

### Definition of the Style

While it is self evident that certain similarities unite all of these chests into a single type, it remains to be demonstrated that they constitute the work of an individual artist, as I believe. It will assist to compare them with other related styles, earlier and contemporary, which are surely from the hands of different artists.

Predecessors. Carved and painted chests with telescoped lids, up to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards long, were seen by the first Europeans to visit the north end of the Queen Charlotte Islands, aboard Juan Perez' vessel in 1774 (Griffin, 1891, p. 192). The type was probably like Fig. (see also Newcombe, 1909, Pl. VI, PM 1321, child's coffin from Kiusta), which I suspect to be the immediate predecessor of the Edenshaw chest; that is, made by a generation of artists before him. The general form: chests with telescoped lids and carved and painted animal designs, was probably made by several Haida, Tlingit, and perhaps Tsimshian artists (cf. e.g. Siebert and Forman, 1967, Pls. 78, 80, 81; Boas, 1955, Figs. 277-280 from Emmons, 1907; MacDonald, G.F., 1973, Pl. 12, Gust Island burial box). *No such predecessors south of the Tsimshian*

Contemporaries. A contemporary coffin of the southern Haida type, related stylistically to southern Haida mortuary poles, was shown in Fig. . In addition, an artist at Skidegate or one of the other southern Haida villages made a small number of coffins in a style derivative of the Edenshaw chests. Figure is one of these in the collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia. Comparison of the details of this chest with a classic Edenshaw chest is an instructive exercise in the recognition of individual styles.

Edenshaw's nephew Charles Edenshaw also made a small number of chests. Two which I attribute to him are (Figure , see also Hawthorn, 1967, Pl. XXIXB, A 7103) and (Figure , see also Masterpieces, 1969, Pl. 78, NMC VII-C-1183). As will be seen, the styles of uncle and nephew in flat design are very close. It is therefore possible that the younger Edenshaw may have assisted with some of his uncle's chests; and in the case of the closely related square boxes, I find the styles too similar to separate.

*Bella Bella multitype? boxes only*

Successors. Edenshaw chests evidently enjoyed a vogue along much of the coast during the 1860s and 70s. No native-made chests succeeded them (except a few patently derivative southern Kwakiutl ones), but they seem to have been replaced by imported camphorwood chests from China (see Keithahn, 1963, p. 34.)

### Identification of the Style

Each of the chests was made, or at least decorated, by an individual artist. If my argument so far is correct, the artist or artists were northern Haida. One chest from the Nass River is attributed to Edenshaw by name, and assigned an age in the 1850s, which specifies which Edenshaw was meant. I have tried to show that while no two are exactly alike, they are similar enough to each other, and different enough from related chest types, to be considered an individual style.  
*None is attributed to any other individual*

The distribution of the chests in time and space is consistent with what is known of Edenshaw's life and travels. His working life as an artist, between the ages of <sup>25</sup>30 and <sup>65</sup>70, would be from <sup>1840</sup>1845 to <sup>1880</sup>1885, by which time traditional activities were ceasing. He travelled widely: often to Victoria and Sitka. He is said to have lived for two years at Port Simpson. There is no reason to consider Kluckwan beyond his range. The earliest firmly dated "Edenshaw" chest is the one collected by Gibbs in Tsimshain territory in 1855-57. Discounting the claims of 300 and 150 years of age for two of the chests, they can all be considered to fall into the 1850-75 period, consistent with Edenshaw's career.

#### *Alternate explanations*

In the end, the judgment is made upon the intuitive perception of style, which no amount of verbal description can absolutely confirm or refute.

### Interpretation of the Designs

The designs on the chests are acknowledged to be among the pinnacles of Northwest Coast art, yet they are so 'abstract' that they have not been adequately interpreted. Bill Holm has demonstrated the complexity of their form and excellence of their design (1965; 1967 in *Arts of Raven; Boxes and Bowls*) but has not explained their meaning. Boas, pursuing the representation of crest animals through various art forms, could on reaching this point say only that the design was that of an animal<sup>1</sup> (1955, p.262) and was tempted to say that such designs

1. Boas had his informant John Wiha make a drawing of a chest design in the form of a frog, but the result does not show a close resemblance to actual chest designs (Boas, 1955, Fig. 246, p. 239).

were becoming "purely decorative" (p. 271). I think it wrong to consider that such complex representations had descended to the level of meaningless design. Instead, it is likely that they were assuming new kinds of meaning at levels other than that of straight representation. It was easily within the power of the artist to create a specific animal in a pleasing design, but some other agenda seems to have been at work, so that it was gaining, not losing meaning.

The collectors of the chests had their own conceptions of their meanings. To C.F. Newcombe they were not crests but "designs"; nevertheless, he tried to read in animal forms: one was said to represent a sea bear on one side and a killer whale on the other (PM 1295, 1909, pp. 8-10); another to be a killer whale on the front and a mythical mountain eagle on the back (PM 220, 1909, p. 30). Whether he received such interpretations from native informants is not clear. Barbeau learned from the Niska that the designs were "adabis" (decoration)<sup>2</sup>

2. One of the names of Metlakatla was "place of adabis", from the sparkling of the sun on the rippled water.

and were given names such as "in river pool" and "box of the sky". Walter Waters, who collected the Chief Shakes chest (DAM QT1-117, Fig. ) succumbed to the ever-present temptation to read in the chief's crest, a grizzly bear. That option was presumably open to any chief who owned one.

Tlingit owners seem mostly to have interpreted the design as the undersea wealth spirit, Gonaqadet. Emmons so interpreted the one he collected at Kluckwan (WSM 2291, Inverarity Pl. 25); and the chest in the Rasmussen collection has been so interpreted (Rasmussen 95, Gunther ). The Gonaqadet is "a great being in the sea who bestows on people great wealth", according to T.T. Waterman (1923, p. 450), who continues: "His appearance is like unto that of a great bear,... He is so big that he looks 'like the side of a house'". This being could take a great variety of forms, from that of a whirlpool to that of a human being. It was not an ordinary crest animal, although it seems to have been claimed as one by certain Tlingit chiefs. *It was a <sup>Northern</sup> Haida concept as much as a Tlingit one. Edenshaw had one on a screen of his house at Kwista (Swanton). And his chief's seat equated it with Frog crest.*

In summary, then, what does the chest design represent in an iconographic sense? It is clearly an animal form, with a large head, small body, limbs, and perhaps other body parts (Boas, 1955, p. 263; de Laguna in Far North, p. 181). It is not a common crest animal, or else the artist would have portrsyed it more clearly as such. I believe that in some sense it does "represent" the Gonaqadet wealth sp~~irit~~it.

### Structural Analysis of the Design

This art style does not produce realistic depictions of real animals, let alone imaginary ones. Its mode of representation is more ideographic and diagrammatic. It does not produce pictures of animals as much as diagrams. The Gonaqadet on the front of the Edenshaw chest is an exceedingly complicated diagram. It may have evolved from the stylized front view of an animal, but it has become several stages more complex than that. It uses the device of parts that are also wholes: each of the sub-fields of the design can sometimes be read as a face. It also uses the device of bilateral symmetry: making opposites visually equal. Its most distinctive feature is the eyes. Each eye has become two eyes, in fact a separate face. In addition to having two eyes it has four; it has doubled eyes. It has a large nose and a huge mouth. The nose is of a distinctive shape with a telltale negative circle in its tip which elsewhere in the art (for example, on the belly of the raven rattle) marks a beak. The Gonaqadet face, that is to say, has both a beak and a mouth.<sup>1</sup> It is in another

1. This interpretation is confirmed by a chest which can barely be seen in Skowal's funerary display (Fig. ) which has a recurved beak attached at this point; and by a beaked Gonaqadet on a Charles Edenshaw argillite chest (Fig. )

*and by Menauk & Skagwaut house fronts?*  
sense double: beaked bird and mouthed monster at the same time. It incorporates opposites. The Gonaqadet also has human attributes. Its hands are often human hands, and when faces are placed in the body, hands, ears or elsewhere, these are human faces. It also has 'abstract' elements, such as the four ovoid 'salmon trout heads' in the corners, whose meaning we do not yet know.

It is a complex, composite, bilaterally-symmetrical doubled diagram. It holds opposites in a symmetrical relationship. It is a doubled design holding opposites in symmetry. The head is where the doubling takes place (four eyes,

beak-mouth); the single body serves them both in common, and in that different sense it is double too.

The Copper. This analysis paves the way for the next logical step which yields the distinctive outline of the Northwest Coast copper. That step is to half the doubled design, but to half it in a different way: to lift out its middle half (see Figure      ). Lines drawn from the top of the 'body', bisecting the double eyes of the Gonaqadet to include the two middle eyes, produce the diagrammatic shape of the copper. The 'middle half' of the Gonaqadet is the shape of the copper. The central core of this complex, composite being is shaped like a copper. That which is common to symmetrical opposites is shown by the copper.

The design on the back of the chest, which has single eyes and no nose or beak, might be seen as the Gonaqadet with the copper lifted out (Figure      )..

Waterman was told by the Tlingit that the copper was "the forehead of the Gonaqadet" (1923, p. 450). He tried to see this in a three-dimensional form on a totem pole; perhaps it is easier to see in two-dimensional form on the chests.

If the copper is in fact a diagram of the 'middle half' of the composite two-dimensional representation of the Gonaqadet, it emerges as a geometric depiction of a set of relationships. The copper is a diagram of a set of relationships. It is that which is common to two opposite animals, that which is common to a composite animal. The copper is a pure symbol of that which is common to opposites.

I am not saying that the copper originated from the Edenshaw chest, because the copper is older than this style of chest. It may be more accurate to say that the chest was designed to explain the copper (which may be its most important esoteric meaning). I do suggest that the copper originated from some earlier two-dimensional drawings of the Gonaqadet, either on chests or some other forms. Such an origin would explain certain attributes of the copper which have been known but not explained. First, its vertical orientation with

large end up seems to defy gravity. Second, its flat, essential two-dimensionality - the back of a copper is as negative as zero. Third, its bilateral symmetry. And fourth, its shape.

A more complete discussion of <sup>the copper and</sup> the implications of this suggestion must await another occasion. It is enough to say here that the shape of the copper has not been satisfactorily explained (eg Kuthakan Waterman, 1923); nor its mystique. It seems to have appeared about the time of first white contact on the northern coast, then spread rapidly down the coast to the Kwakwaka, taking on ~~so~~ a welter of new meanings.

linking the Edenshaw with coppers  
There is evidence that if the copper did have such a secret original meaning, Edenshaw would have known it. Two <sup>small</sup> antique coppers, said to have been made of native copper, were collected by Alexander Mackenzie in Masset about 1790 (Mackenzie, 1791, p 52)

Quote Mackenzie

He must have obtained them from AE Edenshaw. We are reminded of Barbeau's comments on the Edenshaws as copper-makers: -

Quote Barbeau

Barbeau, CM

1939 Indian Silversmiths on the Pacific Coast  
PTRSC ser 3 XXXIII, II, 23-8 1939.

p 25 'The Edeneshaws, leading chiefs of the Laven /se/ phratry at Massett /se/ on the Queen Charlotte Islands, were outstanding Haida craftsmen for three generations. The first of them, called "Old Edeneshaw" (Idanaw) is still remembered as a "great blacksmith and coppersmith"; so was his nephew Albert Edward Edeneshaw, who was known mostly as a copper or hayet's - smith. "Old" Edeneshaw, who was a famous steel knife and copper maker, seems to have learned his art in the north, presumably among the Tlingit, and indirectly from the Russians who then overran the Alaskan peninsula. His nephew followed in the trail which he had blazed and enlarged it by making huge copper, decorating them with incised scrolls, and selling them at a high price to the other chiefs who coveted them for the sake of their own prestige."  
(CE may have made the switch to silver or gold)

## Structural analysis of chest designs

approach it as Bocc does, and as Holm (i.e., animal and distributive)

becomes abstract { "distributive" (begs the question of meaning) <sup>can no longer see the relationships of parts of the animal represented</sup>  
diagrammatic rather than pictorial  
stylized: uses conventionalized design elements as much as possible  
design per se becomes more important (expected) than representation

as structure { parts become wholes, elements become entities (salmon trout heads, faces in subfields including profile faces)  
so there is double meaning of parts: - pictorial - faces  
- unknown - s.t.h.s.  
begins with  
basic armature is bilateral symmetry, down to last detail  
bilateral symmetry - vertical asymmetry, about centre point

as iconography { departure from ordinary animal frontal design model:  
- no tail, no 4 legs, diagonal eye, nostrils, or teeth not shown  
approach to human model - human hands, human faces in parts, <sup>profile</sup> salmon trout heads alter ego is a human face  
- on ends, faces used are human

doubling of main face: 1) eyes 4 eyes, 2 faces x  
a mental operation 2) nose as beak: <sup>negative cove</sup> no nostrils and  
so has both mouth and beak

emphasize bilateral symmetry, vertical asymmetry  $\frac{2}{1}$  head/body

implicit copper shape (as armature?)

is directly related (dependent on) doubling of main face

what it does is half the double face in a new way

includes centre 2 of 4 eyes

includes beak-nose

what it "leaves" is the back of the chest (no nose beak, sth as eyes)

## Chester

Place of Origin - Haida  
 Tlingit  
 Tsimshian  
 Bella Bella  
 Kwakwaka'wakw & Salish

OK

Doesn't deal enough with Bella Bella  
 a subsidiary center of Northwest Art

Definition of the Style  
 Predecessors  
 Contemporaries  
 Successors

OK

Don't deal with individual  
 stigmata

Identification of the Style  
 (Edenshaw)

OK

} in the alternate, a N Haida school, with subsidiary  
 school at Bella Bella

Interpretation of the designs

Gonezadet Gonezadet

Copper  
 Copper & Edenshaw

Copper

Implicit copper as marker of the style

Interpretation of designs : abstract  
 : animal

: Gonezadet - like Frog - { CE drawing in Swanton's  
 Edenshaw's chief's seat

Structural analysis of design : doubled

: implicit copper

- coincidence?

- esoteric meaning?

- AE's relationship with copper

} at least, style  
 marker

## Bella Bella

- southern periphery of <sup>southern</sup> flat design
- no older stratum of ditches, etc (except frontlets)
- no screens, housefronts,
- little from surrounding villages
- Captain Carpenter style derived from northern flat design

Doris said she heard that my paper at SFU was fantastic,  
and that I had gone far beyond Images: Stone.

What is it that I have learned?

about deep symbolism

" imaging as a mode of expression

the image as unit of iconography

its content (subject) - part and whole  
literal - metaphoric

its structure (predicate) - as metaphors

possibility of a deeper content which is hidden (Severin) (Sexual)

possibility of human body self source of deeper symbols (T.H.)

humanoform, sex parts, faces, eyes

process of condensation of images: prevalence of nose-bust-  
mouth image and mouthing acts in the art

paradigms: problems being solved

Concentration points:

Edinshaw chests } working on these now

Copper

Box

Lower scenes

CE small poles

Personal styles

on edge, in distress, apprehensiveness, fear  
voice problems, nervousness, on edge of tears, weepy  
weight loss

loss of appetite, loss of sense of taste  
preoccupations with death, aging. Depression  
dry mouth

mood bad, apprehensive, negative,  
tense, tight  
dizziness

It is a matter of mood, set, outlook, incentive  
It is chronic

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## EDENSHAW CHESTS

Large wooden chests of a particular type have been collected from a wide area of the coast ranging from Kluckwan in northern Tlingit territory to the Fraser Valley in Salish territory, bearing elaborate designs in the northern art style. The number of these known to me is about fifty, and they are attributed in museum records to the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Bella, and even Kwakiutl. They merge conceptually into other chest types and into types of square boxes which are even more numerous, the designs on which seem to be derivative of the chest designs. This study includes a number of chests, and it is my purpose to show that those of the dominant type belong together as a stylistic cluster associated with the northern Haida area of the coast, and, incredibly, are from the hands of one artist, Albert Edward Edenshaw.

Although no two are identical in all details, the "Edenshaw chests" share common features which set them off as a type. The chest in Fig. (from the Koerner Collection, U.B.C., of unknown provenience) is typical: large, oblong, with a heavy base and a heavier lid. The four sides are of a single cedar plank, kerfed and bent at three corners and joined at the fourth by pegs or sewing. The design is painted, or more frequently painted and carved, on front and back: highly complex figures of formlines and related elements. That on the front can be read as an animal with a huge head and small central body, the double-eyed face with brows which touch the top edge of the chest. Other elements have been read as other body parts; for example, the four corner ovoids containing "salmon-trout heads" have been said to be hip and shoulder joints, but such meanings are by no means explicit and clear. The design on the back may also be read as an animal, the face having large single "salmon-trout heads" for eyes, but there is no nose or beak.

Bill Holm has provided an excellent formal analysis of the primary, secondary, and tertiary structure of these designs, and of their colours, which are restricted to black, red, and blue (in Duff, et. al., 1969; Boxes and Bowls, p. .) Boas, in Primitive Art (1955, pp. 262-7), carried the iconographic interpretation as far as possible in identifying the designs as highly stylized animals.

The figures on the ends of the chests are more variable, in contrast with the fixed stylization of the front and back. They are most often simpler, painted rather than carved, and seemingly unrelated to the front and back designs. Little interpretation has been offered for these. The lids on a small number of these chests are joined directly to the decorated sides, forming a box which telescopes down over a plain inner box attached to the base (Figure ). This seems to have been the ancestral type.

### Place of Origin

Kerfed and lidded cedar boxes are widespread and old on the Northwest Coast. My purpose here is to determine the place of origin of this particular type of chest, and distinguish it from its predecessors and derivatives. The discussion will also help to clarify the type.

Haida. Strong evidence links chests of this type with the Haida. An example is shown in Figure (NMC VIIB457, see also Holm, 1965, Fig. 55), which was collected <sup>at Masset</sup> by G.F. Newcombe from Charles Edenshaw in 1901, and was said to have come from Kiusta and to be 150 years old. Newcombe obtained at least four more from Masset (PM 1295, PM 1399, EG27, Culin 1906), and Inverarity collected two more from the Queen Charlotte Islands in the 1930s (Inverarity, 19 , Pl. 16, 24). In 1902 Charles Edenshaw also gave Newcombe detailed information on how the chests had been made. The cedar board was trued to width and a centre line was drawn along its length. One end was squared using a string as a radius from a point on the centre line. Two strips of wood were then cut as measures for the short and long sides of the chest. The corners were then marked and kerfed on both sides (a deep V on the inside and a very shallow U on the outside); then steamed, bent, and the fourth corner joined with pegs of yew. Edenshaw also sold Newcombe a set of templates for ovoids and eye shapes used for such box designs. Based on what he learned at Masset, Newcombe later wrote the following revealing comment on the chest designs:

The designs on the two larger size have no significance as crests, but are considered appropriate for chiefs ranging from South-East Alaska to the farthestmost limits of the Kwakiutl (1909, pp. 8-10).

Such a comment sounds like that of a maker and distributor of chests, serving a coast-wide market.<sup>1</sup>

1. Edenshaw did not mention any fixed proportion between length of side and width of board, and no fixed proportions seem to exist in the chests studied. This variability of the design field contributed to the fact that no two designs were identical. Newcombe seems never to have asked "Who made it?"

The chests of this type were also the most numerous in the northern Haida area. Chief Skowals's funerary display at Kasaan in 1885 (Fig. ) includes six of them surrounding his coffin, which was of a different type. The house at Klinkwan (Fig. ) which Henry Edenshaw inherited from his mother (A.E. Edenshaw's wife) had its <sup>a</sup>retaining wall at the back festooned with carved chest <sup>designs of this type</sup> and copper designs.

Southern Haida villages including Skidegate yielded chests of a different type, conceptually <sup>like</sup> those on southern Haida mortuary poles. These were mixtures of two- and three-dimensional design, with a raised face in the centre (Fig. ). One fragmentary example of an Edenshaw chest has been seen at a mass burial site at Tanoo (MacDonald, 1973, Pl. 27). One other southern Haida artist made a small number of chests in a style derivative of the Edenshaw chest (for example, see Fig. ). The Haida seem to have used these chests most often as treasure boxes, but sometimes also, as in the case at Tanoo, as coffins.

Tlingit. Several chests of this type were collected from Tlingit villages. In certain cases these were acknowledged to have been obtained by trade, but in others the impression is left that they were Tlingit made. The northern Tlingit owned a few, but obtained them by trade. Emmons wrote of the Chilkat: "Southward they made annual trips to the country of the Tsimshian to purchase slaves, war-canoes, and red-cedar chests" (1907, p. 342). The chest shown in Fig. (WSM 2291) was collected by Emmons at Chilkat, and said to have been obtained from the Queen Charlotte Islands.

The southern Tlingit owned numbers of these chests. One of these, illustrated in colour by Gunther (1966, p. 17, Rasmussen catalog 95) was said by Chief Johnson of Ketchikan to have been Tsimshian-made and 300 years old. Another, from the Shakes collection of Wrangell and illustrated by Holm (1965, Fig. 61, DAM QTI-117, see also DAM, 1962, Pl. 7), stands as Tlingit. Another, collected by Wolfgang Paalen from Sitka (Paalen, 19 , Fig. ), is recorded as Haida; but another in the Sheldon Jackson Museum at Sitka and two in the Alaska State Museum have been considered Tlingit. Two more assumed to be Tlingit are illustrated in the Far North catalog, with notes by Frederica de Laguna summarizing what is known of the chests (1973, p. 181).

Since the better documented chests from Kluckwan, Sitka, and Wrangell have been acknowledged to have been obtained from the south, I conclude that the Tlingit did not themselves make this particular type. These people seem to have used them as treasure boxes and heirlooms, and not as coffins.

Tsimshian. C.F. and W.A. Newcombe collected five of these chests from the Nass River in or before 1912<sup>2</sup> (NMC VIIC128, see also Holm, 1965, Fig. 77; WN 6, 9, and 13; PM 1635), and let them stand in the collection notes as Tsimshian. Barbeau has suggested that the Niska were the earliest, though not prehistoric, makers of chests of this kind (1957, p. 56). Yet the evidence can also be read to indicate that the Niska did not make such chests at all.

The chest in Fig. (ROM HN925) is a very important chest collected by Barbeau in 1929 from Chief Neesyoq of Gitlakdamiks. It is the only one linked directly with the name Edenshaw. Barbeau's collection notes read:

Carved box (Tsem'iyomks - "in pool" of river) of nisyq (Wolf phratry, Gitlarhdamks). It was used as a dancing platform in feasts; the box was filled with moose skins, which were distributed after the chief had danced on it. It was twice used by nisyq.

3 A few Nass River chiefs enjoy like privileges of using dance chests:.../names four/.

This box was carved by Wutensu\* (Edenshaw), a Haida, before the present Nisyq was born (he seems around 75 years old).

The carvings are not meant for crests; they are sadebisest "to butterfly" or "to beautify" (adebis = butterfly); or again "a work of art".

Barbeau also recorded that on the Nass the chests were restricted to a small number of chiefs who had the privilege of sitting on them at feasts. His informant Barton named four chiefs among the Niska and Tsimshian who claimed this privilege.

There is no clear evidence that they were actually made on the Nass, but there are indications which suggest they were not. In an unpublished manuscript entitled "Emblems of Nobility" Barbeau gives a great deal of information on Niska carvers, obtained from Charles Barton in 1927. Ten carvers are named as makers of totem poles, rattles, masks, chiefs' headdresses and spoons, but none is mentioned as a carver of boxes or chests. Figure shows a Niska totem pole which includes a chest front, the Eagle-Halibut pole of Laai at Gitiks (see also Barbeau, 1950, Pl. 11, p. 51). The original chest from which the design was copied is shown in Figure . The significant point is that the carver made a

serious error in the copy, leaving out the primary black formline which forms the chin of the main face, revealing that he did not really understand the structure of the design. A similar lack of understanding was shown in 1934, when Viola Garfield had one of the last Niska artists, Bryan Peel, apprenticed in the house of Skateen, make a box design for her (Garfield, 19 ). The result is a rather poor design, showing no affinity with Edenshaw chests.

Figure        shows a classic chest in the Smithsonian collection (SI 66-638), said to have been collected by George Gibbs at Port Simpson in 1855-57 (or at "Portland Inlet opposite Tongass", Far North, Pl. 231, p. 183, which would be in Niska territory). Since Port Simpson was at the time the main metropolis of the entire northern coast, it was not of necessity Tsimshian-made. My conclusion from the weight of the evidence is that the Tsimshian (Niska) did not themselves make these chests. None have been collected from Gitksan villages. They were so few and so restricted in use that they are better explained as rare imports. *What of dishes in related style? What of dragonfly screen? } for T3 and T4*

Their use on the Nass was as special privileges of a few chiefs, as seats or dancing platforms. In Tsimshian they were sometimes called andahalait, "in which sacred" (things are kept); that is, treasure chests for Chilkat blankets, headdresses, raven rattles, and perhaps coppers. Barbeau termed the simulated chest on Laai's pole his "casket" (Barbeau, 1950, pp. 49-51), but there is no other evidence for such a use of coffins on poles among the Tsimshian.

Bella Bella. Four chests known to me, two painted and two carved, are said to have come from Bella Bella. The painted ones are in the National Museum of Canada (NMC VIIIEE29, see Holm, 1965, Fig 3, front only) and the Field Museum in Chicago (Newcombe's EC21). The Provincial Museum has a carved chest (PM 220, see Newcombe, 1909, Pl. XVIII) collected by Jacobsen in 1893. Last, but far from least, the chest known as Chief Tlakamuti's coffin (Figure        ) in Chicago is said to have come from Bella Bella although it was actually purchased in Landsberg's store in Victoria. Of all the chests in the series the latter is one of the most complex, and I regard it as a type specimen. I regard it as Haida, partly because it bears a particular stylistic trait which is found on many of the chests and which I take to be a sort of stylistic signature of the artist. This is a punned, upside-down, grinning face in the lower centre field which is identified as the body of the animal depicted. It is deliberately created, because its eyes violate a fundamental rule of the art which Holm calls "non-concentricity upwards" (Figure        ). The same little happy face may be seen on the end of the chest from Masset in Figure        (see Figure        ).

Bella Bella was a centre of art on the coast, in a style as much northern as Kwakiutl. I am aware that Bill Holm considers it a major centre, attributing to it at least one additional chest of unknown provenience which I consider to be of this same series (Holm and Reid, 1975, pp. 131-2). I acknowledge that at least one Bella Bella artist produced boxes and other paintings in a style similar to, and in my judgment derivative from, the "Edenshaw" style; but I do not think the four chests were made there. Bella Bella was the site of a Hudson's Bay Company post and later a trading store, and would be a stopping place for northern Indians on their way to Victoria. If chests had been made there one would expect to find them also in the nearby villages of Rivers Inlet, Bella Coola, and Kitamaat.

Two of the four chests from Bella Bella were called "coffins" by Newcombe.

*What about chufe seats? no answer*

Kwakiutl and Salish. Fragments of two Edenshaw chests from Fort Rupert are in the Vancouver Centennial Museum. Two more were collected in the Coast Salish area: one at Ruby Creek in the Fraser Valley by C.F. Newcombe in 1911 (PM 1398), and one at Saanich by H.I. Smith in 1929 (NMC VIIG342a). To my knowledge nobody has suggested that these were actually made by southern Kwakiutl or Coast Salish; the better explanation would be that they were brought to Fort Rupert and Victoria by visiting Haida.

Summary. My conclusion is that the chests of this series were made by the northern Haida and traded north to the Tlingit, east to the Niska and Tsimshian, and south as far as Victoria. One is reminded that Charles Edenshaw told Newcombe that the designs were not crests, but were considered appropriate for chiefs ranging "from South-East Alaska to the farthestmost limits of the Kwakiutl" (Newcombe, 1909, pp. 8-10).