MARIUS BARBEAU AND EARLY ETHNOGRAPHIC CINEMA

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In 1927 Marius Barbeau was involved in the production of two ethnographic films that were later shown in conjunction with the National Gallery of Canada's "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern," a landmark show combining the work of Pacific Coast aboriginal peoples with paintings and sculptures by prominent Euro-Canadian artists. Brought together just as the exhibition was beginning its tour in January 1928, the two films, Nass River Indians *and* Totem Land*, were shown as part of a series of "special evenings" held in connection with the exhibition's run at the Art Gallery of Toronto (now Art Gallery of Ontario). Copies of the films were then deposited in the National Museum of Canada (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) where for many years, as part of the institution's collection of anthropological films, they were used to illustrate lectures at the museum and circulated to schools, clubs and societies (NMC 1933, 1937). Associated Screen News, which produced the films, also recut them for commercial release: the footage and intertitles of* Nass River Indians *were refashioned to create two shorter films,* Saving the Sagas *and* Fish and Medicine Men*; a second, shorter version of* Totem Land*, was created for commercial purposes (Jessup 1999). The original version of* Totem Land*, commissioned by the company's major stockholder, the Canadian Pacific Railway, also continued to circulate as part of the railway's advertising campaigns; it was used to promote tourist traffic alongside other ethnographic films by Associated Screen News "illustrating the life, handicrafts and folksongs of Old French Canada."*[1]

Curious and complex, the exhibition history of *Nass River Indians* and *Totem Land* is important for a number of reasons, not least of which that it illustrates the variety of contexts within which early ethnographic films circulated in Canada. It also suggests the degree to which Alison Griffiths's recent observations about early ethnographic cinema in the United States also apply to practice in Canada: that the diversity of exhibition contexts characteristic of early ethnographic cinema mitigates against an understanding of ethnographic film in terms of a single site or textual meaning; and that, on the contrary, the study of ethnographic cinema necessitates consideration of exhibition contexts as integral to the historical spectator's experience of such films, to the ethnographic meanings such films engendered and, ultimately, to the expression of cultural and racial difference at heart of the practice (Griffiths 2002, 257–8; see also Rony 1996, 8). From this perspective, it could be argued that a study of *Nass River Indians* and *Totem Land* necessarily includes examination of the particular historical conditions of their production and dissemination, chief among

them their creation in the midst of preparations for the National Gallery's "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern." In the case of these films, such consideration would also involve the activities of the CPR, which supported the production of both the exhibition and the films, seeing them as part of its larger campaign during these years to market Western Canada to tourists. It was in this context that general tourist agent John Murray Gibbon worked with Marius Barbeau and prominent folk-singer Juliette Gaultier de la Verandrye; building on their collaboration with him on the first CPR Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festival in 1927, Gaultier including in her work for the company appearances in *Totem Land* and related films dealing with the art and music of the Quebec *habitant*.

At the same time, it could be argued that the exhibition history of these films also provides a unique opportunity to explore the complex nature of Barbeau's involvement in early ethnographic cinema in Canada. From this perspective, it becomes apparent that the location of ethnographic cinema at the intersection of anthropology and popular culture made ethnographic film immediately appealing to Barbeau, who embraced it as an additional means to those he was already using in the 1920s to popularize ethnography. At a time when anthropology in Canada was still largely museum-based, perhaps it is not surprising that, like his counterparts in the United States two decades earlier, Barbeau's professional practice involved the use of popular forms of museum display, which for most anthropologists included, in addition to film, the illustrated lecture, the live performance, and in larger American museums, the diorama or life group (see Griffiths 2002; Conn 1998).[2] It is my contention, however, that the nature of Barbeau's involvement in early ethnographic cinema can be most usefully assessed by also examining his efforts to incorporate ethnographic film into extra-museum cultural productions, most of which, if not all, being intimately bound to the commercial promotion of ethnography by the CPR. In doing so, it is possible to see how Barbeau, in seeking venues within which to advance his interest in popularizing ethnography, also addressed the interests of the railway. Like commercial promoters elsewhere, the CPR sought legitimacy for its touristic production of ethnicity by infusing the rhetoric of travel promotion with the authority of anthropological discourse. In this way, the mutually beneficial interests of Barbeau and the CPR in the production of ethnicity—one as the object of professional anthropology, the other as tourist attraction—also advanced the mission of the museum, representing it in turn as the authenticating location of ethnographic knowledge in early twentieth-century Canada.

Making *Nass River Indians*

Nass River Indians is particularly noteworthy in this respect, as evidence reveals that, despite its inauspicious beginnings, it was actually produced by Barbeau to be screened in conjunction with the National Gallery show. It appears that he conceived of it in this context from the outset, the idea of shooting a film coming the summer before the exhibition opened in 1927. Barbeau was already in the field familiarizing himself with Nisga'a communities along the Nass River in northern British Columbia where he hoped to collect artifacts and songs when he received a letter from Ernest MacMillan, principal of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, who was to join him in early August for what Barbeau hoped would be two

Figure 15.1 *"Dr. Watson and Mr. Gunn taking moving pictures of Indian life in front of my cottage at Arrandale."* © Canadian Museum of Civilization, photo Marius Barbeau, 1927, B-F-534, 1-9.

or three weeks of collaborative work transcribing songs. In addition to his travel dates, MacMillan informed Barbeau that Dr. Watson, "an expert in moving pictures" who had heard of their summer plans through MacMillan's American cousin Alexander Gunn, had telephoned to ask if he could join the expedition. In contrast to MacMillan, who was travelling free of charge on a CPR pass arranged by Barbeau, Watson's participation would be less complicated, money being of "no object to Dr. Watson, who," in addition to being wealthy, MacMillan wrote, "wishes to combine a vacation trip with something of the special interest this promises to be."[3]

Barbeau's photographs of the trip, now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, show that he not only responded positively to the idea, but became actively involved in the production of the film. The photographs themselves attest to his constant presence during shooting. They also show how closely the locations and scenes of the film were tied to Barbeau's own activities and interests, prominent among them his work with MacMillan and interpreters William Beynon (Gwisge'en) and Charles Barton (P'ahl), recording and transcribing songs (Riley 1988).[4] In fact, Barbeau's cottage at the cannery town of Arrandale, near the mouth of the Nass River, was one of the main shooting locations. There, filming included shots of his work making wax-cylinder recordings of songs with elder chiefs Frank Bolton (Txaa Laxhatkw of Gwinwok), Robert Pearl (Wii Xha'a of Gitanyow), and Albert Allen (Gadim Gaìdoo'o of Gitanmaax); demonstrations of *lahal* playing and carving; a re-enactment of a medicine-man cure; and a dramatization of the events that inspired Barbeau's favoured acquisition that summer, Bolton's song, "Aguhlen"[5]

Figure 15.2 Frank Bolton and Dr. MacMillan. Ernest MacMillan watches as Frank Bolton dons his regalia in preparation for a scene in *Nass River Indians,* 1928.

).© Canadian Museum of Civilization, photo Marius Barbeau, 1927, no. 69614.

("What Are You Talking About?") (figures 15.1 and 15.2). According to the photographic record, Bolton and Pearl also accompanied Barbeau and his party, which consisted of MacMillan, Watson, and Gunn, upstream to Kincolith (now Gingolx), Angede, and Geetiks, where the two again enlarged on their roles as informants by performing *amhalait* and peace dances, becoming, through their repeated appearances, major characters in the film.[6]

The careful staging of scenes is also apparent in the photographs, the final film emerging as a carefully crafted narrative of modernity, of a type that was to become increasingly common in the 1930s (Rony 1996, 144–53). Beginning with a sequence depicting aboriginal women at work in a salmon cannery at Fishery Bay near the mouth of the Nass, it situates the Indian (as Primitive) in an uneasy relationship to the culture of modern industrial capitalism, providing the context for a tale of regretful nostalgia for the idealized precolonial society that progress has destroyed.[7] Thus, in contrast to the plethora of contemporary films that attempted to take viewers "back in time" by reconstructing what was believed to be the Primitive's precontact society, *Nass River Indians* places the Indian in opposition to the Modern, which, in the role of corrupting civilization explicitly racialized as White, was "sweeping away the old color [*sic*] of Indian life in British Columbia." In this narrative, of course, the Indian is still "of the past" in the now-familiar sense established by Johannes Fabian (1983). Conceptualized outside historical time, as contemporary evidence of an earlier, premodern stage in the development of "modern" society, the Indian exists in the present as a remnant of the past, unable to progress and thus at best surviving as an increasingly degenerate hybrid marking the inevitable loss of a once-vital Indian race and culture (Fabian 1983, Clifford 1986, Thomas 1994).

This is played out in the movie in a cinematic journey upstream, from the modern cannery and bungalow camps near the coast to the "church town" of Kincolith (where the Christian Army threatens even the memory of a corresponding pagan past) to the "ancient town" of Angede, and "old Geetiks" further inland (see figure 12.1) In the interior, seemingly closer to Nature and thus back in time, "the craft of the totem carver survives," "the Eagle squaws still know the measures of the potlatch dances," and Bolton—dressed in ceremonial costume and identified only as the Eagle chief—"holds to the old rites." Along with the ensuing spectacle of dance and song, and the display of material culture these involve, the storyline develops the idea of a vanishing culture—that much-discussed centrepiece of salvage ethnography (Clifford 1986). In doing so, it builds on the introductory titles of the film that describe Barbeau and MacMillan's arrival on the Nass "with camera and phonograph," presumably to make the film the viewer is watching: "a screen recording of the vanishing culture, the rites and songs and dances of the Indians along the Canadian Pacific Coast, north of Vancouver." This, in turn, feeds the climax of the film. Having been identified institutionally at the outset of the movie as an ethnographer from the National Museum of Canada and principal of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, respectively, Barbeau and MacMillan are shown transcribing songs and making wax-cylinder recordings of what appears at this point in the film to be the fading cultural authenticity that surrounds them. And so the film ends: "The cannery cans the salmon. The camera cans the dances and now the phonograph cans the songs—everything canned but the Indians!"

This redemptive nod to the benefits of progress, located as it is in the technology of the "modern" ethnographer, clearly served the interests of Barbeau and National Museum. It presents the ethnographer, the museum, and through them, ultimately the state itself not only as guardian of a fragile cultural essence fading in its natural environment, but also as custodian of what appears to be, in the light of its involvement, the nation's cultural heritage. At base a portrayal of salvage ethnography—and, as such, an anomaly in the early history of ethnographic film—*Nass River Indians* makes explicit what is implicit in other films of its generation, replacing the portrayal of an Aboriginal past reconstructed from surviving material culture and local memories with shots of that material culture as it survives in a contemporary context and of the processes by which the esoteric knowledge contained in memories is procured in the form of ethnographic records. In other words, it celebrates modern fieldwork, which emerged as a professional activity in Canada, as elsewhere, in the decade or so following the First World War.[8] It was during this period that the authority of amateur and armchair ethnographers was increasingly superseded by that of the academically trained fieldworker, a situation that George Stocking attributes in part to the apparent ability of professional fieldworkers to harness modern technology and Western science in the development of what seemed in contrast to amateur ethnography a more reliable, more efficient, and more thus "scientific" way of working (Stocking 1989). In the film, the culminating intertitle reiterates this, suggesting that the development of technology has made the science of the modern ethnographer possible; his use of the recent technology "now" at his disposal allows him to preserve "everything … but the Indians."

Equally significant in establishing the film's celebratory tone is the figurative language of the intertitle, which is characteristic of the text of the film as a whole. Together with the implied story of exploration and discovery, the text suggests a production packaged for popular consumption rather than the type of educational films associated with Barbeau's contemporaries, including his colleague Harlan Smith, who during these years was producing films to accompany the museum's Saturday morning lecture series (Zimmerly 1974, 4–5, 18–21). Smith's films—almost two dozen treatments of various Aboriginal groups in Western Canada—privilege illustrative shots dealing with objects of anthropological interest including Native industries, transportation, food preparation, and housing, which although designed to enliven his talks and thus, at least implicitly, to popularize the museum's activities, did so primarily by virtue of their popular appeal as moving pictures.[9] In this sense, Smith was working out of conventions established in response to the professional ambivalence generated by ethnographic films among museum-based anthropologists in the United States earlier in the century. Sensitive to public interest in moving pictures as a popular medium, yet concerned about the impact of its association with popular culture on public perception of the museum's scientific mission, American anthropologists had sought to ensure the precedence of rational, "scientific" knowledge over the spectacular qualities of film, by, among other things, controlling what were perceived to be the trivializing effects of vernacular language in the film texts, by situating ethnographic motion pictures in the narrative of objectivity provided by an accompanying lecture, and by locating screenings in the museum, where films were embedded in discourses of edification and moral improvement, even as

the institution exploited the popular appeal of the medium to amuse its audiences (Griffiths 2002, 255–76).

Nass River Indians, in contrast, sought to popularize Barbeau's activities, and thus the National Museum, through the content of the film as well, privileging narrative, dramatization, and colourful language to intensify the entertainment value of the viewing experience. According to surviving correspondence, this was the product of collaboration; Barbeau took responsibility for the intertitles while the editing was done by Watson, who shot the footage that the film's narrative attributes to Barbeau and MacMillan. As a result, it is not surprising that, while the quality of the intertitles is consistent with Barbeau's other work, the editing is more sophisticated than the standard set by his contemporaries. For example, Smith, like other professional anthropologists who ventured into ethnographic filmmaking, was restricted both by the conventions of early film technology and by a lack of training in editing (see Griffiths 2002, 294–311; Zimmerly 1974). Watson, however, incorporated long, medium, and closeup shots, as well as tilts and tracking shots, usually combined in sequences that are relatively nuanced visual expressions of both the narrative and descriptive aspects of the accompanying intertitles (see figure 15.3). Despite the intimate relationship between text and image, however, the figures and intertitles were brought together only in the final stages of production; Barbeau worked on the titles after his return to Ottawa from the Nass River in October, while Watson and Gunn, having returned in the last week of August, spent the meantime in Rochester, New York, editing footage in anticipation of meeting with Barbeau to insert his intertitles.[10] This finally took place on 11 December 1927, when the three met at the Montreal studios of Associated

Figure 15.3 Frame enlargements from *Nass River Indians,* 1928 showing intertitle and sequence of shots of Barbeau and MacMillan transcribing songs. Robert Bolton is at the far left. Tsimshian interpreter William Beynon crouches between Bolton and Barbeau.

Screen News, which Barbeau had already enlisted through the CPR to process Watson's footage.[11]

At this point, it is clear that they were trying to complete the movie for screenings in connection with the "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern," which had opened at the National Gallery on 2 December 1927. Within a week of the meeting, at the request of Associated Screen News managing director Ben Norrish, Gunn had returned to Montreal with the negative so that several scenes Barbeau wanted to complete the film could be added along with the intertitles. For Gunn, this was an unforeseen expense in light of the arrangement that Barbeau had made through the CPR for Watson to sell the footage he took on the trip to Associated Screen News; the proceeds of this sale had been intended to finance Watson's and Gunn's involvement in the production of the film, which Watson planned to present as a gift to the National Museum to complete the deal.[12] But money was tight. The production company had purchased only 2,000 of the 5,000 feet of film Watson shot (which included footage shot on the rail trip across Canada, as well as on the Nass River).[13] As a result, Gunn convinced Norrish to have Associated Screen News provide the museum with the final print of the film, fulfilling Watson's promise to the museum in exchange for the time and expense involved in Gunn's trip to Montreal. After all, Gunn pointed out to his cousin, he had made the trip at Norrish's suggestion, "so that he could get a complete print and Barbeau's new titles in time for the Museum to use them on the 21st."[14] That was the date that National Gallery director Eric Brown planned to hold a special evening of "West Coast moving pictures" at the gallery for invited guests.

Clearly, Brown's idea was to increase the show's profile among exhibition-goers by capitalizing on the public appeal of moving pictures. At the National Gallery—in much the same way that natural history museums of the time sought to temper the public's association of films with the pernicious effects of popular culture—Brown also worked to elevate social perception of the screening by making it appear exclusive; he intended to have "a number of invited people as guests" (presumably drawn from a list of the gallery's most prestigious supporters), and hoped as well to have the event officiated by governor general Lord Willingdon.[15] At the Art Gallery of Toronto, where plans were under way to show the film in connection with the exhibition's run there in January 1928, organizers also mediated public perception of the film, in this instance by balancing popular entertainment with pedagogy. Barbeau had suggested the idea to his friend and Group of Seven member Arthur Lismer, who, as secretary of the gallery's education committee, worked a screening into his plans for a series of special evenings in connection with the show; these included a public lecture by Barbeau on the art and music of Pacific Coast aboriginal peoples and, with fellow committee member Ernest MacMillan's interests in mind, a recital of "Indian songs" by New York—based Canadian soprano Juliette Gaultier de la Vérendrye.[16] "Our aim," Lismer explained, "is not to put on a concert at the Gallery on these occasions but to have the music a complement to the exhibition."[17] In doing so, he, like Brown, worked to privilege the objects in the show, which, having been removed from their cultural context, would now operate visually in relation to a new set of meanings generated by the "special evenings" of which the film was a part.

Ethnographic Films and the CPR Folk Festivals

Although his plans did not materialize, Brown had also intended to use Gaultier for a special evening in conjunction with the opening of the show at the National Gallery, having seen her perform most recently in early September at the CPR's Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival at the Banff Springs Hotel. Gaultier had participated alongside aboriginal performers in a recital of "Old Time Indian Songs and Dances," conveniently reconciled with the railway's imagined settler heritage for the region in its claim to be "Illustrating the Native Music Known to the Early Scottish Pioneers in Canada."[18] Before this, Brown's enthusiasm for Gaultier had been fostered by Barbeau, who, along with his National Museum colleagues Diamond Jenness and Edward Sapir, had supplied her with songs for her concerts—"French Canadian, Eskimo [and] Indian," respectively. (Thus she claimed the legitimacy of singing "by courtesy and special privilege of the Canadian Government."[19]) It was also through Barbeau's association with Gaultier that CPR general tourist agent John Murray Gibbon had come to involve her in the railway's music festivals to begin with, booking her in early 1927 for the first event in the series, the Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival, held in May at the CPR's Chateau Frontenac Hotel in Quebec City (see figure 15.4).[20]

To promote the Quebec festival, Gibbon had also underwritten a concert by Gaultier in April 1927 at Town Hall in New York. As was her practice, she performed "Folk Songs of Canada" in costume, including what she described as Nootka and Eskimo dress, improvised for the stage. Songs Barbeau had collected

Figure 15.4 CPR Folksong and Handicraft Festival program cover showing Juliette Gaultier in "peasant dress." Canadian Pacific Railway, "Folk Song and Handicraft Festival." © Canadian Museum of Civilization, Marius Barbeau fonds, "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Quebec, 1927 (Programmes)," B346, f.13.

in rural Quebec were performed in what she called "peasant" dress, "unaccompanied, with the spinning wheel for rhythm."[21] This aspect of the performance was of greatest value to Gibbon, who sought Barbeau's collaboration and National Museum support for the festival, which, in a bid to win their participation, he declared was designed not only to generate tourist revenue for the railway, but also to increase interest in the folk songs and handicrafts of Quebec. Gaultier's performance fit comfortably into his plans, "the idea being," he explained, "to bring a number of singers, particularly from Isle d'Orleans [*sic*], and to arrange the setting under which they are accustomed to sing, namely with [the] women actually at work weaving [and] spinning."[22] In the meantime, "as publicity for this Festival," he wrote Barbeau,

> I think we ought to have a moving picture made at once, showing these women at work in their lofts. The trouble is that they would not have electric light sufficient to enable the photographer to use Arc Lamps, so anything done could only be done by the window. The Associated Screen News tell me that they have some negative not yet published taken two summers ago, and I shall have a look at this, as this may help out. We intend to use Juliette Gaultier's Town Hall concert as an advertisement for the Festival, and can throw the movies on the screen while she is changing costume between her groups of songs.[23]

Gibbons's proposal is significant, given that this was how *Nass River Indians* was finally screened at the Art Gallery of Toronto in January 1928. Although the experiential effect of staging such an event in the socially sanctioned space of an art gallery would have distinguished it from screenings held in a commercial context, it is nonetheless worth noting that both the National Gallery and the Art Gallery of Toronto planned to use their "special evenings" to host a program originally developed by Gibbon to promote the CPR's Quebec festival. Gibbon had in turn based the company's program on conventions established in North American popular culture earlier in the century by commercial promoters of travel films, commonly known as travelogues. These promoters incorporated moving pictures into an already extensive practice of showing stereopticon slides in travel lectures, which were sometimes delivered in national costume and combined with phonograph recordings to create multi-faceted performative events (Griffiths 2002, Peterson 1999, Musser 1990). Gibbons's contribution to established practice came with the incorporation of the folk music performance, which he apparently took from Barbeau who had been developing it as a popular form of museum display since 1919 (see Keillor, this volume). However, where Barbeau sought to maintain professional authority and ethnographic authenticity by employing his fieldwork informants as performers, and by introducing them in the scholarly context of an accompanying commentary, Gibbon sought social authority for the railway's productions of folk music in the trappings of elite culture. He employed a classically trained soprano, who was supported (although not overtly "sponsored") by the CPR to take up engagements in culturally authoritative venues, including Town Hall in New York. Ethnographic legitimacy was constructed by drawing upon the anthropological authority associated with the involvement of Barbeau and the National Museum, the folk songs they

provided to Gaultier, and the ethnographic authenticity referenced in the accompanying travelogue.[24]

Envisioned by Gibbon to function in this context, the film he commissioned stands as the first cinematic expression of this increasing emphasis in CPR tourist promotion in the 1920s on the creation of an ethnographic landscape. Entitled *Quebec Folk Festival*, so as to draw the desired connections between the concert and the intended tourist destination, it differs from contemporary promotional films advancing scenic or historic values of the landscape (for example, films such as the 1921 Associated Screen News travelogue *Old French Canada* or, to cite a related film outside the immediate control of the railway, the 1927 Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau production, *Historic Quebec/Le Québec historique*).[25] The opening of the film might suggest a treatment of historic sites and monuments, focusing as it does on the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec, "capital of Old French Canada." And there is reason for this: in addition to identifying the hotel as the site of the "first annual Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," the film works to establish the site as a desirable tourist destination in its own right, an appropriate place for such an event. In this case, the hotel occupies a pre-eminent place in the city, physically, historically, socially, and symbolically "[rising] over the ancient city, an architectural symbol of its romantic traditions."

Once the film has established this, however, historical time gives way to an indeterminate past, with shots of the corresponding "'Lower Town'" and market—where "the country folk and the city meet as of old"—serving as a transition to rural Quebec and "the flavour of an Old World unspoilt by progress." With this introduction of the surrounding countryside as free of corrupting change, footage presumably shot in 1925 by Associated Screen News bolsters the idea with a scene of a farmer working an oxen-drawn plough with a rural Quebec farmhouse in the background. "On Isle of Orleans they follow still in the ways of the Acadians," an intertitle reads, confirming the notion that his are a people of the past. Like the Nisga'a in *Nass River Indians*, the *habitant* communities of the Lower St Lawrence River valley are thus situated (in this case, as Folk) in opposition to the Modern. In keeping with contemporary thought, the film also makes it clear that by virtue of its perceived place in Western culture, the Folk occupy a position closer to the Modern on a developmental scale than does the non-Western Primitive, whose potential malevolence manifests this conceptual distinction between them (Appadurai 1992). In contrast, the *habitants* are portrayed as "pleasant peasants" of an imagined, premodern past. They serve as the seemingly "authentic" culture the Folk Festival celebrates, thereby legitimizing the festival in turn (Keil 1978, Kelly 1992, McKay 1994).

In what appears to be a direct appeal to this potential festival audience, the film ends with a shot of the old *habitant* farmer (Pierre Guerin) waving cheerfully to the camera—and, by extension, to viewers—his position outside the modern world of technology underscored by the naive salutation, "Bon Jour Monsieur Cinema" (figure 15.5). In Gaultier's recital,[26] this would have acted to return the audience from the field, so to speak, to the event at hand—her performance of "French Canadian Chansons"—which was intended in turn to seamlessly promote tourist interest in the performance and commoditization of *habitant* ethnicity at the Quebec festival the following month. As part of the CPR's larger campaign, it also worked in this context alongside a similarly makeshift film Gibbon had arranged

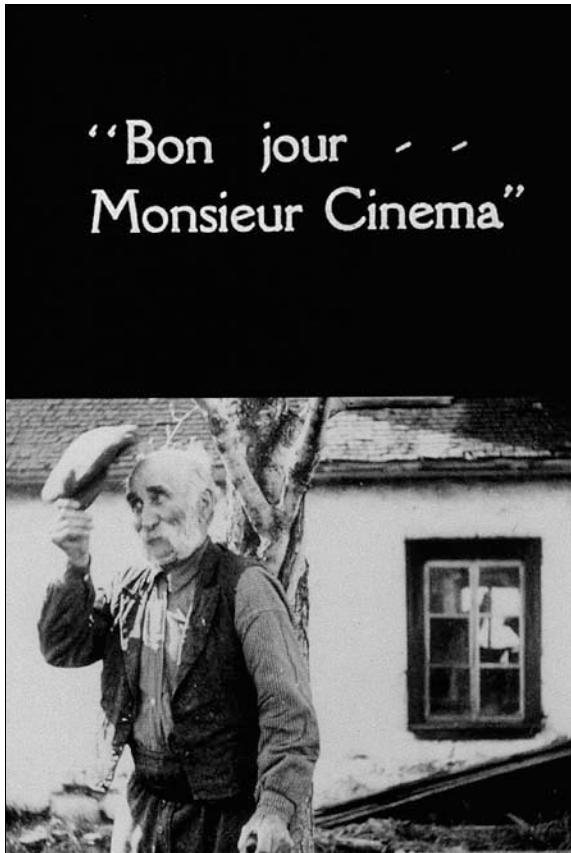

Figure 15.5 Frame enlargements from *Quebec Folk Festival* (1927). Pierre Guerin waving.

for the concert to precede Gaultier's selection of West Coast "Indian Songs" (figure 15.6); this film, also cobbled together by Associated Screen News, combined footage shot by the CPR with material borrowed (through Barbeau) from the National Museum's collection of anthropological films, all of which were recent productions by Harlan Smith.[27] For this reason, it is noteworthy that an Associated Screen News film of "handicrafts and folksongs" was shot at the Quebec festival during the following month; it was made to replace *Quebec Folk Festival* for use, together with this makeshift West Coast film, in a series of Gaultier concerts designed to promote the next of the CPR festivals, including the upcoming festival at the Banff Springs Hotel.[28] As the first ethnographic film actually shot for the railway in the 1920s, it claims a place for such films alongside those of Native peoples in the expression of cultural difference at the heart of early ethnographic cinema in Canada.

Making *Totem Land*

Although Gibbon did not refer to it specifically, evidence suggests that his work on the CPR festivals was also the context within which the production of *Totem Land* took shape. In fact, even as Gibbon was arranging Gaultier's Town Hall and Quebec Festival performances, he was making plans for the trip to Western Canada that summer, during which the film would be shot.[29] He arranged free passage on the CPR to take Gaultier to Banff in July

Figure 15.6 Juliette Gaultier in concert at the New York City Town Hall in April 1927. Gaultier wears a Nootka cedar bark cape loaned by the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Original photograph by Associated Screen News for the CPR, 1927.

© Canadian Museum of Civilization, Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye fonds, (I-A-160M), B327, f. 1., image no. 97-608.

1927, where she stayed into the second week of August, doing what she called "publicity work" for the railway (figure 15.7) and helping Gibbon select aboriginal performers for the Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival in early September.[30] After that, she continued west to Vancouver Island to shoot *Totem Land*. The conclusion of filming was followed by a steamer trip to Alaska and the Yukon, during which she met MacMillan, who was on the same steamer back to Vancouver; MacMillan responded to the mutual interest that had led to their meeting by performing some of the songs he and Barbeau had just recorded on the Nass River. Then Gaultier headed back to Banff to participate in the Highland Festival, taking her place in Native costume alongside aboriginal performers from the Blood Reserve in Macleod and the Stoney Reserve in Morley, Alberta, who were permitted to participate in Native dress by special permission of Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott, who attended the festival alongside Eric Brown.[31]

That such activity by Aboriginal peoples was otherwise outlawed, however, seemed to have little impact on Gaultier, who later delighted in her belief that the whole trip had made her "more Indianized."[32] For her, the summer was both a way to gain work and publicity for

Really Knows Her Indians

Madeleine Gauthier, of Ottawa, is recognized as Canada's foremost authority on Indian folklore and songs. She's shown here with Chief Walking Buffalo of the Stoney Indians, at Banff, where she is studying new Indian songs.

Figure 15.7 "Really Knows Her Indians." Newspaper clipping with photograph showing Juliette Gaultier studying new songs with Chief Walking Buffalo (George Maclean) of the Stoney. Indian Days at Banff National Park, Alberta, July 26-28, 1927.

© Canadian Museum of Civilization, Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye fonds, (I-A-160M), B327, f. 1., image no. 97-605.

herself and an opportunity to improve her performance by studying the music of aboriginal peoples. Writing Barbeau upon her return, she expressed pleasure at her acquisition of some new songs and myths, thanked him and the CPR for sending her to study, and added in conclusion, "I can stage much better my Indian programmme."[33] *Totem Land* was particularly important to her in this latter respect, not least because it features her learning songs and chants in the field, ethnographic authority evoked by the film's location lending greater authenticity to her concert performance. In a manner similar to the treatment of Barbeau and MacMillan's appearance in *Nass River Indians*, the film also represents Gaultier's visit as

occurring in the context of a vanishing culture, portraying her study of aboriginal music as a variant of salvage ethnography. This context is established in the film's first intertitle, which also prepares the audience for a cinematic version of her trip: "A visit to the Indians of Vancouver Island, where remnants of their ancient culture survive."[34]

In keeping with this idea, *Totem Land*, like *Nass River Indians*, opens by casting the Indian in an uneasy relationship with modern industrial capitalism. Here, the idea is quickly established by a sequence following the first intertitle that links the disappearance of this "ancient culture" to the resource exploitation of modern industry, represented by mining operations and paper mills, seen by the audience, now vicarious travellers, from the deck of a steamer headed up the western coast of Vancouver Island. It is a cinematic journey as well, from present day into imagined past, played out geographically and evidenced *en route* (as in *Nass River Indians*) in the state of indigenous "art and culture," located in the crest or "totem" pole of the film's title. Thus, "far up the coast" at Nootka—in contrast to the display of modernity on the island's southern tip—an intertitle states, "ancient beliefs and modernity" mingle, as if to suggest that the village exists in the present at best as a remnant of the past. To illustrate the point, a wooden ship model and sewing machine are shown in a sequence of shots of the site's crest and commemorative markers, ultimately providing a not-so-subtle juxtaposition to the farthest stop on the journey north, "remote Fort Rupert," where, as though out of the past and in contrast to communities closer to civilization, "the Totem creed survives and the poles are new and bright."

At this point it is clear that ethnographic and touristic interests have converged on the totem pole as symbolic of traditions abandoned to modernity. This is not surprising, given that the crest pole was the object of this conflation of interests, not only on Vancouver Island but also on the mainland, where the route of the Canadian National Railway through northern British Columbia had recently opened the Skeena River area to tourism. In that region, just south of the Nass River, the CNR, the National Museum, and the Department of Indian Affairs were preserving and restoring poles, seeing this as a mutually beneficial response to both sets of interests. Barbeau, who was a member of the committee that planned the restoration, also advocated the establishment of a national park in the region, believing that the potential appeal of the poles to tourists would increase the perceived value of the museum's work in the region (Cole 1985, 271–9). As though to reflect this, the filming Harlan Smith was engaged in that summer on the Skeena River was being done hand-in-hand with his supervision of restoration operations; his resulting films of the Tshimshian and Gitksan communities on the river all contain footage of the re-erection of poles and the arrival of tourist traffic to the region.[35]

Of course, these interests were being served in the face of federal government suppression of traditional practices among aboriginal populations in the region, although it seems this was evident only to aboriginal communities in the area. Reporting to the museum earlier that when he tried to find out why some of the restored poles were being hacked with axes, Smith wrote, "The Indians tell us they were not allowed to erect poles recently and now we want to erect their fallen poles." Unable to see the contradiction they had identified, he added, "Apparently, to educate the Indians to respect the poles is as necessary as the other work."[36] In other words, where residents of the area saw the crest

poles—both old and new—as part of an immediate, ongoing expression of community life, and vandalization of the government's "restorations" as an expression of resistance to its repression; Smith, in keeping with the cultural project of contemporary anthropology, saw the poles as representing a premodern past, as autochthonous artifacts to be salvaged from the degenerative effects of their current situation and valued as national heritage. Yet otherwise, he could be supportive of aboriginal efforts to resist such suppression; in one instance he contacted a lawyer for the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw to offer his services in their efforts to retain the potlatch when his former colleague, Anglo-Native American informant George Hunt, wrote from Fort Rupert (Tsax̱is) asking him to do so.[37]

In the film, however, tensions inherent in contemporary settler-white relations are less apparent. Instead, the arrival at Fort Rupert is marked by the introduction of a mediating figure—none other than Smith's former colleague Hunt, whose Anglo-Native heritage clearly informed the intermediate status assigned him in the accompanying intertitle: "This distinguished old Indian wears the name George W. Hunt but his heart is in the ancient beliefs of his people."[38] In this capacity—and in keeping with the theme of the film—he is identified as "a master of the totem art," sharing this recognition of authority with his second wife, Francine (Tsukwani), a respected shaman who is subsequently identified as such and described throughout the film as "Mrs. Hunt." Together, the Hunts demonstrate various aspects of Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw life, including woodworking, cedar bark weaving, ceremonial dancing, and food gathering. All are familiar topics of anthropological interest, shot according to the conventions for such imagery, which emphasized the observational qualities of the film medium. Simply put, the film draws heavily on the interpretive frameworks of anthropology, a debt perhaps nowhere more evident than in the sequence of shots showing Francine Hunt digging clams and collecting wild herbs on the beach; it concludes with a closeup of her mouth as she tastes the "wild foods" for viewers, her expressionless face underscoring the fact that she is performing a demonstration. With this, her apparent subordination to the anthropological gaze is almost complete, undermined only for those attentive viewers who realize that the shot abruptly ends when she breaks into laughter in the effort to remain deadpan.

This is an isolated moment in the film, however; for the most part, the Hunts perform their demonstrations of Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw culture with authority in keeping with both their real and their filmic status. It could be argued that this presentation is essential to their portrayal in the film—a representation of the Hunts as purveyors of cultural knowledge. As an informant now recognized as an ethnographer in his own right, Hunt may even have been responsible for these scenes in the film, his portrayal a reflection of his position as cultural adviser on location in Fort Rupert. As it stands, he participated in the production of at least four of the first five film projects involving the Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw people: *Totem Land*; Edward Curtis's 1914 film *In the Land of the Headhunters*, for which Hunt recruited most of the cast and served as adviser; American anthropologist Pliny Goddard's 1922 expedition footage, which shows Hunt and his wife demonstrating tool use and craft techniques; and Franz Boas's 1930 research footage of crafts, carving, games, and dances, which again include Hunt, who by that time had been Boas's field assistant and informant for many years (Jacknis 1992; Holm and Quimby 1980; Ruby 1980; Griffiths 2002, 247–8, 304–11). The fifth film

about the Kwakwaka'wakw—Harlan Smith's now-lost National Museum film *The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia* (1923–30)—probably involved Hunt as well, since he acted as Smith's field contact during the time that Smith was shooting footage.[39]

In other words, it would not be surprising if Hunt had been contacted by the CPR, perhaps through Smith, to select and present aspects of autochthonous culture from a Kwakwaka'wakw viewpoint. His appearance in the film alone suggests that the railway, like commercial promoters elsewhere, was seeking legitimacy for its touristic promotion of ethnicity by infusing the travel narrative of the film with the discursive authority of anthropology (see Griffiths 2002, 172–3). Hunt's reputation in the field would have suggested him as a valuable contact in this regard, his previous experience working on ethnographic films about the Kwakwaka'wakw being of immediate use. The CPR's interests were also served by the fact that, as cultural intermediaries—in a word, informants—Hunt and his wife in turn lent ethnographic authority to Juliette Gaultier's activities, in this instance by extending their demonstrations of Kwakwaka'wakw life to instructing her in the performance of indigenous music. In the film, a costumed Gaultier appears almost immediately upon the arrival in Fort Rupert in a series of shots of the Hunts dancing and singing. The reason for

Figure 15.8 Frame enlargement from *Totem Land,* 1927. George and Francine Hunt with Juliette Gaultier, "a modern student of the ancient art."

Figure 15.9 Frame enlargement from *Totem Land,* 1927.

her presence is explained in a subsequent sequence, which in its most complete form begins with footage of George and Francine Hunt seated on the ground beside Gaultier (figure 15.8), the two women beating drums and singing. "A modern student of the ancient art," the intertitle reads, "Juliette Gaultier de la Verndrye [*sic*], famous Canadian soprano, learns the Indian songs and chants."

The next shot in the sequence, which is intended to illustrate further this encounter between Ancient and Modern, is an interior scene of a standing Gaultier beating a drum while a figure, wearing a raven mask and wrapped in cedar bark enters from the right. "In the back ground [*sic*] of this rehearsal are cedar mats of old Indian handicraft," the following intertitle states, prefacing another shot of Gaultier beating a drum as another masked figure enters from the right. Although seemingly incidental in content, the intertitle is significant, suggesting that Gaultier is practising for one of her upcoming performances—still "a modern student of the ancient art"—while also drawing attention to the place of material culture in the wider field of cultural production. In doing so, the intertitle sets up the next part of the sequence, which survives as a head-and-shoulders scene of Gaultier standing in front of the stationary camera, turning her head slowly from full-face to profile to display a cedar hat she wears. This is followed by more shots of material culture, clearly identified as such, and in relation to her activities. In the most complete version of this sequence, three "grotesque rattles … [which] figure in the ceremonial music" are held, one by one, in front of the camera and slowly rotated 360 degrees (figure 15.9).

In this respect, the imagery of *Totem Land* is similar to that of another Associated Screen News production—*Habitant Festival*—a film shot at the CPR's 1928 Quebec festival, presumably to replace the film of "handicrafts and folksongs" shot in 1927 at the first event.[40]

Figure 15.10 Frame enlargement from *Habitant Festival,* 1928. Gaultier in middle.

Boasting of "The glories and traditions of New France revived and recorded at Quebec's Folksong and Handicraft Festival," it also features footage of Gaultier, "famous singer of Canadian folksongs." This time, she is performing French-Canadian songs in her so-called peasant dress, both alone at a spinning wheel and in the company of a *habitant* couple who listen appreciatively as the *habitant* woman spins (figure 15.10). As in *Totem Land*, the sequence is followed by shots of material culture, in this case homespuns, rugs, and carvings, their relationship with other forms of cultural expression having been firmly established in this film as well. In this respect *Habitant Festival* is in keeping with plans Gibbon outlined for such a film in his letter to Barbeau the year before when he first decided to produce motion pictures; the *habitant* women are shown working at their looms surrounded by song, drawing tight the perceived relationship between the two cultural products. The film even includes a sequence in which scenes of Gaultier singing are followed by closeups of what is called "rugged sculpture of character": five naive pieces, two of which are held in front of the stationary camera and turned slowly from side to side, in a manner similar to the treatment of the rattles in *Totem Land* (see, for example, figure 15.11).[41]

This relationship between the two films is significant; it suggests that one of the reasons for making *Totem Land* in the first place was its intended use in Gaultier's recitals alongside footage of the Quebec Folksong and Handicraft Festival. Both films are similarly devoted to the touristic promotion of an ethnographic landscape, peopled respectively by "strange" or

Figure 15.11 Frame enlargement from *Habitant Festival,* 1928.

"quaint" cultures whose Otherness is ultimately denoted, not by their art or music, but by adjectives that tie them ultimately to the conventionalizing language of nineteenth-century travel literature, from which commercial travel rhetoric developed (Griffiths 2002, 215). In practical terms, the production of *Totem Land*, like that of the 1927 festival film, also followed closely upon Gibbon's decision to have films made for screening at Gaultier's Town Hall recital and the last-minute efforts made for that event. This explains why *Habitant Festival* eventually supplanted the patchworked *Quebec Folk Festival* in Gaultier's performances, and why *Totem Land* replaced the film of aboriginal peoples that Associated Screen News had cobbled together from footage from the Smith films Barbeau had supplied.[42] The result was a "new and improved" concert program that provided the model for the special event Brown planned for the National Gallery in connection with the "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern."[43]

Ethnographic Films at the Art Gallery

In the end, Brown's event did not materialize—at least not in the format planned. The National Gallery's trustees refused to approve the cost involved in Brown's request to use Gaultier for a special evening in connection with the show's opening in Ottawa. They maintained that for the show to retain its character as an exhibition, visitors should focus their attention on the objects in the show, rather than on something resembling a concert.[44] For this reason, Brown decided instead to present a special evening of moving pictures alone.[45] Not surprisingly, *Nass River Indians* was one of the films he intended to screen, reflecting not only his awareness of its relation to the content of the exhibition, but also his regular contact with Barbeau, who was working with him on the show. The other film he

planned to feature was *Totem Land*, which would also have been brought to his attention by Barbeau, who was in regular contact with Gibbon and Gaultier. By that time, Barbeau had proposed the evening of films in connection with the show's run at the Art Gallery of Toronto as well, supplementing his initial suggestion that Lismer show *Nass River Indians* with an offer to lend the gallery a copy of *Totem Land*, since the CPR had recently donated one to the National Museum's collection of anthropological films (NMC 1933).[46]

Although Gaultier had also written to Barbeau suggesting the use of *Totem Land*—referring to the film as her "personal pictures"—she assumed it would be shown, if at all, in connection with her recital at the gallery, which she was devoting to "songs of British Columbia."[47] Worried about the length of her performance, she thought the screening might include a talk by a Mr. Armstrong. This was probably E.A. Armstrong, a CPR employee whose contribution to Canadian film history includes the conception of *"Hiawatha," Messiah of the Ojibways* (produced by Urban in 1903), the first dramatic film made in Canada (Morris 1978).[48] Barbeau refers to *Totem Land* as having been made for the CPR "under the direction" of Armstrong, suggesting that the railway agent had worked on the film with Hunt and J. Booth Scott (of Associated Screen News), who is credited as the photographer in the head title of the film.[49] "[Armstrong] has already lectured and shown the picture in several places," Gaultier reported to Barbeau in preparation for her recital, adding, "He is the CPR lecturer, but I do not think he knows much about the West Coast apart from the trip we made together." Nonetheless, with his inclusion in the gallery's event, she wrote, "It would be a real C.P.R. show again."[50]

As it turned out, however, Gaultier's recital became the occasion for the first public screening of *Nass River Indians*. The late completion of the film dogged exhibition programming well into January, resulting in the cancellation of film evenings at the National Gallery and then at the Art Gallery of Toronto, where a second special screening had been planned for school teachers two days later. Instead, the Art Gallery of Toronto invited University of Toronto anthropologist T.F. McIlwraith to give a talk, along with his colleague Charles Currelly, director of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, whose presentation Lismer characterized bluntly as "stupid and thoroughly out of touch with the exhibition."[51] And instead of a talk by Mr. Armstrong, who was never considered seriously as a participant for the events in Toronto, the gallery extended an invitation to Dr. Watson to speak at the screening of *Nass River Indians* that was scheduled, along with Gaultier's performance, for 25 January 1928.[52] That this ethnographic film was Watson's first production would perhaps be incidental in importance if not for the fact that James Sibley Watson Jr. otherwise occupies a position of some historical prominence. He was publisher of *The Dial*, an important journal of U.S. literary modernism in the 1920s, and was also one of the earliest avant-garde filmmakers in North America, what has previously been thought to be his first film, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, completed later in 1928 (Cartwright 1995, Fischer 1987–88).[53]

Although Gunn wrote Barbeau to say that his employer did not wish to speak at the screening, Watson did want to see the exhibition and planned to attend the recital while he and Gunn were in Toronto.[54] He had been impressed with Barbeau's description of the show the previous summer; an innovative exhibition, it combined aboriginal material drawn from the collections of the National Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum, and McGill

Figure 15.12 Installation view of "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern" at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1928.
Photograph courtesy of the Edward P. Taylor Research Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.

University with paintings and sculptures of West-Coast subject matter by prominent Euro-Canadian artists, many of whom had visited the region at Barbeau's request, using passes provided by the CPR or the CNR in support of the show (figure 15.12) (Jessup 1992, 31–4, 64–73). Prominent among them were Group of Seven member A.Y. Jackson and his friend, Montreal artist and future Group member Edwin Holgate, both of whom visited Tsimshian and Gitskan communities on the Skeena River in the summer of 1926; Montreal painter Anne Savage and Toronto sculptor Florence Wyle, who made the same trip west from central Canada the next summer; and Vancouver artist Emily Carr, who, many years earlier had visited Native communities to paint.[55] Touted by Brown as the first exhibition of North American aboriginal work to be, as he put it, "artistic first and ethnological after,"[56] the show was intended to establish the place of this material in the world of art, and to claim it both as a treasured national possession and—by suggesting its origins in an indeterminate national past—as the touchstone of what was presented as the nation's new "modern" art (NGC 1927).

This is one reason that Barbeau's caption to a photograph of Watson and Gunn shooting footage for the film reads, "Dr. Watson and Mr. Gunn taking moving pictures of Indian life ancient and modern." (figure 15.13)[57] The caption not only describes a photograph of the two shooting a scene in the film that portrays the conversion of the Nisga'a to Christianity from their so-called "pagan" existence; it also, by describing the subject of the moving pictures as "Indian life ancient and modern," identifies what was in effect the working title of the film. Simply put, it reflects the concept of the exhibition, which is perfectly contained in the evolution of the show's title from "Present Day and Ancient Canadian Art" to "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern."[58] (Collins 1927). *Nass River Indians* reiterates this idea on another level by portraying Barbeau at work on

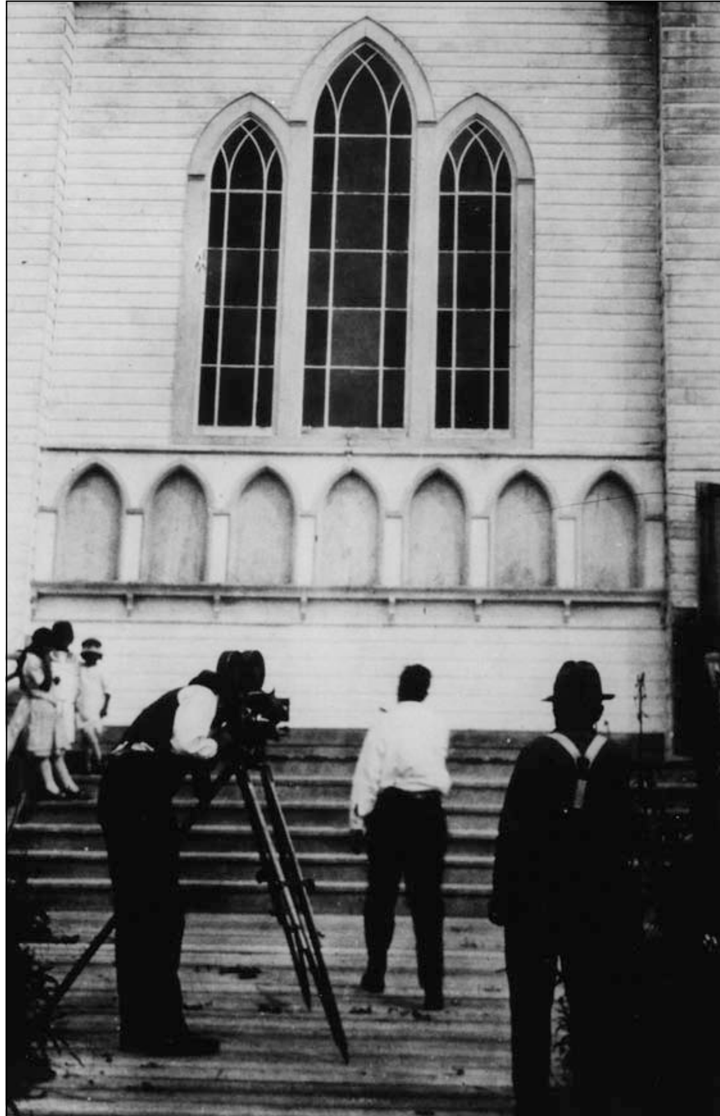

Figure 15.13 Dr. Watson and Mr. Gunn taking moving pictures of Indian life ancient and modern; 1927; British Columbia. Barbeau's caption to the photograph, "Dr. Watson and Mr. Gunn taking moving pictures of Indian life ancient and modern," corresponds to the concept of the "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern," for which it was made.
© Canadian Museum of Civilization, photo Marius Barbeau, 1927, no. 69611.

what is cast as the nation's musical heritage with one of Canada's musical talents of the day, composer Ernest MacMillan. This had added resonance when the film was shown as part of Gaultier's recital at the gallery, not only because she too was "a modern student of the ancient art," but also because her performance included three Nisga'a songs MacMillan had sent her after their steamer trip together the previous fall, all of them listed in the program as having been recorded in 1927 by Barbeau and transcribed and arranged by MacMillan.[59]

Although Watson and Gunn did not attend Gauthier's recital (telegraphing Barbeau that they planned to visit the show early in the next week), 470 people came to the event, suggesting something of the power of exhibition programming to affect attendance as well as the communication of meanings it inscribes on a show. "The Gallery filled to capacity and many turned away," Lismer reported to Barbeau, adding, "She was in good form … and the

audience were enthusiastic."[60] An excellent turnout even by standards at the gallery today, it was matched by Barbeau's talk on 9 January 1928, which included the screening of *Totem Land*; he drew a crowd of 400 to an exhibition that otherwise enjoyed moderate attendance at best.[61] Gallery curator Edward Greig even wrote his counterpart at the Art Association of Montreal to "strongly advise" the Association to book both Gaultier and Barbeau for evenings with films in connection with the show's run in Montreal beginning in early February.[62] It seems the evenings were not only popular; the expository framework they provided was also effective in advancing the institution's preferred meanings and pedagogical goals.[63]

Barbeau's lecture is a case in point. It would have framed not only the accompanying film, but also the exhibition, in which aboriginal works, having been removed from their cultural, ritual, and economic associations to operate visually in the gallery space, were ascribed meanings related to their new function as art objects, providing evidence instead of the aesthetics, ideologies, and techniques central to the discourse of art history (Alpers 1991; Casey 2003, 7). In this capacity, they stood with the work of Euro-Canadian artists as proof of Barbeau's central argument that the value of aboriginal art lay in its availability as a source of inspiration to contemporary Euro-Canadian artists. Where the Indian had abandoned his own artistic traditions in the misguided drive to become modern, Barbeau argued (playing out the perceived incompatibility of Native and Modern once again) that others recognized the value of these traditions to the advancement of art in Canada. Building on what he saw as the increasingly degenerate state of West Coast aboriginal cultures, he instead celebrated the role of the modern museum; now custodian of Indian heritage, it was responsible for saving "their art, [which] … as we may preserve it," he insisted, "offers a potential contribution to the world of art at large and to Canadian art in particular."[64]

Barbeau may have wanted *Nass River Indians* to accompany his talk. It perfectly reiterated his thesis, of course, having been made to be screened in conjunction with the exhibition. It is also possible that he intuitively understood the relationship between lecturer and film in an event such as this, and realized that, with his presence at the screening, the audience would vicariously identify with the ethnographer filmed at work on the Nass River, and find his argument that much more persuasive. (It seems Gibbon understood this—or least was cognizant that the conventions of the travelogue performance were based on the recognized value of audience identification with the lecturer as traveller in the film [Musser 1990]. This was doubtless the reason that the films the railway made to be shown in Gaultier's concerts also featured the singer; in short, Gibbon knew that performer and film authenticated each other.) As it turned out, however, *Totem Land* served to illustrate the concept of the exhibition by portraying Gaultier in the context of Barbeau's lecture as a contemporary artist drawing inspiration from what remained of a rapidly vanishing Indian music. This was fortunate, given that the developmental narrative underpinning the exhibition was so strongly valued by the show's architects that Barbeau secretly criticized Gaultier to MacMillan because, in reality, she refused "to do very much" with the songs they gave her, insisting instead on presenting them in "a semi-primitive form."[65]

That *Totem Land* would not be screened in conjunction with Gaultier's concert at the gallery may have been of concern to Gibbon, however, were it not for the fact that the decision to screen the film in the context of Barbeau's talk also worked to the advantage of

the CPR. In the same way that the screening of *Nass River Indians* in Gaultier's concert later that month would suggest an authenticating relationship between her musical performance and the professional ethnomusicology of Barbeau and MacMillan, the inclusion of *Totem Land* in Barbeau's lecture associated the performer with the scientific authority of the ethnographer and the National Museum. In the context of both exhibition and lecture, the screening was also framed by the discourses of edification and enlightenment that informed the art gallery's civic mission—and, it might be added, that of the museum as well. A situational effect that allowed both institutions to exploit the entertainment value of moving pictures without undermining public perception of their scientific or scholarly aims, it lent cultural authority to the film, an effect that also extended to Gaultier's concert. In doing so, the film provided the kind of validation that had been actively pursued by Gibbon, who had been seeking elite venues for the performances and films as a means of accruing cultural capital for what was, in effect, a key component of the CPR's promotional campaign to establish the ethnographic landscape—in this instance, "Totem Land"—as a desirable travel destination.

Conclusion

In the exhibition, as elsewhere, Barbeau was consistent in exploiting the interests of the railway to advance his own, which were closely tied to his belief in the mission of the museum and the value of the material it collected and housed. It could even be argued that, as an ethnographer, his participation in the promotion of tourism was tied to his interest in popularizing the work of the museum, which he saw as concerning both the subjects of anthropological study and the study of anthropology itself. His involvement in the organization and production of the special evenings was informed by this interest, and his use of popular forms of museum display and communication were a means through which to achieve it. It is also tempting to suggest, in conclusion, that what were seen on one level as popular forms of museology designed to appeal to a general public were also seen by Barbeau on another level as contemporary expressions of cultural life, inspired in this instance by remnants of the indigenous past—that, despite the apparent wealth of ethnographic components in the exhibition, it was, as Brown promised, "artistic first and ethnological after."

This would not have been out of keeping with Barbeau's professional practice, one aspect of which is exemplified in "Thunderbird of the Mountain," his account of his trip to the Nass River region, published in 1932. Cast as a voyage of discovery, it eschews the academic in a popularizing tale of anthropological revelation ostensibly recalled by Barbeau using dialogue, evocative description, and humour. In fact, this tale of his trip with MacMillan and Watson is as much a parable loosely fashioned on experience as it is an account of his fieldwork. In a note to William Beynon, which he included with an offprint of the article, he says as much: "The story … is not meant to be strictly accurate as to the facts but merely to drive home a point which is the definition of Civilization and Culture."[66] To that end, he added one of his former fieldwork companions to the story, an artist who did not make the trip that summer but who appears in the story as arbiter of Indian artistic merit. Championing the sculptural quality of what remained of aboriginal wood carving, in

the same way MacMillan appears in the story to assert the Native's former musical worth, he also completes the ensemble of artist, musician and filmmaker, all of whom are ultimately so inspired by the vanishing culture they witness on the Nass that they, in turn, are raised to heights of creativity. Fired by a night in camp talking of Native art, music, and life to create canvas, composition, and film respectively, the three illustrate Barbeau's central contention that culture "comes unheralded to the pure-hearted whose path lies on the heights, whoever they are, primitive or civilized." (Barbeau 1932, 110).

Seemingly inspired by the words of a chief's song in the same way the composer is inspired by Native music, the artist by Native art, and the filmmaker by Native life, Barbeau suggests that he saw his role as ethnographer in the party as one devoted, at least in part, to the popular formulation of a contemporary lore stimulated by its Native counterpart. In this instance, the interpretation he offers in the story is perfectly encapsulated by the story itself which, told as semi-fiction, couched in popular terms, and published, becomes his contribution to contemporary cultural life in the same way that MacMillan's subsequent arrangements of Nisga'a songs and the artist's existing paintings of the region were theirs. What is more, Barbeau's interpretation of the chief's tale, which presents his view of the Nisga'a and their culture, is striking in the degree to which it echoes the portrayal of Nisga'a life in the *Nass River Indians*. In Barbeau's narrative, Native culture is of value, but is corrupted by civilization, resulting in what he sees as the degenerate state of the present-day Indian. Already "hushed" by civilization, Native culture has ceased to exist in his present as anything other than something "almost extinct." The lesson of the story for Westerners lies in Barbeau's warning not only of the dangers of civilization to other primitive cultures, but of the necessity of cultural vitality to the civilized as well (Jessup 1999).

Seen in these terms, it is possible to argue, in closing, that Barbeau conceptualized the ethnographic film that he and Watson shot in the summer of 1927 not only as a means of communicating anthropological knowledge—as ethnographic film was for Smith—but also, and perhaps especially, as a vehicle for personal expression. Barbeau may not have been the only anthropologist to see film in these terms; however, among his contemporaries in both Canada and the United States—the overwhelming majority of whom stressed scientific conventions for such imagery as a means to escape the undesirable associations of ethnographic film with popular culture (Griffiths 2002, 283–311)—none approached ethnographic filmmaking with Barbeau's appreciation of its creative dimensions. His understanding of *Nass River Indians* as a cultural product in its own right—a work inspired by the experience of Nisga'a life and culture that summer—might also explain why he suggested that Watson be asked to speak in connection with the first screening of the film at the Art Gallery of Toronto; it was an acknowledgement of Watson's part in the production of the film as a contribution to contemporary cultural life. The film, together with the work of the so-called modern artists in the show, MacMillan's musical arrangements and Gaultier's performance of them, stood as an avatar of what Barbeau saw in the relationship of the Native and the Modern.

Postscript

Nass River Indians, like its better known precursors, *Nanook of the North* and *In the Land of the Headhunters*, is now being re-evaluated by the people it portrayed (see Ruby 2000, 92; Holm and Quimby 1980; Russell 1996, 70). Having disappeared from the collection of the National Museum of Canada sometime after the 1940s, the film was reconstructed from surviving footage and shown in the Nass River communities of New Aiyansh, Gitwinksihlkw, Laxgalzap, and Gingolx in 2000 and 2001.[67] The first screenings, which were facilitated by Wilp Wilxo'oskwhl Nisga'a president Deanna Nyce and introduced by director Moses McKay, resulted in the inclusion of introductory titles in the final version of the reconstructed film, each of which first appears in the Nisga'a language and then in English. Together, they effectively historicize the reconstructed 1928 film that follows. What one of these titles describes as the "people, places and events" depicted in the film are claimed as an important part of Nisga'a history, the contemporary Nisga'a Lisims Government, whose name and symbol appear at the end of the titles, repatriating them with authority in keeping with the postcolonial status that the Nisga'a achieved in May 2000 when their landmark treaty with the Government of Canada came into effect. The Nisga'a titles, which now precede the reconstructed *Nass River Indians*, also refuse the original film's assertion that Nisga'a culture was vanishing, its hereditary language attesting instead to its continued vitality.

Incomprehensible to the majority of English-speaking spectators today, the Nisga'a-language titles also serve to disrupt the historical relationship between audience and subject that might otherwise be perpetuated by the 1928 film; they prevent the audience from "knowing" and thus controlling, pre-empting the effect of one of Barbeau's original intertitles (which declares, "if we know Indian, and we do") with a simple, literal demonstration that "we" do not "know Indian." In this sense, its use in the film is a political act. The titles were written in English—the working language in the communities—to reflect their response to the first three screenings of the film. They were then composed in the communities' heritage language by Wilp Wilxo'oskwhl Nisga'a language instructor Verna Williams in collaboration with elders of the communities. Now they serve to introduce the film in the same way that elder Moses McKay introduced the film at screenings on the Nass River—and in the same way that Chief Joseph Gosnell began his speech to the British Columbia Legislature on the ratification of the Nisga'a Treaty in 1998 (Gosnell 1998/99). At the beginning of each event, both addressed the audience in Nisga'a, witnessing, in their use of the language, the exclusive knowledge and cultural heritage it represents.

Notes

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The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

AGO Art Gallery of Ontario, Edward P. Taylor Research Library
CMC Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archives
IMP International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Film Study Centre, Archives,
LAC Library and Archives Canada
NGC National Gallery of Canada Archives

1. "Folk Songs of Canada, Eskimo, Indian, French-Canadian, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," Convention of the Canadian Authors' Association, Ottawa, 29 June 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Concerts Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye, 1927–1928." B347, f.16.
2. In Canada, the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto was involved in the construction of dioramas as early as the second decade of the twentieth century, when it approached the Smithsonian Institution in Washington to supervise the creation of a figure group representing the Mohawks who had followed Joseph Brant to Canada. See Dickson 1986, 37.
3. MacMillan to Barbeau 7 July 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Sir Ernest MacMillan, 1926–31, B217; Barbeau to Kihn 16 June 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with W. Langdon Kihn, 1922–53, B208.
4. "Photo Inventory, 1927—Photographs Taken by C.M. Barbeau, 1927," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, Northwest Coast Files, B-F-465. Although Charles Barton does not appear in the film, Barbeau's work with him is reported in Barbeau 1951, 99–106.
5. "Aguhlen" is the spelling Barbeau uses for the title in his song collection (1951). The song's title has also been spelled "Haguhlaen" and "Naguhlaen." The correct spelling of the title is "Aguhl anheen." My thanks go to Verna Williams, Nisga'a Language Instructor at Wilp Wil<u>x</u>o'oskwhl Nisg̲a'a, who provided the correct spelling of the title.
6. The discussion of *Nass River Indians* here derives from Jessup 1999. The film originally consisted of three 35mm reels, one of which was outtakes. Associated Screen News subsequently recut the footage and intertitles contained in the reels to create *Saving the Sagas* and *Fish and Medicine Men*. Based on information in Jessup 1999, *Nass River Indians* was reconstructed from surviving footage with the assistance of Library and Archives Canada (see IDCISN 331568). The intertitles to the reconstructed film are published in Jessup 2002, appendix 3, 83–86, and with slight revision on www.canadianfilm.ca, appendix 3, 47–53.
7. In this paper, the word "Indian" is used historically to refer to the concept Barbeau and others applied to the aboriginal populations of North America. The words "aboriginal" and "Native" are used throughout to refer to the different peoples of indigenous ancestry in North America.
8. *Nass River Indians* also predates by forty years what are generally thought to be the earliest ethnographic films to record the presence of the fieldworker. See Jessup 1999, 49–54.
9. Smith's films, which were shot between 1923 and 1930, include: *The Tsimshian Indians of British Columbia* (1925–27, LAC); *Lower Skeena Valley (The Tsimshian People)* (1925–27); *Totem Pole Villages of the Skeena* (1925–27); *The Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia* (1923–24, LAC); *The Carrier Indians of British Columbia* (1923–27, LAC); *The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia* (1923–30); *The Lillooet Indians of British Columbia* (1923–30); *The Nootka Indians of British Columbia* (1928–29, LAC); *The Coast Salish Indians of British Columbia* (1928, LAC); *The Shuswap Indians of British Columbia* (1928, LAC); *The Okanagan Indians of British Columbia* (1923–30); *The Kootenay Indians of British Columbia* (1928, LAC); *The Blackfoot Indians of Alberta* (1928, LAC); and *The Stoney Indians of Alberta* (1930, LAC). Even among these, a number are now lost.
10. Collison, "To Whom It May Concern," 24 August 1927, IMP, J.S. Watson Fonds, Personal and Private Letters, BII; Barbeau to Gaultier 14 November 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
11. Barbeau to Watson 29 September 1927, IMP, J.S. Watson Fonds, Personal and Private Letters, BII; Barbeau to MacMillan 18 October 1927, LAC, Music Division, Archives, Sir Ernest MacMillan

Fonds, correspondence with Marius Barbeau, 1927; Barbeau to Lismer 10 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214; Gunn to W.H. Collins 22 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J.S. Watson, 1927, B248; Gunn to MacMillan 28 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201.

12. Collins to Watson 16 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J.S. Watson, 1927, B248; Watson to Judith Briggs 31 July 1973, IMP, J.S. Watson Fonds, Personal and Private Letters, BII.
13. Watson to Judith Briggs 31 July 1973, ibid.
14. Gunn to W.H. Collins 22 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J.S. Watson, 1927, B248; Gunn to Barbeau 4 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201.
15. Barbeau to Lismer 10 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214.
16. Barbeau to Lismer 10 December 1927 and 13 December 1927, Lismer to Barbeau 7 December 1927 and 15 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214; Gunn to MacMillan 28 December 1927 and Gunn to Barbeau 4 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201. Although invitations to Barbeau's lecture also indicate that he intended to deal with both art and music (giving the title of his talk as "The Traditions, Music and Art of the West Coast Indians"), the notes to his lecture reveal that he dealt only with art. See "The Art Gallery of Ontario on Monday evening, January 9th at 8:30 p.m. Mr. C. Marius Barbeau will talk … ," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art [1927-28], temp. B71; "The Plastic and Decorative Arts of the North West Coast," in Barbeau's hand at top: "Address at the Art Gallery of Toronto[,] Jan[.] 9, 1928[,] West Coast Art Exhibition"; "Repeated at the Art Association of Montreal Art Gallery[,] Feb. 17, 1928," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, Northwest Coast Files, B.33, f.: "Lectures on Ethnology of B.C., 1926-27 (B-F-527)."
17. Lismer to Barbeau 15 December 1927, ibid.
18. Gibbon to Barbeau 20 August 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197; CPR, "Old Time Indian Songs and Dances," Highland Gathering, Banff, Alberta, 4 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival Banff," B287, f. 12.
19. "Folk Songs of Canada, French Canadian, Indian and Eskimo," [n.d.], CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196, f.24; Gaultier to Barbeau 9 April 1925 and 26 February 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
20. Gaultier to Barbeau 7 February 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196; Gibbon to W.H. Collings [sic] 20 January 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197.
21. Gaultier to Barbeau 19 February 1927 and 15 March 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196; "Canadian Folk Songs, Eskimo … Indian … French-Canadian, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," Town Hall [New York], 8 April 1927, "Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Concerts Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye 1927–1928," B347, f.16.
22. Gibbon to W.H. Collings [sic] 20 January 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197.
23. Gibbon to Barbeau 14 February 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197.
24. Barbeau (just as Gibbon hoped to do) also staged settings for the performers that recalled the original rural environment within which the songs were performed, drawing, like Gibbon, upon popular forms of entertainment, in this case, the variety show (Elaine Keillor, this volume).

25. There is a print of *Quebec Folk Festival* at LAC (7706–1101). For discussion of earlier CPR films, see Eamon 1995.
26. "Canadian Folk Songs, Eskimo … Indian … French-Canadian, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," Town Hall [New York], 8 April 1927. "Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Concerts Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye 1927–1928," B347, f.16.
27. Barbeau to Gibbon 3 March 1927 and 22 March 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197; Barbeau to MacMillan 20 January 1928, CMC, correspondence with Ernest MacMillan, 1926–31, B217; "Canadian Folk Songs, Eskimo … Indian … French-Canadian, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," Town Hall [New York], 8 April 1927. "Folk Song and Handicraft Festival," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Concerts Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye 1927–1928," B347, f.16.
28. "Folk Songs of Canada, Eskimo, Indian, French-Canadian, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," Convention of the Canadian Authors' Association, Ottawa, 29 June 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Concerts Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye, 1927–1928." B347, f.16; CPR, "Old Time Indian Songs and Dances," Highland Gathering, Banff, Alberta, 4 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival Banff," B287, f. 12.
29. Gaultier to Barbeau 26 February 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
30. Gaultier to Barbeau 1 June 1927 and 11 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196; Gibbon to Barbeau 12 August 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197. According to Gaultier's photographs of the trip, which are captioned in her own hand, she was in Banff for the CPR's "Indian Days," 26–28 July 1927. Her personal photographs and pictures taken by Associated Screen News for the CPR can be found in CMC, Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye Collection, (I-A-160M), B327 f.1.
31. Gaultier to Barbeau 7 November 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196; CPR, "Old Time Indian Songs and Dances," Highland Gathering, Banff, Alberta, 4 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Highland Gathering and Scottish Music Festival Banff," B287, f.12; Gibbon to Barbeau 20 August 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197.
32. Gaultier to Barbeau 7 November 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
33. Gaultier to Barbeau 7 November 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
34. Prints of *Totem Land* are in LAC (IDCISN 103142). Another shorter version of the film, probably made for commercial release later, omits the introductory sequence devoted to modern industrial capitalism, the sequence devoted to Nootka, and the characteristic Associated Screen News credit (which appears at the lower left of the first intertitle of the longer version). The shorter version also contains material that has not survived in the longer film; the fact that in every case the lost footage is adjacent to an intertitle in the shorter film suggests that the footage was lost from the original when the intertitles were shortened for archival storage. Prints of the shorter film are held by LAC (IDCISN 102188), together with prints of outtakes from the film (IDCISN 102194). The intertitles of both versions are published as appendixes in Jessup 2002, 34–8.
35. Of the three films that Smith made of the region—*The Tsimshian Indians of British Columbia* (1925–27), *Lower Skeena Valley (The Tsimshian People)* (1925–27), and *Totem Pole Villages of the Skeena* (1925–27)—only The Tsimshian Indians survives. However, Smith's logs of trims, which survive among his papers at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Smith n.d.), contain many references to shots of poles and the restoration operation (CMC, Harlan I. Smith Fonds, B93, f:

"Lower Skeena and Tshimsian," "Gitksan Indians and Their Country, Reel I," "Gitksan Indians and Their Country, Reel II").

36. Sapir (for Smith) to Barbeau 15 June 1925, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Harlan I. Smith, 1911–26, B239, f.87.
37. Hunt to Smith 4 October 1921, CMC, Harlan I. Smith Fonds, correspondence with George Hunt, B216 f. H. Smith and Hunt were both members of the 1897–1903 Jesup Expedition. Surviving correspondence indicates that they renewed their earlier friendship by letter in 1921, Hunt recalling how he and Smith "used to walk together in the streets of New York and have a good time" (Hunt to Smith 4 October 1921, ibid).
38. As far as the film's Euro-Canadian audience was concerned, "his people" were presumably "Indians" or "redmen." In the present context, however, it is also important to note that, although essentially raised as Kwakwaka'wakw in the interracial village of Fort Rupert, Hunt was actually of English-Tlingit parentage; his aptitude, interests, and early ability to speak English as well as Kwakwala lead to his now well-known work among the Kwakwaka'wakw people—as field assistant, ethnographer, and interpreter—with a number of anthropologists, collectors, and others, including German anthropologist Johan Adrian Jacobsen, photographer and filmmaker Edward S. Curtis, and, for more than forty years, American anthropologist Franz Boas. See Jacknis 1992, 1991; Cole 1985.
39. Smith to Hunt 3 May 1929, CMC, Harlan I. Smith Fonds, correspondence with George Hunt, B216, f. H.
40. A copy of the film is in LAC (IDCISN 22406). The date of the film has been established by comparison with dated photographs taken by Associated Screen News at the 1928 Folk Song and Handicraft Festival. In "Photos prises au Château Frontenac Québec, 1927," (CMC, Barbeau Fonds B563 f.5), despite the folder title, the date and occasion of the photographs are identified by Associated Screen News on the prints in question as "Quebec Festival 1928." See also "Photographs Festival (Quebec 1928)," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, B563, f.4.
41. The two carvings—a man sitting in an armchair, and a squirrel cracking a nut—were actually owned by Barbeau and exhibited in the 1927 festival as folk carvings "from an unknown peasant carver, at Ste. Marie Beauce": see p. 3 of "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival/Annotated General Program," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, Quebec, 1927 (Annotated General Program)," B346, f.14. The carvings were not exhibited again at the 1928 festival, however, which suggests that this footage was actually shot at the Quebec Folksong and Handicraft Festival in May 1927, and was part of a now-lost 1927 version of *Habitant Festival*—the film of "handicrafts and folksongs"—that was being replaced by this film. This would not be surprising, given the evident relationship between the two festival films and the company's penchant for reediting footage. See CPR "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival/General Programme," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, "Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival, 1928," B346, f. 21.
42. See, for example, CPR, "Canadian Week In Celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee," The Auditorium, New York, 22–28 October 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Julliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
43. Even Brown's plan to have the National Gallery event officiated by governor general Willingdon was based on precedent set by Gibbon for CPR events. In October 1927, just before the opening of the show at the National Gallery, for example, Willingdon is listed as the honourary patron of a CPR-sponsored Gaultier concert with films at the Auditorium in New York . He and Lady Willingdon also figure prominently in *Habitant Festival,* where they are shown opening the railway's 1928 Quebec festival. See "Canadian Week In Celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee" … 1927, ibid. As symbolic head of state, his participation served both to lend the events cultural authority and to further "Canadianize" them, supporting the efforts of both the CPR and the National Gallery to identify themselves and their activities with the Canadian nation.

44. Barbeau to Gaultier 14 November 1927 and Gaultier to Barbeau, 7 November 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
45. Barbeau to Lismer 13 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214.
46. Barbeau to Lismer 10 December 1927, 13 December 1927, and 28 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214; Advice of Shipment 16 December 1927 and Singleton to Barbeau 29 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with W.J. Singleton, 1927, B239.
47. Gaultier to Barbeau 11 December 1927 and 1 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
48. Gaultier to Barbeau 1 January 1928, ibid.
49. Barbeau to Lismer 13 October 1927 and 28 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214.
50. Gaultier to Barbeau 1 January 1928, ibid.
51. Lismer to Barbeau 26 December 1927 and 20 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Arthur Lismer, B214; Barbeau to Gunn 11 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201; Barbeau to Edward D. Greig 12 January 1928. AGO, f: "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern."
52. Tovell to Barbeau 24 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Harold M. Tovell, 1926–39, B243; Gunn to MacMillan 28 December 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201.
53. In a typescript letter to Judith Briggs edited in his own hand, Watson refers to the film as *Indians and Totem Poles* (Watson to Judith Briggs 31 July 1973, IPA, J.S. Watson Fonds, Personal and Private Letters, BII). The first published reference to Watson in connection with the film appears in reference to a screening at the Little Theatre in Ottawa, "Folk Songs of Canada, French, Indian and Eskimo, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye" (10 February, Little Theatre, Ottawa, CMC Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30 B196) where the film is described as "illustrating native dances and songs among the Nass River Indians," and is credited to "Dr. J.S. Watson of Rochester, N.Y., with the assistance of Marius Barbeau." *Nass River Indians* is also credited to "Dr. J.S. Watson, in collaboration with C.M. Barbeau" in NMC 1933.
54. Gunn to Barbeau 4 January 1928 and 7 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201; Gunn to W.H. Collins 22 September 1927, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J.S. Watson, 1927, B248; Greig to Barbeau 27 January 1928 and Greig to Brown, 27 January 1928, AGO, f: "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern"; Barbeau to MacMillan 5 March 1928, LAC, Music Division, Archives, Ernest MacMillan Fonds, correspondence with Marius Barbeau, 1928.
55. Barbeau's support of the travel involved in her work first came into play on her trip to the Nass River in 1928; see Dyck article in this volume.
56. Brown to Gibbon 10 October 1927, NGC, "5.5 West Coast Art Native and Modern Exhibition 1927–28."
57. no. 69611 in "Photo Inventory, 1927—Photographs Taken by C.M. Barbeau, 1927," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, Northwest Coast Files, B-F-465.
58. Collins to Edward D. Greig 28 February 1927, AGO, f: "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern."
59. Barbeau to Gibbon 14 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with J. Murray Gibbon, 1927, B197; "Indian Songs of British Columbia and Eskimo Songs, Recital by Juliette Gaultier de la Verendrye," 25 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Juliette Gaultier, 1925–30, B196.
60. Lismer to Barbeau 29 January 1928, AGO, f: "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern"; Gunn to Barbeau 26 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Alexander H. Gunn, 1927–28, B201.

61. At the end of the Toronto run of the exhibition, Grieg reported that the exhibition "does not seem to have 'caught on,'" registering a total attendance of 7,700, "many of whom have been school children from the various schools." By contrast, an exhibition of Renaissance pictures and furniture that proved "very popular" the year before attracted more than 27,000. See Greig to Ethel Pinkerton 1 February 1928, Grieg to Barbeau 22 February 1928, and Greig to H.O. McCurry 21 January 1928, AGO, f: "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern."
62. Greig to F.J. Sheppard 11 February, AGO, f: "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern."
63. Like the National Gallery, however, the Association decided against a recital by the singer, who had been booked in any case through Duncan Campbell Scott who, as Ottawa Drama League president, had asked her to perform her "Canadian Folk Songs" at the recently opened Little Theatre in Ottawa. Accompanied by *Nass River Indians* and the CPR's films of Québec, she performed there in early February 1928. In the end, only Barbeau was asked to attend a special evening in connection with the exhibition's run in Montreal, where he played out the themes of the cultural production of which he, as lecturer, was now a part. This time, he probably showed *Nass River Indians*, having insisted on its speedy return after Gaultier's recital. See Pinkerton to Greig 23 February 1928 and Barbeau to Greig 27 January 1928, AGO, f. "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern"; Barbeau to MacMillan 5 March 1928, LAC, Music Division, Archives, Sir Ernest MacMillan Fonds, correspondence with Marius Barbeau, 1928; Greig to Barbeau 23 January 1928, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with Edward D. Greig, 1925–28, B200.
64. "The Plastic and Decorative Arts of the North West Coast," in Barbeau's hand at top: "Address at the Art Gallery of Toronto[,] Jan[.] 9, 1928[,] West Coast Art Exhibition"; "Repeated at the Art Association of Montreal Art Gallery[,] Feb. 17, 1928," CMC, Barbeau Fonds, Northwest Coast Files, B.33, f.: "Lectures on Ethnology of B.C., 1926–27 (B-F-527)."
65. Barbeau to MacMillan 20 January 1928, CMC, correspondence with Ernest MacMillan, 1926–31, B217.
66. Barbeau to Beynon 8 November 1932, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with William Benyon, B170.
67. In a letter to Norrish, Barbeau indicates that the film was still in the collection of the National Museum. Its subsequent disappearance is marked by its omission from Zimmerly 1974, a publication dealing with the museum's ethnographic films (Barbeau to Norrish 13 May 1949, CMC, Barbeau Fonds, correspondence with B.E. Norrish, 1928–49).

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