatineau (Quebec), London, Dresden, Vienna, Copenhagen, and Mexico City. We are still trying to establish the whereabouts of a few items.

The 1897 monograph features 51 *photographic plates* depicting individuals, village scenes and landscapes, ceremonial activity (dances, potlatch oration), houses and architectural features, decontextualized museum specimens and exhibits (mannequins, life groups), and more. Original negatives and prints reside in three primary repositories. Photographs taken at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition are housed with the papers of Frederic Ward Putnam, the man who hired Boas to coordinate the fair's troupe, at Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Those from the 1894 field season were split between the AMNH and the US National Museum (the National Anthropological Archives, outside of Washington, DC, is now the repository for USNM photographic collections).

As with other project assets, the photographs and their textual documentation (roll/negative lists, identifications of individuals or objects, etc.), not to mention copies, ended up largely in different archives. Reuniting source negatives with later published or archival print versions has shed light on key elements of Boas's methods at the birth of visual anthropology. For example, research by our project colleague Ira Jacknis (1984) has revealed that some of the book's photographic plates were extracted from long series of shots taken in the field; a few of these were heavily retouched to emphasize certain ethnographic details mentioned in the text while, however, occluding others. Other plates have proved to be retouched versions of photos taken at the World's Fair (see below), with the dancers wearing or using regalia that we have now identified in the collections of the Field Museum.

One of the revelations of project research has been the discovery that Boas and ethnomusicologist John Fillmore recorded 83 of the songs appearing in the book—more than half the total—onto wax cylinders at the 1893 fair in one of the first systematic uses of recording technology in anthropology. Unfortunately, out of the 119 cylinders made by Boas and Fillmore, only 15 cylinders that feature songs related to the 1897 book have survived. Benjamin Gilman recorded a second set of 19 cylinders at some of the same performance events during the Chicago fair. These *phonographic resources* are preserved, in a combination of original and duplicate cylinders, at the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM) in Bloomington, Indiana; the Berlin Phonogramm-Archive (BPA) in Germany; and the American Folklife Center (AFC) at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.

Boas made another set of recordings in 1930 and 1931, during his final research visit to Fort Rupert, this time assisted by his student Julia Averkieva (these are also preserved at the ATM with duplicates at the BPA). Around 30 of the 156 cylinders have some direct or attenuated connection to songs or masks in the 1897 monograph. Wax cylinder technology being what it was, serious technical work needs to be conducted on many of the recordings to bring them up to audio standards that will facilitate detailed research. However, community consultations have already uncovered several songs in Boas's cylinder collections that are still sung today.

The contents of the massive *textual archive* range from Boas's field notebooks, the majority of which survive, to thousands of pages of Kwak'wala and English manuscript produced over a 40-year span by Hunt, to more than seven hundred letters exchanged by the two men. These materials, especially the correspondence, provide documentation for all other media. Boas's field visits among the Kwakwaka'wakw were always brief, and after 1894 he entrusted Hunt with most of the field research. Boas's instructions were transmitted by letter, while Hunt's texts, object collections, and photographs were accompanied in turn by his own letter, often with details about the transmitted materials (Berman 1996). The correspondence thus forms the armature for their entire collaboration. Fortunately, the great majority of it survives, about two-thirds at the American Philosophical Society (APS) in Philadelphia and a third at the AMNH.

Boas's field notebooks, held at the APS, are another key element of the archive. These derive primarily from fieldwork conducted in 1886, 1888, 1889, 1893, 1894, 1900, 1923, and 1930–1931, although they include notes made remotely in other years as well. Most are written in a personally devised shorthand based on a system that has not been taught or used for more than a century. After two years of painstaking work, they have now been deciphered, allowing access to their content for the first time since Boas's death (Hatoum 2016). The notebooks contain firsthand observations, object and photograph lists and descriptions, field transcriptions of Kwak'wala narratives and song lyrics, and even music scores. Those filled after 1897 show that revision and augmentation of the monograph was an ongoing concern throughout the rest of Boas's career.

The greatest number of pages in the textual archive is made up of Hunt's own manuscripts. Boas deposited several thousands of pages at the Columbia University Library, most of which served as the basis for their published volumes of Kwak'wala text but which contain important unpublished fragments. At the APS, an even richer and more complex trove features more than six hundred pages of unindexed and entirely unpublished material, much of it revising the 1897 text, written after 1920 following the letter that opened this article. Hunt died in 1933 with the work still incomplete. These revisions include systematic corrections to the identification of masks, dances, and songs in the monograph, and they often supply the names of owners and histories of succession. This genealogical data is crucial for present-day Kwakwaka'wakw families, although it can be challenging to assemble from widely scattered references, and it must be pieced together with contemporary knowledge kept by the families themselves.

Reassembling the Archive

The widely distributed nature of the collections tied to this volume arises from the itinerant and somewhat mercenary nature of Boas's early career and from Hunt's own agency in securing collecting jobs with Boas, Jacobsen, and others. Both men operated within the larger commercial and scientific contexts for ethnographic collecting, not to mention the vicissitudes of war and colonial assimilation policy. The disposition of their collections also resulted from the destructive tendency to parse out, or "purify" in Latour's (1993) terms, ethnographic records according to their transcriptive media, which separated the material carriers of Kwakwaka'wakw hereditary prerogatives from their genealogical and mythical charters and from the traces of their breakthrough into phonic and choreographic performance. Reassembly of the archive allows reconstruction, on the one hand, of the conditions of ethnographic production—the specific contexts of Boas's fieldwork and the production of the 1897 monograph—and, on the other, of the now-fragmented cultural materials collected for that monograph.

For instance, drawing on Boas's family letters from the field in 1886 (Rohner 1969: 25, 27, 29), we are able to trace his collection of an origin narrative for the Hamat'sa ("cannibal dance")

that ended up in the book (Boas 1897: 400–401). The importance of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair as a primary field site for recording the material in the monograph has already been noted. Original negatives of photographic plates depicting dances reveal that many were actually taken at the fair, with the fairground context carefully removed for publication (Figure 2). Boas's 1893 field notebook reveals that much of its content was incorporated directly into the monograph, including some and perhaps all of the Kwak'wala narratives in the monograph's appendix. Surviving correspondence between Boas and Hunt, along with original Hunt manuscripts, allows us to determine that Hunt directly authored or coauthored around 125 pages (or 36 percent) of the published book. Together with Boas's 1894 field notebooks, these sources also reveal the thoroughly coauthored nature of one of anthropology's ethnographic urtexts: the firsthand account of the 1894 winter ceremonial (Boas 1897: 544–606).

Boas and Hunt were both eyewitnesses to this series of ritual events: Boas in a rare instance of “participant observation” in the field, and Hunt as a sponsor of the ceremonial initiation of his oldest son, David (see Figure 2), who is identified in the published text only as “Yaqoïs” (Yagwis, his Kwak'wala Hamat'sa name; e.g., Boas 1897: 545). In a letter home, Boas admitted that he had relied on Hunt to interpret the unfolding events (Rohner 1969: 129). We now know that Boas later sent his notes on the ceremonial, presumably transliterated from the German shorthand in his field notebook, to Hunt for the latter to flesh out. Hunt at the very least added “the songs and speeches [*sic*],” commenting on one occasion that he had written out 15 manuscript pages to four pages of Boas's notes. Hunt ultimately transmitted more than one hundred manuscript pages recounting this narrative.⁹ Surviving fragments show that Boas then revised Hunt's manuscripts for publication, converting them to a more standard English but at the same time introducing some errors (Berman 2001).

One telling change that occurred between field notes and final publication is the alteration of material identifying Hunt. The monograph shows a dichotomy with respect to Hunt: he is referred to by his English name in his role as ethnographer (in the title page acknowledgment and occasionally in the text) and by his Kwak'wala names (Hiłdzałwalałs, Nułk'ułala) in his role as a participant in cultural activities. In the published version of a speech delivered by Hunt in the winter ceremonial narrative (Boas 1897: 556–557), the references to his Tlingit ancestry that appear in the field notes are downplayed, while those to his white ancestry are deleted altogether (Hatoum 2016: 232–235). Given the complex origins of this narrative, it is impossible to know for sure when or why the editorial changes happened, although Boas is most likely the one responsible. Hunt elsewhere refers openly to his parentage on both sides, while Boas throughout his publications is reticent about Hunt's origins, often omitting them altogether (Berman 1996; Briggs and Bauman 1999).

This treatment of Hunt is curious, and even contradictory, because at this time Boas was advancing diffusion as both an explanatory theory and a subject for anthropological research. Intercultural marriage among elite families, leading to the transfer of hereditary prerogatives into a different cultural milieu, was a fully Indigenous practice on the Northwest Coast, and marriages between Indigenous women and HBC men, like that of Hunt's parents, were as strategic for chiefly families as those contracted to maintain access to Indigenous trade and fishing privileges. The initiation of Hunt's eldest son as a Hamat'sa is a case study of diffusion in process, as David's specific prerogative came from a marriage in the preceding generation between a Kwakwaka'wakw relative of Hunt's wife and a Heiltsuk woman from farther north. Among Boas's motives for concealing Hunt's identity when a participant in (as opposed to observer of) cultural activities might have been an attempt to protect Hunt from persecution under the potlatch prohibition; in fact, Hunt was to be arrested and tried (but ultimately acquitted) in 1900 under these laws.¹⁰ However, other motives would seem to be in play. In the 1897 monograph, Boas



Figure 2. David Hunt, George Hunt's oldest son, performing a Hamat'sa at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Top: Plate 28 as published
(Boas 1897: opposite 444).

Bottom: From original negative
(photograph by John H. Grabill, courtesy of
the Peabody Museum of Archaeology
and Ethnology, neg. no. H6336).



systematically obscures the colonial conditions under which he, Hunt, and the Kwakwaka'wakw were operating. Like the fairground scenery that was removed from the Chicago photographs before publication, Hunt has been “retouched.”

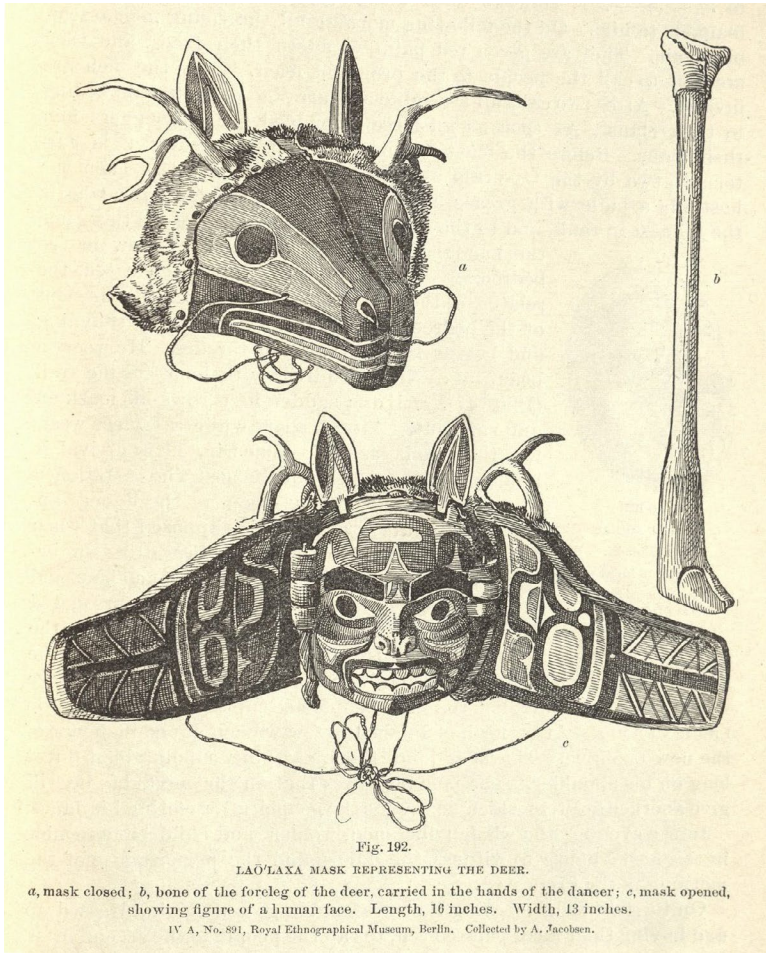
This issue brings us to reassembly of the archive that restores or enhances ethnohistorical and/or contemporary cultural meaning. By combining information from distributed and diverse sources—Boas's original field notes, Hunt's later additions and emendations, plaster face casts, photographs, museum collection records, and identifications by community members—we are recovering key genealogical data that allows contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw to tie regalia, heraldic objects, and ceremonial songs and narratives back to the specific kin units to which they still belong as cultural property. One example is a man named Gwayuḷalas, the Chicago source of one of the monograph's Kwak'wala narratives (Boas 1897: 416, 685–686) and a singer on several of the 1893 phonographic recordings. Community-based identifications together with genealogical information abstracted from a number of archival sources allow us to identify Gwayuḷalas as affiliated with the Gixsam *'na'mima* (kin group) of the Naḱamgalisala band, whose chief had owned the painted house front exhibited at the fair; to locate him, with his wife and daughter, in archival photographs of the Chicago troupe; and to recognize him as a participant in ceremonial events recorded in both the 1897 text and in Hunt's later unpublished accounts, in which his dance privileges and regalia are detailed. Kwakwaka'wakw families routinely use this kind of reactivated knowledge to commission new instantiations of masks or headdresses for use in potlatches today.

In many cases, however, the wealth of information requires careful interpretation; it covers a large time span, and a particular statement of ownership might as easily refer to Hunt's childhood in the 1850s and 1860s as to his old age in the 1920s and 1930s. Other interpretive questions arise from the gap between, on the one hand, Boas's typology and iconography as interpreted without specific genealogical and ceremonial context and, on the other, Hunt's understandings of cultural meaning that are rooted in those contexts.

We provide just one example of the complexities involved in trying to synthesize the vast array of potentially related materials. Figure 3 presents a Deer mask from the Jacobsen collection in Berlin, purchased in the village of Xwamdasbi' (“Newitsee”) on Hope Island, probably with Hunt's assistance, and illustrated in the monograph (Boas 1897: 625, fig. 192). In 1893, Boas recorded a song for this mask (Boas 1897: 630, 729), identifying it in his field notebook as belonging to the Lalawilala *'na'mima* of the T'at'lasikwala band of Hope Island, and noting the singer's name as Hemisi'lakw, whose father belonged to the Lalawilala. In 1921, Hunt said the mask instead belonged to the Gigalgam *'na'mima* of the 'Walas Kwagu', one of the four divisions settled at Fort Rupert. In 1930, Boas recorded a different song linked to the Deer mask, this one belonging to the 'Walas Kwagu'; the singer is likely to have been Charlie Wilson (Nagedzi), the head chief of the Gigalgam. This suggests that two different prerogative sets are at play, incorporating two culturally distinct but iconographically similar masks. Another possibility is that the Gigalgam inherited the Deer mask prerogative in the 40-year span between its purchase by Jacobsen on Hope Island and Hunt's 1921 statement, and that in its passage it had acquired another song. To further complicate the issue, there is another, almost identical Deer mask in the Field Museum in Chicago that Hunt collected for display at the Chicago fair. Do the two songs map onto the two masks? How do we account for what appear to be multiple “versions” in multiple media? Whose taxonomic systems do we privilege in teasing this apart?

For Kwakwaka'wakw, such iterations need not hew strictly to their visual, material, or lyrical prototypes (they are not “copies,” per se), as it is their genealogical provenance that authenticates them (Glass 2015: 31; Ostrowitz 1999). The ontological priority of knowledge and kin connection over a particular instantiation means that, in the Kwakwaka'wakw case at least, physical

Figure 3. Deer transformation mask from the Jacobsen collection at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin (IV A 891). Top: Figure 192 as published (Boas 1897: 625). Bottom: Mask as it appears today (courtesy of the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin and U'mista Cultural Centre).



repatriation of museum objects need not be the primary means for “returning” cultural materials to current owners. Rather, cooperation with scholars and institutions provides access to remote collections in order to recuperate knowledge and practice at home. Elsewhere, Glass (2015: 23) has suggested the term “e-patriation” to describe the return of cultural heritage in digital formats that represent newly mediated versions of whatever tangible or intangible materials were once collected from the originating communities. With our Indigenous partners, we are now exploring the possibilities of using digital media to help organize data from the archive around Kwakwaka’wakw structures of knowledge and kinship. Recourse to such Indigenous structures helps assure that the reassembly process is guided by Indigenous protocols and will result in materials appropriate and accessible to Kwakwaka’wakw families, but incorporation of these epistemological and genealogical structures is, more fundamentally, the very feature that makes reassembly possible in the first place.

Digital Infrastructure and Kwakwaka’wakw Ontologies

Our project to reassemble this vast trove is currently (perhaps inherently) incomplete. We are midway through a three-year grant from the US National Endowment for the Humanities to produce a print edition while laying the groundwork for the planned digital edition, which we eventually intend to be an open-access website.¹¹ The digital edition in particular will make these collections newly accessible to global scholars, curators, and Kwakwaka’wakw artists by featuring high-resolution color images of every object, ideally from multiple vantage points, as well as scans of pertinent photographs, field notes, and manuscripts, and playable audio files made from wax cylinder recordings.

Since our project team is globally distributed, we built a password-protected wiki as a collaborative research platform. Each page in the 1897 book has a dedicated wiki page that includes a PDF of the imprint (and for users in the United States, an embedded and searchable Google Docs viewer), as well as basic headings that organize archival and current ethnographic materials relevant to that page’s content (from which we will derive the substance for annotations). Our platform, Wikidot, features back-end templated pages that allow us to build a functional, if limited, database into the structure of the wiki.

The most important conceptual and technical task in the development of this database was to design the metadata structure and information fields in a way that reconnects ethnographic records with both the original text and with the Kwakwaka’wakw cultural forms and practices that they describe or depict. We have been particularly inspired by the work of colleagues who are building digital databases responsive to Aboriginal cultural ontologies and protocols for access to knowledge and heritage materials (e.g., Ngata et al. 2012; Pigliasco 2009; Srinivasan et al. 2009; Thorner 2010). Our initial challenge was to grasp the need to segregate data relevant to the “research assets”—the actual archival entities we are assembling and digitizing (manuscript pages, museum objects, wax cylinders, etc.)—from data describing the “cultural items” encoded in those media—the specific Kwakwaka’wakw forms, practices, knowledges, and persons. While it might have been possible to create a single data form for museum objects, which are singular material entities, the diverging material status of songs and narratives from their inscriptive media (cylinders and manuscripts, respectively) pointed to the need for two types of data form. Our working solution has been to create two sets of metadata templates, one for each broad category of data with customized forms for each unique media type, and an additional template for individuals connected to the materials (Figure 4). This allows us to standardize description of museum and archival entities, cultural practices, and people with sets of terms that reflect

Figure 4. Schematic overview of Boas 1897 Critical Edition project metadata structure.

Three Types of Metadata Form

“Research Assets”:

- Text
- Object
- Photograph
- Audio
- Moving Image

“Cultural Items”:

- Narrative
- Object
- Dance
- Song

“People”

the unique social, material, epistemological, and ontological qualities of each. We are creating these templated forms in an internally searchable, standalone database wiki, while cross-linking information fields and forms by URL to specific 1897 pages in the primary project wiki.

For example, a mask in a museum collection is described on two separate but cross-linked data form wiki pages. The first describes the object as a “research asset.” It features four main types of information field: links to the specific volume pages on which the mask, its description, or its associated song appears; basic descriptive data drawn from repository catalogue records; the identities of the collectors and their possible assistants; and other information from or about the repository itself, including postcollection provenance when the object has circulated between institutions or collectors. Research asset templates for other media adopt the same category structure but customize certain fields and drop-down menus.

A second, cross-linked database page for the object treats it as a “cultural item” and features data fields sensitive to Kwakwaka’wakw knowledge categories and kinship structures. Here we indicate a different set of personal relationships (or “roles”), recognizing that the maker, owner at the time of collection, and previous owners may be different individuals, all of whom need to be identified, where possible, by their kin group, village, and band affiliations. Additional fields are dedicated to the hereditary sets of prerogatives (*k’is’u*) that link objects with their associated songs, dance choreographies, titles, and validating charter narratives. These larger assemblages of heritable property have histories of transmission through inheritance, war, or marriage exchange—their own “Indigenous provenance”—that define their trajectories over space and time and are recounted orally when displayed in potlatches in order to validate claims to ownership. The embedding of these relational data in the project’s back-end content management system provides the conceptual and cultural basis for contemporary users to reconnect historic materials to the proper living community members.

Finally, we have space to record the historical contexts in which objects were used, the existence of related objects or research assets, and bibliographic references to the cultural item in

sources other than the 1897 volume itself. The fields for “related materials,” in particular, allow us to track versions or variations of forms (be they objects, songs, or narratives) that exist outside the 1897 text (whether in publications, institutional repositories, or community circulation) in order to better determine, in collaboration with our Kwakwaka’wakw partners and consultants, the nature of that relatedness. For example, are similar masks or songs in different collections—such as the Deer masks/songs illustrated above—iterations of the same hereditary prerogative, or are they unique prerogatives that happen to share similar surface forms? This ontological distinction has the potential to challenge the broadly taxonomic organization that Boas imposed in the 1897 volume and that most museums still rely on.

The advantage of embedding our data forms within the online wiki is that textual or archival cross-references can be activated in hotlinks within the wiki or to repository websites outside of it. The technical overlap in digital project resources allows our back-end data structure to bring Kwakwaka’wakw ontologies into direct relation with the organizational logic of museums, while our collaborative research platform starts to mock up the appearance and functionality of the future, public-facing critical edition. The disadvantage is that we are limited by the back-end tools preprogrammed into the wiki—tools that were not created to be responsive to the complexities of Kwakwaka’wakw genealogical claims. Frequently, we resort to work-arounds to try to harmonize wiki field and menu formatting options, not to mention language orthographies, with the needs of primary cultural forms. Here we fully recognize that intercultural digital tools can only at best approximate the most appropriate translation terms and that total interoperability between knowledge systems is neither philosophically plausible nor the ultimate practical goal for such collaborative projects. Rather, we are trying to establish the basis for current and future collaborative relationships so that scholars and Indigenous people might return to past ethnographic resources with shared tools for responsible analysis and reassembly. Some of these goals may be realized through the promotion of a distributed project structure or the development of new software (such as the Mukurtu CMS)¹² that is responsive to the storage and access concerns of Indigenous people; however, any uptake of such models will require careful customization in order to harmonize them with particular local cultural conditions. This is likely not a realm in which out-of-the-box tools will suffice.

Toward a Digital Edition

To think through some of these challenges, we built an interactive prototype for the digital edition.¹³ Structured around the transcription of a page of the original 1897 imprint, the prototype uses embedded icons to indicate the presence of relevant archival media and annotations. Boas typologically grouped mask, song, and dance prerogatives according to subject matter (specific tokens reduced to common types), severing them from lines of hereditary transmission and restricted ownership. We offer advanced search options, built on Native terminologies and robust metadata, to allow users to read across the book’s typology and to recover local affiliations and classification schemes. People will also be able to plot research materials along a map of the North-west Coast and on a time line of coastal history, with an emphasis on Boas’s and Hunt’s careers.

Users will access Hunt’s supplementary materials in two main ways. As illustrated in Figure 5, a click on the “Show George Hunt Revisions” button reveals short, interpolated corrections or additions to the original text, set off typographically. Longer manuscript selections, which we call “George Hunt Commentaries,” appear in a separate pop-up window. Both will be accompanied by citations to archival sources and links to page scans of original manuscripts from which new transcriptions are being derived.

Figure 5. Prototype screen for the Boas 1897 Critical Digital Edition with “Show George Hunt Revisions” function activated for page 358 of the original book.

HOME SITEMAP SELECT KWAK'WALA ALPHABET TIMELINE MAP GALLERY FAVORITES BULLETIN BOARD Search Advanced Login

← p.358 → Go to page... Go

Page 358 Transcription (revised Boas-Hunt alphabet)

At all these festivals masks are occasionally worn which represent the ancestor of the clan and refer to its legend. I will give one example. In the potlatch of the clan Kwakwakwān of the Qlōnoyēwe, a mask representing one of the forefathers of the present clan (not their first ancestor), whose name was Nō'lis or Watse appears,—a double mask, surmounted by a bear (→ [Fig. 5](#)).

this mask Belong to the yā'ex agmē* [nə'mema] of the q'lonoyēwe
this mask is shown By the chief when he gives a Big Potlatch to all the Defferent tribes
...[It represents the ancestor] yex agmē* (Hunt. 193 1, p. 4891).

The bear broke the dam which prevented the property of Nō'lis going up the river. The outer mask shows Nō'lis in a state of rage vanquishing his rivals; the inner side shows him kindly disposed, distributing property in a friendly way. His song is as follows: ¹

Grizzly Bear song of the Kwkwakwēm of the Q'lonoyēwe
Baxwē Bear song belong[ing] to Nuls (Hunt. 193 2, p. 543 6).

1. A bear is standing at the River of the Wanderer who traveled all over the world.
2. Wild is the bear at the river of the Wanderer who traveled all over the world.
3. A dangerous fish is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.
4. Ya! The sāyūu' is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.
5. Great things are going up the river. It is going up the river the copper of the eldest brother of our tribes.

Another song used in these festivals is as follows: ²

[A] great greas[e] feast song of yāqpwed of gexsm of the gwetzia (Hunt 1932, p. 543 6)

1. The heat of the chief of the tribes will not have mercy upon the people.
2. The great fire of our chief in which stones are glowing will not have mercy upon the people.
3. You, my rival, will eat what is left over when I dance in my grease feast, when I, the chief of the tribes, perform the fire dance.
4. Too great is, what you are doing, our chief. Who equals our chief! He is giving feasts to the whole world.
5. Certainly he has inherited from his father that he never gives a small feast to the lower chiefs, the chief of the tribes.

The clan Hās'ānāno have the tradition that their ancestor used the fabulous double-headed snake for his belt and bow. In their potlatches the chief of the gens appears, therefore, dancing with a belt of this description and with a bow carved in the shape of the double-headed snake. The bow is simply a long carved and painted stick to which a string running through a number of rings and connecting with the horns and tongues of the snake is attached. When the string is pulled, the horns are erected and the tongues pulled out. When the string is slackened, the horns drop down and the tongues slide back again (→ [Plate 15](#)).

IV. MARRIAGE.

Marriage among the Kwakiutl must be considered a purchase, which is conducted on the same principles as the purchase of a copper. But the object bought is not only the woman, but also the right of membership in her clan for the future children of the couple. I explained

1 → See Appendix, page 670.
2 → See page 371.
3 → See Appendix, page 671.
4 Stones heated in the fire for boiling the food to be used in the feast.

Choosing “Annotations” opens a window with detailed analyses of original illustrations, photographs, songs, narratives, and textual descriptions, which draw on historical, ethnographic, and community knowledge and are illustrated with enlargeable scans of source materials. Selecting the “Images” icon on the main text page gives a different path to discovering the archival media keyed to that page. Clicking a thumbnail from either the “Image” or “Annotation” pane opens a window dedicated to that object, photograph, or document. This feature includes basic collection data, alternate views, the option to tag or map the content, and embedded audio or video media (with related songs and dances or interview clips) to return sensory richness and contemporary vitality to the book. Such media clips might show current performances of songs or dances recorded in the 1897 text, or contemporary prerogative holders describing their hereditary claims.

With textual content in mind, there is a function to allow people to directly “compare related materials.” For specific passages in the book, users will select up to three prior or subsequent textual sources in order to see how, for example, Boas’s initial field notes were rendered into published text or how Hunt revised that text in the 1920s and further in the 1930s. Both original scans and transcriptions will appear. Such “versioning tools” are common in the world of digital humanities, but this will be one of their first major applications to ethnographic documentation.

The incorporation of substantial amounts of materials in Kwak’wala, a highly endangered language, will require the development of specialized software. Because at least five alphabets have been used to write Kwak’wala in the past century, we plan to create automatic (machine) transliteration to generate versions in each alphabet, thus giving users a choice of how to view Kwak’wala terms. A Kwak’wala search function will require the development of an algorithm specific to Kwak’wala phonology. Such free, open-access tools would be exportable for use in other applications. We also hope to attach playable sound files to Kwak’wala names and terms, and to embed a Kwak’wala dictionary so that lookup is possible. We are in conversation with Kwakwaka’wakw educators and language teachers to discover further ways in which the digital edition can contribute directly to crucial linguistic revitalization efforts.

Finally, we are exploring options to help ensure that the digital edition remains a dialogic and dynamic resource for study of the original text and its network of associated archival materials. Nested levels of site membership could allow for differential access to primary data as well as ability to add knowledge to the site. For instance, free but verifiable user accounts that register people’s village, band, and kinship affiliations could determine degrees of user access to potentially sensitive information (such as genealogical data or ritual procedures) and would ensure that uploaded comments are traceable back to their source—a key factor in allowing future users to evaluate new information. Some knowledge is subject to proprietary protocols among the Kwakwaka’wakw, and we are sensitive to the need to balance values of democratic access to information—the dominant idiom of publicly funded institutions, the Internet, and digital humanities—with culturally specific regimes of ownership (Christen 2012). While digital media are well adapted to the widespread replication, circulation, and aggregation of diverse materials, discrepancies in underlying philosophies of information and politics of knowledge can complicate the otherwise laudable social aims of cosmo-optimistic collaborations.

Conclusion

Following Bruno Latour (2005), we have come to identify three key levels at which our research materials and digital tools can be understood as “assemblages”—relational networks characterized by diverse materialities and distributed agency—and our research task understood as one of “reassembly.” At the level of Kwakwaka’wakw ontologies, the masks, songs, dances, and narratives only make sense—only have cultural reality—when kept in relation to one another as components of hereditary prerogatives, to the particular kin units that claim them, and to specific instances of public display, performance, and validation. At the level of our research wiki, the database attempts to encode and translate, however imperfectly, those sets of relations as metadata to keep them in active association across the imposed typologies of the book’s original structure. At the level of the front-end interface, we hope to marshal digital tools—hyperlinks, multimedia, data visualization, and interactivity—to produce a critical edition that reveals the book’s origins and afterlife, as well as its place in both scholarly and Kwakwaka’wakw genealogies of knowledge and practice. Keeping these three nested levels of (re)assembly in view sharpens our sense of ethical, epistemological, and editorial responsibility in working collaboratively

across three continents to bring materials together again and to enact new cooperative relations based on those established more than a century ago.

Boas and Hunt's 45-year collaboration defined how the world thinks about the Kwakwaka'wakw, to a significant degree through the production of now decontextualized and dispersed museum and archival collections. Our Native research partners have stressed re-contextualization—reassembly—as the key contribution of this project for their communities, where the book remains a historically significant but deeply flawed document. They have charged us *not* with producing a superior and “corrected” ethnography but rather with explaining the biography of this particular text while resuscitating the lost material for their own current evaluation and potential use—a mandate in harmony with our historiographic goals. The project team is united in our attempt to *k'walagila*—“bring back to life”—the original book and its research materials. We hope our critical digital edition might not only help realize Boas's long-deferred vision for a multimedia and holistic ethnographic practice but also re-place his and Hunt's pioneering effort into dialogue with the Indigenous knowledges that it once tried to salvage and that it will continue to mediate into the future.

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■ NOTES

1. George Hunt to Franz Boas, 7 June 1920. Franz Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, PA).
2. Classic texts directly influenced by Boas (1897) include Locher (1932), Benedict ([1934] 1989), Codere (1950), Mauss ([1950] 1990), Goldman (1975), Walens (1981), and Lévi-Strauss (1982).
3. Boas followed the confusing policy of Canadian Indian administrators in generalizing the term “Kwakiutl”—an Anglicized form of Kwagu’ł, the name of one of the distinct bands living at Fort Rupert—to refer to all neighboring people who spoke the same language, which makes identifying the particular social referent for the term very difficult. The preferred term “Kwakwaka’wakw” means “Those who speak Kwak’wala” and is now used to refer to the numerous independent bands formerly called “Kwakiutl” or “Southern Kwakiutl.”
4. The project (see <http://www.bgc.bard.edu/research/projects-and-collaborations/projects/the-distributed.html>) was conceptualized and is coordinated by Aaron Glass (Bard Graduate Center, New York) and Judith Berman (University of Victoria, British Columbia). They are joined on the core research and editorial team by anthropologists Rainer Hatoum (Goethe University Frankfurt) and Ira Jacknis (University of California, Berkeley); artists and community researchers Corrine Hunt (Kwagu’ł First Nation, Vancouver, BC) and Andy Everson (K’omoks and Kwagu’ł First Nations, Comox, BC); technical architect Barbara Taranto (Tel Aviv); and project administrator Zahava Friedman-Stadler (New York). Formal research relationships and collaborative protocols have been established with the U’mista Cultural Centre (Alert Bay, BC), Kwakiutl Band Council (Fort Rupert, BC), Gwa’sala-’Nakwaxda’xw Nations (Port Hardy, BC), and Quatsino Band Council (Coal Harbour, BC). Participating institutions include American Folklife Center, Library of Congress; American Museum of Natural History; American Philosophical Society; Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University Bloomington; Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv; Columbia University Libraries; Ethnologisches Museum Berlin; Field Museum; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution; National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution; and University of British Columbia Press. Major support has been provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the School for Advanced Research/National Science Foundation, and Bard Graduate Center.
5. Boas to Powell, 23 August 1886, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection, Box 63, National Anthropological Archives (Suitland, MD); cf. Jacknis 1985, 1996; Rohner 1969: 21, 24–34. A full exploration of the origins of this idea in Boas’s ethnographic work would have to include his earlier work with the Central Eskimo and his 1885 encounter with a troupe of Nuxalk performers in Berlin.
6. “A Marriage among the Kwakiutl,” George Hunt, *Manuscript in the Language of the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island*, vol. 14; Robert Hunt Biographical Sketch, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives/Archives of Manitoba (Winnipeg, MB).
7. Bureau of American Ethnology Correspondence, MS 948, National Anthropological Archives.
8. In the case of the AMNH, many objects were illustrated in 1897 from sketches that Boas had made on prior field trips and were only collected by the museum during the subsequent Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1896–1902). Though Boas certainly knew at the time that the second set of objects were at the Field Museum (then called the Field Columbian Museum), he curiously captioned them “From

sketches made at the World's Columbian Exposition," which left their disposition ambiguous. His reasons for this misdirection are not clear, although Boas held a widely acknowledged grudge against the Field Museum for not hiring him after the Chicago World's Fair, and he was actively competing with it for collections during the Jesup Expedition (Cole 1985; Jacknis 2002; Jonaitis 1988).

9. Hunt to Boas, 14 January 1896, Kwakiutl Ethnographic Materials; Hunt to Boas, 9 March 1896, Franz Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society.
10. During Hunt's 1900 trial, Boas actually sent a copy of the 1897 book to associates in British Columbia to present at the trial as evidence of Hunt's status at the events as an ethnographer rather than a ceremonialist (Boas to Hunt, 28 April 1900, Franz Boas Professional Papers, American Philosophical Society; Cole and Chaikin 1990: 73–75).
11. Early development of the project was supported by a Start-Up Grant from the National Endowment of Humanities Office of Digital Humanities.
12. <http://mukurtu.org>
13. The complete interactive prototype for the digital edition can be found on the project website (<http://www.bgc.bard.edu/research/projects-and-collaborations/projects/the-distributed.html>).

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