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emphasizes the evils of white repression of Indians but without sounding propagandistic. While some of the details of Indian-white conflicts in the frontier era need to be condensed, there is a need

for adding more of an Indian viewpoint.

Especially for the last one hundred years, there are plenty of native oral and written sources that could be quoted to provide the true spirit of a native perspective. Why quote a white "expert" when there are plenty of articulate Indians who deal with the same topic from direct experience? More quotations by Indians would also enliven the text, and help students get the feel of the Indian worldview. With its current limitations, this book should probably not be assigned unless it is accompanied by Indian-authored readings.

Despite the weaknesses, which will hopefully be corrected in a future edition. Gibson has written a balanced overview of Native American archaeology, ethnography, and post-contact history. It will be recognized as one of the best existing texts in the field.

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People of the Totem: The Indians of the Pacific Northwest, By Norman Bancroft-Hunt and Werner Forman, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979, 128 pp. \$14.95.

Peoples of the Coast: The Indians of the Pacific Northwest, By George Woodcock. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977. 223 pp. \$18.95.

These two books probably represent the extremes in contemporary publications about Native American culture and art production. Bancroft-Hunt and Forman's People of the Totem is an attractive introduction to the native peoples of the Northwest Coast. The book was nicely bound and beautifully printed (in Italy), and all 131 photographs are in color. This is really two books. Bancroft-Hunt's text is rather overshadowed by Forman's photographs, which have extensive captions of unspecified authorship. The text is divided into six chapters: Introduction, The Societies, The Potlatch, The Supernatural, Myth and Cosmology, and Dance and Ceremony. Anyone courageous enough to attempt such a general

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introduction to an entire culture area of course faces a difficult task: how to synthesize or at least summarize both areal norms and regional variations in economy, social organization, art production, etc., without violating or ignoring the primary anthropological data—which here is of unsurpassed richness and complexity —that must support such a model or overview. Given the extremely meager bibliography which Bancroft-Hunt acknowledges (nine items!), the result is not too bad, a rather modest failure. In the first chapter, for example, the author discusses or mentions the geography of the Northwest Coast, the prehistory and linguistic affiliations of the inhabitants, the beginnings of European exploration, and the acculturation and present condition of the surviving peoples. All this is done with hardly any documentation or acknowledgement of the vast literature available. Bancroft-Hunt does, however, show an uncommon and sympathetic concern for the contemporary peoples of the Northwest Coast. He is also well aware that the so-called "classic" Northwest Coast art of the nineteenth century was, in its quantity and complexity, very much the product of a ritual and ideological exaggeration of earlier traditions, directly brought on by the rapid infusion of European wealth and economic relations into traditional structures of Northwest Coast society.

Bancroft-Hunt's second chapter, The Societies, provides a good general account ranging from the descriptions of boat- and house-building and village layout, to kinship systems and property rights. In this and subsequent chapters, he follows a gross division of the culture area into Northern and Southern subareas. In all these chapters there is an uncomfortable oscillation between the general and the particular. General comments about mythology, for example, will be followed by excerpts from a single myth whose provenience is ignored, and in some cases taken from a source not in the bibliography. Or, as in the last chapter, Dance and Ceremony, we are given quite detailed descriptions of various winter ceremonials, but only the most cursory and even random references to Franz Boas' account of Kwakiutl ritual.

One would like to know what kind of audience Bancroft-Hunt thought he was addressing. My criticisms notwithstanding, this text is an adequate introduction, but therein is the problem. For the casual reader, this text is probably too detailed and too serious. For the student or scholar, however, there is simply not enough substance here. Philip Drucker's *Indians of the Northwest Coast* was published as a handbook for the American Museum of Natural

History in 1955, and can still be bought for about \$2.50. In spite of its age, it remains one of the best culture area introductions ever written, far superior to Bancroft-Hunt's text in content and awareness of the illustrious past of Northwest Coast scholarship. Drucker even includes a chapter on art, which Bancroft-Hunt unaccountably does not. The striking absence in *People of the Totem* of even a general overview of art production can perhaps be explained by a closer look at Werner Forman's photographs, which are all about art and in effect replace the missing chapter.

Forman is rather well-known for his color photography of "pri-

mitive" art. The jacket describes him this way:

His sympathetic and expressive photography has brought him international fame and his books have won several important awards . . . He has established a reputation as an authority on ancient civilizations and primitive cultures, and several of the world's leading private collections and museums have given him the exclusive right to photograph their art treasures.

Apparently the division of labor in producing this book was such that Forman was in effect given the chapter on art, to be "interpreted" by his photographs and his (?) captions. Now alongside ethnological literature, nearly all of it written by Europeans and White Americans, art production is a primary source for our view of native culture on the Northwest Coast, and the only source not produced by outsiders. The systematic interpretation of art should therefore offer at least the theoretical possibility of a more objective view of native culture, an authentic interior point of view different from the intervention of the Western ethnologist. And what kind of image of Northwest Coast art does Forman present?

Forman has developed his own style of art photography. In *People of the Totem*, Forman's style distorts and overwhelms the very art which he set out to represent. Time after time, his intense oblique lighting creates glaring highlights and dark shadows which make it difficult to perceive the real colors and textures, while submerging the details we would like to see. For no apparent reason other than a misguided aesthetic of photography, eleven large illustrations are larger than the page and thus creased. From beginning to end, the viewer is given an incoherent stream of artifacts—storage boxes, hats, bowls, masks, figures, house screens and poles, elements of costume, weapons, petroglyphs, amulets—all thrown together and accompanied by captions which range from the mere-

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ly pedestrian to the ersatz poetry of a travelog. If what we are given is bad, what we are not given is worse. Not one caption includes collection data, and only a few even give dimensions. Even in order to find the present location of the artifacts, the reader must turn to the acknowledgements at the back, where the names of museums and private collections (some anonymous) are matched with the page numbers of the objects illustrated.

There is in *People of the Totem* a disturbing contradiction between the visual concern with art which dominates the book, and the inability of either collaborator to see in this art anything more than an illustration of the culture or a commodity to be reproduced. Bancroft-Hunt's scattered mentions of art are derivative at best, and he makes no effort to consider the central roles which the production, use and exchange of art had in this culture. For Bancroft-Hunt, art serves as a kind of marginal illustration to writings about culture. For Forman, art serves quite another purpose. His photographic style, and his selection of artifacts for their expressive potential and aesthetic novelty, further alienate this art from its cultural context and transform it instead into a commodity to be sold through his photographs. Forman's business here is not of course selling art *per se* but rather his own romantic image which he creates by distorting and exploiting the art of the past.

The wisdom of reviewing Bancroft-Hunt and Forman's book alone in this journal would be questionable. But the intent of this review is now to compare that product of a commercial publisher to one from an academic press, in order to glimpse the extent to which economic considerations (i.e., the authors' and publishers' desire to make a profit) affect the presentation and understanding of Native American culture, and the new roles which native art

has been made to play in the selling of the Indian past.

George Woodcock's *Peoples of the Coast* is a rather comprehensive and systematic introductory survey of the prehistory and history of native culture of the Northwest Coast. The ten chapters of text are presented in four parts, along with an introduction and an epilogue. The text is illustrated by ninety-six black and white photographs, and sixteen color plates are presented together between Parts I and II. Here, too, native art production plays a major role in the story, but Woodcock's use of art is very different from that of Bancroft-Hunt and Forman. Woodcock's credentials are also those of an "amateur" (he is a well-known Canadian author of travel books), but this book is thoughtful and serious enough to belie that status frequently.

The Introduction, The Peoples of the Coast, is a statement of the author's aims and approach, and an overview of some of the important features of this culture area. The very first paragraph is a refreshing departure from traditional academic thought, when Woodcock subtly redefines the Northwest Coast as a "high culture" area, because of the "monumental impulse" of its art production, notwithstanding its expression in perishable materials. Woodcock is careful to note that in other respects, the Northwest Coast is very unlike the high cultures of Mexico and Peru, because of its low population and its political and linguistic fragmentation. He then clearly articulates what is certainly one of the most intriguing problems in understanding this culture:

These Indians, entirely unagrarian in their way of existence, are perhaps unique in having created an abundant material culture of considerable social complexity and artistic achievement entirely on the basis of a food-gathering economy... (p. 7).

Woodcock's stated aim in this book is "to draw a full and fascinating portrait of the culture at its height . . . " To meet this ambitious goal, he proposes to exploit five different types of evidence: archaeological, linguistic and mythological, shamanic analogies with Asia, historical and ethnological, and artistic. The chapters of Part I cover various aspects of prehistory: archaeology is the subject of Chapter 1, Before History: Archaeology's Questions, and Chapter 3, Image and Talisman: The Record in Stone Faces: Chapter 2 concerns Language and Myth: The Verbal Witness: and Chapter 4, Shamanism: The Link with Asia. Part II is a summary of the early period of European contact, in Chapter 5, History Begins: The Fatal Encounter. Part III offers a more detailed picture of four major tribal-regional societies: the Nootka and Makah (Chapter 6, The Hunters of Leviathan), the Coast Salish (Chapter 7, The Spirit Questers), the Tlingit, Tsimshian and Haida (Chapter 8, The Raven's Kin), and the Kwakiutl (Chapter 9, The Winter Dancers). In Part IV, Chapter 10, The Transformers, is an account of acculturation and recent efforts by native peoples to recover and preserve their culture. The Epilogue, A Witnessing, is a sensitive description of the author's attendance at a Coast Salish spirit dance. Woodcock should be congratulated for this superbly organized effort to synthesize the disparate sources of knowledge about Northwest Coast culture. On the whole, his effort is a success, notBook Reviews 107

withstanding a number of problems with his interpretation of the material.

The prehistory of the Northwest Coast is still poorly understood. Woodcock gives a brief history of archaeological research here and outlines the major problems. Even after years of relatively scientific work since World War II, there remain huge gaps in regional chronologies, which are requisite for any areal synthesis of prehistory. Further obstacles are imposed by the way archaeology has been practiced here. Most workers appear to dig artifacts instead of sites; very few sites have actually been excavated as sites, i.e., typologically ordered activity areas whose remains may, if properly excavated, reveal important features of the social process. (The notable exception to this dismal pattern is the late prehistoric Ozette site on Cape Alava, Washington, where a mudslide buried the village and its inhabitants, preserving it nearly intact until its discovery in 1971.)

Here and elsewhere, Woodcock is most effective when he summarizes data and identifies problems. He does this admirably, even though his references are often incomplete or absent altogether. Woodcock's interpretations, however, are too often unwarranted by the facts at hand. Perhaps the worst lapses of logic occur in his interpretation of prehistoric art. In this he has been heavily influenced by Mircea Eliade's view of shamanism as a virtually universal and controlling magico-religious ideology, acquired by Paleolithic peoples and inflicted upon all subsequent hunting and gathering peoples as though it were a biological trait rather than a cultural one. The uncritical acclaim which Woodcock grants Eliade's idea proves to be a heavy burden and the source of a major weakness of this book. For example, a deer bone carved with a human skull, said to date after 1000 B.C., is interpreted thusly:

[It] was clearly used as a shaman's charm, since similar miniatures have figured among the apparatus of Coast Indian medicine men in recent times, and also among the apparatus of Siberian shamans and Tibetan Bon wizards (p. 38).

There is no further description of the object, nor any account of its archaeological context (surface find? grave? midden?), nor is the object illustrated or reference made to one. Again, the well-known stone bowls of the Marpole phase (after 400 B.C.) are interpreted, narrowly, as images of shamans, supported by some astonishing references to Buddhist and Hindu iconography, as well as to the "shamans" in the painted caves at Lascaux and Altamira.

In spite of what this reviewer feels is a tendency by Woodcock to rely too heavily on shamanism as the paradigmatic framework for prehistoric art, there is another issue in which Woodcock emerges as a more thoughtful scholar. He attempts to account for the coexistence of shamanic traits in the rank societies of "classic" Northwest Coast culture by suggesting that shamanic prerogatives were appropriated by chiefs. Woodcock thus proposes an evolutionary framework for shamanism which so far has eluded some well-known advocates of "shamanism by ethnographic analogy" in their attempts to explain prehistoric art in the Americas, in particular Peter Furst and his followers. Woodcock further suggests that "the role of the grandiloquent, name-obsessed chiefs grew at the expense of the shamans, whose standing appears to have diminished greatly in recent centuries" (p. 72). Regrettably, he does not pursue this insight, but we have here the beginnings of a historical explanation of the shamanic structure which forms the core of much aristocratic ritual in the Northwest Coast. The analysis of shamanic themes in aristocratic art will certainly be necessary if this problem is to be resolved.

In Chapter 5 Woodcock provides an excellent overview of the Northwest Coast as it appeared to the early European explorers and merchants, quoting extended passages from early accounts. In this and the following chapters, Woodcock's approach to historic Northwest Coast art follows a more conventional mode. As the following passage will make clear, Woodcock sees the art of the past as a higher form of historical evidence, believing that art best embodies the truth of the past:

The artifacts of a people have always been the most reliable evidence of their way of life, more reliable than the written or printed records of even a literate civilization. And when the culture of that people is represented by a high art tradition, as in the case of the Coast Indians, it is among that art's products that we find ourselves most closely in contact with their intellectual and spiritual life... Just as Ruskin found the spirit of a great and vanished European age still living in the stones of Venice, so the modern historian can find the spirit of the great primitive cultures still surviving in their artifacts of wood and bone and textile. For art defies the death of cultures (p. 30).

Woodcock thus adheres to an idealistic view of the art of the past, believing that art somehow transcends the culture of its producers, to embody universal values that speak unbound by time. Seen

against the shabby commercial appropriation of art and culture that infects the book by Bancroft-Hunt and Forman, Woodcock's attitude is progressive indeed. And in fact, Woodcock's presentation of art is almost a response to the meretricious excesses of Bancroft-Hunt and Forman. Woodcock makes fine and frequent use of early drawings and photographs of art in its authentic contexts. Even the mediocre reproduction quality of the illustrations as a whole seems to support his seriousness of effort. He clearly uses art to explain the culture and to educate his audience. He does not exploit the people of the Northwest Coast, but honors their

culture, past and present.

But ultimately, Woodcock's approach is also a barrier to a more truthful understanding of the art of Native Americans. The belief that "high art" must be directed to the fulfillment of intellectual and spiritual needs, rather than more immediately social ones, is a myth even, or especially, among Western cultures. Its relevance to the art of Native Americans is doubtful, since it is contradicted by the centrality of art in the social structure of the societies themselves. Perhaps it would be better to see art as a unique bridge between the material and intellectual production of a society. In this sense, art would not merely "reflect" life or "illustrate" culture, but would be seen as a vital instrument of social activity, which in the Northwest Coast proclaims a spirit of unity while serving to justify a system of social ranking which pervades not only the social life, but also the religion and mythology—the "intellectual and spiritual life."

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A Concise Dictionary of Indian Tribes of North America. By Barbara Leitch. Algonac, MI: Reference Publications Inc., 1979. 646 pp. \$59.95.

As the price of books climb, along with prices of all the other items we must buy, it becomes more and more important to examine each book with a critical eye. When a book costs sixty dollars the examination should be very detailed. For a reference book there are seven major areas of concern: (1) subject/scope; (2) materials