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**“MAA-MULTH-NII” PEOPLE WHO CAME FLOATING IN:
Analogues between Nuuchah-nulth and Tlingit with Spanish Colonial Expeditions
in the Eighteenth Century**

BY

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B.A., Indian Art, University of Regina, 1997
M.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 2006

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Art History

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DEDICATION

To my mother, Mary Flora McLeod, and my sister, Gloria Shaw, who both left to meet the Creator in 2019. Your infinite love and support helped me through all of my years. I will miss you forever and to let you know “I finally finished it.”

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ABSTRACT

Spanish explorers first navigated the 2,400-kilometer stretch of the Pacific Northwest Coast in the latter part of the eighteenth-century, largely in response to rumors that Russian traders had established a presence in lands north of Alta California (then considered Spanish territory). Spain launched a series of expeditions to the region, the first in 1774 under Juan Josef Pérez Hernández, and the final, in 1792, under Alejandro Malaspina. The Spanish remained in the area until 1794 when political and territorial tensions with the incoming British forced a negotiation known historically as the Nootka Convention. By 1795, the empire abandoned its aspirations to the Northwest Coast, and withdrew its territorial claims and inventory of scientific, military, and communal holdings.

Under the colonial agenda, Spain was familiar in dealing with Indigenous populations that, historically, used tactics of assimilation, segregation, or eradication. However, upon reaching what is now present-day Vancouver Island, the Spanish encountered cultures that were organized philosophically, psychologically, and sociologically comparable to the political and social constructs under which Spain and New Spain were organized. Their overall policy in dealing with Northwest Coast nations moved from “congregation and missionization” to “relationship building” and ally-ship.

This research focuses on highlighting analogues and points of comparison between two seemingly opposite cultures—Spanish and, specifically, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit—as recorded through cultural memory, and official/personal journals of the period. Drawing on the concepts of modernity/coloniality and the social history of art, I extrapolate the intricate histories of sixteenth-century Spain to understand how it informed these eighteenth-century interactions. I also examine the complex systems of Northwest Coast nations, guided by the teachings and wisdom of scholars and storytellers of Indigenous descent. In bringing these two cultures together in the space described as “the margins,” this paper constructs a conversation of parallels and analogues that addresses the larger issues of academic decolonization, privileging of knowledge, and the enrichment of history told through an Indigenous lens.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1878, when Canadian geologist, George Mercer Dawson, visited the islands of Haida Gwaii on the northwest coast of present-day British Columbia, he recorded an oral story from the Haida about the first European ship they saw, a vessel assumed by many to be that of Spanish Captain Juan José Pérez Hernández, who visited 104 years earlier. The Haida told Dawson the following,

The chief thought it was a great bird and went out in a canoe, dancing, to greet it. As they approached, they saw men on the dock, and because of their dark clothing, they likened them to shags (cormorants) which look almost human when they sit on the rocks. They observed that when one man spoke, many of the others would go aloft in the rigging until something more was said, and then they would all come down.¹

Contemporary *Nuu-chah-nulth*, who live on the west coast of present-day Vancouver Island, also have their own story of first encounters with the Spanish captain,

Captain Juan Pérez, sent north in 1774 by the Spanish powers in Mexico to investigate our area, anchored offshore near Yuquot. We sent some canoes out to investigate his unusual vessel and tried, by signing to invite him to visit us at Yuquot. The next day we sent out many canoes to examine the odd people and vessel that had come to visit us. We managed to do very well in barter. By giving up a few furs and used hats, we were able to procure some valuable copper, iron implements, silver utensils and even a few beautiful shells. Unfortunately, before we could gain even more through trade, a small storm blew up and the ship inexplicably left.²

¹ Erna Gunther, *Indian Life on the Northwest Coast of North America As Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders During the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 6.

² Richard Inglis, James C. Haggarty, Kevin Neary, “Yuquot Agenda Paper: Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nations,” in *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000): 19.

Thus, began the story of cross-cultural encounters between the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit, and Haida with Spanish colonial explorers; a chronicle that, set against the backdrop of cultural history and artistic form, focuses on parallels and similarities as its main motivation.

This research focuses on the following themes: 1) “shift,” as it relates to the articulation of the ally-ship and relationship-building nurtured by the Spanish towards the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit, as opposed to conquest and settlement; 2) “extension”; this being a methodology and philosophy that extrapolates analogues, not differences, to describe the connection between nations that have been, historically, positioned as opposites; and 3) the recognition of “hegemony” and privileging of an Indigenous worldview to critically question established paradigms and terms that reinforce tenets of imperialism as a point of departure in describing historical relationships.³ To support these overarching themes, select examples of *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit, and Spanish visual, material, and conceptual culture are drawn upon to form the backbone of this study.

The first theme—shift—highlights the fact that, in comparison to the treatment inflicted on other Indigenous peoples, the Spanish Crown pursued a decidedly different relationship with nations of the Northwest Coast. There were multiple factors contributing to this, including complex economic and political challenges that Spain was

³ Ben Rosamond, “Hegemony,” Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., May 17, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/hegemony>

The contextual use of “hegemony” in this instance is the dominance of one group over another, often supported by legitimating norms and ideas. The term *hegemony* is today often used as shorthand to describe the relatively dominant position of a particular set of ideas and their associated tendency to become commonsensical and intuitive, thereby inhibiting the dissemination or even the articulation of alternative ideas.

experiencing at the time, along with a reformist attitude towards peoples of the present-day North and South America that began with the legal and philosophical arguments of the School of Salamanca in the 16th century. In Spain, universities were consulted on a wide range of issues—legal, moral, political, economic—cultivating an intellectual independence that allowed academics to address and shape the most pressing political and social issues of the period, nurturing attitudes that ultimately filtered from the realms of Monarchy, Church, and State to administrator, explorer, and layperson. One of these issues was the rights of Indigenous peoples of the Americas. This is significant because the Dominicans and the Jesuits—as active members of Salamanca, as educators and mentors to both elite and proletarian, and as allies to the Spanish Crown—carried these progressive attitudes to the North American continent, ultimately influencing social, religious, political, and pragmatic directives regarding interactions with Indigenous populations. These enlightened arguments that began in 16th century Spain regarding “rights” were fully evolved by the time relationships were developed on the Northwest Coast in the late 1700’s. A larger discussion towards these factors are presented in Chapter 2, along with visual and pragmatic examples throughout this dissertation.

The second theme—extension—shapes the fundamental conversation of this research, analogues between seemingly dissimilar cultures, using a method articulated by Argentinian semiotician, Walter Mignolo, related to his theory of decoloniality/modernity. Mignolo takes the position that, rather than considering the Americas as inherently “different” from Europe, the Spanish instead viewed it as an “extension,” a place where local histories played out at the borders of the modern/colonial world.⁴ This

⁴ Peter Pels, "Review: Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking by Walter D. Mignolo," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8, no. 2 (2002): 377.

philosophical “extension”—along with the fact that the Spanish claimed the Northwest Coast as part of their territory—helped to facilitate the cross-cultural recognize-ability perceived by explorers towards the Nuuchah-nulth and Tlingit.⁵ Mignolo outlines key considerations in building his hypothesis, the structure of which forms the framework of my research:⁶

- the *location* and environment of the area under study; in this case, the Northwest Coast;
- identification of the cultures of scholarship *from where the attitude of extension emerged*; in this instance, from the liberal teachings of the sixteenth-century School of Salamanca that informed attitudes in the eighteenth;
- a deliberate reflection on the *location of agency* [activity], interpreted as *where* these attitudes of extension were located; specifically, within the attitudes and interpretations of Spanish explorers;
- finally, in locating the *locus of enunciation that form mere imaginary constructions*; that is, interpretations once dominated by Western cultural theory are deconstructed through inclusion of border locations and Indigenous

⁵ Carroll, "Art and Human Nature," 95.

Dr. Greg Bradsher, "Spanish and British Explorations of the Pacific Northwest and the Nootka Sound Controversy, 1774-1789," *The Text Message* (blog), *National Archives and Records Administration*, October 5, 2017, <https://text-message.blogs.archives.gov/2017/10/05/spanish-explorations-of-the-pacific-northwest-and-the-first-spanish-settlement-in-washington-state-nunez-gaona-neah-bay-1792-part-i/>. Spain claimed that its sovereignty of "Nueva Galicia" (the Spanish name for the Pacific Northwest) had been granted by papal decree in 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed between Spain and Portugal in 1494. Basing his claim on the papal bull, Spanish explorer, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, upon reaching the Pacific Ocean in 1513, claimed for Spain all shores washed by Pacific, including the entire west coast of North America. Subsequently, Spain made claims of "prior discovery" for the region throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

⁶ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 193; G. Honor Fagan, "Review: Local Histories/Global Designs. Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking by Walter D. Mignolo," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 19, no. 4 (2000): 579.

perspectives, resulting in a conversation that recasts historically placed “differences” as analogues.

The philosophy and theoretical underpinnings of Mignolo’s premise are communicated more fully within the Literature Review.

The final theme recognizes an underlying concept revealed as a result of this research; that is, the hegemonic use of language within the discipline of art history (and others) that continues to reinforce the tenets of imperialism. This includes (but not limited to) large concepts and terms such as “colonialism,” “decoloniality,” “modernity,” “New World,” or “Western.” To change the entrenched perception that the standards of one culture are the benchmarks against which all others must be measured—specifically in the case of Indigenous and European—the point of departure in which a conversation of parallels begins becomes critical. Even though I draw on the *structure* of Mignolo’s framework as a method of inquiry, I argue that, in using such descriptors, the vernacular still privileges one over the other. In order for a genuine conversation of analogues to occur, socio-cultural and aesthetic mechanisms within each society must be established on the basis of their own content, with common considerations brought together to form substantiated examples. This balance of content and comparison addresses the question of “why it is important to extrapolate analogues within historical relationships, culture, and aesthetics?” The answer: if scholarship in the areas of art history and cultural studies (to name a few) are to reflect contemporary voices and conversations within the arts, the sociocultural concepts and materials, long interpreted through the eyes of a perceived dominant culture—the European—must be re-examined and understood through the lens of parallels, not differences.

To say there is limited scholarship on this topic, especially in the context of esthetics or colonial histories, is an understatement. Of the writers and historians considered experts in this area, only a small handful have spoken to the possibility of parallels within cultural or social paradigms. Historically, relationships between Indigenous nations and Anglo/northern Europeans were measured according to their differences, a history dominated by a one-sided narrative privileged by the European. The exception is New Spain, who was making correlations between Indigenous cultural forms and Christian-European configurations as early as the sixteenth-century. My argument here is not that similarities have *not* been made before in a Spanish-Indigenous context; rather, I believe this research is the first focused examination of similarities between the Spanish and, specifically, peoples of the Northwest Coast—the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit—in the eighteenth-century. This conversation is critical in bridging what has been (and still is) considered as separate areas of study in art history; name, Indigenous art history and Spanish colonial art history, disciplines that ultimately inform both the other, plus other areas of academia. At the core of this dissertation is a study of the function and philosophies of considered art works in the mediated exchanges between the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit. While the author has identified multiple cross-comparative connections—for example, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* painted screens with the Spanish *biombo*; the Northwest Coast bentwood box and the Spanish *mudejar* chest; and the grandeur of the Tlingit raven's tail robe and the Spanish ceremonial robe, to name a few—the items under discussion in Chapter 6 are chosen because they speak to the complex structure of culture and esthetics, elements that reflect and influence the overall nature and form of society for both groups.

For a short period in the eighteenth- century, the economic, scientific, and territorial motivations of New Spain were entwined with the cultural, social, and

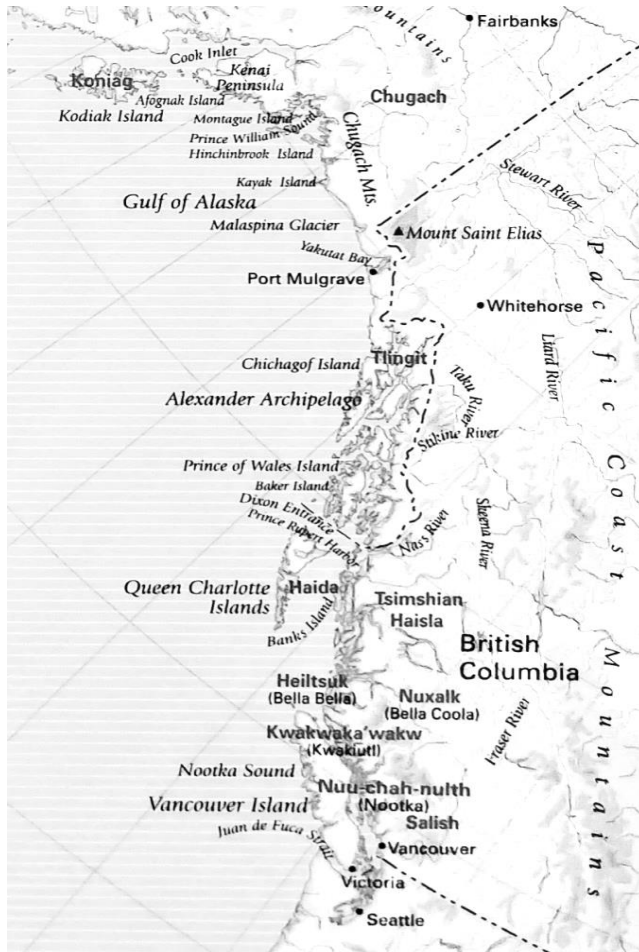


Figure 1. Map of Northwest Coast (present-day)
Source: Spirits of the Water, 8.

economic interests of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit nations of the Pacific Northwest. Images created and artifacts collected, along with marine journals of both captains and sailors, reveal the great linguistic, cultural, and geographic diversity of the region, as well as the historical and cultural context in which interactions occurred.⁷ Against the backdrop of aesthetics, culture, and society, comparisons and analogues between seemingly opposite

societies—Spanish colonial and *Nuu-*

chah-nulth and Tlingit—were made by the Spanish in the areas of aesthetics, governance, hierarchy, religion, and military structures.

Navigating the 2,400-kilometer stretch of the Pacific Northwest in the latter part of the eighteenth- century, Spain dispatched multiple explorations to the region, largely in

⁷ The methodology of the *social history of art* and the conceptual spaces captured by the theories of *coloniality/border thinking* are reflected throughout this dissertation. The social history of art considers the social factors that influence the production of a piece of work, epoch, genre, or style; this includes social norms, function, governance, laws, trade, technology, politics, religion, audience, place, and underlying philosophy. A full discussion of the coloniality/border thinking is presented in Chapter 3.

response to rumors that Russian traders had established a presence in lands north of Alta California, then a Spanish territory. (Fig. 1) Alta California was supplied by, and communicated with, Spain through the viceroyalty of New Spain. It was from the Spanish naval base of San Blas, Mexico that the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, dispatched two exploratory expeditions to the Pacific Northwest. The first, in 1774, was commanded by Juan José Pérez Hernández, a Majorcan sea pilot; the second, in 1775, was led by Bruno de Heceta, and included Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. The Spanish remained in the area until 1794 when political and territorial tensions with the incoming British forced a negotiation known historically as the Nootka Convention. By 1795, Spain abandoned its aspirations to the Pacific Northwest and withdrew its territorial claims and inventory of scientific, military, and communal holdings, leaving behind a legacy of geographic place names and economic influences that propelled the Indigenous people of the region into the next century.⁸

Spain made several crucial miscalculations during this period of global scientific and economic exploration and, as a result, was virtually excluded from the lucrative sea otter trade that developed between Northwest Coast nations, Britain, Russia, China, and the United States. Although it was recognized that the social structures of Northwest Coast Indigenous peoples were more complex than those of Alta California, the Spanish failed to distinguish critical differences between the two cultures. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit, in particular, were greatly advanced as a seafaring people and had developed

⁸ Marie Mauzé, Michael E. Harkin, and Sergei Kan, eds, *Coming to Shore: Northwest Coast Ethnology, Traditions, and Visions* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 154.

While the acquisition of European goods has often been treated by anthropologists as a loss of traditional culture, there is plenty of evidence from the Pacific Northwest Coast that interest in new, unusual, and beautiful objects were deeply rooted in tradition and was linked to the chiefly prerogatives of display. Possession of rare objects was an emblem of wealth in a practical sense.

ingenious strategies in successfully resourcing large ocean mammals, sea otters, and other marine resources and routes. They were also far more aggressive than their California counterparts in developing and cultivating complex trade networks between themselves and with those of other nations, including Europeans and Russians.

Spain's Treatment of Other Indigenous Populations

It is important to recognize how Spain's approach in dealing with the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit was significantly different compared to other Indigenous peoples of the Americas. The Taino of *Borinquen* (the original name for Puerto Rico) were the first to experience devastating and profound impacts when, in 1493, Columbus landed and claimed the island for Spain, thus changing the cultural and demographic landscapes forever. A legacy shaped by the displacement and assimilation of the native population, Taino men, women, and children were forced to build huge fortifications and dig for precious gold; as a result, within fifty years, the population was brought to near extinction through enslavement, disease, and murder. So horrified by witnessing first-hand the brutal conquest of the Taino in present-day Cuba, Spanish historian and Dominican priest, Bartolomé de Las Casas, wrote in his 1542 publication, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, that "before the Spaniards, there had lived on these islands more than 600,000 souls...(current research establishes the number at closer to 8 million—*eds.*),...now there are no more than two hundred persons, all the others having perished."⁹

⁹ Piri Thomas and Suzie Dod, "Puerto Rico—500 Years of Oppression," *Social Justice*, 19 no. 2, 48 (1992): 73-74.

Institutional suppression and segregation of Indigenous populations was reflected in the physical layout of town plans and their extensions. By 1553—no less than 50 years from time of first contact—the majority of colonial urban centers in the “New World” had been established. There were two types of towns; one for the conquistadors-turned-settlers, called *pueblos de españoles*, and one for the recently conquered natives, called *pueblos de indios*. The first functioned as a center for political, ecclesiastical, and economic control of the land and people; the next, as sites for those who were to be controlled (native people). Conquered subjects who were required to serve as a labor force were established in *barrios* outside the official *traza*, usually referred to as being *extramuros* of the city.¹⁰ The intent was to segregate the Spaniards from the subaltern caste of *indios*.¹¹ Satellite *pueblos de indios* were also established in order to ensure the availability of a labor force, some of which were held in *encomienda* by religious orders, especially the Franciscans who drew a significant part of their income from them.¹²

In addition to the *pueblos de indios* and *barrios* was the introduction of Indigenous tribute. Founded on the right of conquest, the tribute was nothing more than a way to force the indigenous population to pay a certain amount for each person between the ages of 18 to 50. This economic mechanism was a way of extracting the aboriginal surplus, for in addition to utilizing the indigenous labor force, it plundered the Indians by obligating the community to an overexertion in order to achieve the amount of tribute due from its members. The money collected went directly to the metropolis, sometimes to the

¹⁰ *Barrio*—neighborhood; *traza*—layout; *extramuros*—outside the city or town

¹¹ A full discussion of the caste system is found in Chapter 5.

¹² *Encomienda* is an estate of land and the inhabiting American Indians formerly granted to Spanish colonists or adventurers in America for purposes of tribute and evangelization.

Source: Merriam-Webster Dictionary. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/encomienda>

hands of the *encomenderos*, sometimes to feed the ever-hungry coffers of the Spanish Crown.¹³

Regarding Alta California, Iberian explorers were accustomed to drawing on military tactics that easily suppressed the semi-nomadic tribes living along the California coast. Historian David J. Weber explains this succinctly,

Initially, California's coastal peoples...had received Spaniards with cautious but friendly curiosity. Growing familiarity, however, soon bred contempt. Ignorant of native customs, Spaniards offended Indians with their bad manners and their pilfering of Indian grains and animals; most offensive, Spanish soldiers violated native women...The coastal bands and tribes lived in small villages with little tradition of organized warfare and no centralized political structures or confederacies that would have facilitated unified resistance against outsiders. Spaniards, then, did not need elaborate military campaigns or diplomatic arrangements to control Natives. Rewards and punishments would do, but since they had few gifts at first, Spaniards relied heavily on intimidation, crushing the first signs of Indian resistance with whippings, burnings, and executions...¹⁴

Even before Spain's first permanent settlement at San Diego in 1769, the Indigenous labor force was considered a requisite part of the colonial enterprise. The Spanish mission system—21 established between 1769 to 1833—served as a way to recruit Indigenous people as converts to Christianity, be baptized as neophytes, and taught the rules of religion, language, and law. The idea was that, following ten years of indoctrination in which converts would provide the labor and maintenance of the mission, individuals would receive the lands held in trust for them by the padres; this would then be used to form pueblos. In addition to conversion and labor, this plan was designed to establish

¹³ Elias Sevilla-Casas, ed., *Western Expansion and Indigenous Peoples: The Heritage of Las Casas* (Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc., 1977), 59, 61, 66-67, 95-96.

Encomenderos is a holder of an *encomienda*. Source: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/encomendero>

¹⁴ David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 183.

settlements along the northern frontier to guard against foreign invasion.¹⁵ Of course, Indigenous people resisted, most notably the Kumeyaay whose reaction to Franciscan orders to work or remain at the mission is documented. When baptized Kumeyaay fled inland, they shared stories of being fitted with leather collars on their necks and forced to pull plows because not enough oxen were available, of being whipped to pull faster, or variously abused for reasons they simply did not understand. The elders told of men carrying logs to build the missions, and women making adobe bricks for walls and clay tiles for roofs. Grandmothers were whipped if they dallied over work or were too slow for the overseers.¹⁶ The context and prevalence of these narratives, representative of the nature of settlement and interaction with Indigenous groups in Alta California, is summed up by historian David J. Weber,

To give substance to its geopolitical claims, Spain occupied territory by planting settlements that became the centers of spheres of Iberian frontier influence...Indians who lived close to Spanish settlers, for example, usually found their lifeways altered substantially, as Navajos did when they began to raise European-introduced sheep and to weave wool into textiles...In contrast to the Anglo-American frontier in North America, which largely excluded natives, Spain sought to include natives within its "new world" societies. Thus, Spanish missionaries labored to win the hearts and minds of Indians in what might be defined as a spiritual or cultural frontier...Natives who declined to submit passively or who resisted militarily often found themselves caught up in another zone of Spanish frontier influence. Along a wide-ranging frontier, soldiers and soldier-settlers pounded some natives into submission and tried to hold others at bay through fear and intimidation.¹⁷

In direct comparison, upon reaching what is now called the Juan de Fuca Strait on the Northwest Coast, the Spanish encountered a sedentary people whose culture,

¹⁵ James A. Sandos, "Between Crucifix and Lance: Indian-White Relations in California, 1769-1848," *California History* 76, no. 2/3 (1997): 201.

¹⁶ Florence C. Shippek, "California Indian Reactions to the Franciscans," *The Americas*. 41, no. 4 (1985): 487.

¹⁷ Weber, *The Spanish Frontier*, 10.

monumental architecture, complex social structure, esthetics, and iconology were—in select aspects—philosophically, physically, and sociologically comparable to the political system and social hierarchy under which Spain and New Spain were organized. The Spanish interest on the Northwest Coast was brief in comparison to that of Russia and Britain, approximately 20 years from the time of first exchanges with an even shorter period of sustained contact of approximately five years.¹⁸ In spite of the brevity of Spanish activities in the region, those encounters forever impacted the cultural, social, economic, and artistic trajectories of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit.¹⁹

Dissertation Structure

¹⁸ Richard Inglis, ed. *Spain and the North Pacific Coast: Essays in Recognition of the Bicentennial of the Malaspina Expedition, 1791-1792* (Vancouver: Vancouver Maritime Museum Society, 1992), 9.

¹⁹ Aldona Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 50, 52-56. Margaret B. Blackman, "Creativity in Acculturation: Art, Architecture and Ceremony from the Northwest Coast," *Ethnohistory* 23, no. 4 (1976): 389.

Affecting all aspects of life on the Northwest Coast was the introduction of European-introduced diseases. Between 1769 and approximately 1880, epidemics killed, in some instances, populations by up to 70%. In terms of aesthetics, Europeans brought trade items that inspired a period of great artistic activity, materials that were reworked and absorbed into artistic and traditional repertoires across nations. Contradicting the narrative that Northwest Coast cultures were negatively impacted by the introduction of Euroamerican items, prominent anthropologists such as Frederica de Laguna and Phillip Drucker recognized that communities were more than capable of engaging with foreign influencers without losing the integrity of their own systems. For example, Blackman notes that de Laguna wrote the following, "...the Tlingit themselves are as much responsible for their own culture and its history as are any of the people who have influenced them. In the past, it was they who, consciously or unconsciously, chose what to accept of the cultural innovations offered them through diffusion and what use to make of the opportunities thus afforded. It has been Tlingit character, interests, and orientations that have determined how these importations were interpreted to fit Tlingit ethos and adjusted to Tlingit culture." (Blackman, 389). As a way of simplifying transactions, traders typically interacted with individuals of only the highest rank; accordingly, chiefs such as Maquinna, became immensely wealthy. This, in turn, impacted the nature of the potlatch and cultural mechanisms; economically, families were able to give away more materials that, in turn, necessitated the creation of new stories and more impressive artworks to reflect family history and status. Using metal tools and commercial paints, artists throughout the 19th century created correspondingly lavish carvings in a variety of mediums, most notably totem poles and sculptures that increased in prominence and complexity. Part of this was a sociological and psychological desire to retain cultural systems under threat as a result of disease. Artists simultaneously produced artworks for their own economic, cultural, and social uses, as well as responding to a growing tourist industry, all the while retaining the essence and integrity of the Northwest Coast aesthetic.

Chapter 1: “Introduction” begins the conversation of parallels and analogues by presenting the initial dialogues and overarching concepts discussed in later sections. In Chapter 2: “Following the Footsteps (Literature Review),” I provide a literature review of primary and secondary sources, along with a discussion of the social history of art and the conceptual spaces described by coloniality/subalternity. Five publications serve as primary sources for this dissertation, each of which is given a broader explanation in this chapter. The first one, entitled *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Exhibitions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774–1910*, is a catalogue of an exhibition organized in 2000 by the Fundación la Caixa of Barcelona, Spain.²⁰ The second one, entitled, *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview*, by Umeek E. Richard Atleo presents a comprehensive translation of many of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* principles and practices discussed in throughout this paper.²¹ A third source titled, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, is written by José Mariano Moziño, a Spanish scientist who accompanied Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra on his 1792 expedition to the Northwest Coast.²² Titled, *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra*, Freeman M. Tovell’s expansive biography of Bodega y Quadra is also a primary source. The final publication is by Donald C. Cutter entitled, *Malaspina and Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast, 1791 & 1792*, a documentation of the voyages of Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra to Tlingit territory and of Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés y Flora to present-day Vancouver

²⁰ Steven C. Brown, and Paz Cabello, eds., *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

²¹ Umeek E. Richard Atleo. *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

²² José Mariano Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, trans. Iris H. Wilson Engstrand (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970).

Island.²³ Regarding secondary sources, because the majority of relevant information and quotes are extrapolated to publications by Donald C. Cutter, Freeman M. Tovell, and others, I place the actual journals of Bodega y Quadra and Alejandro Malaspina here. I also integrate personal interviews and publications by Indigenous scholars, providing a culturally relevant interpretation of history, esthetics, and unique knowledge systems. The first source references two journals written by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in separate years; the first is a 1775 journal published as part of an anthology, entitled, *Four Travel Journals: The Americas, Antarctica and Africa, 1775-1874*; the second, translated by Freeman M. Tovell, is called, *Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1792: Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and the Nootka Sound Controversy*.²⁴ The next source is the journal of Alejandro Malaspina, published by the Hakluyt Society in 2003 entitled, *The Malaspina Expedition 1789-1794: Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina*.²⁵ A next publication, edited by Alan L. Hoover entitled, *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects and Journeys*, provides a description of the Nuu-chah-nulth's historical and cultural relationship to Yuquot and Friendly Cove, located at the entrance to Nootka Sound.²⁶ Charlotte Coté's book, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions*, discusses the cultural and social role of the Nuu-

²³ Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast, 1791 & 1792* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).

²⁴ Herbert K. Beals, R. J. Campbell, Ann Savours, et al., *Four Travel Journals: The Americas, Antarctica and Africa, 1775-1874* (London: Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2007); Robin Inglis and Iris H. W. Engstrand, eds., *Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America, 1792: Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and the Nootka Sound Controversy*, trans. Freeman M. Tovell (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).

²⁵ Andrew David, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, Carlos Novi, and Glyndwr Williams, eds. *The Malaspina Expedition 1789-1794: Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina* (London: The Hakluyt Society and Museo Naval, Madrid, 2003).

²⁶ Alan L. Hoover, ed., *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys* (Victoria, BC: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000).

chah-nulth and Makah whaling traditions.²⁷ *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, by Walter D. Mignolo, puts forth the theory of modernity/coloniality, a framework that directly informs this dissertation. Mignolo is included here because he articulates a point in time that attitudes towards Indigenous people began to shift, attitudes that ultimately influenced the nature of interactions between Northwest Coast people and Spanish colonial explorers. The final publication, entitled, *Sensory Worlds in New America*, by Peter Charles Hoffer examines how human beings instinctively perceive the world at a cognitive and intuitive level. His thesis is drawn upon to provide a richer interpretation of Northwest Coast and Spanish relationships through the lens of sensory theory. In Chapter 3: “Encounters in the Margins,” I establish the setting and context in which events and parallels between the Spanish and the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit occurred. In Chapter 4: “Northwest Coast Esthetics, Social Organization, and Cultural Systems,” I review select aspects of cultural, social, and esthetic structures of the Northwest Coast nations of the late eighteenth-century with a primary focus on the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit. In Chapter 5: “Spanish Exploration and Colonial Society,” I examine facets of cultural, political, social, and religious institutions of eighteenth-century Spain, structures that inform the philosophy and attitudes of exploration on the Northwest Coast. In Chapter 6: “Analogues and Parallels,” using “case studies” for comparison, I present the argument of parallels between Spanish and Northwest Coast, the majority of which are discussed in previous chapters. In Chapter 7: “Conclusion,” I reiterate topics of comparison that demonstrate

²⁷ Charlotte Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2010).

parallels between Northwest Coast and Spanish explorers, along with concluding remarks framed around the social history of art and theory of modernity/coloniality. The main points of this research are highlighted, along with a review of existing scholarship that, in the context of colonial contact and exploration in this part of the world, acknowledges or makes references to parallels between the two groups. In doing so, I identify how this dissertation contributes to the disciplines of art history, colonial studies, and others. Mignolo's theory of modernity/coloniality is drawn on as a framework towards a conversation of colonial encounters. I also identify the larger issues and opportunities that these are addressed, or can be addressed, in this conversation of parallels.

Chapter 2

Following the Footsteps (A Literature Review)

There are multiple publications and historical journals I draw on to support my research; among those, I consider Umeek E. Richard Atleo's *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* and José Mariano Moziño's *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792* to be the two most important. This is because, although written 200+ years apart, the former fully supports the latter in context and validation of descriptions. Moziño presents rare and comprehensive observations of *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture and events as they occurred in 1792, communicated through his feat of learning the language and from a first-person translation, this being Chief Maquinna himself and others. The other, as critically important, is E. Richard Atleo who, as hereditary chief and knowledge keeper of the Ahousaht *Nuu-chah-nulth*, offers invaluable direct cultural interpretation and translations that contextually validates the writings of Moziño two centuries later.

Primary Sources

The first source provides the foundation on which this research is predicated. In 2000, the Fundación la Caixa in Barcelona, Spain mounted the exhibition, entitled, *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Exhibitions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774—1910*, the contents of which are drawn on as a primary source. The show contained approximately 175 Indigenous objects collected from the Northwest Coast by Spanish, British, Russian, and American explorers and merchants, along with multiple graphic drawings by artists who created them in situ at the time, or shortly thereafter, of the occurrence. Of the 177 plates that appear in the catalogue, no fewer than 63 are attributed

to the northern Tlingit, of which 19 are thought to be for shamanic purposes. The remaining were collected from the central and southern communities and considered to be used in ceremony and performance.²⁸ My specific focus is the Spanish expeditions that were conducted from 1774 to 1795 and the items that are held primarily by the Museo de América in Madrid, Spain.

Along with the objects, the catalogue provides several essays, a comprehensive timeline of explorations, and a review of the social and political environment that informed the Spanish presence. Select images are included throughout this research, along with references to the scholarship of Spanish art historian, Dr. Paz Cabello Carro, Spanish anthropologist, Leoncio Carretero Collado, and American Curator Emeritus, Bill Holm. Collado's essay, "Málmani: Politics, Trade, and Collectionism on the Northwest Coast during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" sets the tone for the overall publication and deftly exposes the complex political and economic motivations of the day. Holm's essay, "Function of Art in Northwest Coast Indian Culture" organizes the esthetics of the Northwest Coast into three cultural and geographic areas—the north, central, and southern—each who share common artistic and cultural characteristics.²⁹

Descriptive in nature, "Spirits of the Water" provides tangible evidence and items of Northwest Coast material and esthetic culture collected by the Spanish, as referenced by historical journals of the period. By providing a context and interpretation of contact between Spain and the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit nations, the catalogues form the foundation and point-of-departure on which this dissertation is drawn.

²⁸ Jonathan R. Dean, "Review: Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910 by Steven C. Brown, Bill Holm, Leoncio Carretero Collado, Paz Cabello, and Alberto Costa Romero de Tajeda," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92, no. 4 (2001): 206.

²⁹ Dean, "Review: Spirits of the Water," 206.

The next publication, entitled, *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* by Umeek E. Richard Atleo, provides an exceptional translation of how the *Nuu-chah-nulth* understand and navigate their world in both a contemporary and historic context.³⁰ As Atleo explains, *heshook-ish tsawalk* means “everything is one,” a perspective that mutually encompasses the physical and metaphysical realms of existence. To the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, the philosophy of *tsawalk* stems directly from traditional creation stories that predate the “conscious historical notion of civilization and scientific progress.”³¹

Weaving in the rich and complex language of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Atleo argues that the core belief of *tsawalk* has linkages with, among other things, Euro-American notions of environmental patterns, quantum physics, and postmodern theory.³² His work is significant because he consciously and concisely privileges *Nuu-chah-nulth* ontology as the primary system into which Euro-American methods and concepts must fit, not the other way around. He parallels the theory of *tsawalk* to that of Platonism and “shows how a metaphysics giving primacy to a nonphysical dimension of existence reasserts itself at the frontiers of science.”³³ Plato was certain that a world of perfect forms—physical,

³⁰ E. Richard Atleo is a hereditary chief of the Ahousaht First Nation, Vancouver Island, British Columbia; he is also known by his *Nuu-chah-nulth* name, Umeek.

³¹ Atleo. *Tsawalk*, xi.

³² Andreas Krebs, "Review: *Tsawalk A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview* by Umeek E. Richard Atleo." *In-Spire Journal of Law, Politics and Societies*, January 2005.

https://inspirejournal.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/krebs01_tsawalk_review.pdf

³³ A.B. Curry, “Review of *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview*,” *St. Joseph College. University of Toronto Libraries*. Full Text Reviews. 2005. <https://search.library.utoronto.ca/details?5211606>;

Erica Cummings, *The Theory of Forms by Plato: Definition & Examples*.

<https://study.com/academy/lesson/the-theory-of-forms-by-plato-definition-lesson-quiz.html>

Atleo. *Tsawalk*, xv.

Plato theorized that existence was made up of three worlds: the spiritual (Platonic), the physical, and the mental. This became known as the Theory of Forms.

In basic terms, Plato's Theory of Forms asserts that the physical world is not the 'real' world; rather, ultimate reality exists beyond our physical world. Plato's philosophy asserts that there are two realms: the physical and the spiritual. The physical realm is the tangible material we see and interact with on a daily basis; this physical realm is changing and imperfect. The spiritual realm exists beyond the physical realm. Plato calls this the Realm of Forms (also called the Realm of Ideas or Realm of Ideals). Plato's theory asserts that the physical realm is merely a shadow or image of the true reality of the Realm of Forms.

mental, spiritual—existed independently of the human mind, giving primacy of the spiritual and mental over the physical. As Atleo states, the theory of *tsawalk* assumes the same,

Creation, the physical world, is considered a manifestation over reflection (as in a shadow or image) of its spiritual Creator. The physical universe is like an insubstantial shadow of the actual, substantial Creator. In this worldview, the highest form of cognition, of consciousness, does not occur in the insubstantial, shadowlike physical realm, but in the realm of creation's spiritual source.³⁴

Atleo provides esoteric insight into cultural principles and translation of *Nuu-chah-nulth* language such as *qua-ootz*, *oosumich*, and *pachitle*, information that supports the basis of discussion in the following chapters.³⁵ Because the *Nuu-chah-nulth* knowledge system is predicated on sophisticated contexts, these translations prove to be invaluable. He addresses many of the beliefs at the heart of *Nuu-chah-nulth* worldview, including principles behind the hierarchy of governance and society, diplomacy, protocol, and religious practices. Interestingly, Atleo draws on specific interactions with the Spanish to clarify some of these concepts; for example, with *qua-ootz*, he explains that this is “the same word that Chief Maquinna gave to Spanish explorer José Mariano Moziño when asked for the *Nuu-chah-nulth* word for God. The word literally means owner (*ootz*) of reality (*qua*).³⁶ He draws on interactions between the Spanish and *Nuu-chah-nulth* in the eighteenth-century multiple times throughout his book, elucidations that provide fertile interpretation for this dissertation. Through the lens of language and story, Atleo effectively layers complex philosophical thought and social knowledge with intellectual

³⁴ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, xvi.

³⁵ Ibid, 3, 16, 17. *Qua-ootz* is “owner of reality” or creator; *oosimuch* is a spiritual activity; *pachitle* means “to give” which, over time, became known as “potlatch.”

³⁶ Ibid, 16.

tradition. He demonstrates that *Nuu-chah-nulth* values and concepts are more similar than oppositional to those of Euro-American, and when respected and understood, are able to reconcile seemingly divergent cultures and knowledge systems in a way that complements both.³⁷

The third publication, entitled, *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, is a compilation of writings by Spanish botanist and scientist, José Mariano Moziño, who travelled with Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra on his 1792 expedition to the Northwest Coast. Moziño was accompanied by two assistants from the Royal Scientific Expedition of New Spain: anatomist and botanist, José Maldonado and botanical artist, Atanasio Echeverría.; both were appointed by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to assist in completing the last major Spanish investigation of the northern region.³⁸ Between the end of April and September of 1792, Moziño recorded valuable observations of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* in Nootka Sound, records that were published as *Noticias de Nutka* in 1913, and used as a primary source here.³⁹ The publication consists of twelve articles and two appendices, sections that speak to, among other topics, the “discovery” of Nootka by the Spanish, physical characteristics of the people, system of government, religious beliefs, funeral rites, and description of their houses. As the scientist (botanist-naturalist) of the expedition, Moziño was charged with cataloguing the plants and animals of the region; however, as Iris H. Wilson Engstrand explains,

³⁷ Leanne Simpson, “Review of Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no.1 (2006): 170-180.

³⁸ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, xlv.

³⁹ *Noticias de Nutka* was first published in 1913 by Mexican historian Alberto María Carreño, and then as a translated Spanish to English version in 1970 by Iris M. Wilson Engstrand. As Engstrand noted on page xxiv, *Noticias de Nutka* was, according to Donald C. Cutter’s research for his article “Spanish Scientific Exploration along the Pacific Coast” also scheduled for publication in the “Universal History of North America” in Spain.

Extending beyond the scope of a scientific report, Moziño's comprehensive account is a unique ethnographic and historical study of the Northwest Coast....Because of Moziño's objectivity, the account has assisted both Indian and academic researchers in their understanding of the Nuu-chah-nulth lifestyle of 1792 and has added significantly to the growing fund of primary data concerning the native population of the region.⁴⁰

The drawings and maps that illustrate *Noticias de Nutka* are taken from Bodega y Quadra's official journal, an account that provides supporting evidence to much of Moziño's observations. Moziño was exceptional in that he made the effort to become conversant in the *Nuu-chah-nulth* language, producing a Nootkan—Spanish dictionary of just under three hundred words from his visit. Moziño himself stated,

Our residence of more than four months on that island enabled me to learn about the various customs of the natives, their religion, and the system of government. I believe that I am the first person who has been able gather such information, and this was because I learned their language sufficiently to converse with them.⁴¹

Moziño was able to provide rare firsthand insight into the reactions of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* as they mediated the presence of the Spanish and other visitors to their ancestral territories. For example, he noted the following,

By the year 1774, these islanders had already seen a Spanish ship commanded by First Pilot Don Juan Pérez, who anchored at the point he himself call San Estevan and which Cook afterward named Arrecifes. The sight of this ship at first filled the natives with terror, and even now they testify that they were seized with fright from the moment they saw on the horizon the giant "machine" which little by little approached their coasts. They believed that Qua-utz was coming to make a second visit, and were fearful that it was in order the punish the misdeeds of the peoples.⁴²

Moziño's expansive observations portrayed the *Nuu-chah-nulth* beyond simple one-dimensional physical and functional subjects; instead, he spoke to the psychological and

⁴⁰ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, x, xi.

⁴¹ Ibid, xxiv.

⁴² Ibid, 65, 66.

sociological character of *Nuu-chah-nulth* culture and systems. *Noticias de Nutka* is invaluable because it is a primary source that informs key sections of this dissertation. This includes the social hierarchy of *Nuu-chah-nulth* society, a detailed survey on the complexities of governance and wealth, a belief in “God” and worldviews, the protocols of ceremony and diplomacy, the translation of language, and the poetic nature of chiefly oration (speeches). Echeverría, the botanist artist accompanying Moziño, also created an iconic image of Chief Maquinna hosting Bodega y Quadra and George Vancouver at his big house at Tahsis when both commanders were at Nootka at the same time; this was also included in *Noticias de Nutka*. This image, titled “Interior view of Maquinna’s house showing the Chief dancing and his domestics singing and playing” is discussed at length in Chapter 6.⁴³

The next publication is Freeman M. Tovell’s expansive 453-page biography of Bodega y Quadra, entitled, *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra*. Tovell neatly chronicles Bodega y Quadra’s professional career in three dimensions—the Explorer: New Spain and the Northwest Coast; the Commandant; and the Diplomat—framed between “Beginnings” at the start, and “Endings” at its conclusion. Also included is trove of high-quality images along with five appendices that complement Tovell’s main discussion. As Tovell explains, Bodega y Quadra was part of the so-called “Marina Ilustrada” (Enlightened Navy), a new breed of naval officer in the eighteenth- century trained in Cadiz, Spain in the art of navigating, diplomacy, astronomy, mathematics, and other related fields. In addition to defending the interests of the Spanish Crown, these officers circumnavigated the globe to survey both known and

⁴³ Brown and Cabello, *Spirits of the Water*, 75.

new territories using the tools of diplomacy as opposed to force.⁴⁴ Between 1774 and 1793, Bodega y Quadra was directly or indirectly involved in almost every Spanish voyage to the Pacific Northwest, an achievement that made him one of the more important officers of the era.⁴⁵

The Commandant's background prepared him for the requirements of exploration and diplomatic presence on the Northwest Coast. In discussing the enlightened policy under which Bodega y Quadra attended the region, Tovell states the following,

The Spanish never viewed the people of Nootka Sound as subjects...no attempt was made to use them as allies against other nationalities. The Spanish presence was based solely on the Mowachaht chief's verbal consent, and it was limited to the period of occupation....The "new" Enlightenment policy of Carlos III towards native peoples was set out in the instructions that [Viceroy] Revillagigedo laid down for the expedition exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca [as follows]:...Good treatment and harmony with the Indians is of the first importance to establish in this way a solid friendship with them so that our visits should not be as distressing as those other voyages to the detriment of humanity and the national credit...⁴⁶

Following this, Bodega y Quadra made regular visits to Chiefs Maquinna, *Tlupananulg*, and *Quiocomasia*, among others, in their home territories. He recognized and respected the ranked order of chiefs—Maquinna being the principal—and followed local protocol in gifting persons of importance with items such as abalone, cloth, and copper plate. Aided by Moziño's ability to understand the language—a skill that translated to a greater knowledge of *Nuu-chah-nulth* history, political and social structures, religion, and intertribal relationships—Bodega y Quadra was better able to establish Spanish policy on the Northwest Coast.⁴⁷ In this, Tovell highlights the following,

⁴⁴ Enrique J. Porrúa, "Book Review: At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra," *International Journal of Maritime History* 21, no. 1 (June 2009): 439-440.

⁴⁵ Sean T. Perrone, "Reviewed Work(s): At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra by Freeman M. Tovell," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 99 no. 4 (2008): 201.

⁴⁶ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 229-230.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 231-232.

Because festivities and ceremonies, exchanges of gifts, and reciprocated hospitality were as fundamental to Spanish colonial society as they were to the native culture, Bodega had no difficulty adjusting to Nootkan customs...In his view [Bodega], it was important politically for visitors of other nationalities to observe the extent to which the Spanish had succeeded in *integrating themselves into the native community* [not the other way around] and to see the support that the Nootkan people offered to Spanish sovereignty.⁴⁸

Tovell acknowledges that, despite good relations, tensions between Indigenous people and outsiders were never far from the surface. Bodega y Quadra records multiple instances of violence and conflict; however, his conduct of non-violence and limited reprisals (there were occasions) was supported by Viceroy Revillagigedo and, when communicated through ministerial channels, approved by the Spanish King himself.⁴⁹ Tovell does point out that, at the heart of it all, both Bodega y Quadra and Maquinna were skilled politicians and leaders protecting and pursuing their respective interests. Bodega y Quadra used diplomacy and friendship to build Spanish claims to sovereignty, and Maquinna, by forming tactful relations with the Spanish, strengthened his wealth and territorial position among both native and foreigners. Recorded by Spanish history and validated by *Nuu-chah-nulth* oral memory, their relationship is a primary narrative that supports this research.

A final primary source is Donald C. Cutter's book, entitled, *Malaspina & Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast 1791 & 1792*. The author comprehensively documents the explorations of Captains Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra to the Northwest Coast, drawing on the journals and official accounts of both navigators, thus providing rare first-hand observations and knowledge acquired at the point of contact. What has come to be known as Malaspina's expedition,

⁴⁸ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 233.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 236.

the 62-month voyage was the last of Spain's great scientific naval expeditions that, although he died the year before it commenced, had the backing of the enlightened King Carlos III.⁵⁰ Between 1789 and 1794, Malaspina and Bustamante—each at the helm of Spanish corvettes built specifically for the journey, the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* respectively—circumnavigated parts of the Atlantic and South Pacific Oceans from South America to Australia.⁵¹ Cutter provides an expansive commentary of Spanish impressions of the Tlingit of Port Mulgrave in present-day Alaska and of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* of Nootka Sound, extrapolating more the diplomatic, cultural, and social interactions between peoples than technical aspects of the journey. Also included is Captains Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés' 1792 excursion to present-day Vancouver Island, including Nootka Sound, in the schooners *Mexicana* and *Sutil*.

The original orders given to both Malaspina and Galiano was less on commerce and more towards winning allegiance to Spain by maintaining good relations with Indigenous peoples encountered. On Malaspina's journey, the quality of scientists and artists who populated both expeditions were made apparent by Bohemian-born naturalist and civilian, Dr. Tadeo Haenke, who acted as chief botanist, geologist, zoologist,

⁵⁰ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 5-6.

⁵¹ Christon I. Archer, "Spain and the Defence of the Pacific Ocean Empire, 1750-1810," *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 11, no. 21 (1986): 16; Spain claimed sovereignty over the entire Pacific Ocean. This was based on the Papal Bull of 1493 and the act of possession and discoveries in 1513 by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa in present-day Panama.

Leslie Thiebert, "The Malaspina Expedition: Voyage to the American Northwest, Summer 1791, The Voyage," *Alejandro Malaspina Research Centre*, last modified June 13, 2018.

<https://web.viu.ca/black/amrc/index.htm?Research/Papers/theibert.htm&2> Departing from Cadiz, Spain in 1789, the captains first journeyed to Montevideo in present-day Uruguay. In 1790, they mapped the coast of South America before rounding Cape Horn in Chile. Stopping to winter in Acapulco, Mexico, the expedition travelled to the Northwest Coast in the summer of 1791, returning to Acapulco for the winter. In 1792, they crossed the Pacific Ocean to explore Spanish possessions in the Philippines, visiting multiple islands including New Zealand and Australia before returning to Callao, Peru. In 1793, the expedition began their return to Spain via Tierra del Fuego in the farthest southern regions of Chile and Argentina; from there they visited Trinidad and the Falklands, as well smaller islands. They arrived back in Spain in 1794, having successfully completed Spain's first (and last) large-scale scientific voyage.

ethnologist, and musician, and by artist Tomás de Suría who visually recorded in-situ encounters along the way.⁵² Accompanying Galiano was the pilot, scribe, mapmaker, and artist, José Cardero and second-in-command Secundino Salamanca. Separately, Suría and Cardero provided two of the illustrations that form the foundation of discussion.

Suría created the iconic imagery of the Tlingit warrior in battle armor along with an exceptional written description—provided by a local Tlingit individual who was present as he was drawing it—of how the slatted breastplate, back armour, helmet, and visor functioned together. (Fig 2) His observations were written in the context of a personal diary so he was not restricted to descriptions of an “official” sort; as such, Suría’s writings provide a rich alternative to the executive accounts of his superiors. Alternately, Cardero illustrated the supernatural figure painted within a prayer box that Maquinna used to commune with *Nuu-chah-nulth* deities, along with the only real description that exists of the nature of the interaction

(Fig. 3). In addition to the contributions of Suría and Cardero, Haenke—who had a gift for linguistics and

composition—managed to interpret the purpose and meaning of song among the Tlingit in the relatively short period that the Spanish were in the area, approximately four months. So pervasive was the use of song and performance among the Tlingit towards the



Figure 2. Tlingit warrior (Port Mulgrave). Created by Tomás de Suría, 1791, on Malaspina Expedition. Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 23

⁵² Bernice Forrest Guillaume, “Review: Malaspina and Galiano, Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast by Donald C. Cutter,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1993): 559-560; Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 36-37.

Spanish, it is a common theme throughout all those who recorded their impressions, regardless of rank. The significance of this custom is discussed in later chapters. Finally, Secundino Salamanca, as a result of two previous visits to Nootka in the summers of

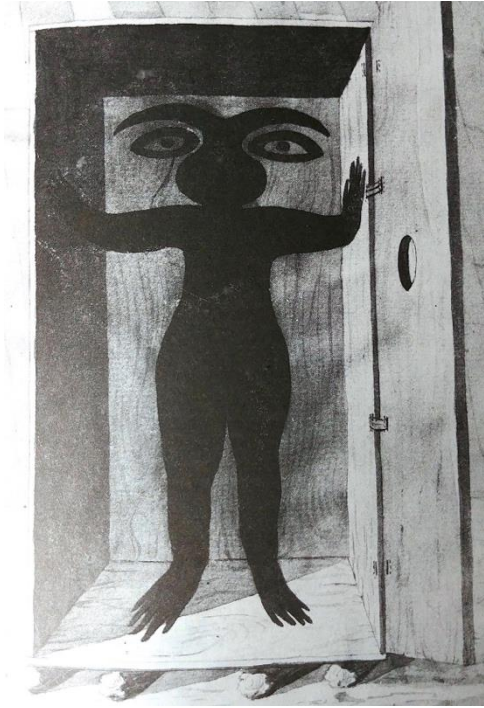


Figure 3. Maquinna's "prayer box"
Created by José Cardero.
Source: Malaspina and Galiano, 117

1791 and 1792, composed a document about the customs and laws of those inhabitants living on the shores of present-day Strait of Juan de Fuca.⁵³ Overall, the absolute value of Malaspina and Galiano's expedition is through the production of drawings, official accounts, and scientific and personal observations recorded through the lens of first-hand knowledge. This grants us a rich and unparalleled view of the social and cultural aspects of Tlingit and *Nuu-chah-nulth* society, esthetics, and culture that informs parts of this dissertation.

Secondary Sources

A series of secondary sources also inform this dissertation. The first, entitled, *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys*, is published as part of a larger project by the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) and the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council in which the 1999 travelling exhibition "Out of the Mist: Huupuk?anum Tupaat, Treasures of the Nuu-chah-nulth Chiefs" resulted.⁵⁴ Two primary publications complemented the exhibition: the first was a catalogue entitled "Out of the Mist" by Martha Black that

⁵³ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 37, 58, 114, 117.

⁵⁴ Hoover, *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices*.

contained maps, portraits, illustrations, and text of contemporary and historical Nuuchah-nulth art and culture; the other, as reviewed here, was a chaptered publication edited by Alan L. Hoover in which contributions from the *Mowachaht-Muchalaht* and *Huu-ay-aht* community spoke to *Nuu-chah-nulth* past, present, and future, along with stories around specific cultural and ethnographic histories. The first section aligns with the philosophical premise of this paper in which the concept of “balancing history” is explained as follows,

Our people and our lands have been described through observations made long ago by Cook, Malaspina, Meares, Jewitt and many other others. Most are limited to direct observations on appearance, dress, technology, houses and customs...Many of the early visitors were anxious to take home our gifts as souvenirs of their time among use. These artifacts are now the prized possessions of museums all over the world. They are our ancestors, our representatives in your great houses...To the Mowachaht-Muchalaht, these descriptions of our culture are the views of outsiders...Our own histories, passed down through oral tradition from generation to generation, constitute our record of the “true” past. We are not asking that history be rewritten, but we are going to write our part of that history. We believe that it is crucial...to recognize that our view of history must be balanced with that of the written record.⁵⁵

Also pertinent is the description of the Nuuchah-nulth’s historical and cultural relationship to Yuquot and Friendly Cove, located at the entrance to Nootka Sound.⁵⁶ This location, along with Tahsis, is where the majority of dialogue and interaction between the Nuuchah-nulth, Maquinna, Malaspina, Bodega y Quadra, Martínez,

⁵⁵ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, “Yuquot Agenda Paper: Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nations,” 14-16.

⁵⁶ David, et al., *The Malaspina Expedition*, 167, 170.

The Spanish referred to this region as San Miguel and Plano del Puerto de la Santa Cruz de Nutka.

Alberni, and a host of other Spanish, British, and American explorers occurred. (Fig. 4)

From the perspective of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, we begin to understand the strategic

importance of the location. Ideally

located between the land and the

sea, accessible to land-based

resources and the richness of the

ocean, Yuquot was perfectly

positioned to bring European

sailing ships to the region on the

winds that blew from the

southeast.⁵⁷ Maquinna moved to

and from Yuquot throughout the

years that Europeans were on

their shores—a fact that was recorded in multiple journals—finally reclaiming it totally

when the Spanish vacated it in 1795. Through the voices of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, the long

history and strategic and spiritual connection to this part of the world is made clear.

The next source is by Dr. Charlotte Coté, entitled, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions*. *Nuu-chah-nulth*. From the *Tseshah* First Nation in present-day Port Alberni (south of Nootka Sound), Coté presents an insider-perspective of the significance of the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth whaling tradition as it shaped and defined her people for millennia. As she explains, a common misunderstanding is that all Northwest Coast peoples conducted the highly



Figure 4. Nuu-chah-nulth territory, c. 1900
Source: Art of the Northwest Coast (Jonaitis) Map 1, x

⁵⁷ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, “Yuquot Agenda Paper,” 16, 17.

dangerous and challenging practice of hunting whales; however, in reality, it was only the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth who had developed a complex system of spirituality, protocols, and practices in harvesting the mammoth cetaceans.⁵⁸

Coté draws on the ancient whaling tradition as a point-of-departure in discussing the focus of her book; that is, the contemporary reinstatement of whaling by the Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth, not as a necessary sustenance but as it relates to the retention of culture. She speaks to the near extinction of humpback and grey whales by commercial fishers, the rights to whaling enshrined within Makah nineteenth-century treaty and Indigenous sovereignty, and subsequent opposition by animal rights groups, right-wing politicians, and court processes.⁵⁹ She positions her arguments against the backdrop of cultural significance and the central role of whaling to her people, demonstrating the continuity of tradition from the deep past into the present.⁶⁰

Although the hunts had ceased by the early twentieth-century, Coté points out that ties “to the whaling ancestors were maintained through songs, dances, ceremonies, and religious and artistic expressions.”⁶¹ Culturally, the Whale—along with the mythical Thunderbird—was a dominant figure in the realm of Nuu-chah-nulth esthetics and tradition. The mythology built around it was populated by a rich catalogue of place names, individual designations, cultural practices, social and spiritual roles, and complex storytelling and song framed by ritual, protocol, and art. Coté echoes Umek Richard Atleo’s cultural definition of *tsawalk* as “everything is one,” a notion that locates the

⁵⁸ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 20-23.

⁵⁹ Arne Kalland, “Review: Charlotte Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*. Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 6, no. 4 (2012): 525-526.

⁶⁰ Alan D. McMillan, “Review: *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalizing Makah and Nuu-chah-nulth Traditions* by Charlotte Coté,” *BC Studies* 174 (2012): 123-125.

⁶¹ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 68.

Nuu-chah-nulth world in both the physical and metaphysical realms of existence.⁶² It is her discussion towards these cultural, social, and psychological constructs of Nuu-chah-nulth belief and worldview that is drawn on as a supporting source.

The next publication is by Walter Mignolo, entitled, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. The author provides a compelling theory that supports a psychological and sociological spaces against which encounters between the Spanish and Northwest Coast nations took place. Mignolo maintains that the nature of global designs that determine the ‘imaginaries’ of the colonial world order emerged not within the eighteenth- century Enlightenment, but rather within the sixteenth with the debates among Spanish academics and missionaries concerning Indigenous people’s rights, culminating in the Debate at Valladolid in 1550. Rather than its difference, the “New World” was considered an extension of Europe, with local histories being played out at the “borders” of the modern/colonial world.⁶³ “Border gnosis or knowledge” or border thinking is knowledge conceived from the exterior borders of the modern/colonial world system; “exterior borders” referring to the borders between Spain and the Islamic world, Spain and the Inca and Aztec in the sixteenth-century, and between the British and East Indians in the nineteenth- century.⁶⁴ Mignolo counters cultural theory dominated by Western paradigms by emphasizing that border thinking, from the perspective of subalternity, is a mechanism for intellectual decolonization, a type of “other” space posited not necessarily on “difference” but “extension.”⁶⁵ Interactions between the Spanish and Northwest Coast peoples are

⁶² Atleo, *Tsawalk*, xi.

⁶³ Pels, "Review: Local Histories/Global Designs," 377.

⁶⁴ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 11, 18.

⁶⁵ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 45.

described within this attitude of “extension,” recognizing the “cross-cultural recognize-ability”⁶⁶ that occurred between seemingly divergent nations that, when described within the context of this research, were not so different after all.⁶⁷

The long process of subalternization to which Mignolo refers essentially started in fifteenth- century Europe and was built on the belief that “civilized knowledge” intrinsically and singularly rested on Western epistemology and hermeneutics.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁶ Carroll, “Art and Human Nature,” 95.

⁶⁷ Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 2, 16, 18.

Dieter Dörr, “The Background of the Theory of Discovery,” *American Indian Law Review* 38, no. 2 (2014): 485–486.

Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish empire justified their conquests in the “New World” as conquests, that is, an acknowledgement that what they were seizing already belonged to someone else. In this case, it was the lands, property and territories of the Indigenous populations of the Americas. Psychologically, this bestowed a level of recognition towards Indigenous people, an attitude that contributed to the intellectual treatises and debates of the School of Salamanca, as discussed. In comparison, the British, French and Dutch were more hypocritical in their interpretation of “legitimate expansion.” By claiming they were occupying lands and property that belonged to “no one,” it was easier to morally and ethically justify expansion and conversion on a religious, economic, and political basis. (Fitzmaurice, 18) This line of thought endorsed the doctrine of “terra nullius,” a Latin term widely used to justify appropriation of newly discovered lands. Although its genealogy shows that “terra nullius” was tied more to European political and economic motivations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is still widely associated with early Roman imperial law and legal authority. However, the concept emerged from medieval Europe as a way to explain “occupation” and the rights of possession and property used primarily as a tool of legal and political discourse. In later centuries, European expansion used it to link occupation with economic progress. (Fitzmaurice, 2) Through the centuries, “occupation” was modified to include “use” or “improvement” of land and nature, principles that eventually became synonymous with progress and civilization. As European empires moved from dependence on military might to economic and commercial growth, “terra nullius” took on greater importance. The shift to economic expansion also explains why Spanish envoys were present on the Pacific Northwest during this period. Combining rights with progress, and recognizing that survival increasingly depended on wealth, Western expansion became driven by the idea that a civilized society could move forward only through the exploitation and occupation of land and territories. In the very simplest terms, because they did not pursue large-scale agricultural or environmental modifications, Indigenous nations fell short of the “requirements” of civilization or ownership. Primarily nomadic in nature, the territories of Indigenous people were deemed appropriable “for settled peoples in order to better utilize the land in the interest of humanity as a whole.” (Dörr 485) In an attempt to reconcile the politics between ethics and commercialism, “terra nullius” evolved to support the viewpoint that, although Indigenous people were present and acknowledged, such lands were inherently ownerless thereby bestowing the right of occupation to the nation or entity by which it was discovered. (Dörr 486) Fitzmaurice says that “one of the remarkable features of the doctrine of occupation was that, when it was used to justify colonisation, it is assumed that, by definition, the people of the territory concerned were without any legal standing...In other words, occupation was a unilateral doctrine of appropriation...It required no negotiation with peoples who inhabited the territory concerned and left no historical trace of exchange.” (Fitzmaurice, 16)

⁶⁸ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 13.

empires that mobilized European expansion grimly refused to acknowledge possibilities of social coexistence not ruled by the logic of possession, consumption, commoditization, and violence.⁶⁹ Until relatively recently, Eurocentric theories of knowledge and religious concepts negated outside forms of knowledge and critical thinking—in this case, Indigenous—as possible, coherent or legitimate. Over the next four hundred years, this belief supported colonial conquests and frontier expansions in the name of religion, enlightenment, and mercantilism. From a sociological standpoint, this position produced generations of fundamentally unilingual interpretations of foreign text and cultures that conformed to theological and imperialist canons of exclusion, subjugation, and patronization. In the midst of this, however, were concessionary doctrines that, while not necessarily endorsing the legitimacy of non-Western ideologies, argued for basic human rights and the rights of property by Indigenous populations. Notable is the dogma endorsed by the School of Salamanca.

In *Local Histories/Global Designs*, Mignolo introduces the reader to Vitoria's treatises advocated through the School of Salamanca, establishing a path of knowledge and liberal thought from Vitoria to Solórzano to Moziño, Malaspina and Bodega y Quadra. By revealing the longevity and context of sixteenth-century attitudes that influenced eighteenth-century interpretations, a reconsideration of the impressions made by Northwest Coast nations on Spanish explorers is made. Mignolo maintains that the "New World" was imagined as an "extension" of Europe, rather than its difference, and that, "border thinking from the perspective of subalternity is a machine for intellectual

⁶⁹ Elizabeth P. Monasterios, "Uncertain Modernities: Amerindian Epistemologies and the Reorienting of Culture," in *A Companion to Latin American Literature and Culture*, ed. Sara Castro-Klaren (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008): 553.

decolonization.”⁷⁰ He reminds us that we need, “to reflect on the *location* of areas studied [in this case the Pacific Northwest Coast] and on the cultures of scholarship *from where to study* [in this instance, the liberal teachings that started with Vitoria], to reflect on the *location* of the agency [found within the attitudes and interpretations of Spanish explorers] and [that] the locus of enunciation form mere imaginary constructions,” that is, interpretations once dominated by Western cultural theory are deconstructed through inclusion of border locations and Indigenous perspectives, resulting in an expansion and re-interpretation of thought.⁷¹ Because of this, Mignolo’s theory and concepts are included here.

The final secondary source is by Peter Charles Hoffer, entitled, *Sensory Worlds in New America*, a proposition he puts forth that examines how human beings, regardless of race, culture, background or gender, instinctively perceive the world through their five senses: sight, sound, taste, smell, and touch.⁷² Many European-described encounters of Indigenous ceremony, dances, songs, and other sounded activities were absorbed through a lens that inherently placed them outside the realm of “Western” refinement. Hoffer’s thesis is relevant because, as he reveals, the sounded world was a good indicator of

⁷⁰ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 45.

⁷¹ Ibid, 193; G. Honor Fagan, "Review: Local Histories/Global Designs. Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking by Walter D. Mignolo," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 19, no. 4 (2000): 579.

⁷² Fiona MacPherson, "On the soul (de anima) by Aristotle," in *Philosophy of Mind: Senses: Classical and Contemporary Philosophical Perspectives*, ed. Fiona MacPherson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 58.

Hoffer draws on Aristotle’s classical Greek philosophy of *De Anima*, written in 350 B.C.E. in which the five sensate senses in “Western” culture—sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch—are first defined. (Aristotle 2011: 58) Following this, early Christian writings by the theologian, Origen, circa 230 A.D, held that human beings had five spiritual senses to match Aristotle’s material ones; these were memory, instinct, imagination, fantasy, and common sense. The teachings of both Aristotle and Origen heavily influenced European thought to the seventeenth- century until the writings of Francis Bacon, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, and others appeared.

where, from a European perspective, a person or nation was located within the scales of “civilization.” In our context, it is specifically the long oratories and speech of Northwest Coast chiefs that impressed many of the Spanish commanders; this, in turn, nurtured a recognition that Indigenous performance and song (voice) played essentially the same role in the course of diplomacy and position as in Spain.

To understand Hoffer’s position, he explores the impact that sensation and perception had on thought and action, and how these effects contributed to the cause and course of events in the colonial context. Sensory data was received and interpreted through cultural norms and learned behaviors. Experiences at the point of intersection between the Spanish and Northwest Coast nations were recorded in maritime journals, by expedition artists, and through scientific observations. Indigenous impressions came alive in the songs, dances, artistry and oral narratives created around these colonial encounters. Hoffer establishes sensory experience as a legitimate form of historical inquiry, analysis that recognizes comprehension occurs not only through the cognitive process but, more importantly, at a primal and intuitive level. He argues that sensory experiences caused change in political habits, social ways, and cultural understandings,

There are times when sensory experience is so highly charged and perception of the sensory material so exigent that it motivates people to act in ways they would not have acted otherwise. Sensation and perceptions then become contested events, markers of differing group identity and values.⁷³

The journals of Spanish envoys reflect, at times, these highly sensate experiences with people of the Northwest Coast, conveying overwhelming impressions of sight, sound, smell, touch, and taste that translated into emotions such as curiosity, amusement, relief,

⁷³ Peter Charles Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003): 19.

sociability, generosity, surprise, gratitude, sympathy, trust, joy, fear, apprehension, disgust, anger, and cruelty. Through the lens of these sensory experiences, subconscious parallels and recognitions between colonial Spanish society and Indigenous nations were made.

Hoffer dispels the contemporary image of the “Indian” as a strong, silent type, one of many stereotypes inflicted on Indigenous people as the “New World” moved through the stages of colonization and nation building. Words and speech were of the utmost importance to Indigenous cultures, sounds manifested through the development of a strong oral tradition of speech and song. In 1585, when John White sketched activities at the Roanoke town of Secota, in present-day North Carolina, inhabitants were depicted in obvious conversation, dance, and movement.⁷⁴ So active are White’s illustrations that one can almost hear and feel the dynamic nature of activity encountered by early colonists and explorers. Richard Cullen Rath makes a valid argument for the inclusion of “sound” in understanding encounters between Indigenous and European societies. Colonial America—English, Spanish, French—used the description of sounds to make distinctions between civilized and uncivilized. For example, in describing a seventeenth-century Pamunkey healing ceremony, Captain John Smith wrote “...a man with a Rattle and extreme howling, showing [sic], singing, to dance and suck out the blood and phlegm from the infected place.”⁷⁵ Smith’s description placed the ceremony outside the realm of the “civilized” and into the “howling wilderness,” one of many judgements made of Natives peoples throughout the colonial period. As Rath states,

Ranters lived on the edge, murmurers and grumblers were a threat from within, and those whose voices escaped language altogether were wild or savage, unless

⁷⁴ Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds*, 28.

⁷⁵ Richard C. Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 4.

they were groaning towards God, which placed them between the earthly and the heavenly.”...Vocables located people in terms of civil society and the heavens...These sounds are documented...when we factor the articulate aspects of speech back in, they can be embedded in a rich historical context rather than existing in an ahistorical state of nature.⁷⁶

With few exceptions, Indigenous language and sounds were almost always placed outside the venerations of Spanish, English or French into separate designations of wild, dangerous, and savage. However, it was the sound of music and singing that was universal among all Indigenous people, conventions recorded consistently by Spanish explorers throughout the course of contact on the Northwest Coast. Song preceded, accompanied and/or closed a range of formal, informal, personal, collective, sacred and secular activities; it established, solidified or ended relationships, and, when listened to, were strong signifiers of things to come for both friend and foe. Exemplifying this is Pérez’s description of first encounters between the *Santiago* and the Haida in 1774 when Haida canoes paddled out to meet the first Spanish sojourn to the region,

At 3:00 in the afternoon we descried 3 canoes coming towards us. At 4:30 they arrived alongside...The first action they did when they approached within a gunshot of the ship was to begin to sing their motet in unison and cast feathers in the water...[the next day] They began negotiating trade with our crew, but first they sang and they danced and they threw feathers in the air...The aforementioned King or Captain carried his tambourine and sonata but first they began dancing and singing. Then they began to trade with otter, wolf, and bear skins...⁷⁷

Hoffer’s *Sensory Worlds* underscores the significance that sound, song, and singing played in early colonial encounters and provides a context in which a comparative discussion between the Northwest Coast and Spanish explorers is made.

⁷⁶ Rath, *Early America*, 4, 5.

⁷⁷ Frederick H. White, "Was New Spain Really First?: Rereading Juan Pérez 's 1774 Expedition to Haida Gwaii," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 26, no. 1 (2006): 8, 11-12.

Chapter 3

Encounters in the Margins

No colonial expedition to the Pacific Northwest Coast generated as many documents as complex and varied as the Spanish enterprise. Their contacts with the Tlingit, whom they called *tejuneses*, were comprehensive and rich as a result of observations meticulously recorded by Commander Alejandro Malaspina including, among others, Francisco Javier de Viana, Antonio de Tova y Arredondo, Juan Gutiérrez de la Concha y Mazón, José de Espinosa, and Tomás de Suría.⁷⁸ Farther south, the writings of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and José Mariano Moziño reveal an esthetic and cultural dialogue not typical between Indigenous nations and settler societies that challenges the colonial narrative of power and expansion. As Hart writes,

Suría contrasts the dimension of daily human activity against that of an epic- or more exactly, it is utopia against which he builds a comparison. Thus, the Notebook [Suría's journal] becomes a kind of counter-discourse. These accounts reflect a complex dialogue. It concerns the environment naturally and its occupants—whose signs the navigators strove to decipher. But they also reflect the complexity of the dialogue existing among these contemporaneous accounts themselves as well as a much wider intertext, historical, philosophical, and political in nature.⁷⁹

While the archival evidence reveals parallels between the two cultures, the trope of the colonial attitude of superiority emphatically dismissed any similarity in the social, cultural, and political fabric of Spanish society with that of Indigenous peoples. However, it is argued that Spanish officers who had the greatest amount of personal and direct

⁷⁸ Catherine Poupeney Hart, "Malaspina at Port Mulgrave: An Examination of the Texts," in *Spain and the North Pacific Coast: Essays in Recognition of the Bicentennial of the Malaspina Expedition 1791-1792*, ed. Robin Inglis (Vancouver: University of British Columbia and Vancouver Maritime Museum, Apr 11-13, 1992), 79.

⁷⁹ Hart, "Malaspina at Port Mulgrave," 80.

interaction with Northwest Coast nations made the greatest levels of psychological, philosophical, and sociological comparisons.

Understanding the significance of these comparisons is described through the concept of “modernity/coloniality” as it relates to the formalization of the “purity of blood” principle in sixteenth-century Spain.⁸⁰ Termed by Argentine semiotician, Walter D. Mignolo, he defines modernity/coloniality as the “historical coexistence between the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors from Spain and the ‘discovery of America’...a landmark for both modern colonialism and colonial modernities—that is, of modernity/coloniality.”⁸¹ In the context of Spain and Latin America, he asserts that construction of a “modern” world system began when debates around the purity of blood

⁸⁰ Rachel L. Burk, *Salus erat in sanguine: Limpieza de Sangre and Other Discourses of Blood in Early Modern Spain*, PhD diss. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 10-11.

The purity of blood principle, or “limpieza de sangre” in Spanish, was a complicated, mutable notion. Widely propagated in the sixteenth-century, it emerged as a legal designation of religious identity that distinguished populations on the basis of race. The body of law on *limpieza* prohibited recent converts to Christianity, and eventually their descendants, from holding elected offices in government and the Church. To qualify for such positions, proof of “pure” lineage, that is, free of Muslims and Jews, was required. Although at the start, the discriminatory impact was small, the ideological shift it instituted had far-reaching effects. From this point forward, Spanish national-religious identity was associated with an internal differential, a difference in bodies located in the blood regardless of creed...In the history of race, blood purity is significant because it foregrounds the body as the material inheritance of lineage and the singular, generative source of difference between populations.

⁸¹ Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press), 49, 50.

Of Argentinian ancestry, Mignolo’s definition of “modernity/coloniality” makes perfect sense; he logically positioned himself from the perspective of historical Spain and Latin America, in other words, “a national history marginalized from post-Enlightenment Europe (Spain), and a colonial moment (Latin America) which too [was] erased from the construction of colonialism and the modern world (post-Enlightenment).” However, if one considers, for example, those of North African descent with Moroccan and Maghreb histories that differed significantly from those of Spain and Latin America, the premise behind Mignolo’s “modernity/coloniality” remains intact but its historical language must be adapted. Mignolo assumed coloniality as a natural constituent of modernity (i.e. the fruits of colonialism—labour, resources, land—enabled the emergence of a ‘modern’ world system in that part of the world that was beneficiary of all these riches—Western Europe). However, in North Africa for example, their “modernity” was shaped by a much earlier Spanish colonialism. To North Africans, it is understood that coloniality inherently *followed* modernity, thus challenging the coupled definition of Mignolo’s “modernity/coloniality.” This divergence of understanding lay in the fact that the same circumstances were interpreted through unrelated lenses, each no more valid than the other. These separate interpretations of the same concept—coloniality/modernity—articulated the diversity of “colonial differences” that persist between “local histories” and imposed understandings or “exteriority.”

principle intersected with the “rights of the people.” According to Valenzuela-Vermehren, the rights of people was “a result of the history of violence that characterized the evolution and expansion of the states-system...It refuted the titles by which Spanish conquistadors and jurists sought to justify exploitation and occupation of the “New World” which included presumed authority of the Pope or King, the right of “discovery,” the rejection of Christian faith by Indigenous populations, and the right to suppress “sins” against the law of nature...Natural law was assumed to exist among all peoples because it was considered apprehensible by the rational nature of every individual.”⁸²

The “rights” discussion was about Amerindians specifically (not African populations) simply because they were considered vassals of the King and servants of God; as such (and in theory), they could not be enslaved. African populations were not in the same category; they were part of the Atlantic “commerce” and therefore commodity. Emerging from the Spanish School of Salamanca, these legal-theological debates ultimately influenced the way in which inhabitants of the “New World” were to be regarded in the natural order of things.⁸³ Mignolo’s concept of modernity/coloniality articulates the meeting of two oppositional tenets—the “rights of people” and the “purity of blood” principle—and marks the point at which the course of Spanish thought and attitude towards Indigenous populations was altered. It introduced a humanistic and relational element to the colonial agenda, the text of which contributed to the psychology of Spanish interactions on the Northwest Coast. This is significant in our narrative

⁸² Luis Valenzuela-Vermehren, "Vitoria, Humanism, and the School of Salamanca in Early Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Heuristic Overview," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 16, no. 2 (2013): 116, 117, 119.

⁸³ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 30, 49.

because, without “modernity/coloniality,” relationships in the region would have looked much different.

At the basis of my argument is the assertion that social, cultural, and aesthetic parallels were discernible to Spanish between their own culture and that of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit. The capacity for the Spanish to draw such parallels begins with the arguments presented by Spanish theologian, Francisco de Vitoria and the School of Salamanca during the sixteenth- century; this is also known as the “phenomenon.” By the eighteenth- century, Spain differed in its overall attitude towards Indigenous populations compared to other imperial nations. This attitude was based on multiple factors, as follows: in part, on economics and a required diplomacy in order to participate in a new global market (the sea otter trade); in part, to boost political standing relative to other colonial powers (of which Spain was losing); and in part, informed by the attitudes towards Indigenous human rights and the limitations of justifiable warfare that began with the School of Salamanca. Monarchs and viceroys were educated in institutions such as Salamanca, and ultimately influenced by teachings and attitudes that advocated just war, international law, and the rights of Indigenous peoples against Spanish colonists.

It is important to note that Spain’s overall relationship and interactions with the Northwest Coast nations differed greatly from its dealings with California natives and with those groups further south. First, its historic policy of “congregation and missionization” was modified in favor of “relationship building and accommodation.”⁸⁴ An example of this was Alejandro Malaspina’s 1791 expedition to Nootka Sound in which the Commandant offered to consign the Spanish settlement of Santa Cruz de

⁸⁴ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 13.

Nutka, situated on the ancestral *Nuu-chah-nulth* site of Yuquot, to Chief Maquinna at the time of their withdrawal,

Malaspina made an offer to turn the Spanish settlement over to the Nootkans when the Iberians should finally some day retire from the area, with the big house, that [was] used by the commandant...to go to Chief Maquinna and the other buildings to be divided among the other chiefs...In reconfirming the earlier land cessation, Malaspina was departing from what has been thought to be Spanish custom in dealing with aboriginal people, insofar as it has been generally held that Spaniards paid little heed to aboriginal rights of land ownership.⁸⁵

Secondly—and in direct contrast to historical dealings with Native populations—the Franciscans who accompanied the Spanish were to act as military chaplains *only* to those onboard, and captains were to encourage friendship through diplomacy and protocol. Finally, and ultimately leading to the Spanish collapse and withdrawal from the Northwest Coast region, was the emphasis on establishing occupation posts with non-commercial interests.

A Series of Spanish Voyages

It is important to contextualize the expanse of Spanish exploration on the Northwest Coast. At the beginning of the eighteenth-century, Russia and Spain no longer knew exactly where the boundaries of their respective empires lay, and, therefore, which lands each could legitimately claim as their own. This uncertainty threatened Spain's political, economic, and military stability of far-flung lands and resources as other world powers began to emerge, potentially interfering with commercial possibilities and imperial control.⁸⁶ Against this backdrop, Spain mobilized expeditions northward in response to

⁸⁵ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 105.

⁸⁶ Leoncio Carretero Collado, "Málalni: Politics, Trade, and Collectionism on the Northwest Coast during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to*

reports that Russian activities might be encroaching on Spanish “boundaries,” plus fears that other countries might have similar territorial aspirations. Although expeditions were given individual instructions, overall mandates for the Northwest Coast were universal, including: 1) verification of Russian presence in the region; 2) identification of areas to which Russia laid claim; 3) ratification of Spain’s rights to new northern lands through the act of possession; 4) exploration and mapping of new coastlines; and 5) comprehensive documentation via journals.⁸⁷ In the eighteenth-century, the northwest reaches of the Americas were considered to be the “end of the world,” the region where the Pacific and Atlantic oceans met via the fabled Northwest Passage, the farthest point from any European port, so inaccessible that ships had to sail around the treacherous southern tip of South America.⁸⁸

Spain was no longer focused on the large-scale colonization of new territories, partly because, first, its monarchy was pouring the majority of capital received from its American territories towards mediating internal and European political strife; and, second, a general apathy towards further colonial expansion developed among Spanish colonists once they acquired sufficient lands and a steady source of income.⁸⁹ Despite this, between 1774 and 1792, New Spain launched a series of reconnaissance, exploratory, and scientific expeditions to the Northwest Coast.⁹⁰ The first expedition, reconnaissance in nature and under the command of Pérez, included the Franciscan

Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910, ed. Steven C. Brown (Seattle: University of Washington, 2000), 11.

⁸⁷ Paz Cabello, "Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections in the Northwest Coast," in *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910*, ed. Steven C. Brown (Seattle: University of Washington, 2000), 19, 20.

⁸⁸ Cabello, "Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections," 19.

⁸⁹ Collado, "Málalni: Politics, Trade, and Collectionism," 11.

⁹⁰ Cabello, "Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections," 19-33.

Fathers, Juan de la Peña and Juan Crespí, both of whom recorded valuable observations and impressions of first encounters with Northwest Coast peoples. Although Pérez failed to make landfall anywhere along the coast, he did sail as far as Haida Gwaii, collecting a small iconic artifact—a small duck carved from bone—that fully and ingeniously



Figure 5. Haida pendant
Small pendant gifted to Juan Pérez in 1774 by a Haida woman near present-day Langara Island, BC. 1.74 in. high x 2.5 in. long. Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 68.

articulates the Northwest Coast esthetic and sophisticated formline. (Fig. 5)

Touted as the oldest documented object of the historic period, the bill of goods (still preserved in the Museo de Ciencias

Naturales, Madrid, Spain) states that the

item was given to Juan Pérez in 1774 by

“an Indian woman [probably Haida] who wore it around her neck with a string of little teeth that appeared to be those of a baby alligator [probably sea otter].”⁹¹ Exquisitely tiny, the refined styling is expressively important as it encapsulates the esthetic and ideology so distinctive of the Northwest Coast. The wings of the bird, with its fine incised lines and strong positive formlines emphasized through the carving-out of negative space, demonstrate that by the eighteenth-century, a “classic” northern-style was already fully developed. Characteristics include carved positive/negative elements, an effusive ovoid contour, and layering of the angular U-form with a highly structured shape and movement.⁹² Assuming that most of the wear and tear occurred prior to Pérez receiving

⁹¹ Brown and Cabello, *Spirits of the Water*, 68.

⁹² Penney, *North American Indian Art*, 151. The term *formline* or *formline tradition* refers to the strong organizing “...*formline* which outlines the component parts of the image...the form-line inscribes the broad dimensions [of a design]...spaces within the form-line are filled in with a series of standard elements: “ovoid’s” that serve as eyes or locate the shoulder and hip joints; “U”s that often suggest feathers or fins; and anatomical details like hands or claws...Form-line designs can be painted, carved in shallow relief, or

it—its beak had been broken off and the ivory was already darkened—it can be said that it was already of a considerable age.⁹³ Within this seemingly simple piece, the artist ingeniously rendered an abstracted facial profile, representative of the transformative and immanent natures that existed between human, animal, and spirit beings within the Northwest Coast complex.

This initial expedition was noteworthy for several reasons: first, it established a basis for Spain's claim to sovereignty in the region, a fact that would be referenced numerous times during the Nootka Sound Controversy; second, the items collected are among the earliest surviving examples of Northwest Coast cultural and utilitarian items anywhere in the world; and third, a wealth of ethnographic, cultural, and social information was recorded by the Franciscan priests who accompanied Pérez, providing early glimpses of a territorial and artistic confidence by Indigenous communities not intimidated by foreign arrivals.

Both the Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales and the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid hold a 1774 document that lists the items collected on this expedition, entitled, “Inventario de las piezas cambalacheadas con los indios descubiertos a la altura de 55 grados y 19 minutos por los individuos de la fragata Santiago destinada a explorar la costa septentrional de California que se remitió a S.M. por el Virrey de Nueva España.”⁹⁴ Among other items, it documents the following,

one blanket...embroidered on one side in white and black, with squares of otter fur in a checkerboard design on both sides...a very carefully woven hat

often both. The form-line tradition is a conservative discipline and master artists rarely transgressed the rules.”

⁹³ Steven C. Brown, *Native Visions: Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth Through the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and Douglas & McIntyre, 1998), 13.

⁹⁴ English translation is “Inventory of the items traded with the Indians discovered at latitude 55° 19’ by the individuals aboard the frigate Santiago charged with exploring the northern coast of California, which was sent to His Majesty by the Viceroy of New Spain.”

apparently of fine ipecac fiber [red cedar bark]...another of the same in a Chinese style, much more exquisite in its weave and because it has a pattern of canoes made with ipecac dyed black...a sort of bone bird with its upper beak broke, which was retrieved from an Indian woman who wore it around her neck...⁹⁵

As Freeman M. Tovell notes in his biography of Bodega y Quadra, the items caused a minor stir when displayed to the Spanish court; he writes,

When Carlos III displayed the Chilkat cloaks and other objects to members of the court and foreign ambassadors, they were universally admired for their artistry and technical quality. “If these cloaks were woven by Indians of the country,” the minister Arriaga wrote effusively to Viceroy Bucareli, “that nation is more cultivated and civilized than all the others discovered up to now in America.”...the Spanish were now aware that the native cultures of the Pacific Northwest were superior to those with which they were familiar in Alta California...⁹⁶

This reinforces a growing realization by the Spanish of the level of sophistication and complexity of the Northwest Coast nations. The woven hat with a pattern of canoes is



Figure 6. Nuu-chah-nulth whaler's hat
c. 1775-92; probably collected by José
Mocino. Approx. 12" h x 12" diameter
Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 72.

assumed to be a *Nuu-chah-nulth* whaler's hat, as collected by Spanish expeditions and part of the “Spirits of the Water” exhibition. (Fig. 6) Although lost to time, the description of the blanket with the checkboard design matches that of a “raven's tail” chief's robe, a type that was produced by Tlingit weavers who lived at the latitudes reached by Pérez.⁹⁷ So-named because the motif of pendant black yarns imitated the tail of a raven, the design

⁹⁵ Cabello, “Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections,” 21.

⁹⁶ Tovell, *Far Reaches of Empire*, 15.

⁹⁷ Catherine Tutter, “Dance of the Raven's Tail, Part II,” *Textiles in Context* (blog), July 14, 2019. <https://textilesincontext.net/tag/ravens-tail-weaving/>

and technique pre-dates the better-known “Chilkat blanket” created later in the nineteenth- century.⁹⁸ Made from mountain-goat wool and decorated in black, white, and



Figure 7. Tlingit "raven's tail" blanket
Collected 1778; approx. 42" H x 57" W.
Source: *Spirits of the Water* 120.

yellow geometrics, blankets were produced using a twining technique derived from a strong basketry tradition. (Fig. 7) Created only for the wealthiest of the noble class to wear, some robes were lined on the opposite side with sea-otter fur, making them exceptionally warm and luxuriant.⁹⁹ As

testified by contemporary Tlingit weavers,

...the first woven blanket was known as tan or ‘thlaok klee’ (‘worked together blanket’), a combination of twisted cedar-bark and the wool of the mountain-goat, showing a plain white field. Then followed the introduction of color in geometric design, in which longitudinal stripes of the herring-bone pattern appeared on the white field. This was named Yel-ku uu [Yeil Koowu] (‘the raven’s tail’) from the resemblance it bore to the vanes of the tail-feather of that bird”.¹⁰⁰

The following year in 1775, the frigate *Santiago*, under the command of Bruno de Heceta and navigators, Pérez and Esteban José Martínez, along with the schooner *Sonora* led by Bodega y Quadra and Antonio Mourelle, sailed northward from San Blas, Mexico where they ceremoniously took possession of Vancouver Island in July. The *Santiago* turned

⁹⁸ Penney, *North American Indian Art*, 152; Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University © 2020. “Peabody Museum Collections Online.” The ‘raven’s tail’ blanket in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, known as the ‘Swift Robe’ because it was collected by the Captain Benjamin Swift ca. 1803, is one of only two complete blankets still in existence. The other is held by the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. (Fig. 4) [https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/asitem/search\\$0040/0/title-desc?t:state:flow=b7f51fe4-3928-499b-b4a4-e8f18275edd2](https://pmem.unix.fas.harvard.edu:8443/peabody/view/objects/asitem/search$0040/0/title-desc?t:state:flow=b7f51fe4-3928-499b-b4a4-e8f18275edd2)

⁹⁹ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 50-51.

¹⁰⁰ Cheryl Samuel, *The Raven's Tail* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), 14.

back but the *Sonora* reached 59° N latitude, well into Tlingit territory. Although there is no evidence of objects collected on this expedition, Bodega y Quadra and Mourelle's journals both contain valuable descriptions and impressions of interactions with the Tlingit near Mount Saint Elias, present-day Alaska.^{101 102}

In 1779, the sloops *Princesa* and *Favorita* were dispatched northward with orders to reach 70° N latitude, the former commanded by Ignacio de Arteaga, the latter by Bodega y Quadra. Both ships sailed as far as present-day Prince William Sound, 60° N latitude, territory of the Pacific Yup'ik. Although only sporadic contact was recorded, both crews were in daily contact with either the Tlingit or Kaigani Haida when they anchored in Bucareli Bay for two months. Mourelle, who was Bodega y Quadra's second-in-command, recorded the nature of bartering that took place between the Spanish crews and local populations, providing careful descriptions of objects acquired and interactions completed. Bodega y Quadra's journals record two complete sets of armor, one entirely covered with paintings, and the other only partially decorated; three helmets; a club hatchet with a green stone blade; and a set of gambling sticks.¹⁰³ It is the acquisition of this battle dress that forms the basis of comparison in Chapter 6.¹⁰⁴

Nine years later, in 1788, a fourth expedition was undertaken after new reports emerged of Russian settlements in the Prince William Sound and Aleutian Islands. The frigate *Princesa* and the packet-boat *San Carlos*, under the commands of Gonzalo López de Haro and Estaban Martínez, respectively, sailed directly to present-day Montague

¹⁰¹ Cabello, "Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections," 21-22.

¹⁰² Ibid, 22. "Mourelle's journal...[was] used by James Cook on his third and final voyage in 1778, when he explored the Alaskan coast and disembarked at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island."

¹⁰³ Ibid, 22-23.

¹⁰⁴ Brown and Cabello, *Spirits of the Water*, 69.

Island in Prince William Sound. Journals record interactions with Russians at what would become Cook Inlet, along with passages and visits to Kodiak, Unimak and the Aleutian Islands, trading with the Aleuts, Pacific Yup'ik and Russians.

The fifth voyage in 1789, under the command of Martínez, had orders to establish a settlement in Nootka Sound in order to protect Spanish interests against possible Russian intrusion. Arriving at Yuquot in May of that year, Martínez began the construction of a fort and barracks, digging trenches, and six batteries of guns to defend the settlement. When the British captain, James Colnett, refused to recognize Spain's authority in the region, Martínez had him arrested—along with Captain Thomas Hudson—and sent back to San Blas, Mexico. This precipitated the Nootka Sound Crisis that nearly led to war between the Spanish and the British, and the primary was why Bodega y Quadra was later sent to the region in 1792.¹⁰⁵

The sixth expedition in 1790 was sent by the new Viceroy of New Spain, Revillagigedo, under the command of Francisco de Eliza. Eliza and his commander Salvador Fidalgo set up in *Nuu-chah-nulth* territory in Nootka Sound, explored Prince William Sound in Tlingit territory, and had his lieutenant, Manuel Quimper, survey Juan de Fuca Strait and present-day Vancouver and coastline area. There are no records of objects being sent back to Spain.¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile, between July 1789 and September 1793, Alejandro Malaspina, along with José Bustamante, commanded an extensive around-the-world scientific expedition aboard the Spanish corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, respectively. Their objectives were varied, as follows: to study the political situation in the *Indias*; trade opportunities;

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 24.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 26.

capacity of Spanish colonists to defend themselves; suitability of existing and potential ports; potential resources and shipbuilding; use of natural resources; and governance systems.¹⁰⁷ Malaspina recorded and collected information between the Tlingit and *Nuu-chah-nulth*, writings that inform significant sections of this dissertation.

There were two final expeditions in 1792; the first, under the commands of Dionisio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés aboard the schooners, *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, respectively; and the second captained by Jacinto Caamaño Moraleja aboard the *Aránzazu*. Galiano and Valdés recorded the nature of relationships with the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, with other Indigenous groups, and with other explorers. Notable is the presence of José Mariano Moziño, whose writings—translated in the publication, *Noticias de Nutka*—inform a significant part of this research.¹⁰⁸ Caamaño, for his part, surveyed south from Bucareli Bay—Tlingit territory—all the way to Nootka Sound. Caamaño recorded valuable information concerning the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida at the time of contact, information which is also referenced throughout this research.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Brown and Cabello, *Spirits of the Water*, 26.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 28.

¹⁰⁹ Freeman M. Tovell, “Ending the Search for the Mythical Passage of Admiral Fonte: The 1792 Voyage of Jacinto Caamaño,” *BC Studies* 117 (2008): 19.

Chapter 4

Northwest Coast Esthetics, Social Organizations, and Cultural Systems

Western science states that humans have inhabited the west side of Vancouver Island for at least 4,300 years.¹¹⁰ The Indigenous people who live there say their history extends, “back to the time when transformers such as *Kwatyat* put the landscape and the animals in their present forms.”¹¹¹ The region is the ancestral home of three related groups whose historic territories comprise western Vancouver Island and the northwestern portion of

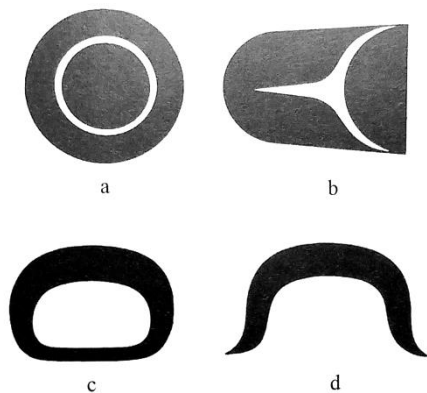


Figure 8. Northwest Coast design elements
a. circle; b. trigon; c. ovoid; d. u-form
Source: *Art of the Northwest Coast* (Jonaitis),
29.

the Olympic Peninsula: the *Nuu-chah-nulth*,

Ditidaht, and Makah. (refer to Fig. 7) Most

significant to this dissertation is the *Nuu-chah-*

nulth, long referred to as the “Nootka” by non-

Indigenous people, and the northern Tlingit who

also had substantial contact with Spanish

explorers.¹¹² Many features of the Northwest

Coast esthetic emerged between 500 BCE and 500

CE, the seeds of which were developed using four basic design elements: the circle, oval, crescent, and trigon.¹¹³ (Fig. 8) Over long expanses of time, individual peoples articulated

¹¹⁰ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, “Yuquot Agenda Paper,” 11

¹¹¹ Allan D. McMillan, *Since Kwatyat Lived on Earth: An Examination of Nuu-chah-nulth Culture History*, PhD diss. (Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 1996), iv, 1.

Kwatyat was the culture hero and transformer figure of the Barkley Sound *Nuu-chah-nulth*. His exploits are reflected at many locations on the *Nuu-chah-nulth* cultural landscape.

¹¹² It should be noted that this dissertation focuses only on select aspects of Nuu-chah-nulth and Tlingit (with a note to the Haida) culture, society, architecture, esthetics, governance, items, and structures relevant to the argument of parallel concepts.

¹¹³ Penney, *North American Indian Art*, 142; Steven C. Brown, “Flowing Traditions: The Appearance and Relations of Nuu-chah-nulth Visual Symbolism,” in *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, History & Objects*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000): 274. Also called a t-form, t-shape, wedge, or cuneiform, the “trigon” is a shape with three concave sides.

the relationship between each one using subtle differences that distinguished one region from the other. The predictability of ocean migration and the resource-rich environment of the temperate rainforest supported a relatively sedentary lifestyle that enabled the development of highly complex cultures, esthetics, religion, governance, trade, and architecture. Archaeological sites, such as Marpole (400 BCE-400 CE)—now the location of Vancouver’s International Airport in Coast Salish territory—have yielded the remains of large houses with cedar support posts and split planking roofs, elements found in large winter houses built in more recent times. At the Lachane site (520 BCE-20 CE), located in traditional Tsimshian territory near the vicinity of present-day Prince Rupert (northern British Columbia), an early example of the “form line tradition” is evident in a carved wooden bird that functioned as a bucket handle. The form line reached a high level of sophistication into the present among the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida peoples. At the Boardwalk site in Tsimshian territory was a paddle-shaped hand club made of whalebone with a carved human head wearing an animal crest headdress. The shape itself was widely dispersed, having been found as far south as Puget Sound, with the use of a crest image significant across all Northwest Coast cultures. Despite the ever-present threat of over-extension and collapse, archaeologists theorize that the natural abundance of the north Pacific environment contributed to the evolution of complex social relationships so characteristic of Northwest Coast cultures. Monumental architecture, regalia, sculpture, imagery, and narratives rich in mythology and iconology play a pivotal role in the complex and competitive world of Northwest Coast chiefdoms.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Penney, *North American Indian Art*, 141.

In the very broadest of terms, Northwest Coast peoples held the belief that every individual descended from a common ancestor or “clan being,” this being either Eagle, Raven, or Wolf. If a person was a member of the same clan, he or she was considered a “brother” or “sister,” no matter how far removed. This clan system served two primary functions: It established a complex set of social distinctions, and more importantly, it established genetic distinctions between groups. Marriages and procreation could occur *only* across group lines, not *within* the same clan, a cultural dictate extremely important where communities were relatively small. The northern and central groups held rigid social structures. For example, among the Haida and Tlingit, clan lineage was passed through the female; the husband assumed the woman’s name and inherited her family’s rights, property, stories, and ceremony. In the south, among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Salish, and Chinook, social structures were more relaxed. Individuals could choose a clan, either through their mother or father’s line with leadership dependent upon individual merit and validation of the community.

Northwest Coast Esthetic

Prior to the eighteenth- century, Northwest Coast artists had developed a long and complex system of esthetics that reflected the longevity of the culture. An example of this is a *Nuu-chah-nulth* carved handle fragment, dated to approximately 2,000 years ago, that speaks to the early development of a stratified society—rank and status—and the unbroken evolution of a long-standing artistic tradition. It is this concept of hierarchy of both the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Spanish that are comparatively discussed in Chapter 6. Found at Yuquot (the site where the majority of Spanish interactions occurred), the

handle was carved from whalebone with a drilled hole that may have allowed the object to be tied to the owner's wrist. It is speculated to be either a club or a dagger, and because of its embellishment, owned by a wealthy individual. Shaped into a zoomorphic image

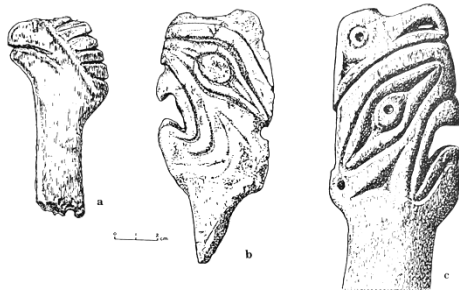


Figure 9 Carved handles of whale-bone clubs found in Nuu-chah-nulth & Makah sites c. 2000 years ago. Source: Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, 236.

with a down-turned beaklike mouth and featherlike projections emerging from the back of the head, this ancient piece is suggestive of the distinctive Northwest Coast ovoid and formline so familiar in the twentieth-century.

Called a “chitoolth,” it resembles an early, simplified version of a stylized thunderbird, and

is an image that appears on more recent eighteenth-century whalebone clubs found in local museum collections.¹¹⁵

Northwest Coast artists drew from three basic design elements—the formline, u-line, and ovoid—with each of the culture groups adapting their own interpretations of style and design that manifested representations of iconic and esoteric culture stories and worldviews. The intangible arts included song, story, ceremony, performance, oration, music, and dance that transmitted morals, values, beliefs, and laws based around identity, place, society, and memory. Common across all groups—and specifically the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit—were variations of the mythical Thunderbird, Whale, Wolf, and Lightning Serpent. Each community generally regarded the universe as a pantheon of spirits, great and small, in which human beings were a small part. Human existence was

¹¹⁵ Penney, *North American Indian Art*, 144; Alan D. McMillan, “Early Nuu-chah-nulth art and adornment: Glimpses from the archaeological record,” in *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, History & Objects*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000): 235-236.

dependent on supernatural presences, which were to be appeased through constant ritual and medicine obtained through respectful communication and protocol.¹¹⁶

Communication was achieved through a multitude of artistic mediums. Early Spanish explorers were impressed by the degree of sophistication and range of artistry they encountered in local indigenous carving, weaving, basketry, painting, and appliqué, indicating development of an esthetic tradition that exceeded mere function. This included (but was not limited to) the interior and exterior of houses; house-posts, poles, house planks, door entrances, and family history screens; hats, capes, ceremonial regalia, and personal adornment; household items, basketry, and storage boxes; hunting tools, war items, and canoes.¹¹⁷ As Nuu-chah-nulth professor, Charlotte Côté states,

...Indigenous art was connected to the spiritual world. It was understood that a person's ability to carve, weave, sculpt, and/or design came from spirit helpers or was inherited from an ancestor. The better their work, the more spirit power the artists had obtained. Therefore, carvers, basket weavers, and tool and canoe makers were all revered in their communities. The art of a people reflects what is important to their culture and significant to their identity.¹¹⁸

The Northwest Coast artistic prototype was the circle, crescent, and trigon, integrated as a carved or incised (negative) design element onto a positive surface area that created a representative image.¹¹⁹ Two graphic styles are identified: the first, based in a narrative tradition, is found on engraved petroglyphs, woven basketry of chiefly whaling hats, and on painted house screens; the second predates the northern Northwest Coast formline and involves the use of repeating rectilinear motifs, spirals, zigzag lines, and patterns of dots.

¹¹⁶ Eugene Arima and Alan L. Hoover, *The Whaling People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery* (Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2011), 197.

¹¹⁷ Côté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 103.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 104.

¹¹⁹ Hoover, ed., *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices*, 277.

(refer to Fig. 3) Pieces of whaling harpoons dated to 1,200 years ago have been found decorated with the zigzag Lightning Serpent, imbuing a spiritual strength that enhanced a *haw'iih*'s whaling ability.¹²⁰ Such artistic elements were integrated into sculptures, such as attached house-posts, house figures, and stylized entrances. Late eighteenth-century bowls and dishes display flat designs cut into the sides with handles carved in the round into human or animal figures.¹²¹

Stylistically, human face mask designs tended toward flat triangular cross sections with flat eye areas blended together with cheeks sculpted below; eye motifs articulated using circles, crescents, and trigons (T-shape with three concave sides); and if ornamented, painted with bold unconnected geometric shapes such as feather and star-like designs. (Fig 10) Masks and

“maskettes” (smaller masks worn on the brow) could display chiefly crests or represent ancestors or spirits; for example, the Yellow-cedar spirit, a ghost of a drowned man, a wealth-giving dwarf, or the wild man of the forest. Masks representing a single



Figure 10. Sun mask (Bella Coola)
Source: From the Land of the Totem Poles (Jonaitis), 164.

animal, such as in the Wolf Ritual, were variously created as the Crawling, Whirling, Standing, or Swimming Wolf. Individuals had rights to dances and masks that reflected the plethora of environments and animals that shared the spaces with humans; for example, the sawbill, bee, bird, devil-fish, salmon, raccoon, rat, mink, bear, eagle, raven,

¹²⁰ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 104.

¹²¹ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 211-212, 216.

woodpecker, cougar, deer, river, and ocean. Eighteenth- century masks were most often decorated and painted. Prominent and consistent iconography includes the Whale, Thunderbird, and Lightning Serpent (snake), each of which is a prized inherited right of leading *haw'iih* used for ceremonial display.¹²²

Between the northern Tlingit and Haida and the central *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Coast Salish, northern esthetics tended to be more formal in the use of ovoids and u-shapes; southern esthetics were looser with a greater use of ovals, circles, and crescents. Art historian, Bill Holm, described the nature of early period Northwest Coast esthetics, specifically those related to items collected by the Spanish; he wrote:

This early northern style is characterized by massive formlines with minimal tapering. There are often right-angled U-forms [and] rounded ovoids...slits and background areas are generally narrow. Ovoids range from almost round to extremely long, this length often emphasized by their massive formline borders. Eyelids are typically very long, often reaching the ends of the socket, and almost evenly tapered from the iris or inner ovoid to their end. Very often the upper edge of the inner ovoid merges with the eyelid. Compositions...are usually much simpler than those of the mid-19th century...For example, almost all cheek designs are of the simplest form, without the elaborations seen in later work.¹²³

Of the central regions, Holm writes that, “although there were certainly purely esthetic and religious components to the arts of this central province *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Kwakiutl, Oweekeno, Bella Bella, Bella Coola], the main motivation, in historical times at least, was social—the graphic representation of hereditary privilege.”¹²⁴ Artistry made manifest the spiritual world, representations expressed through two main forms: one, encompassing a religious context, was the dramatic performance of an ancestor

¹²² Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 211-212, 216-217, 219.

¹²³ Brown, *Native Visions*, 16.

¹²⁴ Bill Holm, "Function of Art in Northwest Coast Indian Culture," in *Spirits of the Water: Native Art Collected on Expeditions to Alaska and British Columbia, 1774-1910*, eds. Steven C. Brown and Paz Cabello (Seattle: University of Washington and Douglas & McIntyre, 2000): 49.

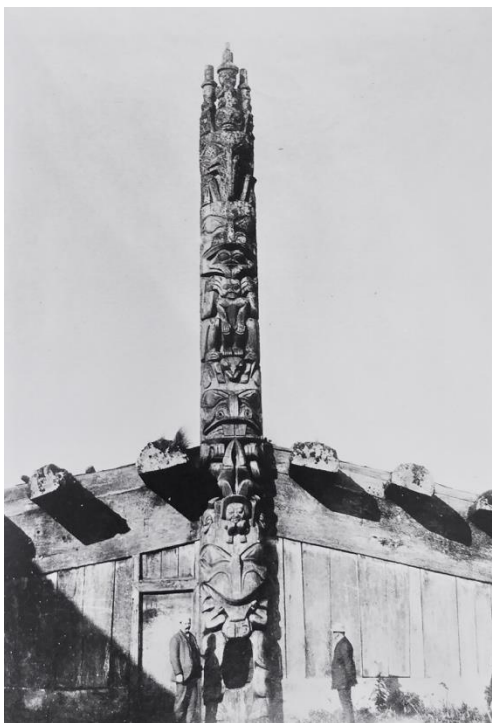


Figure 11. Frontal pole (Haida), Massett
Source: From the Land of the Totem Poles
(Jonaitis), 39.

encountering a supernatural being, and the acquisition of dances and masks given by those beings. The other, also acquired through supernatural encounters, was through the public display of crests that reinforced the nobility of the privilege owners.¹²⁵ *Nuu-chah-nulth* art was embedded within ranked rights, privileges, and beliefs in the supernatural. For example, face masks and head masks were generally displayed and danced during more complex ceremonies, as part of an associated retinue of music, dance, performance, and speech.

The northern territories—Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida—produced the majority of what we recognize as “Northwest Coast art,” including monumental totem poles, giant canoes, and Chilkat dance robes. (Fig. 11; Fig. 12) The sophisticated two-dimensional formline became a conventionalized design element that enabled artists a degree of flexibility while establishing a common esthetic throughout the region. The formline system first appeared over a thousand



Figure 12 Chilkat blanket, 19th c.
Source: Cleveland Museum of Art,
<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1981.69>

¹²⁵ Holm, “Function of Art in Northwest Coast,” 49; Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 211.

years ago and is thought to be fully developed several centuries before European contact. Abstract representations of supernatural creatures and natural phenomena translated into crest imagery, with ownership rights acquired in the same manner as groups in the central region. As Holm highlights,

The display of crests on poles, clan hats, staffs, robes, and other regalia makes a statement about the nobility of the family, and the right to use a crest image was, and is, of great social value and jealously guarded. Attitudes about crest ownership are similar to those of European nobility, perhaps even more intense.¹²⁶

Items of utility and everyday use were often decorated with intricate formlines to which a spiritual context was associated. For example, clubs used by fishermen had images of a sea lion or killer whale carved into them, images that imbued the natural abilities of each to ensure a successful hunt. Similarly (and discussed further in a later section), items of warfare—helmets, daggers, clubs—were faceted with fearsome supernatural and animal images in order to intimidate the enemy. Drawn from supernatural and spiritual origins, imagery and expression had a triple: primarily, as manifestations of noble rank and status; alternately, as mechanisms to aid in curing and healing (shamanic art); or finally, as a way to evoke supernatural and/or animal potency in everyday activities, hunting, or warfare.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Holm, "Function of Art in Northwest Coast," 50.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 51-52.

The Nuu-chah-nulth

The *hahuu i*, or chiefly territories, of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* stretch approximately three hundred kilometers along the western coastline of present-day Vancouver Island.¹²⁸ Their specific territory ranges from present-day Cape Flattery, Washington, to Becher Bay and Jordan River in the southwest to the northwest Brooks Peninsula, both on Vancouver Island.¹²⁹ (refer to Fig. 7) Translated as, “all along the mountains and sea,” the *Nuu-chah-nulth* are *Nitinaht* or Nootka speakers of the Wakashan family who share linguistic roots with the *Heiltsuk* of the northeast central coast, the *Kwakwaka’wakw* on the east coast, and the Makah to the south.¹³⁰ Wakashan cultures are organized by language in which reverence, respect, responsibility, and reciprocity are elements central to social and ceremonial contexts.¹³¹ For the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, the term *wakash* connotes “praise” associated with gratefulness to Creator *n’ass* for Creation and all things that are good.¹³² Mistakenly named the Nootka by Cook, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* call themselves the *Tl’aa7as7athtx*, “people of the outside coast”; this term for the *Nuu-chah-nulth* frequently

¹²⁸ Richard Inglis, James C. Haggarty, Kevin Neary, “Kiix’in Agenda Paper: Huu-ay-aht First Nations,” in *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, History & Objects*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000): 39.

¹²⁹ Earl Maquinna George, *Living on the Edge: Nuu-Chah-Nulth History from an Ahousaht Chief’s Perspective* (BC: Sono Nis Press, 2005), 12, 14.

Individual communities include the *Pacheenaht* (*Pacheenaht*), *Ditidaht* (*Diitiidaht*, *Nitinaht*), *Ohiaht* (*Huu-ay-aht*), *Sheshaht* (*Tsehaht*), *Uchucklesaht*, *Toquaht*, *Ucluelet*, *Opetchesaht* (*Hupacasath*), *Clayoquot* (*Tla-o-quiaht*), *Ahousat*, *Hesquiaht*, *Muchalaht*, *Mowachaht*, *Nutchallaht*, *Ehattesaht*, *Kyuquot* (*Ka:’yu:K’t’h*), and *Chickliset* (*Che:Kiles7et’k*).

¹³⁰ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, “Kiix’in Agenda Paper,” 39; Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council. 2008. “Nuu-chah-nulth,” © 2020. <http://www.nuuchahnulth.org>

¹³¹ Marlene R. Atleo, “The Ancient Nuu-chah-nulth Strategy of Hahuulthi: Education for Indigenous Cultural Survivance,” *International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic, and Social Sustainability: Annual Review* 2, no. 1 (2006): 154.

¹³² “Nuu-chah-nulth,” *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*.

appears in early historic accounts as *Classet* or *Klazzart*.¹³³ Dr. Marlene Atleo, a member of the Ahousaht *Nuu-chah-nulth* nation, explains a bit of the language: “*Nuu-chah-nulth-aht*” are people who live along the windward side of the mountains on the west coast of Vancouver Island...A person from Ahous is an Ahous-aht,” and so forth.¹³⁴

Archaeologist Alan D. McMillan describes the physical environment and pre-contact life of the people of this region with the following,

[They] occupied a landscape of majestic grandeur. Frequently shrouded in clouds, the rainy coast bears a lush green mantle of cedar, fir, hemlock and spruce. Along the outer coast huge waves break against long sweeping sandy beaches, broken by rocky headlands. Rugged mountains descend precipitously to the sea along the fjord-like inlets which stretch far inland. Large sounds and numerous smaller bays and inlets, studded with island clusters, result in a convoluted coastline offering a diversity of local environments and a great variety of resources...Large dugout cedar canoes once traversed these waterways, allowing people to exploit resources throughout their territories and to travel to distance villages for feasts, ceremonies, or raids. Permanent villages of large cedar plank-clad houses faced the sheltered waterways at important locations, although temporary housing was also used at short-term resource camps. The beaches in front of the houses bustled with activity, as the canoes of fishermen, sea mammal hunters and traders arrived and departed...The basic activities of everyday life, such as sleeping, cooking, and caring for children, as well as major ceremonial activities, took place primarily within the houses, the cluster of people occupying a house forming one of the basic levels of *Nuu-chah-nulth* social organization.¹³⁵

Prior to European contact, it is estimated there were 100+ *hahuu*'is (chiefly territories) in the region that supported a combined population of 25,000+ souls. By the end of the nineteenth- century, due to disease, approximately 3,000 individuals remained; today, only seventeen tribes continue. Independent from one community to the next, the *Nuu-*

¹³³ Alan D. McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Ditidaht, and Makah* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 6. The symbol “7” represents a glottal stop when speaking.

¹³⁴ Atleo, “The Ancient Nuu-chah-nulth Strategy,” 153.

¹³⁵ McMillan, *Since Kwatyat Lived on Earth*, 18.

chah-nulth divided themselves locally under chiefly families and resources.¹³⁶ As with other Indigenous groups, the people not only identified themselves in relation to the environment in which they lived, it defined how they described others who came to their territory. Accordingly, because the Spanish arrived on vessels that could not be associated with any known ancestral territory, they were called *maa-multh-nii* or “people who came floating in,” and were considered a people without land.¹³⁷

Kwáan—The Tlingit

In 1775, the Spanish sailed into the territory of the Tlingit, known collectively as



“kwáan,”¹³⁸ a third group of people relevant to this dissertation. With initial contact between the two groups occurring at 57° 20' N latitude,¹³⁹ the region is surprisingly mild, due in part to the moderating influence of the Japanese current. The Tlingit homeland was, and still is, situated around the present-day Alaskan panhandle from 54° N to 60° N latitude, from coastal

Figure 13. Tlingit territory

Source: Art of the Northwest Coast (Jonaitis) Map 2, xii.

¹³⁶ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, “Kiix’in Agenda Paper,” 39.

¹³⁷ Atleo, “The Ancient Nuuchah-nulth Strategy,” 153.

¹³⁸ Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, *Haa Kusteyí, Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 2.

¹³⁹ Beals, et al., *Four Travel Journals*, 113.

Yakutat to the Dixon Entrance (present-day southeast Alaska) with inland communities on the Chilkat and Stikine rivers, and in southwest Yukon and northwest British Columbia. (Fig. 13) As dramatic as Haida Gwaii is to the south, the mountainous coastline of Tlingit territory rises precipitously from the sea; summits are covered in everlasting snow; dense forests of spruce, fir, hemlock, pine, and cedar blanket the slopes; and glacier-cut fjords, inlets, and rivers are shrouded by mist and fog.¹⁴⁰ Because the interior was almost impenetrable, the Tlingit turned from agriculture to become expert seafarers and fisherman, developing a complex and entrenched society over the course of five millennia.

Similar in context to the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit society is divided into two reciprocating moieties that balance each other—this being “Shangukeidí” or Eagle, and “Laayaneidí” or Raven—from which many of the ancestral clans were formed. Political organization rests at the clan level, with each clan owning specific heraldic crests, property, resources, names, and iconography that appears on many of the items collected by the Spanish. There is no single leader, or even term for “chief” among the Tlingit; rather, each clan has a traditional leader designated in multiplicity as “hít s’aatí” (house leader), “naa shuháni” (one who stands at the head of his clan), or “káa sháadei háni” (one who stands at the head of men). The Tlingit “potlatch” is called “koo éex,” and functions with the same ideology as *Nuu-chah-nulth* ceremonies.¹⁴¹ Culture is characterized by two main features: ownership and reciprocity (balance). Reciprocity informs the nature of social interaction in Tlingit society, with the art of public

¹⁴⁰ Mary Pelton and Jacqueline DiGennaro, *Images of a People: Tlingit Myths and Legends* (Engelwood: Libraries Unlimited, 1992), 2.

¹⁴¹ Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture*, 4-7.

speaking—oration—a valued skill among the classes. As with other nations, “ownership” is based on “right”; one must possess the right to access or perform certain songs, stories, imagery, crests, names, or land. Those designations performed, spoken, created, named, or owned inhabited both the tangible and spiritual realms, fundamentally referred to as “at óow”¹⁴² “At óow “underlies all dimensions of Tlingit social structure, oral literature, iconography, and ceremonial life. It is the spiritual, social, and rhetorical anchor for speeches...”¹⁴³ For example, at óow describes both the physicality of a crested warrior helmet, and the ancestral spirit it depicts; however, to share that significance, one must have the right of ownership, and understand the balance implied within its creation.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, *Haa Kusteeyí, Our Culture*, 13, 14.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 15.

¹⁴⁴ Young, James (Nang Kiing.aay7uuans), "Taadl, Nang Kilslaas, and Haida," in *Haida Gwaii: Human History and Environment from the Time of Loon to the Time of the Iron People (Pacific Rim Archaeology Series)*, eds. Daryl W. Fedje and Rolf Mathewes (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).141;

Herbert K. Beals, *Juan Pérez on the Northwest Coast: Six Documents of his Expedition in 1774*, ed. and trans. Herbert K. Beals (Oregon: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1989), 75, 77.

George F. MacDonald, *Chiefs of the Sea and Sky: Haida Heritage Sites of the Queen Charlotte Islands* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989), 15, 20.

Robert Bringhurst, *A Story as Sharp as a Knife: The Classical Haida Mythtellers and Their World*. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2011), 22.

Another group who had contact with the Spanish were people of Haida Gwaii (formerly known as the Queen Charlotte Islands by Canada). Calling themselves “*Xaaydaas*,” they came to be known instead as the “Haida” because neighboring peoples could not properly pronounce the former. It is with the Haida that Pérez describes having first contact near Langara Island during his 1774 voyage, and it was a Haida woman who gave him the small bird pendant (described in Chapter 2). Pérez recorded his 1774 encounter with them,

A great deal of smoke came from said hill, and at 3 in the afternoon we descried 3 canoes, which came toward us. At 4:30 they arrived alongside, and in the meanwhile we took the occasion to examine the character of these people and their things. In the first place, the men were of good stature, well formed, a smiling face, beautiful eyes and good looking. Their hair was tied up and arranged in the manner of a wig with a tail. Some wore it in the back and had beards and mustaches in the manner of the Chinese people. The first thing they did when they approached within about a musket shot of the ship was to begin singing in unison their motet and to cast their feathers on the water....They open their arms, forming themselves in a cross, and place their arms on the chest in the same fashion, an appropriate sign of their peacefulness. (Beals 75, 77)

Europeans and their sailing ships matched almost exactly traditional stories of human encounters with supernatural beings; accordingly, the Haida interpreted the appearance of Pérez’s vessel as a floating house sent by the ancestors, containing great wealth, and manned by ghosts. Because of this, the Haida and other Northwest Coast groups greeted Europeans with ritual gestures and songs of welcome intended for meetings with the supernatural. This adherence to protocol was repeated by virtually all nations of the Northwest Coast, indicative of the pivotal role custom and practice were observed throughout the region. The archaeological record shows that human beings have been living on Haida Gwaii for approximately

Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview

Northwest Coast peoples shared a common belief that human beings could be imbued with extraordinary powers from the supernatural through the observance of ritual and ceremony. Once acquired, the person was responsible to maintain this relationship through respectful sacrament and protocol to ensure continued protection and favor from the spirit world. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* held close the connections between the human, natural, and spiritual realms,

Looking back to the beginning of time, first ancestors appeared on the landscape amidst many animals and creatures with whom they interacted as equals. The sky, sea, forest, mountains and earth were inhabited by creatures possessing special powers, such as the Thunderbird, Giant Sharks, the ya'i spirits of the mountains, and the pokmis, or wild people of the woods....Presiding over all are the four great spirits of the Above, the Horizon, the Land, and the Undersea. For success in hunting, fishing, and other pursuits, or for health and long life, Nuu-chah-nulth men and women sought to obtain spirit power through prayer and through special preparation, usually ?uusimch (a cleansing bathing ritual). This could involve fasting, continence, bathing in cold water, cleansing oneself with bundles of twigs and plants, singing, and more.¹⁴⁵

Translated as “careful seeking within a fearsome surrounding or environment,” the uusimch (oosimuch) was conducted to make the body “clean inside and outside” in deference to the guardian spirit.¹⁴⁶ A secret and personal activity that involved various degrees of fasting, cleansing, celibacy, prayer, isolation, and time, the principle behind oosimuch focused on access to the spiritual dimension from the physicality of humanness, reflecting the *Nuu-chah-nulth* view that interaction between the two realms

seven thousand years. In terms of the general north Pacific coast, the region has been inhabited for closer to ten thousand.

¹⁴⁵ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, “Kiix?in Agenda Paper,” 41, 42.

¹⁴⁶ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 24.

was normal.¹⁴⁷ As an example, the whaling “oosimuch” involved extended periods of time, some as lengthy as eight months, in which the haw’iih would perform spiritual and physical preparations isolated in the mountains, away from the comforts of home and family.¹⁴⁸ There was a direct correlation between the capture of a whale and the intensive preparations undertaken by the supplicant; as a result, the esteem in which a leader was regarded was in the context of spirituality: “People found great joy and reverence in their direct or indirect connection to someone who had a close relationship with Qua-ootz, the Creator,” a concept not unlike the esteem in which the Catholic Pope was regarded.¹⁴⁹

Part of the preparations included the vision quest, an intense spiritual undertaking intended to attain assistance or gifts from the Creator, recognizing that balance between worlds functioned in an environment of mutual respect, recognition, and responsibility. As Richard Atleo explains, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* worldview involves communication between the human, the animal, and the divine,

In the Western sense, humans are biologically differentiated from animals. In a traditional Nuu-chah-nulth sense, human and animal biology are apparent manifestations of, and subsumed under, the reality of the hidden spiritual realm...Biological differentiation is not an issue from a Nuu-chah-nulth perspective...biological differentiation is understood as the result of transformations from a common source of being.¹⁵⁰

The concept of respect was critical to *Nuu-chah-nulth* worldview, in that every single being—human, animal, or divine—was wholly complete from the beginning of their existence. This completeness of creation dictated that all interactions between life forms

¹⁴⁷ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 17.

¹⁴⁸ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 25.

¹⁴⁹ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 114.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 85, 86.

were to be guided by respectful protocols and mutual respect; there was no room for genetic inferiority, or the idea that one species was inherently subordinate to the other.¹⁵¹

Nuu-chah-nulth Society and Social Status

Nuu-chah-nulth society is based on the philosophy of “hishuk-ish-ts’awalk,” or oneness, a philosophy organized around the relationship of human beings to their territorial landscape. Critical to this is the role of landscape as “sacred,” encompassed within the multi-dimensional concept of “hahuulhi.” Hahuulhi provides the organizational and management framework for hishuk-ish-ts’awalk, or “tsawalk,” a system of rights and obligations arranged through specific cultural observances borne from spiritual relationships accomplished in and around sacred sites.¹⁵² *Nuu-chah-nulth* society was structured around a local group or family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, houses, and multiple other privileges.

Three haw’ihs equal in terms of power and dominion, were primary players in the maritime fur trade with the Spanish: Mowachaht chief Maquinna, in whose territory was in the Nootka Sound area (primarily north); Clayoquot chief Wickaninish, positioned around the Clayoquot Sound region (south of Nootka); and Makah chief Tatoosh, situated in the southern Cape Flattery area (present-day northern Washington State), relatives to the *Nuu-chah-nulth*.¹⁵³ Although Wickaninish’s expansion to the north was blocked by

¹⁵¹ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 89.

¹⁵² Atleo, “The Ancient Nuu-chah-nulth Strategy,” 153.

¹⁵³ McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers*, 181-182.

Maquinna, the two leaders were symbolically related through marriage and maintained a relatively peaceful relationship through the course of interactions with Europeans.¹⁵⁴

Similar to European structures, four main components made up a single community: a group of individuals related to, or living alongside, a family of chiefs; the physical houses in which they lived; an economic base that sustained them, such as whaling and salmon runs; and a narrative of complex relationships reinforced through language, ceremony, and social connections.¹⁵⁵ Although related, each community, or chiefly territory, was separate and maintained by its own distinct family of chiefs. Several small kin-related village groups lived within a “ha’houlthee” (chiefly territory) that was centered around the “haw’iih,” (hereditary chief) and their “ushtakimilh” (lineage group).¹⁵⁶ The haw’iih, which means “wealthy,” acquired and sustained wealth and status by hosting great pachitles (potlatches) where food, gifts, and ceremonial items were distributed.¹⁵⁷ It was the responsibility of the haw’iih to ensure the needs of the people were met and that diplomacy and ceremony was maintained.¹⁵⁸ Social organization was based on the hereditary transmission of status and privilege, affirmed and enhanced through the accumulation and distribution of material wealth.¹⁵⁹

An individual was born into a system that inferred class from top to bottom. Tribes themselves were ranked according to size, with the highest ranked individual being the leading haw’iih (chief) of the highest ranked tribe. The haw’iih held his

¹⁵⁴ Valerie Sherer Mathes, "Wickaninnish, a Clayoquot Chief, as Recorded by Early Travelers," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 70, no. 3 (1979): 110.

¹⁵⁵ Yvonne May Marshall, *A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth People: A Case Study of the Mowachaht and Muchalaht Tribes*. PhD diss. (Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 1993), 107-108.

¹⁵⁶ “Nuu-chah-nulth,” *Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council*; Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 106.

¹⁵⁸ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 39.

¹⁵⁹ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

position through hereditary right, typically passed on through the first-born son. Through inheritance, the haw'iih became responsible for the corporeal aspects of territory and resources, as well as the privilege and responsibility to perform specific songs and ceremonies. Next in rank were the haw'iih's younger brothers, each who could become head of their own houses, at a lower position. Sisters of the haw'iih, regardless of age, were considered high ranking as well; however, women would generally marry out of the house in which they were raised to reside with their husband's family. Less immediate kin of the haw'iih also carried certain status, traced through either the male or female line, and recognized according to how closely related he/she was to the haw'iih. The demarcation between elite class and the "maschimes" (commoner) typically occurred with the children of the haw'iih's younger siblings; these individuals could either marry up or down in class, elevating or lowering the status of their own children; they could also raise their status by mastering skills, such as becoming great canoe makers, powerful medicine people, or respected warriors. Commoners generally did not accumulate wealth or potlatch, and were free to move leave and join another local group, which could decrease and increase one haw'iih status over another.¹⁶⁰ Kinship relationships were further distinguished by blood (birth), or through marriage (in-laws); parents (mother, father) were given each their own names; aunts and uncles were considered "parents"; "brothers" and "sisters" included cousins; and "grandmother" and "grandfather" included great-aunts and uncles.¹⁶¹ At the very bottom were the "kohl"¹⁶² (slaves) who, considered to be property and used like any other personal possession, held no rank in the social

¹⁶⁰ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

¹⁶¹ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 122.

¹⁶² Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

structure and retained their original tribal or ethnic identity.¹⁶³ Mostly women and children taken in warfare, kohls were not free citizens who could achieve status, and lived their lives at the authority of the haw'ihi. The more slaves a haw'ihi possessed, the greater was his status.^{164 165}

The *Nuu-chah-nulth* recognized bilateral descent with no formally prescribed marriage rules so families were identified on the basis of overlapping ancestry. Among the upper class, marriage was more an alliance between families than simply a union between a man and woman.¹⁶⁶ Marriages were typically arranged, or chosen, between individuals of similar social status, each conferring the union with dowry and various inherited rights, privileges, and resources, material and spiritual. Cousins did not marry even distant cousins; however, if the kinship relationship could not be remembered within families, individuals were allowed to marry to return hereditary privileges from a junior rank back to a senior level.¹⁶⁷ Individuals and families could move between houses (residences) when circumstances changed, a flexibility that bespoke how well the haw'ihi of the house fulfilled his responsibility to care for his people. Although the right to govern was hereditary, it carried with it great responsibility to both the physical needs of community, land, and territory, and to the spiritual realms of the Creator and pantheon of supernatural beings.¹⁶⁸ Among the Northwest Coast nations, the southern region that was *Nuu-chah-nulth* territory followed a patrilineal system of inheritance and residence; the

¹⁶³ Janet Snyder Neil, "Masks and Headgear of Native American Ritual/Theatre on the Northwest Coast," *Theatre Journal* 38, no. 4 (1986): 453.

¹⁶⁴ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 105, 106.

¹⁶⁵ Côté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

¹⁶⁶ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 126.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 122.

¹⁶⁸ Marshall, *A Political History of the Nuu-chah-nulth*, 109.

more northern Tlingit and Haida nations followed a matrilineal system where status and privilege was passed through the female line.¹⁶⁹

An example of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* hierarchal structure is the origin of the great whaling tradition, for which both the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Makah are known. Fishing for everyday subsistence was carried out by the *maschimes* and the *kohl*. Activities that required great skill and status, such as the right to hunt the large whales, were inherited privileges reserved only for the *haw'iih*.¹⁷⁰ In the distant past, when the seal population began to wane, *Nuu-chah-nulth* leaders sought gifts and reconciliation with the natural world by gathering at sacred sites to appeal to the spirits. From this, the whale was revealed as a new and powerful food source that, if properly approached, would support the people for generations to come. Using harpoons made only of mussel shells and pitch, the whaling *haw'iih* undertook months of complex rituals and ceremonies to assure success in hunting. It was believed that a *haw'iih*'s ability to guide the whale home as an "honored guest" was given from the spiritual realm that provided him with power and medicine that other members of the village did not possess.¹⁷¹ Archaeology places the start of an active whaling tradition at circa 800 CE.; prior to this, communities drew sustenance from smaller sea mammals, fishing, and beached whales.¹⁷² *Nuu-chah-nulth* legend says that the villages of E'as and Tsaxis, located north of Yuquot, invented the whale hunt, a tradition that bestowed an elite status upon their people and all their descendants. Members of this lineage eventually assumed control of the Yuquot area with

¹⁶⁹ Peter Jordan and Sam O'Neill, "Untangling Cultural Inheritance: Language Diversity and Long-house Architecture on the Pacific Northwest Coast," *Philosophical Transactions of The Royal Society B Biological Sciences* 365 no. 1559 (2010): 3877.

¹⁷⁰ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 23.

¹⁷¹ Atleo, "The Ancient Nuu-chah-nulth Strategy," 154; Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 23.

¹⁷² Aldona Jonaitis and Richard I. Inglis, *The Yuquot Whalers' Shrine* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 4.

many of the chiefs taking on the name of “Maquinna,” an appellation that still represents a first-ranking family of the Mowachaht.¹⁷³

Pachitle and Diplomacy

Demonstrating another aspect of the hierarchal structure of Northwest Coast society was the *pachitle* or potlatch. The word “potlatch” is taken from the *Nuu-chah-nulth* word “pachitle” meaning “to give” and was a principle that contradicted the market-based aspirations of eighteenth-century Europe. Posited on the concept of generosity, the pachitle was (is) the responsibility of the haw’iiah, and conducted to ensure the needs of the people were met and diplomacy was maintained.¹⁷⁴ As Umek E. Richard Atleo explains,

Contextualized within these teachings is the value of generosity. The Western dictum that “it is better to give than to receive” is potentially misleading... because an emphasis upon giving may lead one to consider receiving irrelevant or unimportant. In the traditional Nuu-chah-nulth view, both are of equal importance. Giving is completely dependent upon receiving. There is balance and harmony here. Neither is generosity simply a romantic notion disconnected from the “bottom line” of harsh reality. Giving as a general community practice over millennia has proven pragmatic. It is an economically feasible principle.¹⁷⁵

Performed according to social rank, the pachitle fully encompassed the framework of society, reinforcing status and wealth through the articulation of right and privilege. This included details such as where an individual was seated, to whom food was first served, and to whom gifts were first distributed.¹⁷⁶ The pachitle involved the gathering of families and clans to a celebration of feasts, performance, song, ceremony, and gifting,

¹⁷³ Jonaitis and Inglis, *Yuquot Whalers' Shrine*, 5.

¹⁷⁴ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 39.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 106.

hosted by members of the elite. The distribution of food, goods, and items in a ceremonial context, performances, displays of wealth and art, and the distribution of gifts were essential mechanisms for validating social connections in formally witnessed, public settings. Good relations with neighbors were paramount between the people, and were developed through diplomacy, marriage, trade, feasting, gift exchange, and pachitle.

It is important to note that early pachitles were conducted primarily for social purposes, such as a marriage, death, transfer of names and rights, or social business. After European contact, the pachitle began “to use displays of material culture wealth to assert or constitute a social position rather than to validate or reiterate social relations established earlier in other contexts.”¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ Given the expanse of Northwest Coast culture over millennia, the frenzy of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century socio-political elaboration of material culture demonstrated through the pachitle was comparatively short-lived; subsequently, it can be regarded more as socio and political responses to the needs of European economies, as opposed to fundamental changes to long-standing societal processes and principles.

Diplomacy was a critical feature of Northwest Coast society. Alliances formed through the marriage of high-ranking sons and daughters was the foundation for social, political, and economic relationships, and was the preferred means in which to achieve peace and prosperity between communities.¹⁷⁹ This is explained by the Yuquot people for the essay “Yuquot Agenda Paper: Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nations,” as follows,

¹⁷⁷ Yvonne May Marshall, "The Changing Art and Architecture of Potlatch Houses in Yuquot," in *Nuu-chah-nulth Voices, History & Objects*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000): 115.

¹⁷⁸ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, "Kiix?in Agenda Paper," 42.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 44.

Our houses were also our places of gathering for great feasts and celebrations. Massive carvings of our ancestors stood in the back of the houses as testimony of our long history, and as witness to all events. During every day life in the house, they were covered... Yuquot was the centre of our diplomacy, where all passersby had to stop and honor our great chiefs and to request safe passage through our waters. With them they brought riches from their territories to present to our chiefs. We, in turn, acknowledged their gifts of tribute with feasting from our vast resources... As part of our diplomacy, we presented carved images of our great ancestors to representatives of European governments visiting our territory... They are our representatives in your cities and capitals...¹⁸⁰

Among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, a famous example of diplomacy took place in September 1792 in the village of Tahsis. Chief Maquinna hosted both Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver in his Big House, formally recognizing their rank with hereditary dances, speeches of honor, gifts, and a feast of the best foods of his territory.¹⁸¹ This event is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four. The complexity of diplomacy, protocol, and ceremony that surrounded the giving, receiving, gifting, and honouring of an individual fully informed the type of relationship the *Nuu-chah-nulth* extended their European visitor, and is noted within the journals of Bodega y Quadra, Moziño, and others.

Tlingit Military Items

Bodega y Quadra recorded Tlingit armor in his 1779 journal,

The Indians, whose martial temperament no doubt led them to invent defensive weapons, go to war wearing breastplates and back plates made of narrow slats woven together with many threads, making them flexible enough to be wrapped around their bodies, leaving their arms free; around their necks they wear a wide strip of thick wood in the shape of a gorget, which covers them nearly to their eyes, and on their heads they wear a helmet that usually depicts a fearsome animal. From the waist down, they wear a wooden apron, and on their backs a handsome leather cape that covers them to their ankles... The offensive weapons they generally use are hatchets of flintstone and another green stone, so hard that they cut any wood, although there is not a single tooth on their blades.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, "Yuquot Agenda Paper," 18-20.

¹⁸¹ Inglis and Engstrand, *Voyage to the Northwest Coast*, 9.

¹⁸² Cabello, "Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections," 23.

Much more aggressive and warlike than their southern neighbors, the northern Tlingit devoted considerable energy to enhancing objects of military intent. In a terrain as densely forested and mountainous as was (is) the northern territories, hand-to-hand combat was the preferred method of defeating the enemy, warfare that fully informed the nature and type of protection created. Stealth, surprise, and strategy were critical factors in close battle, and while both projectile and hand weapons were used, clubs and daggers made of stone or hardwood were favored items.¹⁸³

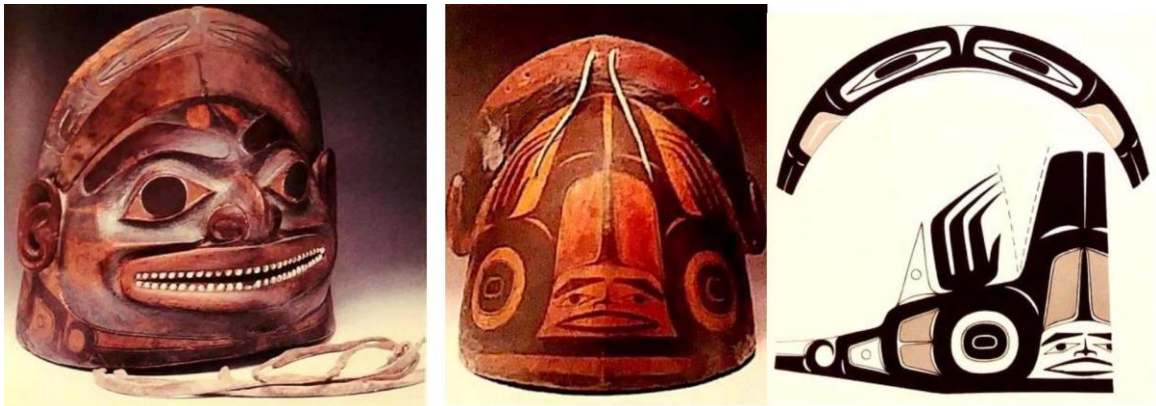


Figure 14. Tlingit warrior helmet
Collected 1791 on the Malaspina expedition. It is thought to be the helmet worn by the warrior drawn by Tomás de Suría in Fig. 5. Source: *Native Visions* (Brown), 17.

With consummate skill, Tlingit artists created crest images on various battle gear, imagery that spiritually and physically protected its wearer. The carved wooden helmet—being up to 1½ inches thick—clearly intrigued Spanish consorts with its realistic human proportions imbued with animal or mythical characteristics. The helmet shown was collected by Malaspina in 1791. (Fig. 14) It is crowned by a curved piece of copper, indicative of the wealth and elite status of the owner. Helmets functioned particularly

¹⁸³ Robin Fisher, "Arms and Men on the Northwest Coast, 1774-1825," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 29 (1976): 4-5.

well in hand-to-hand combat and were usually accompanied by a decorated visor intended to protect the wearer's neck, throat, and lower chest. (Fig. 15)

One of the Tlingit visors that was collected by Bodega y Quadra in 1799 is shown here.

Anthropologist Aldona Jonaitis explains the nature and function of the visor as part of a Tlingit warrior's overall uniform,

The well-dressed warrior covered his torso with armor formed from wooden slats that often contained illustrations of his crest. Over that, a thick hide tunic, also depicting a crest being, provided additional protection to the body. On his head the warrior wore a heavy wooden helmet and a thick visor—only his eyes could be seen between these two massive carvings. Thus armored, Tlingit warriors would imitate the cries of their crest animals as they charged their enemies in battle.¹⁸⁴



Figure 15. Tlingit helmet visor
This helmet, used to protect the neck, appears to match the visor in Suri's drawing of a Tlingit warrior (see Fig. 5)
Source: *Spirits of the Water*

Crest Imagery

Among the most distinctive aspects of Northwest Coast iconography is the use of crest imagery that declares and reinforces material and social rights of a family or clan.

Acquired by an ancestor through a supernatural encounter, a crest consists of a proper name, usually referring to an animal or spirit being, and a narrative that explains the ephemeral and philosophical relationship to that name.¹⁸⁵ Occurring in the mythic past, a supernatural encounter bestowed upon an ancestor, and therefore the family, the right to share the story of the interaction and to portray the encounter through crest imagery on regalia such as masks, dances, and poles.¹⁸⁶ A crest was understood in the context of how

¹⁸⁴ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 48.

¹⁸⁵ Penney, *North American Indian Art*, 145-146; Holm, "Function of Art in Northwest Coast," 49.

¹⁸⁶ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 4.

it was presented and verified through public acknowledgment, such as a potlatch. Such images were potent only when performed and received as part of a ceremonial display by the individual with rights to that privilege of physically representing the supernatural or the powers bestowed.^{187 188}



Figure 16. Interior of Tlingit Whale House, c. 1895.

Each of the items represent a clan emblem. The House contained two tiers of platforms and a painted screen that measured 9 ft. high and 18 ft. long. The house posts (left & right) were carved c. 1800. Source: *Art of the Northwest Coast* (Jonaitis), 5.

Through imagination and creativity, master artists enlivened masks and other objects through complex visual and animatronic creations that brought to life cultural myths and narratives. Treasured crest regalia were stored within bentwood boxes; monumental architecture such as interior house posts, exterior painted facades, and memorial poles announced the rights of kinship and leadership. (Fig. 16) All Northwest Coast nations used crest imagery as statements of spiritual relationship and social standing. Crest

¹⁸⁷ Marshall, "Changing Art and Architecture," 111.

¹⁸⁸ Holm, "Function of Art in Northwest Coast," 49.

figures are the most esteemed of all hereditary property and appear on everything from personal belongings, such as hats, leggings, tattoos, and blankets, to clan pieces such as screens, house fronts, house posts, and totem poles. In keeping with their warlike



Figure 17. Tlingit warrior, crest imagery (detail). Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 23.

reputation, the northern Tlingit placed crest images on items used in warfare: suits of wooden armor were painted with spiritual beings who would assist the warrior; thick hide tunics were adorned with family crests; spectacular heavy wooden helmets were carved into the image of the warrior's crest being.¹⁸⁹

(Fig. 17) Regardless of the medium, the fundamental intent of the crest was an overall social statement and representation of power embodied within each image.¹⁹⁰ Individuals and artists depicted only the

crests to which they were entitled: either through inheritance, permission granted by the crest owner, or by receiving the right as part of an honor or gift.¹⁹¹

The potency and function of the connection between man and the supernatural is contextualized by Chief Earl Maquinna in describing the creation and crest of a whaling canoe,

...They were built very smoothly, with carving around the bow and the stern ends. In the bow, the carving of the Thunderbird faced upward, with the wings spanning towards where the width grew. They were colored with engravings of a spearman, a whale, and a Thunderbird on the sides of the canoe.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 4, 7, 48, 158.

¹⁹⁰ Doreen Jensen and Polly Sargent, *Robes of Power: Totem Poles on Cloth*. (Vancouver: UBC Press and UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1986), 1.

¹⁹¹ Jensen and Sargent, *Robes of Power*, 78.

¹⁹² George, *Living on the Edge*, 58.

The Thunderbird—“Tiskin”—was a pivotal figure in *Nuu-chah-nulth* cosmology, a being that linked human existence to elements of the universe, seasons, and weather. To a people so dependent on the environmental conditions of land and sea, Tiskin represented an understanding that was critical to survival; he held the world in his wings—quite literally in the case of this whaling canoe—and subsequently the *Nuu-chah-nulth* created a complex of songs, dances images, and stories to honor his spirit.¹⁹³

Performance and Procession

Oral tradition encompasses a canon of narrative forms including story, legend, myth, history, folklore, prayer, song, music, performance, and ceremony transmitted from one generation to the next. Dance, ritual, and ceremony help to maintain culture and tradition. The continual performance and telling of these narratives reinforce cultural stances of morality, history, spirituality, economics, politics, environment, and worldview, and fosters a group identity by generating a collective memory. Music is an essential element of this spectrum and supports a community’s sociopolitical system.¹⁹⁴ Throughout the central region, a major inherited privilege was initiation into one or more ranked dancing societies, membership that carried the responsibility to perform re-enactments of ancestral encounters with the supernatural being who bestowed the status of social elite in a ranked society. The chiefs and leadership of the community would perform dramatic executions using masks, songs, drums, costume, robes, regalia, and musical instruments to communicate the power and prestige of their elite status, both internally and to foreign

¹⁹³ George, *Living on the Edge*, 88-90.

¹⁹⁴ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 78, 95.

visitors.¹⁹⁵ An integral part of these performances was the entrance of the processional dancers, singers, and drummers. Richard E. Atleo describes a call to feast, and the significance of dance, song, and oration,

All food has been prepared in the homes of the relatives of the chief hosting the event, as has always been done. All the seafood comes from the *hahuulthi* (ancestral territory) of the chiefs....[After the feast] Accordingly, now is the time for a ceremonial response of acknowledgement, recognition, and respect from the assembled guests. Each family, in turn, sings a song, dances a dance, and makes a speech of recognition and thanksgiving to the host...music and dance played a significant role in precontact life. Some of the first sounds heard by Captain Cook when he arrived at Nootka Sound were musical. The very first sounds heard would certainly have been prayer songs. It is a custom that precedes every undertaking, even today...Songs of identification indicating the sovereignty, power, heritage, and extent of wealth of the chief who owned the song would have followed the prayer songs.

Performance of hereditary rights was critical in a society that had no written language, and where wealth was measured by prestige garnered through narrative, song, dance, and potlatch. Ownership was confirmed through reception by spectators and community members thus making the intangible aspects of theatre and performance as important—if not more—as the artistic props created to support them. The essence of performance on the Northwest Coast was more social than religious, although re-enactments could be of mythical and supernatural beings. As Townsend-Gault points out, “In the mythologies of the tribes...it is clear that humans are not necessarily the main protagonists in the great drama of life...The theme of transformation between the human realm and the realm of animals and spirits...tells of an imaginative closeness between species based on an

¹⁹⁵ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 89-90.

understanding of the absolute dependency of the human species on the others.”¹⁹⁶ This worldview places man, animal, and supernatural in realms of equal importance.¹⁹⁷

As an example, art historian, David W. Penney (1981) describes the performance of a *Nuu-chah-nulth* winter ritual called the “Tlokwalles,” one of many complexes of dance, song, narrative, and performance that articulated cultural concerns and beliefs. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* world was defined by two opposite natural environments: water and land. The ocean was known, reassuring, and the source of life; alternately, the forest beyond the security of the community was less known and the domain of spirits and supernatural encounters. The forest functioned as common ground where the mythical and social world of men mingled. The context of the Tlokwalles is as follows,

Spirit wolves, who live inside the base of the mountain, descend upon the village and kidnap the young men. They are carried off into the forest and the village must rally to recapture them. Once returned, the supernatural intensity of their experience has rendered the young men hysterical and charged with spirit power. Tlokwalles society members thereupon “cure” the stricken young men and return them to society.¹⁹⁸

As Penney states—far from being static—forest beings actively participated in ceremonies; their personalities, movements, gestures, powers, and appearance were harnessed in the palpable substance of song, dance, sculpture, and performance. The *pugmis* and *Almeqho* were but two functional concepts of the Tlokwalles who complemented each other; the *pugmis* was a human who entered the forest and went insane as a result of exposure; the *Almeqho* was a supernatural who already lived in the

¹⁹⁶ Charlotte Townsend-Gault, “Northwest Coast Art: The Culture of the Land Claims,” *American Indian Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1994): 445.

¹⁹⁷ Neil, “Masks and Headgear,” 454-455.

¹⁹⁸ David W. Penney, “The Nootka ‘Wild Man’ Masquerade and the Forest Spirit Tradition of the Southern Northwest Coast,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 1 (1981): 95.

forest and frequented the beaches and spaces of human beings to “offer” people power. Neither could dwell within the realm of the other and both were regarded as harmful or helpful, depending on the circumstances. During performance, as many as forty dancers entered the grounds, each responsible for specific roles; some danced slow and sleepily; others were frenzied and chaotic. The pugmis, with no associated spirit power, was a lower-status dance that embodied timidity and withdrawal, and performed by anyone; the solitary Almqho, because of his supernatural origins, was considered more aggressive and dangerous and was performed only by a high-status individual.¹⁹⁹

In 1791, Malaspina collected a mask from Nootka Sound associated with the Tlokwalles; this was a graphite-black Almqho mask with front-facing deep-set eyes, large bloated jowls, and a cylindrical mouth. (Fig. 18) Similar masks abound, from the Kwakwaka'wakw to the Coast Salish; however, each forest-spirit expression are but variations of the same core concept of the Northwest Coast—all are articulations of the frightening, semi-human being encountered in the boundary between man and spirit.



Figure 18. Nuuchah-nulth mask associated with the "tlokwalles" wolf ritual. Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 65.

Maquinna's "Prayer box"

In 1792, Spanish artist, José Cardero, accompanying the Malaspina and Galiano expeditions, drew *in-situ* what was called, “caxon donde entra el Gefe de Nutka a sus

¹⁹⁹ Penney, "The Nootka Wild Man," 95-97, 102.

supersticiones...”²⁰⁰ Approximately two meters long and half a meter wide, the box was described by outsiders as a prayer room or oratory. Enclosed by a front door with a small circular window opening, the inside was painted with a “grotesque figure with a most hideous human face, enormously large arms, nails like an eagle’s talons, and feet like those of a bear.”²⁰¹ Occupying a place of honor within the Chief’s house, local residents indicated that Maquinna would enclose himself within the box when he sought communion with the supernatural. (Fig. 19)

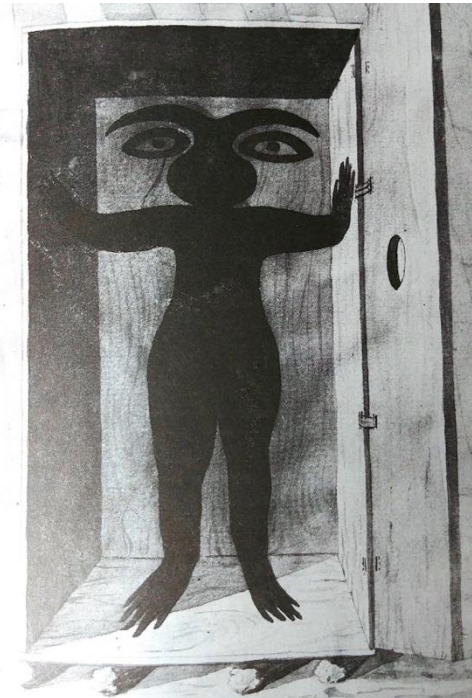


Figure 19. Maquina’s prayer box
“caxon donde entra el Gefé de Nutka a
sus supersticiones” by José Cardero.
Source: Malaspina & Galiano, 117.

In order to understand the significance of Maquinna’s prayer box, it is necessary to understand how the *Nuu-chah-nulth* converse with “God.” It was understood that all things originate from the spiritual realm and one way of initiating communication with “God” was (is) called *oosimuch*.²⁰² *Oosimuch* was a personal spiritual activity that involved various degrees of fasting, cleansing, celibacy, prayer, or isolation, depending on the type of honor or activity sought. The basic principle behind *oosimuch* dictated that, because the physical realm was simply a mirror or shadow of the spiritual—thus denoting the dynamic nature and interdependence between the dimensions—it was absolutely necessary to maintain a balanced, positive

²⁰⁰ English translation is “house where Nutka’s chief enters his superstitions”

²⁰¹ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 117.

²⁰² Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 17.

and respectful existence within both realms. Spiritual entities did not originate from physical beings, but physical beings originated from the spiritual. For this reason, humans were expected to perform requisite prayers, protocols, ceremonies, actions and offerings.

When Moziño asked how the *Nuu-chah-nulth* say “God,” Maquinna gave him the closest word *qua-ootz* or “grandchild,” reflecting not a literal translation but rather a worldview about the nature of relationships between all life forms in creation. The word means “owner (*ootz*) of reality (*qua*)” with the concept “grandchild” more a permanent reminder that life is a gift and all things created belong to *Qua-ootz*; a recognition that while humans pro-create, *Qua-ootz* is the Creator.²⁰³ The *Nuu-chah-nulth* relationship with *Qua-ootz* was not marked by distinctions of superior-inferior, but rather, as exemplified in the culture story Son of Raven (see Chapter Four) was a mutual relationship that made it possible for spirits and humans to transform and move between

²⁰³ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 3, 16; Shoji Nishimura, Anne Nevgi, and Seppo Tella, “Communication Style and Cultural Features in High/Low Context Communication Cultures: A Case Study of Finland, Japan and India,” in *Renovating and Developing Subject Didactics. Proceedings of a Subject-Didactic Symposium in Helsinki on Feb. 2, 2008*, ed. Arto Kallioniemi (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2008): 785; Mari D. Gonzalez, “Low and High: Context in Communication,” *Ixmati: Translating Culture*, <https://ixmaticcommunications.com/2016/06/28/low-and-high-context-in-communication/> last modified September 16, 2014.

Both *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Spanish are considered to be high-context (HC) languages. In a HC culture, the style of communication is influenced by the closeness of human relationships, well-structured social hierarchy, and strong entrenched behavioral norms. Internal meaning is embedded deep within the information, so not everything needs to be explicitly stated when spoken or written. HC communication is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, or transmitted part of the message. Individuals tend to speak one after another in a linear fashion, so the speaker is seldom interrupted. Greater confidence is placed in the non-verbal aspects of communication than the verbal aspects. Rooted in the past, HC cultures are very stable, unified, codified, and slow to change. People tend to rely on their history, status, relationships, and a plethora of information, including spirituality, to assign meaning to an event. Spanish culture is predominantly “collectivist” and “high context” due to their group-based identity and their ability to get implied meanings in oral communication. In contrast, in a low-context culture (LC), meanings are explicitly stated through language. Individuals communicating will expect explanations when something remains unclear, and most information is expected to be in the transmitted message to make up for what is missing in the internal/external context. A LC culture is characterized by direct and linear communication, and by the constant and sometimes never-ending use of words. LC cultures typically value individualism over collectivism and are characterized by members prioritizing individual needs and goals over the needs of the group. English is considered a low-context language.

the realms, without consequence, to access necessities.²⁰⁴ Reality was perceived as a unity, or *heshook-ish tsawalk* or “everything is one,” with physical and spiritual dimensions metaphorically interrelated by the great waters. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* did not separate between the dimensions and interaction between the two realms was considered normal.²⁰⁵ Maquinna’s prayer box is a manifestation of this belief.

Shamanism

As Allen Wardwell notes in his seminal publication, *Tangible Visions: Northwest Coast Indian Shamanism and Its Art* (1996), shamanism is frequently described as “humanity’s oldest religion” albeit without the formal liturgy of, for example, the Catholic exorcism.²⁰⁶ However, the practice of shamanism concerns itself with the same issues addressed by more formally organized faiths; namely, the restoration of individual balance through ceremony, order, and protocol. Contextually, shamanism is not premised on a single supreme being or named deities; rather, supernatural assistance is garnered through entreaty to a range of animal and mythical beings. It is long been acknowledged that shamanism was significantly strong among the Tlingit compared to other Northwest Coast nations. With the exception of the Coast Salish, “...it seems that the further south along the coast one proceeds, the rarer shamanic art becomes...Perhaps among certain groups the intangibles, or the songs, dances, and performances that were the primary

²⁰⁴ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 18.

²⁰⁵ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 17.

²⁰⁶ Allen Wardwell, *Tangible Visions: Northwest Coast Indian Shamanism and Its Art* (New York: The Monacelli Press Inc, 1996), 15.

Note: The Catholic rite of exorcism is invoked here because Catholicism is the primary religion of Spanish colonial society in both Spanish America and Spain itself.

elements of shamanic ceremonies, were so effective that the tangibles, or the supplementary art objects, were not thought to be [as] necessary.”²⁰⁷

Understanding the complex world in which Northwest Coast people lived is requisite to understand the role of the shaman. The environment was alive with spiritual beings—animate, inanimate, tangible, intangible—each possessing the power to heal, to bring harmony, or to provide sustenance. Among the northern Tlingit and Haida the primary spirit was Raven, a shapeshifting transformer and trickster who arranged the world of men and spirits according to whim, endowing or removing attributes and gifts that, in the end, brought the blessings of water, fire, sun, moon, and stars. The shaman was a mediator in this environment where ethereal and human boundaries were blurred, and positive relationships demanded supplication or conciliation. Through either inheritance or a spiritual calling, the shaman ritually fasted and/or isolated himself—or in rare cases, herself—in order to communicate with the intangible. Combining protocol and ritual with regalia, the shaman presented himself as a powerful and sacred healer, a being who put their spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical wellbeing at risk in the process of assisting others.²⁰⁸

The rights to become a shaman were gained either through heredity, or as a calling as a result of illness, vision, or dreams. Once accepted, the initiate would isolate him or herself away from their community to undergo a series of ecstatic trances in order to communicate with the spiritual. These states were achieved through purification and ritual cleansing, ingestion of saltwater or other emetics, and/or deprivations of food,

²⁰⁷ Wardwell, *Tangible Visions*, 12.

²⁰⁸ Mary Giraudo Beck, *Shamans and Kushtakas: North Coast Tales of the Supernatural*. (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Books, 1991), 7-9.

water, or sleep. Trances were understood as the symbolic death and rebirth of a new shaman, and under the tutelage of an older teacher, the individual learned of the world of the ethereal and how to communicate with both the living and the dead. The shaman was recognized and accepted by the community when he/she demonstrated they could carry out trance activities and knew the chants, songs, dances, language, stories, and ceremonies required for healing and curing.²⁰⁹ Once initiated, their primary responsibility was threefold: to bring good fortune in hunting, fishing, war, weather, etc; to be the spiritual stability of the community and individuals through the restoration and healing of the soul to the host body; to identify witches and those who brought evil to the community.²¹⁰ The power of the shaman lay in the ability to form relationships with the supernatural, to communicate in a language known only to the spirits, to act as an intermediary between worlds, and to transform into animals and other beings that could assist in the rejection of malevolence and imbalance.²¹¹

To summarize, the Northwest Coast in the eighteenth- century was (and continues to be) home to a diversity of Indigenous traditions and aesthetics developed over millennia. By the time the Spanish made their way to the territories of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit, entrenched societal and cultural systems provided the framework by which relationships with the influx of foreigners were negotiated. Presented within this chapter are the Northwest Coast esthetic, worldviews, concepts of diplomacy and protocol, religious and spiritual mechanisms, the roles of performance and procession, and the importance of crest imagery that reflects societies built around social status and

²⁰⁹ Wardwell, *Tangible Visions*, 16-18.

²¹⁰ Neil, "Masks and Headgear," 460.

²¹¹ Wardwell, *Tangible Visions*, 16-18.

hereditary right. These specific areas are identified as being cross-culturally comparable between the Spanish and the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit. In order to establish an argument towards these parallels, the following chapter provides a select background of society and culture, this time in the Spanish colonial context.

Chapter 5

Spanish Exploration and Colonial Society

Spain's extensive territories in the late eighteenth-century made up the largest colonial empire in the world and provided an unparalleled opportunity for exploration...Shortly following his accession in 1759, Carlos III, a most capable Bourbon monarch, began to encourage scientific endeavors by sponsoring several monumental expeditions. For the first time, interest in natural history took its place beside political and commercial considerations...everything on earth, and even beyond, was submitted to questioning and new investigation...The critical spirit of the age inspired Spanish intellectuals to re-evaluate previous knowledge and project a geographical, historical, and statistical survey of the "New World"—one that would leave no corner of Spain's territories uncatalogued.²¹²

Between 1735 and 1805, the Spanish Crown dispatched a total of sixty-four scientific expeditions worldwide; eleven of these were to the Pacific Northwest Coast to determine the feasibility of territorial expansion, trade, and hydrographic investigation. Under Bourbon reign, scientific knowledge challenged apostolic authority, and international politics took on global meaning as England, France, and Spain embraced the era of exploration and Enlightenment. The concept of naturalism—the idea that the entire universe of mind and matter was subject to, and controlled by, natural law—superseded Aristotelian tradition and regency by introducing new methods of inquiry based upon direct observation and reason. Until his death in 1788, the royal patronage of the Bourbon king Carlos III (1759–1788) provided Spain unparalleled opportunities within the arts and sciences for intellectual and critical reassessments of ancient knowledge. New “truths” were sanctioned through newly established institutions, such as the *Real Jardín Botánico* (Royal Botanic Garden), the *Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales* (Museum of Natural History), the *Real Academia Nacional de Medicina* (Royal Academy of

²¹² Iris H.W. Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World: The Eighteenth-Century Expeditions* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981), 3-5.

Medicine), and the *Real Observatorio Astronómico* (Royal Astronomical Observatory).²¹³ State-sponsored expeditions by other European nations, led by explorers, such as Britain's Captain James Cook, French Commodore Jean-François de Galaup La Pérouse, and Russian Captain Vitus Bering pressured Spain to engage in territorial and intellectual pursuits globally, or risk losing their status as a world power.²¹⁴ Accordingly, on the Northwest Coast, Spanish commanders, such as Pérez, Bodega y Quadra, and Malaspina encountered, surveyed, and interacted with the various Indigenous nations of the region. This chapter examines select cultural, political, social, and religious paradigms of eighteenth-century Castilian society, as they relate to encounters with the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit.

A “Baroque” Psychology

In general terms, the “Golden Age” of Spain extended from the early sixteenth to the late seventeenth-century, a period of exceptional creativity and innovation in the production of art, literature, poetry, drama, and architecture; this period came to be known as the *baroque*.²¹⁵ Spanish historian, José Antonio Maravall, explains its evolution within the larger European context,

...in connection with another, earlier structure—the Renaissance—not because we would have to think that this latter might have caused or engendered it, but because the conditions that end up being transformed, that made possible the configuration of the phase which later unfolds with incorporated innovations are inherited from the preceding situation. The Baroque inherited from the

²¹³ Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists*, 4-6.

²¹⁴ Thomas Vaughan, E.A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, and Mercedes Palau Baquero, *Voyages of Enlightenment: Malaspina on the Northwest Coast, 1791-1792* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1977), VII, VIII.

²¹⁵ Walter Moser, "The Concept of Baroque," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 33, no. 1 (2008): 14. Its etymology fluctuates and is drawn from multiple sources: from Portuguese *barroco* meaning “irregular pearl”; from Spanish *barrueco* referring to a protuberant geology; from Italian *barocco* referring to usurious interest in the area of finance.

Renaissance the conditioning that enabled it to be implanted in Western Europe.²¹⁶

The expansive and future-oriented perspective of this new era permeated all aspects of European culture including economics, architecture, music, military, navigation, gastronomy, science, agriculture, literature, visual arts, philosophy, and jurisprudence. In the Spanish context, cities such as Burgos, Bilbao, Valladolid, Salamanca, Segovia, Toledo, and Seville contributed significant intellectual, cultural, and philosophical capital to the new energies of development and growth within this time frame.²¹⁷ Alternately, as power and wealth shifted away from established centers as a result of international trade and global exploration, the baroque is also considered a period of decline within the broader context of European economics; thus, colonial expansion was considered as a mechanism to make up for such losses.²¹⁸ Historian and sociologist, Lewis Mumford, explains the baroque as a “transition” the following statements,

...the Baroque is the principal stage in the historical change of modernity that took place in Europe...if one is to understand the Baroque, it is thus of interest to view [it as] the advance toward modernity and, ultimately, the forward movement that is given form...”²¹⁹

Change inherently carries a level of psychological instability and uncertainty, realities reflected in the historical movements recorded during this period. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw expansion in the following areas: economics, geography, technology, military, and social mobility. Expansion introduced the concept of

²¹⁶ José Antonio Maravall, "From the Renaissance to the Baroque The Diphasic Schema of a Social Crisis," in *Literature Among Discourses: The Spanish Golden Age*, eds. Nicholas Spadaccini and Wlad Godzich, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986): 3-4.

²¹⁷ Maravall, "From the Renaissance to the Baroque," 7-9.

²¹⁸ The eighteenth-century overall is seen as a period of decline for Spain, the empire was dying.

²¹⁹ Maravall, "From the Renaissance to the Baroque," 6.

“individualism,” that in turn supported the idea of “freedom,” which lead to “the loosening of the ideological restraints that held the masses to the regime.”²²⁰ The benchmarks of baroque culture were, ultimately, philosophical and social manifestations to the tropes of individualism and freedom.

Attempting to articulate the baroque is challenging; its visual elements played on the visceral. Distinct from the formulaic tendencies of renaissance classicism, baroque spatiality—whether within architecture, painting, literature, music, or thought—was a metamorphosis of forms, undulating lines, ellipses, and double foci that played on the perspicacity of light and shadow. The substance of the style established itself as a, “restless wandering in the absence of a center that cannot...be determined other than by God...God produces different substances according to the different views he has of the universe...It can even be said that every substance bears in some way the mark of the infinite wisdom and omnipotence of God, imitating Him as far as it is capable.”²²¹ The confusion of color, form, and embellishment, where every workable space was simultaneously related and unrelated to the ornament next to it, was created to assault the visual, perceptual, and physical sensibilities of the viewer, and intended to impart the intangible ecstasies of spiritualism and reverence.²²² Within the baroque, “the idea of

²²⁰ Maravall, "From the Renaissance to the Baroque," 23.

²²¹ Christine Buci-Glucksmann, "The Work of the Gaze," in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010): 150.

²²² Ray Hernandez-Duran, email message to author, August 29, 2019. The 'baroque' esthetic originated in the late sixteenth-century in Italy, and stems from the esthetics of opera or theater that focuses on outward expression, spectacle, theatricality as a tool to hook the viewer and manipulate experience, the senses, and thus thought.

expression rules as the master of this world,” articulated through the principles of persuasiveness, splendor, and grandeur.²²³

As an ideology, it is argued that the baroque flourished as a Catholic response to the insurgency of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth- century.²²⁴ By attacking perceived excesses of the State and religious elite, the northern Reformation struck at the heart of European culture and society.²²⁵ It forced Catholicism to redefine their institutional and philosophical structure in order to survive, and helps to explain the extravagance and ostentatiousness of the Counter-Reformation. While figures such as Martin Luther—who asked the question, “how can I gain the grace of God?”—argued for the “freedom of the Christian conscience from the spiritually burdensome rules and

²²³ Buci-Glucksmann, “The Work of the Gaze,” 150; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2005), 236.

²²⁴ Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, “Baroque, New World Baroque, Neobaroque: Categories and Concepts,” in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010): 3.

Ray Hernandez-Duran. email message to the author, August 29, 2019. The southern European baroque took shape in the Catholic Counter-Reformation and was meant to serve as a tool for propaganda.

²²⁵ Karen Forbes Scialabba, “The Protestant Reformation and Catholic Publishing: A Framework for Contemporary Understanding,” in *Journal of Religious & Theological Information* 12, no. 3-4 (2013): 74-76; Michael A. Mullett, *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010): xxv, xxvi.

The Protestant Reformation was a continuance of the Renaissance humanist movement in Italy. In the sixteenth- century, the Catholic Church was perceived to have grown more uncompromising and formal in its organization; there was, among other things, widespread dissatisfaction with the rich “buying” their way out of sin with indulgences; perceived corruption within the Church; lack of congregational engagement during the Mass; and use of images within religious spaces. The Pope and bishops were viewed more as esteemed royalty than spiritual mentors, and people wanted a balance regarding the unequal distribution of wealth between the Church and laity. As a result, the Protestant Reformation—heavily influenced by the writings of Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli—gained a foothold in parts of Europe. Consequently, the Catholic Church lost its central hold on knowledge and authority, and was no longer considered the sole source of ‘truth.’ One feature of the Reformation was its strong political tinge and geographical demarcation in Europe between a largely post-Catholic north and a south loyal to Catholic Rome...”what the Reformation was about in the sixteenth- century—an untiring quest to return to *ad fontes* (Latin “to the sources”)—to the wellsprings of Christian life, thought, and action, as they were set out in Scripture, and above all, in the New Testament...in uncovering the unvarnished, uncluttered Greek text of the original.” (Mullett xxv, xxvi) The Catholic Church countered the Reformation by articulating, defining, and defending the directives of the Roman Catholic faith through the establishment of Tridentine edicts as convened by the Council of Trent (1545-1563), mainly in the areas of theology and education; this was known as the Counter-Reformation.

rituals of late medieval Catholicism,” others fomented parallel movements.²²⁶ Augustinian monk, Gabriel Zwilling, attacked the sacrificial nature of Mass and encouraged the abolition of monastic vows, including celibacy and confession; Huldrych Zwingli rejected the sacraments as the only means of obtaining grace and form of intervention between God and the individual soul; Konrad Grebel, noting that nowhere in scripture was the baptizing of infants described, called for infant baptism to be replaced with voluntary baptism of adults; theologian Andreas Bodenstein von Karlsbadt removed religious imagery and icons from churches and began celebrating mass in German, not Latin; and Thomas Müntzer preached that the “inner word of private revelation trumped the dead letter of written scripture.”²²⁷ The protest against Catholic authoritarianism spawned new faiths with the birth of the Lutheran, Protestant, Calvin (Reformed), Puritan, Unitarian, and Anabaptist churches. In response, sensing imminent doom, Catholics convened the Council of Trent in 1545 to set the parameters of its own reformation. Decisions made regarding issues such as institutional reform, religious doctrine, catechism, Mass, and formal seminary training, would shape the direction of the Church over the coming centuries.²²⁸ Only in the Mediterranean heartland—Portugal, Spain, and Italy—did the crusade of Protestantism not take hold; however, even here, the

²²⁶ Sergiusz Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 4; Peter Marshall, *The Reformation: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20.

²²⁷ Michalski, *Reformation and the Visual Arts*, 9; Geoffrey W. Bromiley, “Huldrych Zwingli: Swiss Religious Leader,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, last modified January 1, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Huldrych-Zwingli>; University of Waterloo, “Extending the Grebel Table: Strategic Visioning 2015-2020,” *Conrad Grebel University College* <https://uwaterloo.ca/grebel/about-conrad-grebel/extending-grebel-table-strategic-visioning-2015-2020>; Marshall, *The Reformation*, 13-19.

²²⁸ Marshall, *The Reformation*, 34.

core of the Catholic conscious was heavily impacted by the decisions made at the Council of Trent.²²⁹

The extravagance of the baroque esthetic as a foundational response to the austerity of the Protestant Reformation informed the nature of art, architecture, literature, language, and attitude among Spanish society well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Existent to the Reformation, the baroque character was simultaneously regarded as “a never-ending struggle between flesh and spirit...between reason and the emotions” and “a mysticism confused with eroticism, an asceticism which embraces elements of cruelty, an exorbitant heroism, reaching the ultimate in naturalistic representation.”²³⁰ Baroque artists gave greater emphasis to the psychology of a third dimension by focusing on the play of light and shadow over surfaces, rendered through carved shapes or depth of carving.²³¹ Inherently excessive, the baroque is lavished with descriptors such as flamboyant, gaudy, unrestrained, exaggerated, bizarre, profligate. Spectacularly indefinable across the disciplines, there is, however, a general consensus among scholars as to the intent of the baroque. As Moser explains, it is the following,

Independently of the medium deployed—verbal, pictorial, architectural-spatial, dramatic, musical—the human subject targeted must be moved, in the most general sense of the word, by means of an intense interpellation of the senses. Baroque esthetics may thus be defined....by its capacity of acting upon the

²²⁹ “Council of Trent.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, last modified Sept 16, 2018, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Council-of-Trent>

The Council of Trent, 19th ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church, held in three parts from 1545 to 1563. Prompted by the Protestant Reformation, the Council of Trent was significant for its sweeping decrees on self-reform and dogmatic definitions that clarified virtually every doctrine contested by the Protestants. The Council was a key part of the Counter-Reformation and played a vital role in revitalizing the Roman Catholic Church in many parts of Europe. As Hubert Jedin made clear, the driving motive behind the reform of the bishops and the pastors was pastoral effectiveness. Trent wanted to make them do their job, as those jobs were traditionally understood—to transform them from collectors of benefices to shepherds of souls...Trent was therefore a pastoral as well as a doctrinal council. Ironically, the Council failed to address the central concern of the Protestant Reformation, that of the authority of the Papacy itself.

²³⁰ John Hanak Miroslav, "The Emergence of Baroque Mentality and Its Cultural Impact on Western Europe after 1550," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 28, no. 3 (1970): 317.

²³¹ Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 331.

soul/mind through the body, “Le baroque c’est la regulation de l’âme par la scopie corporelle”.²³²

Relevant to the central role that Catholicism played in the formation of a colonial identity, religious practices further entrenched the baroque psyche by focusing on the, “outward gesture and ritual observance, sought to inspire through emotion, not just instruct. Many of its rituals were physical, using the body as a link to Christ and his sufferings; many of its rituals were communal, connecting the faithful to each other as well as to God.”²³³ The esthetic and emotional disposition of the baroque supported a period of intense spiritual renewal that saw the development of shrines and miraculous images, urban confraternities, and visionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³⁴

The spirit of the Spanish baroque, disseminated widely through the work of artists, poets, writers, playwrights, architects, philosophers, and thespians, was carried to the Americas via colonization and settlement.²³⁵ This continental transfer resulted in the evolution of a distinctly “Hispanic” baroque, defined as,

...the cultural system that arises and develops between the middle of the XVI-Century and the end of the XVIII-Century as a result of relations established in

²³² Moser, "The Concept of Baroque," 26.

²³³ Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2012), 7.

²³⁴ Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities*, 7.

²³⁵ Juan Luis Suárez and Estefanía Olid-Peña, "Hispanic Baroque: A Model for the Study of Cultural Complexity in the Atlantic World," *South Atlantic Review* 72, no. 1 (2007): 31, 38; Acknowledged is the larger discussion around the patrimony*of the baroque, a discussion neatly categorized by Suárez into three theoretical paradigms: 1) the “esthetic” as presented by Heinrich Wölflin; 2) the “cultural-ideological” discussed by José Antonio Maravall, and; 3) the “identitarian” as contextualized within American baroque or “baroque of the Indies.” This is not intended to focus specifically on the origins or discussions of baroque principles or esthetics, but rather, is included as a means towards understanding the evolution of thought and attitude among the Spanish from the sixteenth- to the eighteenth centuries.

**Patrimony* is defined as the valuable objects, buildings, ideas, etc. that a society inherits from the people and systems who have come before them (who have lived in the past). Source: Cambridge Dictionary Online <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/patrimony>

the Hispanic world by means of the Atlantic...[and is a synthesis of] American information culturally managed and made into knowledge by the technologies of humanism, the appearance of Lazarillo [novella], the imperial project of Charles V, the step toward a colonization stage in America, and the triggering of the Counter-Reformation.²³⁶

A fundamental loosening of attitudes espoused by entrenched institutional religiosity contributed to the rise of the European, Spanish and Hispanic baroque. If the argument is to be maintained as a counter-reformation, the baroque, in its zeal to retain the Catholic narrative within the regions of Spain and new Americas, fully contributed to the artistic, architectural, and philosophical character of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Spanish America. Sumptuous political-religious spectacles communicated social hierarchy while establishing the institutions of government and religion; this included grand ceremonial processions (religious and political) that marched publicly through city streets for all to behold; building of magnificent churches and architecture that reinforced spiritual and social doctrine to the masses; and extravagant performances of theatre and song that underscored the drama and tragedy of everyday life.²³⁷ Sociologically, these spectacles were the glue that bound society together. While highlighting the distance between the elite and the commoner, a shared space was simultaneously created in which all classes could participate at the same time in New Spain.

Performance and Poetry

With an emphasis on spectacle, exhibitionism, impersonation, and sensory experience, Spanish theatre of the colonial era affected every aspect of society, class, and venue. So

²³⁶ Suárez and Olid-Peña, "Hispanic Baroque," 38.

²³⁷ Madalena Consuelo Salazar, *Imagining the Noble and Loyal City: An Introduction to the Biombo Franz Mayer*. Masters diss. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2009), 12.

intoxicating was theatricality that it heavily influenced the productions of literature, poetry, and—as it has been argued—the everyday existence of the average Spaniard.²³⁸ By articulating the social crisis, existential uncertainty, and spiritual preoccupations of the era, “theatre begins to serve a function comparable to that of journalism.”²³⁹ Audiences were provided dramatic commentaries on affairs of the day, personal and rumored scandals at court, news of the fleet from the Indies, enacted stories about fiestas, etc. As popularity grew, the production of plays, ballads, rhymes, sestets, soliloquies, monologues, and sonnets became increasingly frantic. Poets, playwrights, and narrators created every conceivable combination of literation where the rule of words and language were thrown out, becoming more contorted and bastardized in order to appeal to the masses.²⁴⁰ As Reyes states, “it is a nervous, frenetic world in which everything rushes to become literature: an astounding spectacle of vitality and verbal rapture, seemingly lawless and profligate.”²⁴¹

It is necessary to recognize that poetry and theater in the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries were highly visible public functions that were presented as drama, exhibitionism, and spectacle. Sensory experiences of sight, sound, smell, and feeling were heightened through the physicality of shared connections. With the exception of the elite, the majority of Spanish and Hispanic citizens were illiterate; this reality, combined with the high cost of books affecting overall accessibility, meant that poetry and texts were communicated to the masses primarily through public presentation in highly

²³⁸ María Cristina Quintero, *Poetry as Play: Gongorismo and the Comedia* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 19.

²³⁹ Alfonso Reyes, “Savoring Góngora,” in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010): 166; Quintero, *Poetry as Play*, 19.

²⁴⁰ Reyes, “Savoring Góngora,” 166; Quintero, *Poetry as Play*, 19.

²⁴¹ Reyes, “Savoring Góngora,” 166.

communal arenas such as public squares, parks, and social gatherings. Elaborate verses and lyrical poetry were projected through the accentuations of high drama and voice that enthralled audience members of all ages and status. Quintero explains the immense popularity of the spoken word with the following,

..the modern reader may be surprised by the apparent ready acceptance of difficult poetic language in public readings...if drama requires a swift and direct system of communication with an unprepared audience, then a difficult idiom such as *gongorism* with its verbal pyrotechnics [should] would have been a singularly unsuccessful mode of public, dramatic communication. Nevertheless, an explanation may be found in the fact that poetry, when spoken out loud, registers as a physical event, having a direct impact on the audience.²⁴²

In the colonial context, theater provided a detailed commentary on the ongoing trials and tribulations of the human experience, a portrayal of life that resonated with spectators, regardless of social class or background. Paramount in sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century Spain, the “comedia” dominated Spanish theatre, encompassing both the early modern comedy and the more somber religious work. Technically a form of drama written in verse and presented in three acts, the comedia validated individuals and their experiences through the most vulnerable and sacred of human arenas: love.²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ More than merely wordplay, the medium was a highly complex social discourse within Spanish society, and its sociological impact continues to be critically interpreted from multiple perspectives: 1) Maravall’s thesis saw it as a vehicle for socio-political propaganda; 2) Bruce Wardropper interpreted it as a subversive interaction that undermined moral, social, esthetic, theological values; 3) Marc Vitse and José Deleito y Piñuela, in different

²⁴² Quintero, *Poetry as Play*, 22.

²⁴³ Matthew D. Stroud, "Defining the Comedia: On Generalizations Once Widely Accepted That Are No Longer Accepted So Widely," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 58, no. 2 (2006): 285.

²⁴⁴ Thomas Austin O'Connor, *Love in the Corral: Conjugal Spirituality and Anti-Theatrical Polemic in Early Modern Spain*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc, 2000), 30-31.

centuries, posited that, because it idealized both society and subject, could not be appreciated if approached through the lens of dramatic realism; 4) O'Connor asserts it simultaneously subverts and upholds Spanish and Christian values.²⁴⁵ Vitse explains the inherent personality of *comedia* best: "[the *comedia*] must be approached with caution and discernment, for the mirror it employs actually distorts reality, according to an Aristotelian dictum, by presenting its social milieu as it should have been and not as it was."²⁴⁶ Articulating the best and worst of human behavior, the *comedia* exposed aspects of the mortal condition that collapsed boundaries of class, status, gender, race, religion, and language. Morality, frailty, loss, grief, hope, inspiration, rage, love, fear, courage, virtue, and cowardice—the scope of human emotions—were played out in performance and storytelling that, at its core, captured personal and collective psychologies, philosophies, values, beliefs, and dreams of society at specific points in time.

Festival and Procession

For most of its two-thousand-year span, the interplay between dance and religious celebration was an integral part of the overall Christian ritual. The Council of Trent, in responding to the surges of the Protestant Reformation, considered the public festival a highly effective mechanism to consolidate Catholic doctrine. As part of this, the procession, described as a massive social self-portrait of piety, loyalty, and policy, was designed to call upon heavenly protection to alleviate levels of upheaval, chaos, epidemic, war, and natural disaster.²⁴⁷ As early as the thirteenth-century, Spain had

²⁴⁵ O'Connor, *Love in the Corral*, 31.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Rosario Inés Granados Salinas, "Mexico City's Symbolic Geography: The Processions of Our Lady of Remedios," *Journal of Latin American Geography* 11 Special (2012): 145-147.

devised a plethora of instructions and rules surrounding pomp and ceremony.²⁴⁸ During Spain's Golden Age in the sixteenth- and seventeenth centuries, religious celebration, dance, and performance were virtually inseparable for followers and clergy alike. Dances were performed inside the church, at or near the main altar, and on virtually every major religious holiday. Such was the support that all levels of society—local Church authorities, civil governments, guilds, private families, public sponsorship—contributed to the cost of productions. Choirboys were trained for performances, choreographers were hired, and professional dancers, laymen, and women were permitted to perform in the church and/or along processional routes. Nurtured by the highest authorities, dance and performance were viewed as legitimate and orthodox expressions of Christian devotion. However, by the end of the sixteenth- century, the majority of northern European nations adopted—to varying degrees—the strict Reformation directives that suppressed or banned public and large-scale performances; as a result, Christian liturgy in these regions abandoned visceral and sensory theatricality, focusing almost exclusively on the solemn sermon, song, and choir seen today. The directives, however, gained no real or lasting foothold in Spain or Italy (French participation fluctuated). In New Spain, feeling less the repression of Reformation but still under the direction of Bourbon Reforms, continued a modification of performance rituals that endured into the eighteenth- century.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Monica Domínguez Torres, *Military Ethos and Visual Culture in Post-Conquest Mexico* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 40.

²⁴⁹ Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age: Teatro del Siglo de Oro* (Estudios de literatura, 4. Kassel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1988), 4, 5, 7.

The relationship between politics, the grand procession, and the festival, as a defining and pervasive characteristic of life in the early modern Indo-Hispanic Americas must be understood. (Fig. 20) During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although not strictly conforming to Catholic orthodoxy, authorities of the grand procession accepted and integrated the diversity of local and Indigenous interpretation as a way to initiate supplicants to the new religion.²⁵⁰ This flexibility allowed the ideologies and practices of Church and State to become entrenched into the social and cultural fabric of



Figure 20. Return to the Cathedral from the Procession of Corpus Christi (series) c. 1680. Inca, Spanish, and Christian traditions come together in a painting that depicts a religious festival of Corpus Christi in Cuzco, Peru. One of 16 surviving paintings (18 original), it was painted by at least two artists for the Santa Ana parish church. Source: *Art of Colonial Latin America* (Bailey), 292.

the developing colonial environment. If desired, residents in cities, such as Mexico City could witness up to a hundred religious and civil celebrations annually. The five largest

²⁵⁰ Ray Hernandez-Duran, email message to the author, August 29, 2019. The Franciscans did this first in the mid-sixteenth-century after they realized the significance of performance to native expressions of faith; other religious orders were stricter about stamping out any and all native elements in the Christian religious ritual they were disseminating among local communities. The Franciscans were criticized by the other orders for allowing natives so much leeway.

state-sponsored festivals—of which the grand procession was a part—included the entry of a new Viceroy; the oath of ceremony to a new Monarch; the celebration of Corpus Christi (the Holy Eucharist); the feast of the Virgin of Remedios (divine patroness of the city); and the Royal Banner festival. These large-scale spectacles, functioning largely as a tool for social control, were critical in articulating the colonial socio-political agenda. As cultural anthropologist, Clifford Geertz points out, every political authority requires a cultural framework from which it is legitimized, and the grandiosity of the Hispanic festival fulfilled this function.²⁵¹

The collaboration of royal authority, Church administration, and city official was based on mutual goals: performance of civic duty, maintenance of Spanish customs, government legitimization, demonstration of personal wealth and power, reinforcement of social hierarchy, and promotion of communal participation. The language and ritual of the festival allowed individuals of different backgrounds to collectively experience the majesty and awe of a communal event that, in turn, elicited loyalty to the ruling elite and solidified a national identity separate from mother Spain. Especially in Mexico City, the religious procession played out on an almost daily basis.²⁵² Inherently related to the Conquest, processions, such as Our Lady of Remedios were manifestations of identity in the new vice-regal city-state. Communities all over the viceroyalty of New Spain, especially in rural towns and villages, celebrated special occasions through communal festivities that included massive processional activities, pageantry, participation in the

²⁵¹ Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals of Colonial Mexico City: Performing Power and Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 2, 3.

²⁵² Salinas, "Mexico City's Symbolic Geography," 145-147.

Catholic Mass, prayer, ceremony, and celebration with food, drink, fireworks, music, dance through the mingling of sacred and profane activities.²⁵³

All changed, however, when Bourbon provisions that emphasized education, language, and “modern behavior” lead to a reappraisal of religious and civic celebrations.²⁵⁴ Bourbon morality viewed the Hispanic festival as disproportionately exuberant, superstitious in nature, fiscally irresponsible, and an opportunity to revolt against the Crown. Consequently, permissions for the festival became closely regulated and markedly bureaucratic with applicants required to follow strict codes of behavior, content, dress, festivity, time frames, and language.²⁵⁵ The festival became markedly less extravagant, more institutionalized, shorter in duration, and no longer supported through public funds. The larger economic reforms of New Spain, of which festival reformations were a casualty, resulted in massive cultural and social destabilization that ultimately lead to revolution and deposition of the Spanish Monarchy in the early nineteenth- century. Despite this, the festival and procession were adapted and remained an integral part of the colonial environment, a ritual of practice and form familiar in context and performance to eighteenth- century explorers and scientists.

Sixteenth- century Spain has been called the “century of processions,” an apt description for the collision of religious fervor, civic pride, and sensual investment that ruled virtually every facet of society. Both rich and poor contributed, attended, and participated in communal processions (large and small), such as Corpus Christi or Lady

²⁵³ William B. Taylor, "Placing the Cross in Colonial Mexico," *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History* 69, no. 2 (2012): 145.

²⁵⁴ Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 108. “Modern” behavior included gentlemanly conduct, affability, veracity, modesty, generosity, industriousness, retiring personality.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 107-113.

of Guadalupe. Richly demonstrative, brilliantly theatrical, military in its conviction, and voluptuously sensuous, Spanish Catholicism projected its influences into the following centuries and across oceans.²⁵⁶ Notable at this time was the establishment of the Jesuits, a militant-monastic order founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier turned priest.²⁵⁷ Part of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in southern Europe, the Society of Jesus—whose followers were thus known as Jesuits—spread the doctrine of Catholicism and faith worldwide in the following centuries, recognizing the arts of performance, dance, theatre, music, poetry, and song as the greatest “tools of conversion” that resonated most with Indigenous people in the Americas.²⁵⁸ By the late eighteenth-century, a much-weakened Spain moved away from large-scale conversion campaigns and towards relationship-building to support global aspirations, a reality that further informed vice-regal orders towards the Northwest Coast.

Among the Spanish, in order to combat the austere solemnity of the Protestant Reformation sweeping Western Europe, Catholics began to stage public displays of faith through increasing theatricality and performance. During the Golden Age of Spain, religious celebration and dance were inseparable components for many devout Catholics, including clergy.²⁵⁹ At the end of the sixteenth-century, the Spanish Crown ruled over a

²⁵⁶ Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions*, 43, 44.

²⁵⁷ Annie Y. J. Pan Ng, “The Christ-Centred Anthropology of Ignatius Loyola and His Approach of Spiritual Formation in the Spiritual Exercises,” *Sino-Christian Studies* 16 (December 2013): 17; Edward A. Ryan, “St. Ignatius of Loyola,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, last modified January 1, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/St-Ignatius-of-Loyola/Ordination>; Scialabba, “The Protestant Reformation and Catholic Publishing,” 81. Co-founded in 1534 in Paris by Ignatius Loyola and nine companions, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was approved by Pope Paul III in 1540. Loyola was chosen to be its first General. He spent the next 15 years guiding the new Society, preparing the *Constitutions*, developing the community, continuing his apostolic service, and connecting with the rapidly expanding Jesuits. Loyola made “combatting the religious heresies of Protestantism” the mission of his Jesuit ministry. On July 1, 1556, he passed away. Loyola was beatified by Paul V in 1609 and canonized by Gregory XV in 1622. In 1922, he was declared patron of all spiritual retreats by Pius XI.

²⁵⁸ Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions*, 18, 19.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 3, 4

range of essentially autonomous and independent provinces with the Catholic religion functioning as one of the few legitimate bodies unifying all that was “Spanish.”

In the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries, dance and performance (theatre) had become important diversions among the nobility with the *sarao* and the more formal *mascaras* being the most popular. With an emphasis on the exhibition of a great diversity of dances and dramatic themes, performances were complemented by extravagant costume designs, staging, and the creation of masks from which performances were named. On such occasions, the nobility made grand processional entrances with reverences to royalty and/or the host, solo and group dances were created and performed, choral and spoken allegories were recited, multiple musical instruments were played, and complex rules of courtesy and patronage were followed. Many of the dances popular among the Spanish upper class closely paralleled mainstream European court dance, with reciprocal influences between, for example, Italy, France, England, and Catalonia.²⁶⁰

The Lady of Remedios

A “procession” is a parade of individuals and banners united under a common theme, moving together in a shared space in one direction, and transporting a statue, cross, and/or an image that represents the theme of the occasion. Carrying the “image” entails the physical removal of a sculpted effigy, or picture, from the shrine in which it is housed, and paraded along a designated route for all to see. Within the religious context, the procession could be funerary or celebratory, in recognition of specific devotional figures and occasions; within the social context, processions gave recognition to the

Spain’s “Golden Age” extended from approximately the early sixteenth- century to the late seventeenth.
²⁶⁰ Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions*, 31-33.

formal transitions of power, civic triumphs, and the Church's juridical activities, seen in image of Inquisitorial courts and the auto de fe, and just about any other state-sponsored event that required public participation.²⁶¹



Figure 21 Pérez de Holguín, Melchor. 1718, Entrance into Potosí of the Viceroy Archbishop Morcillo, showing social function of colonial procession. Museo de America, Madrid, Spain.
Source: https://library.artstor.org/asset/HNEWMEXICO_107512507651.

There were also processions or public ceremonies that were not religious or political in nature, such as the mascaradas and other public celebrations. (Fig. 21) As a communal construction, the procession played to multiple roles: it disguised or exposed local, regional, and national histories; it reinforced the authority of royalty, church, elite, and state; and in the colonial context, enabled the subtext of traditionally marginalized populations (i.e. lower classes; creole, castas, mestizo; mulatto; Indigenous; African; non-Catholic, etc.), to become discernible. With up to forty thousand attendees along the

²⁶¹ “Auto-da-fe: Public Ceremony,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, last modified July 14, 2014.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/auto-da-fe>

The “auto da fê” was a public ceremony in which the sentences of those condemned by the Spanish Inquisition were read. Lasting from 1481 in Seville, Spain to 1850 in Mexico, the ceremony became increasingly elaborate. It was normally staged in the city plaza, involved a lengthy procession, and was “completed” with the Catholic Mass and sermon. The Inquisition imposed life sentences only; death penalties were imposed by civic authorities, and generally executed after the ceremony.

route, it also offered the Church an optimal opportunity to receive considerable donations from all levels of the social strata.²⁶²

An example that describes the symbolic weight of procession and performance is the “Virgin of Remedios” or “Our Lady of Remedios,” who was named Mexico City’s first patroness in 1574. (Fig. 22) A shrine to her cult was erected on the site where conquistador Hernán Cortés and his men supposedly took refuge during a pivotal battle



Figure 22. Lady of Remedios
Source: Mexico City’s Symbolic Geography (Salinas), 146.

against Indigenous populations following the death of the Aztec emperor, Moctezuma II, in 1520.²⁶³ Because of this association, Remedios is forever linked with the Conquest and reinforces a collective sense of identity among the Mexican populace. Critical to the devotional life of Mexico City, the physical procession began with a request to bring forth the statue of Remedios by the Viceroy (representative of royal authority) to the City Council (representative of civic

authority), who had stewardship over the entity. Once rituals of oath were completed, the statue of Remedios was removed from her shrine, positioned in a silver litter covered by a canopy, and carried, either, by priests or a carriage through the city to the Cathedral.²⁶⁴

Lead by the Christian cross, the litter was followed by thousands of the faithful,

²⁶² Salinas, “Mexico City’s Symbolic Geography,” 156.

²⁶³ Ibid, 146.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 154. It is interesting to note that the statue of Remedios is barely eleven inches high.

organized according to social status and hierarchy. The spatial order of the procession was strictly observed, as follows: first, Indians throwing flowers to sanctify the space; next, Hispanic and Indigenous confraternities carrying their banners; next, friars from various orders; next, the Archbishop and his members; then, the actual litter of the Lady of Remedios; followed by secular authorities of the Viceroy and Audiencia; also, other government authorities; and finally, commoners.²⁶⁵ The procession made various stops along the route, accompanied by the sounds of trumpets, flutes, bells, artillery salutes, and music ensembles.²⁶⁶

Catholic Ritual – *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum*

The *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum*, (hereafter referred to as OBA)—the order of the baptism of adults—has a long history within the Catholic Church. The liturgical formulae encompasses a multiplicity of prayers, blessings, exorcisms, sacraments, and gestures that developed from c. 750 CE through to 1614; it remained essentially the same until 1962 when the Catholic Papacy introduced new reforms to an entrenched process.²⁶⁷ The narrative of the OBA is primarily an encounter between the priest and the supplicant—a theological metaphor of the relationship between man and God—and the exorcism of demonic and apocalyptic forces that inhabit the unbaptized and un-indoctrinated. Catholic priest and educator, Peter McGrail, provides a clarification of context with the following,

²⁶⁵ Salinas, "Mexico City's Symbolic Geography," 155. Friar Orders included the Bethlehemites, Saint Hippolytus Hospital, Mercedarians, Carmelites, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 151-152.

²⁶⁷ Peter McGrail, *The Rite of Christian Initiation: Adult Rituals and Roman Catholic Ecclesiology* (London: Routledge, 2013), 32-33.

Exorcism in this context is not the expulsion of personal demons, but the act of wrestling the individual from the sway of the ruler of the world. By implication, that world is a totally alien place, and the image of humanity implied...is an extremely negative one. The Church lives not in the world, but apart from it—and baptism is the portal between them.²⁶⁸

The core of the ritual included traditional exorcism prayers, presbyteral baptism, and episcopal confirmation that moves through three broad phases performed at different locations throughout the church, including private preparation by the priest, a ceremony at the threshold of the church, and a final performance inside the church.²⁶⁹ The three phases are explained as follows:

- 1) During the first phase, candidates wait outside the church door while the priest kneels at the altar privately performing the recitation of psalms and prayers. All prayers carry references to water as cleansing the individual through the act of baptism and underscore the spiritual warfare at the heart of the OBA. The priest will confront demonic powers five times during the course of the ceremony: two at the church door; once when he blows three times into the face of the individual; and once, during a prolonged complex of exorcisms taken from the *Scrutinies*.²⁷⁰ The next three confrontations are made inside the church: first, during performance of the *Ephphatha*

²⁶⁸ Peter McGrail, *The Rite of Christian Initiation*, 42.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 35-41.

²⁷⁰ Creighton University and Liturgy Office, Online Ministries, “The Scrutinies of the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults Celebrated on the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Sundays of Lent,” (n.d.): 20-22.

<https://onlineministries.creighton.edu/CollaborativeMinistry/Lent/scrutiny-1.html>

The Scrutinies of adult baptism are a series of ancient rites celebrated on the middle three Sundays of Lent at liturgies where those who are to be baptized—the “Elect”—are present. They are undertaken by the Elect during the Period of Purification and Enlightenment, and involves intense spiritual preparation and internal reflection intended to purify the hearts and minds of candidates. Performed as rites for self-searching and repentance, three Scrutinies are celebrated through instruction, exorcism, and initiation (Mass). The process includes Silent prayer for the Elect, prayer aloud for the Elect, Prayer of Exorcism, Laying on of Hands by the priest, Dismissal of the Elect, and the Period of Purification and Enlightenment by the Elect.

- rite; next, during a single-sentence ‘flee demon’ and touching of the nostrils; and lastly, during a final exorcism performed immediately before the act of baptism.²⁷¹
- 2) During the second phase, with personal preparations completed, the priest goes to the candidates waiting at the church door where he performs a sequence of rituals, including: the candidate’s proclamation of faith; signing of the candidate; laying on of hands by the priest; blessing and gifting of salt; and a prolonged series of exorcism and apocalyptic declarations and gestures. Following this, the priest leads the candidates into the church, either by the arm where the others follow hand-in-hand, or by leading them with the end of his stole or robe.
- 3) The final phase takes place inside the church. Upon entering, each candidate either kneels or prostrates him or herself in adoration, rises to receive the priest’s hand upon their heads, and recites with him the designated prayers. The priest then touches each of the candidates’ nostrils to perceive divine sweetness and utters another apocalyptic exorcism to the Devil. Satan is further renounced and faith is proclaimed through the anointing of oil; a final exorcism follows and the candidate is baptized by infusion or through immersion in water.

Catholic Ritual – Sacred Immanence

The concept of “sacred immanence” rests on the belief that the spiritual divine could corporeally inhabit objects of wood, stone, precious metal, and human remains (relics).

During medieval times, shrines, reliquaries, and containers were constructed to house the

²⁷¹ Creighton University, “The Scrutinies,” 24.

By the power of its symbolism the ephphetha rite, or rite of opening the ears and mouth, impresses on the elect their need of grace in order that they may hear the word of God and profess it for their salvation.

bones of martyrs and saints, and pilgrimages and celebrations to relics became part of the liturgy. The cult of images—veneration of paintings of Christ and the Virgin—became an integral part of European devotion, and the rite of Eucharist—consuming bread and wine as, “the body of Christ”—represented the physical manifestation of the divine in earthly form. Through sacred immanence, God and saints were proximate, palpable, approachable, and could be seen, touched, dressed, possessed, or ingested. *Devotions* were most prominent during times of illness, drought, plague, death, war, loss, crisis, and other forms of need.²⁷² After the directives of the Council of Trent in 1563, items of “sacred immanence” no longer inhered godly presence on earth; rather, it implied that images functioned as “conduits” that transmitted acts of veneration directly to God and saints in Heaven.²⁷³ In New Spain, devotion was so passionately focused on the cult of saints that the Mexican Council issued multiple directives regarding the “proper”

²⁷² “Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments: Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy, Principles and Guidelines (Vatican City, December 2001),” *The Vatican*. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_vers-direttorio_en.html

In the present context, this term is used to describe various external practices (e.g. prayers, hymns, observances attached to particular times or places, insignia, medals, habits, or customs). Animated by an attitude of faith, such external practices manifest the particular relationship of the faithful with the Divine Persons, or the Blessed Virgin Mary in her privileges of grace and those of her titles which express them, or with the Saints in their configuration with Christ or in their role in the Church's life.

²⁷³ Brian R. Larkin, *The Very Nature of God: Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 30-32, 34.

John W. O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 16-17; Steven Felix-Jager, *Spirits of the Arts: Towards a Pneumatological Aesthetics of Renewal* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 191-192.

Following the Tridentine edicts of the Council of Trent, there were physical and psychological structural changes to Catholic churches; for example, (physical) elimination of the rood (screens) and the lowering of communion rails enabled worshippers to participate in every aspect of the service; (psychological) a move toward communal inclusion that de-emphasized clerical hierarchy. The church was reimagined as a house of God *and* the people, as opposed to the transcendent God and clergy *above* the people. As a result of the Reformation, the psychological and spiritual emphasize was towards the *presence* of God in a space, rather than the Divine residing in ostentatious décor and design of previous eras. Items and architecture became symbolic conduits to God's immanence, rather than manifestations of God himself.

veneration of the divine, and supported processions that carried the images and sculptures of sacred immanence throughout the streets.²⁷⁴

Catholic Ritual – Confessional and Incense

Deemed a ritual of reconciliation that, in certain regions, was seldom granted more than once in a lifetime, early Christians who committed particularly grave evils would confess their sins in a public arena to a congregation of community members and clergy.²⁷⁵

Transgressions included idolatry, murder, and/or adultery committed after receiving the sacrament of Baptism. In the seventh- century, Irish missionaries brought to continental Europe the practice of private penance.²⁷⁶ Concession was performed once a year in which all adult penitents were obliged, in private, to kneel before a priest and confess their sins.²⁷⁷ Following the Reformation in the mid-sixteenth- century, the insulated

²⁷⁴ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 36-38; Frances L. Ramos, "Saints, Shrines, and Festival Days in Colonial Spanish America," in *The Cambridge History of Religions in Latin America*, eds. Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Paul Freston, and Stephen C. Dove (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 144-146. Despite the papacy's new stringent rules as a result of the Council of Trent, the Church continued to support the cult of the saints, which found avid followers in colonial Spanish America. After Trent, priests started emphasizing saints primarily as models of Christian virtue, but individuals, families, and communities continued to appeal to saints during periods of economic uncertainty, natural catastrophe, and the seemingly relentless cycle of disease and epidemic. By appealing to saints, people eased feelings of powerlessness, and arguably, given the particularly tough challenges of life on the periphery, they came to depend most on saints in the "New World" than they did in the Old...The cult of the saints often worked to strengthen disparate identities while holding the larger figurative body (municipality, diocese, colony, empire) together...Scholars have long demonstrated an interest in the unifying potential of saints, most notably the Virgin of Guadalupe, the so-called "master symbol" of Mexico. By the late nineteenth- century, she helped to define a still-divided Mexican citizenry as *guadalupanos*, but in the mid-eighteenth century, she largely functioned as a symbol of proto-nationalism for frustrated Creoles who found themselves increasingly subject to the charges of inferiority by Old World people.

²⁷⁵ John Cornwell, 2014. *The Dark Box: A Secret History of Confession* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), xiii; The Vatican, "Part Two: The Celebration of the Christian Mystery, Section Two: The Seven Sacraments of the Church, Chapter Two: The Sacrament of Healing, Article Four: The Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation," *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1982)

http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2c2a4.htm

²⁷⁶ The Vatican, "Part Two: The Celebration of the Christian Mystery,"

http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2c2a4.htm

²⁷⁷ Cornwell, *The Dark Box*, xiii.

privacy of the confessional box was introduced, allowing confidential disclosure and absolution (forgiveness) between confessor and priest, respectively. Formally, the

Vatican holds absolution as the following,

Beneath the changes in discipline and celebration that this sacrament has undergone over the centuries, the same *fundamental structure* is to be discerned. It comprises two equally essential elements: on the one hand, the acts of the man who undergoes conversion through the action of the Holy Spirit: namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction; on the other, God's action through the intervention of the Church. The Church, who through the bishop and his priests forgives sins in the name of Jesus Christ and determines the manner of satisfaction, also prays for the sinner and does penance with him. Thus the sinner is healed and re-established in ecclesial communion.²⁷⁸



Figure 23 Saint John of Nepomuk Confessing the Queen of Bohemia by Giuseppe Maria Crespi, c. 1743, oil on canvas. Galleria sabauda (Turin, Italy). Source: https://library.artstor.org/asset/SCALA_ARCHIVES_1039489060

Pragmatically, the confessional box is a booth-like enclosure with two separate doors and a dividing panel that, in theory, conceals the faces of the penitent from the priest; the vicar of God sits on the lighted side, the confessor kneels the dark.²⁷⁹ Spiritually, the penitent is carrying on a conversation directly with God, via the apostolic vassal of the priest. (Fig. 23)

²⁷⁸ The Vatican, "Part Two: The Celebration of the Christian Mystery," http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2c2a4.htm

²⁷⁹ Cornwell, *The Dark Box*, xiii.

***El Sistema de Castas* (Hierarchal society)**

The social strata in New Spain was mired in a rigid hierarchical caste system based on race and skin color that began with the miscegenation of peoples during the time of Conquest and continued until the War of Independence in 1810—1821. After Independence, the system gave way to a class system based more on socioeconomic qualifications over race, distinctions that allowed greater possibilities for upward mobility.²⁸⁰ In simplistic terms, class divisions were hierarchically ordered into four categories, as follows: 1) *Peninsulares*, the highest level of colonial society reserved for those whose place of birth was the Iberian Peninsula; 2) next, the *Criollos* or individuals of Spanish ancestry but born in the Americas; 3) next, the *Mestizos* or those individuals of mixed Indian and Spanish heritage who formed the bulk of the caste system (*castas*); 4) *Indios* who were positioned at the bottom of the social scale; and Negros, mostly slaves but also free Blacks, also at the bottom of the social hierarchy.²⁸¹ During the seventeenth- century, many of New Spain's upper class saw themselves as continentally distinct, yet equivalent, to Spanish peninsular nobility.²⁸² The distinction between Spaniard and Indian was the first narrative of the colonial regime; the second was the maintenance of internal stability within each sphere. The ideal Hispanic community, “consisted of faithful Christians, each performing the function appropriate to his lineage and position in the status hierarchy.”²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Stephen E. Lewis, "Mestizaje," in *Encyclopedia of Mexico: History, Society, and Culture*, vol. 2, ed. Michael S. Werner (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997): 838.

This was in an “official” context; however, earlier prejudices continued to structure social relations, a fact that still influences contemporary society.

²⁸¹ R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 15.

²⁸² Salazar, *Imagining the Noble and Loyal City*, 36.

²⁸³ Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 15.

Actual land tenure and property rights in New Spain relied heavily on usufruct rights passed through inheritance.²⁸⁴ Despite a change in Spanish policy in the sixteenth-century in which houses were moved from being the exclusive right of noble families to a system that allowed the acquisition of property and private ownership, in the eighteenth-century they continued to be owned collectively by descendants or relatives of earlier founders. Inheritance was bilateral—meaning both male and female were recipients—and all legitimate children inherited equally from both parents.²⁸⁵

Bureaucrats in Spanish America were masters at creating policies designed to differentiate between colonizers and colonized. Examples include residential segregation, in the form of the *traza*, a residential zone surrounding the main city square reserved for whites only; laws that prohibited Spaniards and *castas* from living among Indians in designated communities; restrictions placed on the types of work available to an individual, along with membership in trade guilds, based on race and skin color; and a tribute tax applied only to the *Indios* caste.²⁸⁶ The multiplicity of racial designations within the castes indicated a colonial over-preoccupation with race.²⁸⁷ This was partly because the *castas* were neither full-blood Spanish citizens, nor full-blood Indigenous inhabitants.²⁸⁸ Embedded within the caste system was the assumption that meaningful

²⁸⁴ USLegal, “Usufruct Law and Definition,” <https://definitions.uslegal.com/u/usufruct/>
Usufruct is a civil legal term that refers to “a right in a property owned by another; the right to use the property, and to enjoy all the benefits (income, rents, fruits) all to the exclusion of the underlying owner; full rights of use but cannot dispose or destroy the property.”

²⁸⁵ John K. Chance, “The Noble House in Colonial Puebla, Mexico: Descent, Inheritance, and the Nahuatl Tradition,” *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 3 (2000): 490.

²⁸⁶ Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status: Indians in Colonial Spanish America*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 4.

²⁸⁷ See Rachel L. Burke footnote #42 for an understanding of the evolution of the *limpieza de sangre* “purity of blood” principle

²⁸⁸ Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 15.

distinctions inherently existed between peoples in different categories.^{289 290} It was difficult to govern a class that defied classification; however, in true paternalistic fashion, every single individual was assigned a category upon birth. In a complex system, there could be up to 64 categories, although in the *pinturas de castas*, the system is codified into 16 categories. (Fig. 24) Some of the more prominent caste category labels include:



Figure 24. Casta Painting, c. 1750

Source:

https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822003758552

mestizo, those born of a Spaniard and an Amerindian; *castizo*, a Spaniard and a *mestizo*; *mulato*, an African and a Spaniard; *morisco*, a Spaniard and a *mulato*; *zambo*, an Amerindian and a black; *albino torno-atras*, a Spaniard and a *morisco*; *lobo*, a *mestizo* and an Amerindian; and *indio*, an Amerindian and a *lobo*. Although power and privilege was closely tied

to one's caste, it could be said that

mestizos, Amerindians, and African-Americans, through education and accumulation of wealth, could rise to social prominence and hold critical positions within the military and

²⁸⁹ Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status*, 5.

²⁹⁰ Ray Hernandez-Duran, email message to the author, August 29, 2019. No word for "race" existed during this period; references to *castas* within colonial documents use terms such as *gente de calidad* [people of quality] or *gente de razón* [people of reason]. There was a strong class element to how castes were understood; for example, an *indio*, *mestizo*, or *mulatto* who made money could legally change his racial status, making "race" an unstable and unreliable index of status.

Church.²⁹¹ Social mobility could be negotiated by individuals who were able to consciously change their appearance, behavior, and cultural elements.²⁹²

Spanish Military Items

The years between 1700 to 1821 were momentous for Spain. During these years, the Spanish empire reached its zenith as a colonial power in the Americas. Under a Bourbon king of French descent, Phillip V, starting in 1715, French influences impacted virtually all aspects of Spanish life, including the military. With the introduction of a formal standing army, the design and esthetic of Spanish weaponry was taken over by French or Italian servants and advisors to the Monarchy. By 1759, Enlightenment ideas and activities were entrenched under Charles III through the reorganization of internal politics, solidification of territories, and expansion of global commerce and domestic industry. The Royal Spanish Army and provincial militias were critical elements to successful expansions; troops were modernized under the tutelage of German tactics, formations, and equipment, and armies were populated by volunteers, as opposed to conscripts. Regulated equipment included, muskets, pistols, sabers, swords, laces, shields, cannons, and jackets.²⁹³

The oldest and most widely used item of protection in battle is the shield, the form and design which harkens back to the Paleolithic Age (circa 2.5 million to 12,000 years ago), the basis of which was to catch and break the shock of incoming blows. Early

²⁹¹ Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America*, 66, 67.

²⁹² Jackson, *Race, Caste, and Status*, 5.

²⁹³ Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Pierce A. Chamberlain. 1972. *Spanish Military Weapons in Colonial America, 1700-1821* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1972), 15, 18, 19.

European shields were circular or oval, made of wooden boards approximately half an inch thick, covered in tough leather with a handgrip, and reinforced with iron or bronze



Figure 25 Knight, Death, and the Devil,
Albrecht Durer, 1513.
Source: https://library.artstor.org/asset/AIC_70031

mountings. Shortly before c. 1000 CE, the oval shield was lengthened to complement a horse and rider, and painted symbols were applied in order to discern friend from foe. Over time, these symbols became codified and hereditary, marking the beginning of crest imagery and heraldry. During the Crusades, shields became essentially triangular, in keeping with the spirit of the Holy

Trinity. Tournament shields later appeared; a triangular one with the family coat-of-

arms has the targe, a square shape with a personal badge inscribed.²⁹⁴

The body was protected by chain mail, interlocking and riveted rings of steel that allowed relative mobility and flexibility, standard protective gear since the ancient Roman era. Initially a *surcoat*—shaped metal breastplates—protected the front of the wearer; a back plate and a skirt of plates (for the lower extremities) was later introduced, along with long sleeves, mittens, and a hood, all made of mail. The head was protected by the helmet with early examples constructed of bronze or iron straps and the interspaces filled with triangular iron plates; later, helmets were formed from a single piece of iron,

²⁹⁴ Helmet Nickel, Stuart W. Pyhrr and Leonid Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry: European Arms and Armor from the Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Exhibition* (New York, NY: The Federation, 1982), 15.

with a neck plate added on. In addition to the distinctive shape of the helmet, a coat of arms was painted to identify the wearer. The helmet was of two basic types: the *salet*, open-shaped headgear that allowed a visor to be pulled up or down, only partially covering the face; and the *armet*, an item that enclosed the head completely.²⁹⁵

Edged weapons—swords, knives, and daggers—were the first true weapons designed specifically to kill or maim. Considered the most noble of weapons, the sword has evolved through the ages to become an item of regalia and ceremony, passed from generation to generation, and sought after as much for the status and symbolism attached as much for the technology behind it. In Europe, Spain (Toledo) and Germany (Solingen and Passau) were prominent centers of sword manufacture, producing items of steel that were technologically different from armor. Quality swords were expensive, putting them out of reach of the common soldier. Blacksmiths put their marks of identification on each blade, along with the insignia or crests of the individual or family who commissioned the piece. Stories of manufacture, such as using dragon's blood, the urine of a red-haired boy, or billy-goat who fed on fern leaves, enhanced the aura and mystery around many swords, along with narratives of legendary battles won and lost. In addition to manufacture, Spain and Spanish-dominated areas in southern Italy were also renowned for schools of fencing and dueling.²⁹⁶

Finally, select projectile weaponry is included in this study, since similarities in form and context with Tlingit weapons were referenced in period documents. Although the crossbow was officially abolished by other European nations in the sixteenth-century, the Spanish continued to use it extensively because of its silent release and

²⁹⁵ Nickel, Pyhrr, Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, 15, 16, 29.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 85,86, 103.

absence of recoil. Examples include stories of both Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro who armed their men with crossbows during the subjugations of the Aztecs and Incas during the first years of contact.²⁹⁷ Weaponry, such as the crossbow, longbow, firearm, polearm, knife, bayonet, cannon, and accessories fully supported Spanish campaigns in the Americas, well into the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries. As Brinckerhoff and Chamberlain assert,

...it is of the utmost importance to remember the influence of Spanish traditionalism. A willingness to retain older, proven patterns and designs had a fundamental effect on the appearance of military weapons. While Spain followed the influence of France, Germany and other Europeans countries, and produced weapons of contemporary style, her military leaders and craftsmen most often were inclined to retain features fifty or more years earlier in design...it should be remembered that firearms, swords and cannons of the mid-17th and early 18th centuries often found use among the colonial troops well into the 19th century.²⁹⁸

Crests and Coats of Arms

It is critical to understand the significance of insignias and crests, and the complex role that visual imagery played within the social order of Spain and New Spain. Entrenched within crest imagery was not only the personal rank and status of an individual, but also the parameters of social and moral behavior, responsibility, and cultural expectations of the social position. Crests and coats-of-arms conveyed the symbolism of protection: patron saints and images of God conveyed a belief that individuals, families, and entire towns enjoyed heavenly protection; and the likeness of a Lord or Monarch spoke to the political support the crest encompassed.²⁹⁹ Elaborate conventions governing the placement of devices and colors, specialized vocabulary, and shape of the crest/shield

²⁹⁷ Nickel, Pyhrr, Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, 129.

²⁹⁸ Brinckerhoff and Chamberlain. 1972. *Spanish Military Weapons*, 20.

²⁹⁹ Robert Haskett, "Paper Shields: The Ideology of Coats of Arms in Colonial Mexican Primordial Titles," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 1 (1996): 105.

itself discouraged forgery and misuse. Usually inscribed with a Latin motto or canting arms (anagrams), crests and coats of arms could instantly identify a person or family, thus



Figure 26 Blazon of Don Juan de Guzman Ixtolinque.
Source: *Military Ethos and Visual Culture in Post-Conquest Mexico* (Dominguez-Torres), 3.

negating the need for written validation, important in an era where literacy was an exception rather than the norm. Validation of status was conferred by either a Lord or Monarch through the incorporation of a seal that recognized the legitimacy and inherent rights associated with that crest.³⁰⁰ (Fig. 26)

In Europe, the expensive nature of arms and armor dictated that creation was carried out only by specialist artisans with the amount of ornamentation and design directly related to the level of military, social, or political distinction of

the individual or family. The first Spanish dictionary published in 1611 defines *insignia* as, “the ornament and apparatus worn by magistrates and other persons, in order to be signaled and distinguished so that nobody ignores their dignities and offices, and they are respected.”³⁰¹ The opulent costumes, crests, and insignias displayed by members of the Church, Monarchy, State, and upper classes during public ceremony and procession was understood as a reflection of God, indicative of the link—and therefore status—between royalty, nobility, and the apostolic and Heaven and the heavenly. This deeply symbolic

³⁰⁰ Haskett, “Paper Shields,” 104.

³⁰¹ Domínguez Torres, *Military Ethos*, 40. Written 1611 by lexicographer Sebastián Covarrubias in *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*.

nature of iconography created around it, reinforced to the “right to rule” and the rhetoric of social distinction between classes.³⁰²

In summary, the eighteenth- century was a period of enlightenment and exploration for Spain. There was a fundamental shift from Aristotelian tradition to intellectual pursuits within the arts, sciences, economics, philosophy, and jurisprudence. In previous centuries, monumental shifts within the foundations of religion and society—as a result of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic response, Counter-Reformation—contributed the psychology of the Spanish baroque and the distinctive character of the era. Philosophies and arguments regarding the rights of Indigenous peoples were developed in the sixteenth- century that, through institutions such as the School of Salamanca, informed attitudes carried to the “New World” in the eighteenth- century. Specific examples relevant to this research are Spanish performance and poetry; festival and procession; select Catholic rituals; the caste system; aspects of military culture; and crests and coats-of-arms. Drawing on the foundations established in the previous two chapters—Northwest Coast and Spanish—I will now bring together these two systems in a full discussion of parallels and analogues.

³⁰² Domínguez Torres, *Military Ethos*, 40.

Chapter 6

Towards Analogues and Parallels

Robin Fisher, in his seminal book, *Contact and Culture* (1992) asserts that in the late eighteenth- century, "...the Indians of the Northwest Coast exercised a great deal of control over the trading relationship and, as a consequence, remained in control of their culture during this early contact period."³⁰³ Donald Cutter, in discussing the relationship between Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra with that of *Nuu-chah-nulth* Chief Maquinna further supports this with the following statement: "It was a brief friendship, but one which had been almost wholly on Maquinna's terms and represented a time when Maquinna's star was in the ascendancy."³⁰⁴ No expedition generated as many complex and rich documents as Malaspina's expedition to the Northwest Coast. Their observations of the Tlingit were meticulously recorded by Malaspina and Bustamante y Guerra, including Viana, Tova, Concha, Espinosa, and Suría. The first two journals were considered official accounts of the voyage; the latter five were less formal and more descriptive. Despite their difference in status, the context and interpretation of events captured within each of these texts reveal a great similarity between official and personal documents.³⁰⁵

I take Fisher's assertion one step further to state that between the Spanish and *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Haida, and Tlingit, not only was the maritime fur trade dictated by Northwest Coast nations, there were also select and viable cultural comparisons made by

³⁰³ Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. 2nd ed. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 1. F

³⁰⁴ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 110.

³⁰⁵ Hart, "Malaspina at Port Mulgrave," 79.

the Spaniards with the Indigenous people they encountered. The following parallels are drawn:

- Governance and kinship systems
- Worldviews and ritual (spirituality)
- Crest imagery (esthetics)
- Military and warrior iconography
- Protocol and diplomacy (performance)

Governance and Kinship Systems

Social structure in New Spain was heavily influenced by the feudal systems entrenched in Spanish society. One example of this embedded system—and adapted throughout Spanish America to various degrees—is the social hierarchy followed by Seville, Spain. Their society was dominated by a landed noble class, the *Grandees*, whose great wealth began during the thirteenth-century re-conquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors; the next level of nobility were members of the powerful military-religious orders, each of whom were granted titles through knighthood, not inheritance; next were the lower nobility—*hidalgos*—granted hereditary titles as reward for service to the King and state; next, there was the emergent merchant class who forced a rise in overall educational standards; then, a class of literates—*letrados*—who filled the spaces of bureaucracy introduced by the merchants; following the *letrados* was a working class composed of seafarers, shippers, artisans, farmers, tavern keepers, etc.; finally, there was the lowest

class, that of beggars, cripples, ex-prisoners, former slaves, sailors, orphans or abandoned children, etc.³⁰⁶

In terms of governance and kinship, historian Donald C. Cutter notes that Malaspina's 1791 voyage produced the following comparison between the governance systems of the Spanish and *Nuu-chah-nulth*,

...The rights of succession to the throne among the Nootkans follow the same order as among us. When a legitimate heir is lacking, the people gather together and elect the new sovereign by a plurality of votes...³⁰⁷

Cutter also notes that, farther north, a comparable governance system was noted among the Mulgrave Tlingit,

...there is no doubt that supreme command is vested in the chief and that his position is hereditary in his family. We also noted other subaltern authorities, being able to assert that inequality of rank, so contrary to the simple and primitive state of nature, was in practice among the Mulgraves.³⁰⁸

The following year, as part of his journal, Moziño described a highly organized society with an entrenched system of governance clearly comparable to the Spanish. Titling his article, "Article No. 3: System of government of the tais, or sovereign and high priest...", he wrote the following,

The government of these people can strictly be called patriarchal, because the chief of the nation carries out the duties of father of the families, of king, of high priest at the same time. These three offices are so closely intertwined that they mutually sustain each other, and all together support the sovereign authority of the *taises* [chief]. The vassals receive their sustenance from the hands of the monarch, or from the governor who represents him in the distant villages under his rule. The vassals believe that they owe this sustenance to the intercession of the sovereign with God... There is no intermediate hierarchy between princes and commoners. This latter condition includes all those who are not brothers or

³⁰⁶ Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions*, 13-16.

³⁰⁷ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 99.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 54.

immediate relatives of the *tais*, and they are known by the name of *meschimes*. The former are called *taiscatlati*, that is to say, brothers of the chief.³⁰⁹

From the *Nuu-chah-nulth* perspective, chiefly rights were managed through the entrenchment of *hahuulthi* or “ancestral territory” recognized by neighboring nations.³¹⁰ Atleo states that the *taises* refers to the eldest male child who holds hereditary rights to a seat of governance and attendant territories, together with their resources.³¹¹ Even while the field of American anthropology was in its early stages, ca. 1890, parallels between the hierarchy of Northwest Coast and non-Indigenous peoples were made,

As Dr. Boas informs us, there are in all the tribes three distinct ranks—the chiefs, the middle class, and the common people—or as they might perhaps be more aptly styled, nobles, burgesses, and rabble. The nobles form a caste. Their rank is hereditary; and no one who was not born in it can in any way attain it. The nobles have distinction and respect, but little power...The lowest class, or rabble, is therefore a veritable residuum...[including] – in those tribes which practise slaveholding – slaves and their descendants.³¹²

Overall parallels between the two systems of governance and class structure are as outlined:

1) Governance systems

Northwest Coast		Spanish Colonial
Chief	⇔	King/Queen of Spain
Brother(s)/sister(s) of the Chief	⇔	Council of the Indies
Lesser Chiefs (family heads)	⇔	Viceroy Provincial Governors

³⁰⁹ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, 24-25.
³¹⁰ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 127.
³¹¹ Ibid, 77.
³¹² Quentin Mackie, Gary Coupland, and R. G. Matson, eds., *Emerging from the Mist: Studies in Northwest Coast Culture History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 1.
Presented by American-Canadian ethnologist Horatio Hale 1890 in his introductory remarks to the Second General Report of Dr. Franz Boaz, in Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, Report of the 60th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

		Cabildos (town councils: town governor, magistrate, law enforcement, jailer) ³¹³
Community	↔	Community

2) Class/Caste structure (New Spain)

Chief	↔	King/Queen
Brother(s)/sister(s) of the Chief	↔	Peninsulares
Relatives of the Chief	↔	Criollos
Commoners (maschimes)	↔	Mestizo
Slaves (kohls)	↔	Indios

The traditional distinction between Spaniard and Indian was the first narrative of the colonial regime; the second was the maintenance of internal stability. As in the Northwest Coast context, the ideal Hispanic community, “consisted of faithful Christians, each performing the function appropriate to his lineage and position in the status hierarchy.”³¹⁴ Within both cultures, an individual was born into a system that understood class from top to bottom, and kinship relationships were distinguished by blood (birth) or through marriage (in-laws). The *Nuu-chah-nulth* recognized bilateral descent with no formally prescribed rules of marriage, so families were identified on the basis of overlapping ancestry. However, similar to the system that enshrined royal Spanish bloodlines, marriage among the *Nuu-chah-nulth* was more of an alliance between families than simply a union between a man and woman.³¹⁵ Unions were typically arranged, or chosen, between individuals of similar rank and social strata, each conferring the marriage with dowry and various inherited rights, privileges, and resources.³¹⁶ As articulated in *Nuu-*

³¹³ Rodrigo F. Rentería-Valencia, "Colonial Tensions in the Governance of Indigenous Authorities and the Pima Uprising of 1751," *Journal of the Southwest* 56, no. 2 (2014): 345-346.

³¹⁴ Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 15.

³¹⁵ Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 126.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 122.

chah-nulth Voices, Histories, Objects, and Journeys (2000a), similarities between the Northwest Coast and Spanish society are noted, as follows,

Our haw'iih can be compared to the nobility of Europe, and the great events in their lives are similar to historic events that happened to great families elsewhere. Diplomacy was and is a central feature of Huu-ay-aht life. Alliances formed through marriages were a keystone of social, economic and political ties. These were achieved through arranged unions between the sons and daughters of haw'iih. Over generations, these alliances were reaffirmed through subsequent marriages, sometime broke down, and conflict was often a consequence. In the end, however, diplomacy and alliances through marriages were the preferred means for achieving peace and prosperity.³¹⁷

Should the ruling Chief's line be extinguished, there would be an election of a new ruling house, the outcome of which would depend on the vote of the commoners. Maquinna's heir apparent would be his from his sons; next, his eldest brother; next, sons of the eldest brother. Only the children of the first wife could become a monarch even though all his children were *taises*.³¹⁸ In assuming the position of Chief, the individual became responsible for the corporeal aspects of territory and resources, as well as the privilege and responsibility to perform specific songs and ceremonies. The rank of Chief is comparative to that of the Spanish King (or Queen) in that the Monarch's responsibility is to the wellbeing of his/her subjects and territories. The responsibilities and structure of the Spanish system is explained, as follows,

[Spanish Colonial] The *officium* of the ruler was to direct the nation in the pursuit of ethical ends. It was the work of the theoreticians to investigate the principles of Natural Law and the Christian Faith. The task of implementing those principles into rules of conduct—laws—was the *potestas* [Latin for 'authority'³¹⁹] of the prince...The king was to rule in the name of God and in the pursuit of justice...His main concern was with the common good of his people which, once translated into Christian terms, meant the salvation of their souls...the Spanish monarch was, in

³¹⁷ Inglis, Haggarty, Neary, "Kiiix'in Agenda Paper," 44.

³¹⁸ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 104.

³¹⁹ *Potestas*—Latin for authority over family, household

effect, in a position above the law. It was his [her] role to determine, in the name of Christianity and justice, the law of the land.³²⁰

Among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, next in rank were the Chief's younger brothers each who, at a lower position, could become head of their own houses. Sisters of the Chief, regardless of age, were considered high ranking as well; however, women would generally marry out of the house in which they were raised to reside with their husband's family.

Paralleled to New Spain, the *Peninsulares*, the highest level of colonial society reserved for those whose place of birth was continental Europe. Less immediate kin of the Chief also carried certain status, traced through either the male or female line, and recognized according to how closely related he/she was to the Chief; the Spanish comparative were the *Criollos*, or individuals of Spanish ancestry but born in the Americas. Next, the commoners, or *maschimes*, generally did not accumulate wealth or potlatch and were free to move leave and join another local group, which could decrease and increase one chief's status over another. The demarcation between elite and commoner typically occurred with the children of the Chief's younger siblings; these individuals could either marry up or down in class, elevating or lowering the status of their own children.

Comparatively were the *Mestizos* of New Spain, that is, those individuals of mixed Indian and Spanish heritage who formed the bulk of the caste system. At the very bottom were the slaves (*kohls*), who, in being considered property, held no rank in the social structure and retained their original tribal or ethnic identity.³²¹ *Kohls* were not free citizens who could achieve status and lived their lives at the whim and authority of the Chief.^{322 323} In

³²⁰ Frank Jay Moreno, "The Spanish Colonial System: A Functional Approach," *The Western Political Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1967): 311.

³²¹ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22; Neil, "Masks and Headgear," 453.

³²² Arima and Hoover, *The Whaling People*, 105, 106.

³²³ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

New Spain, it was the *Indios*, or Indians/natives, who were positioned at the bottom of the social scale who were comparative to the *Nuu-chah-nulth* slaves.³²⁴

Under eighteenth- century Spanish legal and political organization, the ruling Monarch held a position above the law in what could be designated as authoritarian, a position reinforced by acceptance rather than a regime of force. The basis of this authority rests in the allegiance of Spanish subjects to the Crown and speaks to the type of psycho-social relationship that existed between the Sovereign and realm.³²⁵ As Moreno highlights, during the three centuries of Spanish colonialism, the ruling Monarch was the single unifying figure under which the political and social world was organized: “The king ruled and legislated; the king named the authorities on his behalf...; settlers and Indians were vassals of the monarch; the king was owner of lands and water which he granted as rewards...”³²⁶ Similar in context, the social and political organization of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* was structured around a local group or family of chiefs who owned territorial rights, resources, houses, and multiple other privileges. Although the right to govern as Chief was inherited, great responsibility to the physical and spiritual needs of the people, community, land, and territory was inherent.³²⁷ Wealth was based on the hereditary transmission of status and privilege, affirmed and enhanced through the accumulation and distribution of material wealth bestowed and received throughout a leader’s lifetime.³²⁸

³²⁴ Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, 15.

³²⁵ Moreno, "The Spanish Colonial System," 315.

³²⁶ Ibid, 316.

³²⁷ Marshall, *A Political History of the Nuw-Chah-Nulth*, 109.

³²⁸ Coté, *Spirits of Our Whaling Ancestors*, 22.

Communities among the *Nuu-chah-nulth* were classed according to size; the highest ranked individual was the leading Chief of the highest ranked community. If he failed to properly and sufficiently meet the needs of his subjects, individuals were free to move between houses, placing the standard of care and work of allegiance directly on the Chief. On a macro scale, this was similar to the colonial authority of the Spanish Monarch, albeit in a much more local context. As Lasswell and Kaplan explain, the ascription of authority depends not on the will of the ruler, but upon the consciousness of the subjects, that is, "...authority is created by allegiance, rather than that allegiance results from the recognition of authority...it is brought into being by [meeting] identifications, demands, and expectations..." of the community or subjects.³²⁹ As historian, Donald C. Cutter points out, the Spanish recognized this type of authority as also existing among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*,

...these people love their chief, and in the respect and subordination that all profess for Macuina, as well as in the propriety and government of this chief, there stands out doubtless an advance in society...³³⁰

Maquinna's Prayer Box and the Concept of "God"

One of the more fascinating encounters recorded on the Northwest Coast was in 1792 by José Cardero, the expedition artist onboard Alejandro Malaspina's corvette, the *Atrevida*, when it anchored in Nootka Sound. Titled "Caxon donde entra el Gefé de Nutka a sus supersticiones," Cardero's drawing is of a wooden *oratory* or *prayer box*—two meters long and half a meter wide—that occupied a place of honor in Maquinna's house.³³¹ In

³²⁹Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 133-134.

³³⁰ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 104.

³³¹ Ibid, 15, 117.

his journal, Moziño noted that inside the was painted a “monstrous figure with a human face, but extremely ugly, with very long arms, claws like an eagle’s, and feet like those of a bear.”³³² (Fig. 27) Malaspina wrote that Maquinna would enclose himself in the oratory to appeal to the spirits of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* for guidance and assistance, recording the following,

That the true God or most powerful one is in heaven and is called *awashlaij-himi*; and another one is called *awak-himi*, and the god of fish is called *ans-himi*. That this god appears in dreams to Maquinna when he prays to ask that the rain cease and that there be fish, etc., and that at all times that is he is sleepless in prayer...Maquinna’s family, which is at his side, commiserates with him during the difficult time he spends. He is shouting inside a large chest where there is painted an ugly, misshapen figure of a man. He said that only the taises go to see God, and contrarily those who have committed some offense have their bodies devoured by wild beasts. All the women and the plebeians go to the depths...³³³

Moziño translated one of Maquinna’s invocations within the prayer box as, “Give us, Lord, good weather, give us life, do not allow us to perish, watch over us; deliver the Earth from its storms and its inhabitants from sickness; interrupt the frequency of the rains. Allow us clear days and serene skies.”³³⁴ Maquinna’s prayer box so captivated the Spanish that Malaspina had Cardero’s drawing of it included as part of the submissions to the Viceroy.

While the iconography of Maquinna’s oratory was unlike anything the Spanish had encountered, the physical and contextual use of space and supplication is strikingly similar to the Catholic confessional box. (Fig. 28) For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church was fully embedded as the spiritual and religious foundation on which the Latin American world was premised. Catholicism ordered every aspect of existence in the

³³² Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, 19.

³³³ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 106.

³³⁴ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, 39.

Spanish empire, making it a critical force in shaping peninsular and colonial cultures on both sides of the Atlantic. Early Spanish Catholicism was rooted in centuries of co-existence and transculturation with Muslim, Jewish, and Christian ideologies resulting in a faith that was emotional, sumptuous, and richly ornate in comparison to other European nations. The established trope of the Spanish Catholic was belief in the ephemeral and



Figure 28. Maquinna's prayer box by José Cardero, 1792.



Figure 27 Crespi, Saint Nepomuk Confessing Queen of Bohemia by Juan Crespi, 1743.

inherently corrupted nature of human beings versus the sanctity and ethereal salvation of the one true God.³³⁵ The confessional box was devised as a way to profess one's sins to the Almighty, and to receive salvation through penitence and prayer. The sacramental confession, the essence of which has not changed for centuries, requires three acts by the penitent: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Similar in context to Maquinna's plea for assistance and peace to the Creator through humility, the confessor takes full responsibility for his/her misdeeds and lays them at the feet of the Almighty. As Gamino

³³⁵ Megan Armstrong, "Transatlantic Catholicism: Rethinking the Nature of the Catholic Tradition in the Early Modern Period," *History Compass* 5 (2007): 1942, 1948.

states, “the end result of the sacramental process is reconciliation, a restoration of the violated relationship between the penitent and God and between the penitent and the broader Christian community...Temporal benefits also accrue, including peace of mind and heart, serenity of conscience and spiritual consolation.”³³⁶ As with the riot of prayer rendered by the *Nuu-chah-nulth* Chief, Catholic catechism supported the notion there was human as well as spiritual benefit in confession. The physical structure of both the Catholic confessional box and Maquinna’s prayer box is reminiscent of the other.³³⁷

Rituals of Spirituality

Observing Maquinna in prayer and ceremony, Moziño concluded that one of his roles was similar to that of a high priest in that he extended and interceded between God, or Creator, and human beings.³³⁸ This extension included the vision quest, a spiritual “intercession” with Creator to attain blessings, gifts, assistance, or guidance. *Oosumich* is the *Nuu-chah-nulth* equivalent of a vision quest, a ceremony conducted over long periods of time that involved isolation, fasting, denial of water, abstinence, ritual cleansing, sleep deprivation, exposure, and prayer.³³⁹ As explained by Arnold Kruger,

The experience of visionary transformation is fundamental to Native American spirituality. Although it is ultimately personal and begun in isolation, the quest for it is fundamentally conversational and social. Power comes from a person’s conversation with the supernatural. It comes from an encounter with sentient beings with whom humans share the breath of life.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Louis A. Gamino, "A Psychological and Personal Perspective on the Catholic Sacrament of Reconciliation" *Human Development* 25, no. 3 (2004): 29.

³³⁷ Gamino, "A Psychological and Personal Perspective," 30.

³³⁸ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 114.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 121.

³⁴⁰ Arnold Kruger, "To Find a Treasure: The Nuu-chah-nulth Wolf Mask," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 27, no. 3 (2003): 71.

Comparatively, religion in eighteenth-century New Spain was expressed through performative and liturgical piety: the former as pilgrimage, procession, and physical adoration of images and relics; the latter as symbolic re-enactments to recall the deeds of Christ or saints that metaphorically forged mystical unions between man and spirit. Common forms of penitential rites included fasting, ritual cleansing, isolation, petition, and prayer; the most dramatic form was public self-flagellation.³⁴¹ As Larkin states,

Baroque Catholic practice was largely a religion of performance and ritual, but not in an empty or mechanical way. In fact, the key to salvation for colonial Spanish Catholics lay precisely in making contact with divinity through performance of religious rites.³⁴²

Other motivations were reinforcement of social status through extravagant displays of procession and gifting that could be supported only by the rich and the elite, practices not unlike those of the *pachitle* (potlatch) among the Northwest Coast nations.³⁴³ Through mechanisms such as the prayer box and vision quest—although not exclusively—Maquinna fulfilled his obligations as *haw'iih* to keep the world in balance by acknowledging and honoring powers higher than himself; the Catholic penitent, in comparison, fulfilled obligations to the Almighty God through principally similar structures.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ Brian R. Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Religious Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Latin American History* 60, no. 4 (2004): 495-496, 510.

³⁴² Ibid, 496.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ray Hernandez-Duran, email message to the author, August 29, 2019. In the sixteenth-century, the friars observed that certain Aztec practices seemed similar to Spanish Catholic rituals, and suggested that the central Mexican natives had to have been descended from a lost tribe of Israel and/or that St. Thomas had to have visited the Americas in the ancient past and converted them, however, over time, those teachings became forgotten and corrupted leading to the indigenous ceremonies the Spanish were witnessing. Did this happen in the Northwest Coast during this period in terms of the comparative approach to Spanish and native cultural forms and expressions? If so, can be tied to earlier discourses from the period of early contact; if not, why not?

The sacred nature of liturgical piety rested on the concepts of sign and signifier, a.k.a. semiotics, as developed by philosophers such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Charles Sanders Peirce, Roland Barthes, and linguist Ferdinand Saussure. Christian divinity was validated through religious belief and observance; philosophically, its tenets are equal to the principles of *Nuu-chah-nulth* spiritualism and ceremony. For example, *Nuu-chah-nulth* fasting was in preparation to commune with the Creator and spirits in order to draw favor; comparatively, Christian fasting represented Christ's forty days in the wilderness as a way to draw nearer to God for help (Matthew 4:1-11; Luke 4:1-13); processes of the *Nuu-chah-nulth* vision quest opened the metaphysical corridors between human and supernatural; Catholic self-flagellation spoke to Christ's human form on the cross and spiritual transference to an ethereal plane. The parallel concepts of Creator (*Nuu-chah-nulth*) and God (Spanish Catholic) are captured within stories of creation and salvation. Atleo explains the Son of Raven, a story about the son of a human Chief who transforms to bring light to his people,

Son of Raven, together with his community, must travel across the great waters to capture the necessary light [creation]...The clue to the dynamic relationship between created beings and a spiritual Creator is the metaphor of Son of Raven becoming a tiny leaf and in so doing becoming a child of the Great Chief (Creator). In this sense, the dependence of the physical upon the spiritual is much like the relationship between parents and dependent young people. Ordinarily young people...stand to inherit the wealth of their parents...Since he had been born into the Chief's family, Son of Raven had natural birthrights to the benefits of this family [being able to communicate with the spiritual].³⁴⁵

The *Nuu-chah-nulth* held that only Son of Raven could become the child of the Creator who, as a result, could speak directly with Creator; the figure of Christ espoused by Christianity is also a child, or lamb, of God who could speak directly to God. Both an

³⁴⁵ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 18.

archetypal hero and savior, Son of Raven brought light (creation) to the *Nuu-chah-nulth* in the same manner as Christ brought light (life) to Christians.

“Exorcism”: Two Sides of the Same Coin

Through the ages, human beings the world over has wrestled with defining, containing, managing, and expelling perceived evils and sicknesses that afflict the mortal mind, body, and spirit. As Allen Wardwell explains in *Tangible Visions* (1996), there is a commonality in the way human beings deal with “evil,”

Although there is no written universal shamanic creed or doctrine, there are some remarkably consistent behavior patterns and traits associated with the system as it is practiced in various widespread parts of the world and at different times that reveal a shared world view. Undoubtedly, these common denominators have as much to say about what makes us human as they do about the evolution of religion...the “ecstatic experience” of shamanism...[is] fundamental to the human condition, and hence known to the whole of archaic humanity.³⁴⁶

Fundamentally, both Spanish and Northwest Coast nations dealt with evil, chaos, and infirmity in the same way; that is, through established ritual and litany that focused on purging malevolence as a way to restore balance to the individual. Within the journals examined for this discussion, there are no explicit descriptions of Spanish explorers witnessing, or being invited to attend, Indigenous ceremony involving shamanistic ritual or healing ceremony; this does not occur until after the Spanish withdrawal. Rather, the discussion here is towards parallels that existed between two separate approaches with the same intent, comparisons that draw on the roles and rituals of the Tlingit shaman and the Catholic *ordo baptismi adultorum* (herein referred to as the “OBA”). Through rituals of the Tlingit shaman, the individual is released from the spiritual and physical throes of

³⁴⁶ Wardwell, *Tangible Visions*, 16.

evil and malady; paralleled, the Christian OBA ritual of prayer and cathartic sacrament released the supplicant from the grasp of evil and eternal damnation.

The role of the Tlingit shaman functioned in much the same manner as the Catholic priest. According to Antonine Tibesar—Franciscan friar and scholar of the Catholic Church in Latin America—within formal Church hierarchy, the parish priest was of relatively low status; however, from a community perspective, he was considered a member of the elite, equal in status to that of a Tlingit shaman.³⁴⁷ Both shaman and priest ensured the spiritual and physical wellbeing of its members. Anthropologist Aldona Jonaitis explains the role and status of the Tlingit shaman, as follows,

...the shaman was an esteemed and valued member of the community who enjoyed a status equal to that of the aristocrats who headed the most prestigious lineages in the village. Shamans and nobles both ensured the continuation of life; the nobles, by exerting secular power, controlled the daily activities of the villagers; the shaman, by displaying spiritual powers, controlled the witches and other malevolents...the Tlingit shaman was an extremely important member of his village and performed a role that complemented that of the secular leaders.³⁴⁸

This was not unlike the role of the Catholic pastor or priest who were considered as spiritual guards by the community, and an ally by the nobility. In New Spain, there were two kinds of pastors: the *doctrinero*—pastor of the Indians—and *cura*—pastor of the Spaniards.³⁴⁹ As explained by Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole, the role of the clergy was multi-faceted,

The clergy, of course, wore many hats in New Spain. In addition to eliminating witchcraft, they were first and foremost the colony's spiritual leaders. They naturally assumed these roles, filling out a complicated ecclesiastical administrative bureaucracy...even among the clergy, colonial business and politics could seldom be kept separate from religion...Families garnered

³⁴⁷ Antonine Tibesar, "The King and the Pope and the Clergy in Colonial Spanish-American Empire," *The Catholic Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (1989): 101-102.

³⁴⁸ Aldona Jonaitis, "Liminality and Incorporation in the Art of the Tlingit Shaman," *American Indian Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (1983): 42.

³⁴⁹ Tibesar, "The King and the Pope and the Clergy in Colonial Spanish-American Empire," 102.

substantial prestige when favorite sons (and daughters) became successful clergy...[they] could also use their clerical affiliations to influence politics, and business and politics, in some instances, could overshadow, if not overwhelm, spiritual obligations.³⁵⁰

Personal piety and the cleansing of sin and evil became much more intense as devotional material focused on penance, suffering, sorrow, and lamentation.³⁵¹ Part of the process of piety was a focus on the absolute cleansing of an individual's soul. To combat the temptations inherent in daily life, Catholicism enacted a deeply ritualistic and symbolic ceremony of exorcism intended to purge the sinful aspects of human existence to ensure admittance to the gates of heaven upon death, the OBA. Comparatively, among the Tlingit, a healthy individual was one who lived in balance and safety in the ordered, structured, and profane world of the village; beyond these boundaries lay the domain of wild potent spirits, witches, and dangerous abodes that could cause ill-fortune, disease, and death. If afflicted, the individual or their family sought the power of the shaman who, through the necessary rituals and offerings, purged and warded off the malevolence of witches and bad spirits.³⁵² While the Christian focus on access to the divine was not necessarily that of the Northwest Coast, the conceptual purging of evil to restore balance was philosophically and ritualistically the same.

Among the Tlingit, the shaman was first and foremost called to detect witches, purge their malady then deal with serious cases, deep injuries, soul loss, or profound emotional disturbances.³⁵³ Rituals included ecstatic trance, magical curing, manipulation

³⁵⁰ Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole, eds. *Religion in New Spain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 6-7.

³⁵¹ John Frederick Swallow, *The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), 71, 72.

³⁵² Jonaitis, "Liminality and Incorporation," 43.

³⁵³ Frederica de Laguna, "Atna and Tlingit Shamanism: Witchcraft on the Northwest Coast," *Arctic Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (1987): 87.

of fire, transformation, soul flight, rebirth from bones, control of weather, hunting prediction, teleportation, and extrasensory perception.³⁵⁴ In order to access the gifts of one or more spirit helpers called *yek*—each of whom required their own song, name, ritual, and regalia—strict protocols of fasting, thirsting, purging, sexual abstinence, and personal grooming were observed.³⁵⁵ Examples of ritual includes, when smallpox was introduced among the Tlingit in 1775, the shaman placed spiny stems of devil clubs around doors and windows, and attempted to extract the spirit of disease through sucking; in other instances, touching a shaman's bundle to the body of a sick person during a séance; alternately, through shaking of the body, song and singing, dancing, contorting, and the brandishing of sacred artworks; more drastic—through *yek*—identification and torture of a witch to confess or repatriate items used for sorcery.³⁵⁶

Essentially unchanged since the twelfth- century (with a small modification in 1614), the OBA the practice involves a diversity of prayers, blessings, exorcisms, sacraments, and intimations intended to expel apocalyptic forces inhabiting the unbaptized and unindoctrinated. Peter McGrail clarifies the perspective of the OBA with the following statements,

Exorcism in this context is not the expulsion of personal demons, but the act of wrestling the individual from the sway of the ruler of the world. By implication, that world is a totally alien place, and the image of humanity implied...is an extremely negative one. The Church lives not in the world, but apart from it—and baptism is the portal between them.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ Thomas F. Johnston, "The Socio-Mythic Contexts of Music in Tlingit Shamanism and Potlatch Ceremonials," *The World of Music* 34, no. 2(1992): 48.

³⁵⁵ Jonaitis, "Liminality and Incorporation," 42; Sergei Kan, "Shamanism and Christianity: Modern-Day Tlingit Elders Look at the Past," *Ethnohistory* 38, no. 4 (1991): 365.

³⁵⁶ Jonaitis, "Liminality and Incorporation," 44; de Laguna, "Atna and Tlingit Shamanism," 89, 92.

³⁵⁷ Peter McGrail, *The Rite of Christian Initiation*, 42.

In the context of the spiritual warfare that pervades the Catholic OBA ritual, the priest and initiate confront the demonic on no fewer than five occasions: twice outside the church, and thrice inside.³⁵⁸ The parallel of the shaman ceremony occurred in what Jonaitis describes in three stages: separation, liminality, incorporation. Separation is when the shaman spiritually and emotionally moves from this world, exists for a time in the supernatural, and returns safely back to human existence; next, liminality is reached when the personality of the shaman becomes that of the supernatural *yek*, making him capable of overcoming the power of the witch(es); finally, incorporation is the process in which both the shaman and patient are safely reintegrated back to the community through manipulation of symbols and objects associated with secularity and structure.³⁵⁹

The Living Spirit

An intense belief in “spirit” was fully entrenched in the material culture and religious narratives of both the Northwest Coast and New Spain. Icons of Catholic saints, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and heraldic art paralleled the spiritual power of crest imagery found on Indigenous house posts, military armor, bentwood boxes, woven capes, and copper plates (to name a few).

Northwest Coast peoples believed in a spiritual kinship that made little distinction between human and animal, a belief demonstrated in complex narrative and ritual. Among the Tlingit, when Raven brought Sun to the world, the people fled into the surrounding environment where they were transformed into animals, fish, and birds. These first ancestors, wearing bird or animal cloaks, descended from the supernatural

³⁵⁸ Peter McGrail, *The Rite of Christian Initiation*, 37.

³⁵⁹ Jonaitis, “Liminality and Incorporation,” 45, 46.

world from where they had been transformed. In doing so, they lost their ability to communicate with animals who, by retaining their mystical and spiritual state, embodied the power and sacredness of the supernatural.³⁶⁰ The *Nuu-chah-nulth* held (holds) that every life form is of one essence, or *thli-muhk-ti* (spirit). Animals do not have one type of spirit and human beings a separate one; rather, all beings are created from the same essence with different life forms being the products of transformations. This means that all beings—land, animal, human—have the same spirit and must be shown respect equal to the other.³⁶¹ “Spirit” was manifested in the iconography and esthetics embedded within language, song, dance, story, performance, and crest imagery on secular and religious items—large and small—throughout the Northwest Coast. Ritual made it sacred.

Similar in context, baroque Catholicism, especially in New Spain, fully embraced the concept of “sacred immanence,” this being to the ability of sacred spirit to exist within physical objects. Catholicism bestowed the essence of a holy spirit—saint, Virgin, Christ, God—onto items from the very small to those of awe-inspiring monumentality (i.e. rosary beads, sculpted wood, carved stone, woven cloth, painted canvas, wooden doors, vaulted ceilings, etc.). Objects of sacred immanence provided a direct conduit to heaven; for example, human remains, or relics, of martyrs and saints were venerated and celebrated through reliquaries, shrines, prayers, and pilgrimages because of their perceived link to heaven. A most powerful image was the Eucharist—the drinking of wine and breaking of bread that represented the blood and body of Christ that, through its act, invoked the corporeal presence of the Savior among the masses.³⁶² Spanish explorers

³⁶⁰ Carol F. Jopling, “The Coppers of the Northwest Coast Indians: Their Origin, Development, and Possible Antecedents,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79, no. 1 (1989): 12-13.

³⁶¹ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 61-62.

³⁶² Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 29-31.

found the spirit of the Virgin Mary and Christ in the personal crucifixes and icons brought for guidance and support to the Northwest Coast, in the symbols used for Mass along the way, and in the wooden crosses constructed for claiming territory. There are multiple examples recorded in official and personal journals, some which are noted here: 1) by Fray Tomás de la Peña who, while on Pérez's 1774 voyage, indicates that Mass using accompanying accoutrements was successfully celebrated no less than fifteen times; 2) by Bodega y Quadra who, in 1775, described the divine right of the Spanish Crown to take possession of Indigenous territory through the physical installation of a symbolic cross, an act referred to as the Royal Service (possession-taking ceremony); and 3) again, in 1792, by Jacinto Caamaño in describing the celebration of Mass on board his frigate and the creation of a large wooden cross to accompany the Royal Service.³⁶³

Sacred immanence and belief in "spirit" made the divine accessible through objects, sounds, and ritual that people could see, smell, touch, taste, and hear. As Larkin states, "...sacred immanence rested on an epistemology that united the sign and the signified, thus allowing distinct objects to share the same substance."³⁶⁴

Crest Imagery: Manifestations of "Spirit"

Crest imagery captured the parallel belief in spirit. Understanding the conceptual language embedded within the Indigenous crest would not have been foreign to Spanish explorers (and vice versa). Crests were universal mechanisms that graphically manifested

³⁶³ Henry Raup Wagner and William Arnold Newcombe, eds., "The Journal of Don Jacinto Caamaño," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1938): 275; Beals, et al., *Four Travel Journals*, 103; Geo. Butler Griffin and Fray Tomás de la Peña, "[Diary of Fray Tomás de la Peña kept during the voyage of the Santiago—dated 28th August, 1774]." *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* 2, no. 1 (1891): 112-113, 115-117, 120, 125-126, 131, 133, 135, 139-140

³⁶⁴ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 29.

the rights and responsibilities of rank and heredity on both sides of the Atlantic. In the European context, publicly displaying a coat of arms visualized the achievement of social status, a meaning that functionally echoed meaning on the Northwest Coast. Additionally, crests and coats of arms both were used as effective strategies to legitimize lineage, power, and ascendancy; to identify rights of property; to justify actions; and to perpetuate memory.³⁶⁵

Northwest Coast peoples had a tradition of crest imagery that symbolically, spiritually, socially, and politically announced rights and privileges in the same context as heraldic art on the Spanish coat of arms. Appearing on items such as monumental sculpture, house screens, boxes, shields, helmets, masks, capes, clan hats, tattoos, and utility items, Northwest Coast crests announced complex relationships of kinship, community affiliation, family status, individual accomplishment, and "...historic connection to supernatural beings of the Myth Time."³⁶⁶ Maquinna reinforced his lineage through the whale imagery so prominent on eighteenth-century whaling hats and, but not exclusively, on wooden house posts graphically recorded in-situ by Spanish artists José Cardero and Tomás de Suría.

As discussed in Chapter 5, items such as early European shields carried the first seeds of armorial devices. Shortly before c. 1000 CE, the circle/oval was lengthened to complement a horse and rider, and symbols were painted in order to discern friend from foe. Over time, these symbols became canonized and hereditary, marking the beginning of formal crest conventions.³⁶⁷ By the time Cortés arrived in the "New World" in the

³⁶⁵ Miguel F. Gómez Vozmediano, "The Heraldry of Power: The Emblems of Spanish Nobility. Reality and Fiction," *Memoria y Civilización* 20 (2017): 111.

³⁶⁶ Neil, "Masks and Headgear," 458.

³⁶⁷ Nickel, Pyhrr, Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, 15.

sixteenth- century, Spain had evolved a deeply entrenched heraldic tradition that invited comparisons by Spanish writers with that of Indigenous populations. As Robert Haskett, Professor of History at University of Oregon notes,

...the Nahuas, who had a tradition of emblazoning the round shields carried by warriors and notables with identifying devices indicating geographic origin, ethnic affiliation...Insignia used...are thought to have served as visual assertions of the superiority of their origins as well, a belief that closely paralleled the implications of European personal (and even civic) crests. And since graphic representations had been of paramount importance in written communication for precontact indigenous culture, the European coat of arms would have been a readily understandable device.³⁶⁸

Without understanding the complex ideology that supported Northwest Coast crest imagery, Spanish explorers made frequent references to the use of imagery on boxes, poles, canoes, helmets, and houses. In 1791, Suría makes note of the wolf crest displayed on items encountered by Malaspina while docked in the Mulgrave area in his journal; he wrote,

...They also explained to us about some battle with very strange gestures and postures, which showed us they were very warlike...a short time before they had fought some other cacique [leader] who had killed the son of their chief. They showed us his helmet which was of a figure, and an extraordinary construction of wood, copper, and of straw cloth, and with a mask in front which appeared to be a wolf.³⁶⁹

Wagner indicates that Suría is describing a Tlingit war helmet made of wood, copper and spruce root, a primary crest of the Tlingit. It is interesting that, even given the abstracted nature of Tlingit iconography, Suría was able to discern that the crest as that of a wolf. In his discussion of Tlingit body armor, Neil gives voice to the philosophical parallel between the use of heraldry among the Northwest Coast and Spain with the following,

³⁶⁸ Haskett, "Paper Shields," 105.

³⁶⁹ Henry Raup Wagner, ed "Journal of Tomás de Suría of his Voyage with Malaspina to the Northwest Coast of America in 1791," *Pacific Historical Review* 5, no. 3 (1938): 249.

The rectangular panels left free of twining at front and back of the cuirass were typically painted with crest designs analogous to the insignia worn by European knights...They proclaimed the identity of the warrior who was hidden by his helmet and visor...The crests refer to ancestral rights in the same way that the surname refers to family heritage in the dominant Western culture.³⁷⁰

Within both cultures, honor and courage were esteemed attributes that ensured political and social privilege with an additional spiritual status endorsed within Indigenous societies. Both systems conferred titles, rights, badges, and insignias upon notable citizens, recognitions physically manifested through the design and iconography of a formal crest and coat of arms. Each with their own context, Spanish and Indigenous cultures codified marks of military, social, spiritual, and political recognition.³⁷¹ Imagery among Spanish nobles related to popular artistic trends intended for a Spanish audience to validate status within the society and uphold the right to govern; further, narratives of familial standing and nobility were expressed through the coats of arms [or crests]. Fully written in the context of the Spanish, these two statements are fully transferable between the two cultures without separation.³⁷² Among the Northwest Coast, the display of hereditary right was critical to the functioning of the society system with rank and identity a primary issue.³⁷³ Among the Spanish, crests and coats of arms reinforced rights and class structure.

³⁷⁰ Neil, "Masks and Headgear," 456.

³⁷¹ Domínguez Torres, *Military Ethos*, 17.

³⁷² C. Cody Barteet, "Maya Heraldic Arms: The Merging of Spanish and Maya Visual Cultures in the Memorial Shield to the Massacre at Otzmal," *Konsthistorik Tidsskrift/Journal of Art History* 87, no. 1 (2018): 27-28.

³⁷³ Neil, "Masks and Headgear," 454, 455.

Parallels of Military Costume

A further parallel exists in the way in which Northwest Coast nations, Spain, and New Spain organized the use of crest imagery and insignia as part of their military orders.³⁷⁴

Both societies developed a system of hierarchy that used visual elements towards



Figure 30. Tlingit helmet

The Spanish equated to the copper band at the top as a “diadem,” (crown or band) a sign of wealth, equivalent to the gold of their own culture. Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 60.

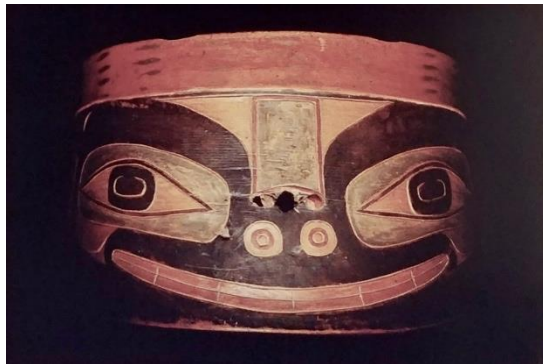


Figure 29. Tlingit helmet visor

Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 60.

pronouncements of power, status, rights, privilege, and responsibility. As Jonaitis points out, the Tlingit expended considerable artistic energy and skill in creating crest imagery on items considered significant such as protective gear used in warfare.³⁷⁵ A magnificent example is a war helmet

collected by Malaspina during his journey to present-day Port Mulgrave in Yakutat Bay.

(Fig. 29) Carved from a single piece of spruce inlaid with opercula (shell), copper, and painted in a style characteristic of a late pre-contact esthetic, the entire headpiece was created in the image of a crest being that metaphysically invoked the power and protection of the supernatural. With a

thickness of up to 3.8 centimeters (1½ inches), the helmet had an attached wooden collar that protected the lower half of the face, leaving only the warrior’s eyes visible. (Fig. 30)

³⁷⁴ Domínguez Torres, *Military Ethos*, 40.

³⁷⁵ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 49.

Owned by a high-ranking individual, his torso was protected with armor formed from wooden slats woven together and covered by a thick hide tunic, both of which were painted with the personal crest of the wearer.³⁷⁶ (Fig. 31 & Fig. 32)



Figure 31 Tlingit body armor

Collected c. 1775-92. Although other examples of armor from the region exist, the Museo de America, Madrid states that this may be the breastplate and backplate of the battle dress collected by Bodega y Quadra on his 1779 voyage (as depicted by Tomás de Suría; refer to Fig. 5). The iconography is the crest imagery of the affiliated clan, determined by matrilineal descent, the style of suggests Chugach Eyak origin (direct neighbors of the Tlingit). Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 69.

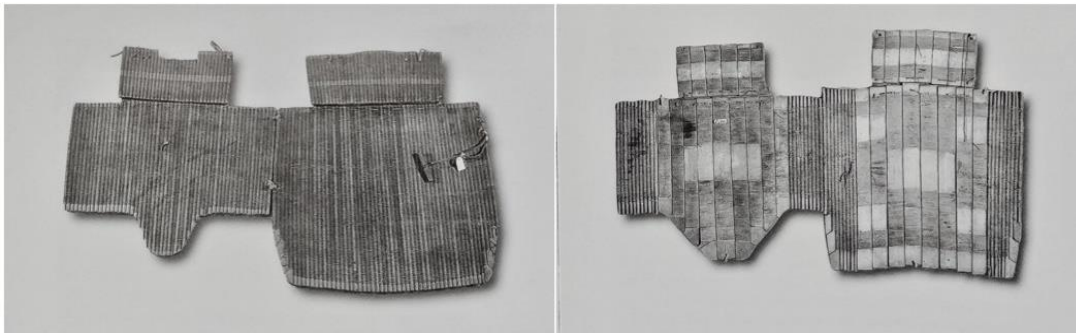


Figure 32. Northwest Coast armor

Other sets of armor collected by Malaspina that are identifiably Tlingit. The set on the left most resemble the armor depicted by Tomás de Suría (refer Fig. 5)
Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 22.

³⁷⁶ Jonaitis, *Art of the Northwest Coast*, 48-49.

The Spanish were clearly intrigued by the image presented by the Tlingit warrior, recognizing the mechanics and structure of the overall uniform as parallel to that of their own. While at Nootka, Suría described the warrior in his journal, situating his remarks against the backdrop of Spanish military culture;

The fighting Indians wear all their arms, a breastplate, back armor, a helmet with a visor or at least what serves that purpose. The breast and back armor are a kind of coat of mail of boards two fingers thick, joined by a thick chord which after being *berbirlis* (sic) by *as* (sic) and *embes* (sic) with much union and equality joins them. In this junction the thread takes an opposite direction, it being the case that even here the arrows cannot pass through, much less in the thickest part of the boards. The breast plate is bound to the body by the back. They wear an apron or armor from the waist to the knees of the same character which must hinder their walking... They construct the helmet of various shapes; usually it is a piece of wood, very solid and thick... They always have a great figure in front, a young eagle or a kind of parrot, and to cover the face they lower from the helmet a piece of wood which surrounds this and hangs from some pieces of leather in the middle of the head to unite with another one which comes up from the chin. They join at the nose, leaving the junction for the place through which to see. It is to be noted that before they put this armor on they put on a robe like that of the women but heavier and thicker, and with certain kinds of work... The knife which they carry in their belt is the same as ours for the same reason.³⁷⁷

Bodega y Quadra also described the same military attire,

The Indians....go to war wearing breastplates and back plates made of narrow slats woven together with many threads, making them flexible enough to be wrapped around their bodies, leaving their arms free; around their necks they wear a wide strip of thick wood in the shape of a gorget, which covers them nearly to their eyes, and on their heads they wear a helmet that usually depicts a fearsome animal. From the waist down, they wear a wooden apron, and on their backs a handsome leather cape that covers them to their ankles...³⁷⁸

The body armor developed by the Tlingit is similar in form and context to European armor whose peak was reached between 1450 and 1650; this said, it is acknowledged that

³⁷⁷ Wagner, "Journal of Tomás de Suría," 255-256.

³⁷⁸ Cabello, "Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions, Discoveries, and Collections," 23.

the craft of European armory and weapons smith spanned millennia.³⁷⁹ By the end of the seventeenth- century, Spanish armor was used more for ceremony, procession, tournament, and portraiture as opposed to tactical accoutrement, an exception being the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) when functionality replaced decoration. However, its influence within the material culture of Spain cannot be overstated; an integral part in the status narrative, royalty and aristocracy continued to have their portraits painted wearing arms and armor well into the eighteenth- century.³⁸⁰ (Fig. 33)



Figure 33. Portrait of King Charles III (Spain) Anton Raphael Mengs, c. 1765. Oil on canvas. Prado Museum, Madrid

It was Charles III who sponsored the scientific and exploratory expeditions that brought the Spanish to the Northwest Coast.

Source: <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection>

The typical Spanish “uniform” of armory consisted of several related elements, of which select pieces would have been understood in describing the Tlingit attire:³⁸¹ Both Suría and

Bodega y Quadra recognized the Tlingit wooden helmet as contextually similar to the *sallet*, a light, semi-open helmet sometimes fitted with a visor, sometimes open-faced, and sometimes with a vision slit cut in its front. Bodega y Quadra considers the Tlingit collar in the context of a *gorget*, an element protecting the neck, throat, and upper part of

³⁷⁹Stephen N. Fliegel, *Arms & Armor: The Cleveland Museum of Art*. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 2007), 31, 35.

³⁸⁰Alvaro Soler del Campo, *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial State* (Madrid: Acción Cultural Española, Patrimonio Nacional de España, TF Editores, 2009), 93.

³⁸¹ Fliegel, *Arms & Armor*, 179-181.

the chest; Suría interprets it as a visor, a moveable plate(s) attached to a helmet to protect the face. Suría references the under robe that the Tlingit warrior dons before, “they put this armor on”; contextually, this robe was in the same vein as the European “gambeson”, a heavy woven garment that was worn under earlier suits of armor as protection against the metal. Both Bodega y Quadra and Suría describe the Tlingit wooden apron as worn from the waist to the knees, and from the waist down (respectively); contextually, this was similar to the Spanish skirt of plates that, when present, was part of the larger “cuirass” or armor for the body overall as opposed to only the head and limbs. The Spanish cuirass also describes a combination of shaped metal breastplate and backplate that protects the lower abdomen. As described by Suría, this is the Tlingit wooden armor, front and back.³⁸² (Fig 34)



Figure 34. Comparison of armor details

Left: Port Mulgrave Tlingit warrior wearing armor, visor, and helmet as sketched by Tomás de Suría, 1791. Source: Malaspina & Galiano (Cutter), 117.

Middle & right: Full accoutrements of colonial battle armor. Source: The Art of Power (Solder de Campo) 22, 281.

³⁸² Nickel, Pyhrr, Tarassuk, *The Art of Chivalry*, 15,16.

Performance and Protocol as Part of Diplomacy

Because festivities and ceremonies, exchanges of gifts, and reciprocated hospitality were as fundamental to Spanish colonial society as they were to the native culture, Bodega [the Spanish by extension] had no difficulty adjusting to Nootkan customs.³⁸³

A final parallel between groups is the recognition that the social and public quality of Spanish protocols of royalty, governance, and faith are distinctly similar in function and principle to the protocols of song, dance, and performance among Northwest Coast nations. Processional performance among the Spanish was directly tied to religion; among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, it was connection to myth and transformation. Both societies reinforced and validated worldviews and belief systems through public acceptance and participation informed by richly ornate and complex esthetic histories. A belief in the supernatural among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, and in the Divine among the Spanish, was manifested through an intricacy of (without separation) masks, headgear, crowns, robes, gowns, staffs, shields, swords, litters, canopies, blankets, tapestries, torches, smudge, incense, etc. Items such as these were displayed and danced during complex ceremonies related to diplomacy and declarations of position. Conditioned to the inclusion of posture and protocol within their own processes, Spanish explorers instinctively sensed the role that Indigenous performance, song, and dance played within the larger social narrative. One of many observations, Suría recorded an extended version of their first meeting with the Tlingit, as follows,

...we found ourselves at the mouth of the bay of the Puerto de Mulgrave... In a little while we saw coming towards us at great speed two canoes of Indians which shortly arrived alongside....As soon as they were close to the ladder all except the

³⁸³ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 233.

steersman stood up, and at the sound of a stentorian and frightful voice which the ugliest one, who was in the centre, uttered, they all extended their hands together in the form of a cross with great violence, and turning their heads to one side intoned a very sad song in their language, which, however, preserved tune and time. It was composed of only three notes although the measure varied. Soon they continued with other songs in this style, but very agreeable and sonorous. Amid all that confusion the one in the middle could be heard dictating the words with a loud voice and carrying the measure, making various contortions and movements for this purpose...they continued with a great shout, repeating it three times and, striking the palms of their hands against those who were carrying the tune and those of the rowers, finished by extending their arms in the form of the cross.³⁸⁴

As a subordinate, Suría was able to record in his journal freer observations than that of his Commander; consequently, he attempted to impart a deeper understanding of the psychology of encounters and environment.³⁸⁵ *Nuu-chah-nulth* hereditary chief, E. Richard Atleo interprets these first performances through the lens of Indigenous protocol. Among the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, paramount to the building of relationships was the ceremonial response of acknowledgement, recognition, and respect towards those encountered. Up and down the coast, a song, dance, and speech of recognition and/or thanksgiving was expected when encountering strangers, family, hosts, and newcomers. Some of the first resonances Europeans heard when entering Northwest Coast waters would have been musical: chanting or singing. *Nuu-chah-nulth* hereditary chief, Umeek E. Richard Atleo states,

...The very first sounds heard would certainly have been prayer songs. It is a custom that precedes every undertaking, even today. The *Nuu-chah-nulth* were a prayerful people. Songs of identification indicating the sovereignty, power, heritage, and extent of wealth of the chief who owned the song would have followed prayer songs. Most songs were owned by someone...lullabies, joyful songs, love songs, prayer songs, gambling songs...Those who engaged in whaling sang hundreds of songs...Those who engaged in sealing or in hunting for deer or

³⁸⁴ Wagner, "Journal of Tomás de Suría," 247, 248.

³⁸⁵ Agueda Jimenez Pelayo, "Tomás de Suría, un dibujante de la expedición de Malaspina. Su contribución al conocimiento del occidente de Norteamérica," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 54, no. 2 (1997): 499-501.

elk would have songs...there were songs for almost any activity...Every mythical story told was accompanied by songs that were sung during story telling.³⁸⁶

This familiarity towards protocol and performance by both groups underscored a significant ceremony hosted by Chief Maquinna in September 1792 for Bodega y Quadra and British Commander George Vancouver. (Fig. 35)

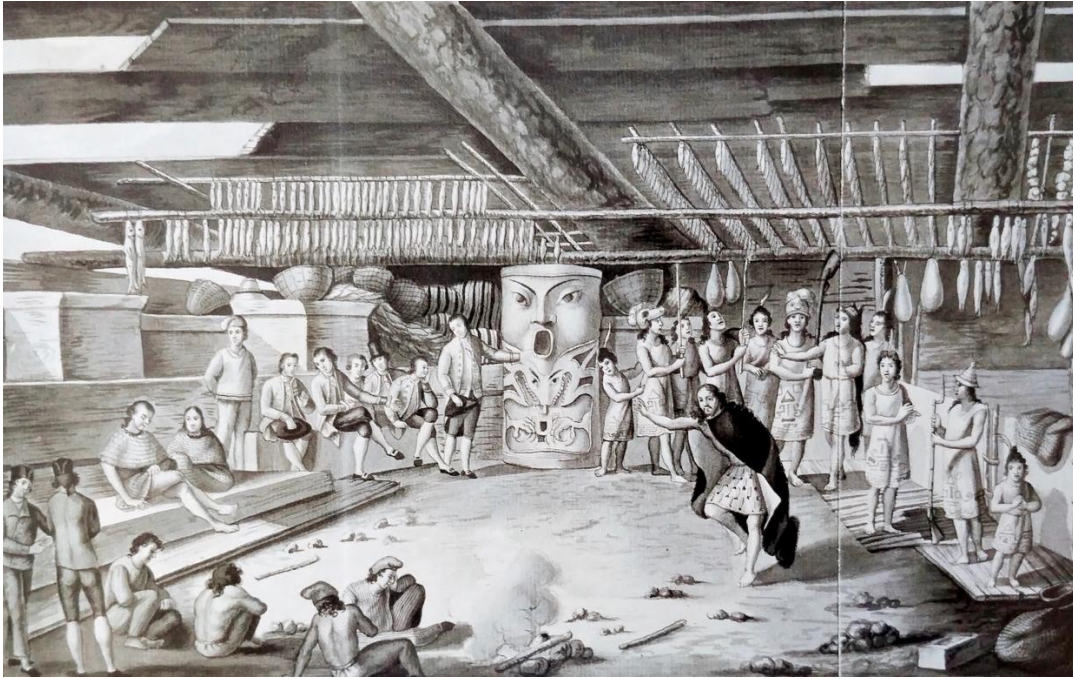


Figure 35. Interior view of Maquinna's house showing the Chief dancing & his domestics singing & dancing. Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 75.

Originally a wash drawing by Atanasio Echeverría, who was present at the event, the image commonly circulated is a copy completed by José María Vasquez, an artist at the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City.³⁸⁷ Recorded by assistants of both Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver, it appears that Maquinna formally received the two Commissioners in the form of a *pachitle* (potlatch),

³⁸⁶ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 107-108.

³⁸⁷ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 188-1 ["L"]. The original drawing by Echeverria has been lost. This copy was created by Vasquez, a young artist at the Academy of San Carlos. Courtesy of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid.

...When the Natives were assembled...every other article of any value the chief possessed was thrown down and scattered in the most profuse manner amongst the people...After this ceremony they continued their rejoicing by feasting, singing and dancing for some days, till the chief with respect to riches was brought almost upon a level with the poorest of his tribe.³⁸⁸

As part of the overall ceremony, Maquinna gifted the Spanish and British leaders with rich furs and a dual menu—one for the locals and one for the visitors—before the evening culminated in multiple performances of song, dance, drum, and speech. The first was a collection of more than a dozen dancers relating the story of *Nuu-chah-nulth* military achievements; a final was by Maquinna himself. In the drawing, Bodega y Quadra, seated with his legs crossed, is explaining the ceremony to Vancouver sitting to his right; Maquinna's daughter, *Es-to-coti-Tlemog*, is seated sitting below Moziño in the top hat.³⁸⁹

He [Maquinna] returned to dance “with great agility...much to the satisfaction of the whole group, who testified their approbation by repeated and universal plaudits”...the chief was dressed in “a very rich garment of sea otter skins with a round black hat, and a mask on, and with a fanciful petticoat or apron, around which was suspended hollow tubes of copper and brass and which as he danced by striking against each other made a wonderful tangling noise.” Maquinna “played some dexterous pantomimical tricks with his hat and mask”...When the dancing concluded, “a man then came forward holding up a sea otter skin and after most pompously and vociferously proclaiming that it was a present from the King Maquinna to Captain Vancouver, laid it at his feet, then retiring and, producing another skin, went through the same form (to present one to Bodega).”³⁹⁰

The visit was heavy with ceremony, performance, and protocol, an opportunity to meet cultural, civic, and military duties through demonstrations of personal wealth and rights. Both Spanish and British attended to Maquinna as a form of collaboration based on

³⁸⁸ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 245.

³⁸⁹ Brown and Cabello, *Spirits of the Water*, 75; Inglis and Engstrand, *Voyage to the Northwest Coast*, 129.

³⁹⁰ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 248.

mutual goals: for Maquinna, he legitimized his right to govern by fulfilling responsibilities in a spiritual and communal context; for Bodega y Quadra, it was another opportunity to promote Maquinna's status and influence over his rivals; for Vancouver, it confirmed Bodega y Quadra's good standing with the *Nuu-chah-nulth* chief, critical during this time of the Nootka Crisis and turnover of the region to the British.³⁹¹ In 2012, present-day Chief Michael Maquinna of *Mowachaht* First Nation, direct descendant of Maquinna, validated the scene,

In 1792, my ancestor, the first Chief Maquinna, hosted a state visit by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and various Spanish and British officers at our village of Tahsis in Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia. The event, held in my ancestor's Big House, featured hereditary dances, speeches of honor, and a feast of the best foods from our territory. During the festivities, my ancestor and his community honored their guests with gifts.³⁹²

This image generates much interest. The author consulted with a *Nuu-chah-nulth* Elder in 2017 where he questioned why, in such a formal environment of performance and protocol with leaders the status of Maquinna. Bodega y Quadra, and Vancouver, there was fish drying from the rafters of the interior.³⁹³ Perhaps artistic privilege was taken by the artist not present at the actual event (Vásquez) in depicting a copy delivered to the Spanish authorities.

Of formal speech, the Spanish fully recognized parallels between themselves and the *Nuu-chah-nulth*. Both Moziño and Bodega y Quadra speak of the eloquence of Maquinna in giving long and lyrical orations, most notably of one that dealt with the death of a Spanish cabin-boy and the subsequent fall-out. Moziño recorded the following,

Since eloquence has always been considered the child of vivid passions, and since these are capable of firing the imagination...it should not seem strange that I

³⁹¹ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 248.

³⁹² Inglis and Engstrand, *Voyage to the Northwest Coast*, 9.

³⁹³ Moy Sutherland, Sr., *Nuu-chah-nulth* Elder, personal interview, August 18, 2017.

affirm its existence among these islanders, and in passing forestall those critics who are quick to claim that the speeches placed in the mouths of these savages by certain writers are false, as if in order to speak with enthusiasm, making use of the most moving figures of speech, it is necessary to attend the universities...To be eloquent, it is enough to follow freely the impulse of nature, whose mastery created the most celebrated orators of Greece...I will never forget a discourse as exciting as it was poetic, which I heard Maquinna deliver on the occasion of satisfying our commander concerning a crime of which some had unjustly suspected him [Maquinna] to be the author.³⁹⁴

In visiting Nootka with Malaspina the year prior, Suría wrote of a speech made by one of the subordinate chiefs in Maquinna's village in which the eloquence clearly impressed his fellow officers,

Chief Tlupananulg was the first of the Nootka leaders to make contact when he visited the *Atrevida*...he was identified as "third chief of this tribe and related to Taquina (*sic*), the principal chief."...He came aboard, confident and happy, all by himself. Through Captain Alberni and a Guadalajara boy, Castillo of the Frigate *Santa Gertrudis*, who served as interpreters, the mariners made out his harangue..."This elegant speech was so beautiful that our officers formed an elevated concept of this tribe, but I do not admire it as I recall the elegant way in which the Mexicans know how to deliver a harangue."...Although Suría claimed to have been unimpressed by the unsolicited monologue of Tlupananulg, the artist's pencil and brush give the opposite impression.³⁹⁵

Of formal song and poetry, Moziño wrote,

They are all generally fond of singing, either because the music enters into part of their rituals, or because it constitutes one of the demonstrations of their courtly ceremonies. Their natural voices create the harmony in unison on the octave. They are accompanied, in place of bass, by a noise which the singers make on some boards with the first solid object they find, and by some wooden rattles whose sound is similar to that of the Mexican *ayacaztles* (Aztec gourd rattles). One of the singers constantly gives the tone and all the others follow it successively, forcing their voices unevenly, in almost the same manner customary in the Gregorian chant of our churches...These are ordinarily hymns to celebrate the beneficence of Qua-utz, generosity of their friends, and good relations with their allies. This noble purpose of music and poetry ought to serve as an example to us, who flatter ourselves that we have been born in cultured countries and educated in the bosom of the true religion...Up to now I have used the word poetry because I

³⁹⁴ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, 54.

³⁹⁵ Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 81, 83.

am convinced that they actually have it, although I have not been able to understand the kinds of meters of which their verses are comprised. They certainly have several, granting that they fill out their metric construction as completely as we do ours...In their pantomimes I noticed that they made use of brilliant expressions, (giving) vivid and witty portrayals...the songs of the *taises* [chiefs], I thought, were filled with enthusiasm, as much because the very object to which they were directed naturally required elevation in all the ideas.³⁹⁶

There were clear parallels made by the Spanish towards *Nuu-chah-nulth* performance, protocol, song, poetry, and speech. Sociologically, it could be said that both groups held social and political jurisdiction as ultimate goals, manifested through the acceptance of developed rituals and iconography of religion and worldviews. Similar to the social and cultural statements embedded within Maquinna's performance—and including, as described by E. Richard Atleo, the many prayer songs heard by Europeans—the Spanish also used performance as cultural reinforcement. As example, Curcio-Nagy states, “During the eighteenth- century...public festivals became concrete ritual manifestations of Bourbon monarchical absolutism. A powerful and elaborate allegiance ceremony... [Bourbon officials] were not above appropriating an enthusiastic public devotion to the city's protectress (the Virgin of Remedies) in order to further royal allegiance.”³⁹⁷ Because the Virgin of Remedies protected the city against disasters such as famine, drought, and disease, she entered the city only through elaborate procession and ceremony during times of political, social, and human crisis.³⁹⁸ As representative of the one true God, performative association with her implied divine endorsement for royalty and power. Comparatively, the *Nuu-chah-nulth* chief drew on specific imagery, such as

³⁹⁶ Moziño, *Noticias de Nutka*, 57-59.

³⁹⁷ Curcio-Nagy, *The Great Festivals*, 83.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 75.

the Wolf Ritual, and its associated iconography to reinforce chiefly rights and to appeal to the spiritual and physical realms to maintain stability.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Historically, esthetics and culture between Indigenous nations and Anglo/northern Europeans were evaluated according to their differences (oppositions); this has been the dominant narrative of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people since the coming of Columbus. However, the Spanish were making correlations between Indigenous cultural forms and Christian configurations as early as the sixteenth- century in central New Spain (primarily in religious orders such as the Franciscans).³⁹⁹ My argument here is not that similarities have *not* been made before in an Spanish-Indigenous context; rather, I believe this research is the first focused examination of similarities between the Spanish and, specifically, peoples of the Northwest Coast—the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit—in the eighteenth- century.



Figure 36. (L to R) Malaspina, Bodega y Quadra, Malaspina
(Left): Maquinna, by Tomás de Suría. Source: *Spirits of the Water*, 27.
(Middle): Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra (1774-1794) by Julio Garcia Condoy. Maritime Museum of British Columbia. Source: *Malaspina & Galiano (Cutter)*, 9.
(Right): Alejandro Malaspina (1754-1810) by Sebastian Cortes. Vancouver Maritime Museum. Source: *Malaspina & Galiano (Cutter)*, 5.

³⁹⁹ Ray Hernandez-Duran, email message to the author, August 29, 2019.

There are three main points (themes) encapsulated throughout this research, themes that—along with the visual collection of drawings and cultural materials of *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit, and Spanish—provide the structure by which an argument of analogues is constructed. The first is articulation of the radical relationship nurtured by the Spanish towards the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit, and how it was achieved. Spain's approach to people of the Northwest Coast was significantly different compared to exchanges with other Indigenous groups. Acknowledging exceptions to the rule—including the killing of Chief Callicum, a close relative of Maquinna, in 1789 and the revenge attack by Spanish commander, Fidalgo Salvador at Nuñez Gaona in 1792—overall, Spanish interactions were largely positive.⁴⁰⁰ As historian Christon Archer states, “it becomes quite clear from many of the accounts left by foreign visitors [to the Northwest Coast] that the Spaniards had developed a highly successful relationship with the Indians.”⁴⁰¹ (Fig. 36) This is in direct contrast to atrocities inflicted on other Indigenous groups throughout the history of colonial settlement, including those of Alta California, Mexico, Peru, and parts of present-day America.⁴⁰² These connections were

⁴⁰⁰ O. B. Sperlin, "Washington Forts of the Fur Trade Regime," *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1917): 103.

An unknown author present on Vancouver's journey describes Fidalgo's assault on a Makah village: [sic] The first pilot [Antonio Serantes] of the *Princesa* going on shore with his fowling- piece, to amuse himself shooting, after proceeding a little distance from where he landed, was dragged by a party of the natives (with whom till that time they had been on most amicable terms) into woods, where they stripped him naked, and taking his gun from him, which was loaded with ball, they shot him dead with it....Seigr. Fidalgo therefore determined...to punish these savages for so atrocious a crime in manner that it well deserved and with a severity that would make them ever remember it and deter them from committing such for the future.”

Christon I. Archer, "The Transient Presence: A Re-appraisal of Spanish Attitudes toward the Northwest Coast in the Eighteenth Century," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* 18 (1973): 26.

Fidalgo opened fire on two canoes of villagers killing all but two of the occupants, an act in which he was severely reprimanded by Bodega y Quadra, by the Viceroy of New Spain, and finally, from the Spanish King himself.

⁴⁰¹ Archer, "The Transient Presence," 25.

⁴⁰² Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 230.

evidenced by the journals of Bodega y Quadra, Malaspina, Suría, Moziño, and Martínez (to name a few) and in scholarship, including Fisher, Archer, Tovell, Atleo, Cutter, Inglis, Cabello, and Jonaitis, among others; all are referenced throughout this dissertation.

The second theme speaks to the methodology and examination premised on the conceptual space of “extension,” a notion that supports the argument of “analogues” as opposed to “differences.” As presented in the literature review and in Chapter 3, this uniquely Spanish attitude developed over centuries and contributed to—along with the economic and political realities of the period—the Crown’s decision to approach the Northwest Coast under a policy that differed significantly from previous dealings with Indigenous populations. The psychological spaces in which these encounters occurred—the “extension”—are interpreted against the elements of social history; that is, an approach that necessitates an understanding of the social, cultural, aesthetic, religious, philosophical, ideological, political, and economic parameters of separate societies—the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit, and Spanish—in order to competently recognize the distinctions and parallels embedded within each.⁴⁰³ Social history recognizes that human relationships are inherently complex, and that interactions must be interpreted against the considerations listed above. Under this rubric, the rich characteristics of the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit, and Spanish are first established separately in their respective chapters, then brought together in Chapter 6 in an argument of parallel aesthetics, iconography, material culture, and ideology. One example of this is the performance in which Maquinna honoured Bodega y Quadra and George Vancouver as his equals (Fig. 35).

⁴⁰³ These social factors include (but are not limited to) social norms, roles within society, governance styles, established protocols and laws, developed attitudes towards trade and economics, religion and worldviews, audience and participants, environment and territory, and underlying philosophies.

Depicted in-situ by Atanasio Echeverría, the image captures not only a moment in time—September 1792—it resonates with cultural and social protocol, aesthetics, crest imagery, material culture, worldview, social status, economic positioning, and political posturing. The parallels of the image are fully discussed in Chapter 6.

The final theme emerges as a result of the extrapolation of analogues; this is a recognition that the hegemony of concepts and language, via long-used terminology of art history, continues to reinforce the trope of European superiority in art, culture, and society. In the case of Indigenous histories overall, this means that the visual arts and cultures of people not of European extraction continue to be interpreted against standards and forms not relevant to the content and context of their origins. This is as if works, such as Michelangelo or Manet, are described using *Nuu-chah-nulth* or Tlingit criteria and cultural parameters; it simply does not translate. Thus, it can be reasoned that the perceived contradictions between Indigenous nations and European empires began not only with race-based separations, but with the “language” first used to assign meaning and significance. This solidifies an argument that materials and concepts must be examined within the cultural, aesthetic, and social context in which they were created—no different than in an examination of European-derived traditions—with common principles and elements brought together to form a comprehensive and balanced analysis towards analogues. Explained differently, this means that the structures of one culture is not privileged over the other, nor is used to describe the other.

Beyond these main themes, my argument of analogues between the *Nuu-chah-nulth*, Tlingit, and Spanish is shaped by several important cultural and artistic mechanisms; that is 1) the sociological implications of hereditary privilege and hierarchy

that define both societies; 2) the reinforcement of social and cultural systems displayed through imagery, iconography, performance, ceremony, and protocol; and 3) a recognition that Spanish attitudes in the eighteenth- century was a continuation of complex social, cultural, economic, and political factors, most notably those that arose in the sixteenth- century. Specific examples—or “case studies”—drawn on to support these main points are in the areas of governance, kinship, and society (systems); religion and ritual (spirituality); crest imagery (esthetics); military and warrior iconography; and protocol and diplomacy (performance).

The first point speaks to the sociological implications of hereditary privilege and hierarchy, as it structures and defines the character of a society.⁴⁰⁴ One example is the

⁴⁰⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks*, trans. Sylvia Modelski (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 167, 171; Chance, “The Noble House,” 485.

The parallels of governance and hierarchy between Northwest Coast and Spanish society was argued by social anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss. Speaking specifically of the social organization of the Kwakiutl—neighbors of the *Nuu chah nulth*—his expansive discussion encompasses the patrilineal and matrilineal structures of the Salish, Tlingit, Tsimshian, *Nuu chah nulth*, Bella Coola, Bella Bella, and Haida (among other nations external to the Northwest Coast). Similarities include the transfer of property and title; for example, the *Kwakiutl* elite who acquires property throughout his lifetime with the most important remaining the property of the lineage. The names, rights, and privileges only the chief can bestow in marriage are the names to which he himself received from his father-in-law. Essentially, the titles of nobility were divided into two categories: first, those that could never leave the lineage and was passed on through the firstborn (son or daughter); second, those that were received in marriage (patrilineal or matrilineal, depending on the nation) to be passed onto children. As Lévi-Strauss states, “These two categories...recall, on the one hand, as Boas remarked, *mutatis mutandis*,* European majorates and, on the other, the transmission of family heirlooms, which are in theory the property of a lineage...It has been said that the names and privileges mentioned by Hunt essentially constitute titles of nobility. They in fact imply the exclusive use of figured emblems comparable to coats of arms and, also, mottoes, dances, offices in secret societies...brotherhoods...” Marriages were arranged between ranked individuals in a way that retained rights and privileges of the family. In the absence of an heir, the son/daughter in-law became designated as head of the lineage, ultimately switching from their birth to the higher ranked lineage. In the case of spouses of equal rank, their offspring could be ‘parceled out’ among paternal or maternal relatives to raise and retain rights. Boas described these family units as *numaymas*, the *Kwakiutl* word describing the structure not as a collection of individuals but rather a closely limited number of ranked positions, each which carries a name [title] and a seat (rank, right, responsibility). The system of lineage among the *Kwakiutl* was the same among the *Nuu chah nulth* and *Bella Coola*. Also comparable was the protection and title to land, territory, and resources. Landed “estates” of the Northwest Coast elite included exclusive access—or the right to grant access—to hunting and gathering areas, streams, rivers, rock, and fishing sites. As with European nobility, these territories were fiercely defended by legitimate owners who did not hesitate to prosecute, punish, or execute interlopers. Lévi-Strauss’s concept of the “house” underscores the retention of power and wealth through the applications of kinship, lineage, and inheritance. In trying to understand the complex kinships established among Northwest Coast nations, he turned to the structure of

embedded principles and philosophy of the *Nuu-chah-nulth pachitle* (potlatch), and the cultural and social responsibilities attached to the it. The undertone of hereditary privilege and hierarchy is explained through the quality of relationships nurtured by the Spanish towards the *Nuu-chah-nulth*. While orders from the viceroy of New Spain was to maintain peaceful relations, Bodega y Quadra also aspired to establish what he called a “system of humanity” in dealings with Indigenous people.⁴⁰⁵ Because his approach embodied critical principles of the *pachitle* (potlatch), he was highly effective in creating essential connections with Maquinna and the *Nuu-chah-nulth*. Historian Christon Archer explains how Bodega y Quadra accomplished this,

From the date of his arrival at Nootka, Bodega had done everything within his power...to open a radically different kind of relationship. To begin with, Maquinna always received treatment as a special friend and was distinguished from all other chiefs by clear demonstrations of esteem. When he came as he often did to dine at Bodega’s resident, the Spanish commander undertook to service him and to provide special gifts...The results were excellent: Spaniards were almost always welcome in Maquinna’s villages. With the addition of gifts...Bodega solidified good relations. Besides the policies of Bodega, the Spaniards who accompanied the scientific and exploratory expeditions under Alejandro Malaspina in 1791, and the following year under Dionisio Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, brought little other than credit to their nation...⁴⁰⁶

European noble houses as comparison. With this, he defines the “house” as, “A corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods, and its titles down a real or imaginary line, considered legitimate as long as this continuity can express itself in the language of kinship or of affinity and, most often, both.” In doing so, Lévi-Strauss was able to extrapolate characteristics common to both societies, namely, political and social manipulation under the guise of kinship. Marriage with close and distant relatives shaped the political fortunes of those involved, and hereditary rights bestowed through birth allowed one caste to order the lives of the other. The concept of the “house” was not dependent on co-residence; rather, the use of surnames—or clans, in the instance of Northwest Coast peoples—were signifiers of inheritance and leadership that withstood social, political, and biological upheavals.

* “Mutatis mutandis” *Oxford Learners Dictionary*. Oxford University Press.

<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/mutatis-mutandis> Oxford defines this Medieval term as “(used when you are comparing two or more things or situations) making the small changes that are necessary for each individual case, without changing the main points.”

⁴⁰⁵ Archer, “The Transient Presence,” 26.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 26.

Performed according to social rank, the *pachitle* reflected the framework of Northwest Coast society, reinforcing status and wealth through the articulation of right and privilege. Maquinna and other Northwest Coast chiefs transferred their expectation of formal responsibility to officers of Bodega y Quadra's status. Bodega was respected because he performed his duties according to his rank and responsibility, actions that resonated with *Nuu-chah-nulth* structure and paved the way for positive relationships through diplomacy.

The next mechanism is the reinforcement of social and cultural structures through mechanisms, such as the performance of protocol, ceremony, or procession, and/or the utilization of imagery and iconography. In the context of imagery, a comparative example discussed in Chapter 6 is the use of crest imagery/heraldic art by both the Tlingit and the Spanish. Crests and coats-of-arms were mechanisms that graphically manifested the rights and responsibilities of rank and heredity on both sides of the Atlantic. Among the Northwest Coast, publicly displaying a crest visualized social status, wealth, and responsibility, a function that was echoed in the Spanish context. The iconography of crests embedded within accoutrements of the Tlingit warrior, and the coats-of-arms of the Spanish monarchy and the elite represent the discussion of cross-cultural connections between the two societies.

In a sociopolitical context, only the rightful owner of the crest or coat-of-arms carried the privilege and responsibility to display and use the image. Utilizing imagery and iconography in societies where only the upper class were literate (Spain), or in those based in oral conventions (Tlingit), were effective strategies that helped to legitimize lineage, power, and inheritance; to identify rights of ownership and property; to authorize

pronouncements, judgements, actions, and behaviors; and to propagate family and clan memory.⁴⁰⁷

A final mechanism is the recognition that Spanish attitudes in the eighteenth-century was a continuation of complex social, cultural, economic, and political factors, most notably those that arose in sixteenth-century Spain. Expanded in Chapter 3, it is argued that when institutional debates around the “purity of blood” principle intersected with the “rights of the people,” the attitudes that informed the spirit of Spanish exploration and expansion 200 years later, were planted.⁴⁰⁸ Emerging from the School of Salamanca, these legal-theological debates ultimately influenced the way in which Indigenous populations were to be regarded, as part of the natural order of man.⁴⁰⁹ It introduced a quality of humanism to the colonial agenda, the text of which contributed to the psychology of Spanish interactions on the Northwest Coast. Also occurring in the sixteenth-century was the Catholic Church’s response to the Protestant Reformation, a reaction that propelled Spain towards the distinctive cultural, social, and aesthetic character of the Spanish baroque. The baroque, along with the entrenched legacy of the purity of blood principle—namely, a highly stratified society—defined characteristics of Spanish culture and society deemed comparable to those of the Northwest Coast. Each of these factors, discussed in various capacities and contexts throughout this research, directly informed the nature and quality of relationships between the Spanish with the

⁴⁰⁷ Vozmediano, 111.

⁴⁰⁸ “School of Salamanca,” *History of Economic Thought*.
<https://www.hetwebsite.net/het/schools/salamanca.htm>

Salamanca was a school of Spanish theologians and jurists who, through commentaries on legal, political, and economic boundaries, created a body of natural, international, and economic laws.

⁴⁰⁹ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, 30, 49.

Nuu-chah-nulth and Tlingit. Recognizing this is significant because, if the history had evolved otherwise, the narrative in the region would have looked much different.

In terms of parallels and a move away from the dominant narrative described above, there has been limited scholarship among contemporary writers who are considered experts in eighteenth-century maritime trade in this part of the world. Among the ones that do make references, four stand out most prominently; the first one is by Robin Fisher, who, in his book, *Contact and Conflict*, acknowledges that the relationship between Europeans and the *Nuu-chah-nulth* was more dependent on acceptance by Indigenous hosts than previously acknowledged. Fisher states, "...the Indians of the Northwest Coast exercised a great deal of control over the trading relationship and, as a consequence, remained in control of their culture during this early contact period...in these early years, the Indians were not passive objects of exploitation...So the old stereotype of the avaricious trader stealing Indian furs for a few trinkets never applied to the maritime fur trade."⁴¹⁰ The next publication, by Freeman M. Tovell entitled, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, acknowledges a shift in mindset noted through the reactions of the Spanish colonial court in receiving items of Northwest Coast origin,

For the moment, the native artifacts that Pérez obtained in trade [1774]...caused a minor stir in the Spanish royal court. When Carlos III displayed the Chilkat cloaks and other objects collected by Pérez before members of the court and foreign ambassadors, they were universally admired for their artistry and technical quality. "If these cloaks are woven by Indians of the country," the minister Arriaga wrote effusively to Viceroy Bucareli, "that nation is more cultivated and civilized than all the others discovered up to now in America." As Christon Archer has commented, the Spanish were now aware that the native cultures of the Pacific Northwest were superior to those with which they were familiar in Alta California and that "the numerous differences they revealed might hinder attempts at meaningful Spanish sovereignty."⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 1, 4.

⁴¹¹ Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire*, 14-15.

Additionally, Donald C. Cutter, in his publication, *Malaspina and Galiano*, reinforces the idea that it was the *Nuu-chah-nulth* who controlled the nature of relationships between themselves and the Spanish; he states, “It was a brief friendship, but one which had been almost wholly on Maquinna’s terms and represented a time when Maquinna’s star was in the ascendancy.”⁴¹² E. Richard Atleo, in his authoritative publication, *Tsawalk*, points out that the Spanish were actively making comparisons in the eighteenth- century, with the following observations,

A century earlier, in 1792, the Spanish explorer José Mariano Moziño described, in a first-hand account of the Nuu-chah-nulth people, an organized society with a system of governance: “The government of these people can strictly be called patriarchal, because the chief of the nation carries out the duties of father of the families, of king, and high priest at the same time...all support the sovereign authority of the *taises* [eldest male offspring]”...This highly organized society, described in some detail by Moziño, was typical of the Nuu-chah-nulth of the time. This first-hand observation and other accounts in a similar vein by Captain Cook and others are in marked contrast to the unfounded speculations of early European armchair observers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau...The esteem in which a great chief was held by his people was experienced in the context of spirituality. People found great joy and reverence in their direct or indirect connection to someone who had a close relationship with *Qua-ootz*, the Creator... Moziño concluded that Chief Maquinna’s role, in part, was like that of a high priest. According to Moziño’s understanding of reality, Maquinna interceded between God and people.⁴¹³

This review of existing sources reveals that, in this conversation of parallels and analogues between Spanish colonial explorers and the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit, it can be safely said there exists no scholarship in the capacity to which I have presented in this research. This dissertation, then, contributes to an expanded conversation about colonial

⁴¹² Cutter, *Malaspina and Galiano*, 110.

⁴¹³ Atleo, *Tsawalk*, 77, 114.

encounters with a focus on similarities, as opposed to differences. The larger issues and opportunities inherent in this research are discussed below.

Concluding Remarks

Discussions such as these ultimately contribute to an expanded dialogue that addresses multiple issues and questions—along with creating opportunities for enhancements—specific to art history as a discipline, and in a range of specialized studies (eg. colonial, Native American, history, cultural, social, gender, among others). The larger issues and opportunities that this research addresses—and raises questions towards—include (but are not limited to):

1. Addressing and mediating the narrowness and misinterpretation inherent in Eurocentrism involving cultures not of European origin;
2. Privileging of Indigenous knowledge, cultural memory, and knowledge in areas of academia that, directly or indirectly, are about or make references to the cultures, aesthetics, worldviews, languages, and histories of people of Indigenous ancestry;
3. Deconstruction of paternalistic attitudes that minimize the significance of Indigenous systems;
4. Recognition and introduction of Indigenous social, cultural, and spiritual thought that, while not replacing dictums of established studies, serves to add and enrich existing knowledge, in both an Indigenous and non-Indigenous context.
5. Recognition and revision to the continued use hegemonic language within the discipline of art history (among others) that continues to minimize the

significance of Indigenous art and culture and reinforcing an attitude of aesthetic and cultural superiority.

This last point is the most important cultivated by this research; that is, if we continue to use the language of the European (or other external criteria) in describing the arts and cultures, such as the *Nuu-chah-nulth* and Tlingit, not only does a recognition of parallels remain elusive, it reveals the unwillingness of art history, as a discipline, to deviate from antiquated and paternalistic modes of communication. This, ultimately, affects how competently the discipline is able to engage with the critical and contemporary conversations around aesthetics and cultures occurring across, within, towards, and outside of academia.⁴¹⁴ In extrapolating parallels between systems historically deemed “different”—Spain and the Northwest Coast—this research demonstrates the need for a collective re-examination of “established” histories previously interpreted through the lens of European bias. It becomes clear that the arts, culture, worldviews, and systems of Indigenous people, such as the *Nuu-chah-nulth* or Tlingit, must be used as the as a primary or first point of inquiry involving re-evaluation; if not, the status quo will simply perpetuate. This dissertation is foremost a conversation that, against the backdrop of aesthetics and visual material, attempts to balance the interpretations of colonial narratives and art history involving Indigenous people; in saying this, I turn to my own Anishinabe heritage for a final word, “*gimikwenimigom aanikoobijiganag*.”⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ The author acknowledges that the argument of analogues moves between large concepts and generalizations to more specific examples of individuals, events, and materials. Each of these concepts is a conversation within itself and invites a more in-depth analysis or inquiry not possible within the limits of this dissertation. There are multiple directions in which new research is required; however, it must draw on the principles and systems of those arts and cultures involved, as a point of departure.

⁴¹⁵ Anishinabe, “ancestors, we remember you.”

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