

W H O S E E Y E S - W H O S E E A R S

CHRONOLOGY AND PERCEPTION

BY

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ABSTRACT

In 1972, the Federal Government of Canada, through the Federal Treasury Board, initiated a unique summer employment project for students of film production in educational institutions. Nearly one quarter of a million dollars was released from the Treasury Board at the start of the 1972 fiscal year to finance what can be described as a co-production between the National Film Board, acting as producer, and the National Museum of Man, providing supervision for the film projects. The educational institutions supplied equipment, editing facilities and student film makers.

This innovative approach to student summer employment precipitated film projects across Canada, among them a challenging film expedition to Hesquiat, a remote Indian reserve on the West Coast of Vancouver Island in British Columbia. Later called the Hesquiat Film Project, the program involved three student film makers from the University of British Columbia. From May through August, 1972, the government paid them a salary of \$110 per week, provided them with 30,000 feet of 16mm color film and work print for the project, and supplied them with a nearly unlimited amount of film stock for color and black and white stills. Unlike the initiative required from students under O.F.Y. (Opportunities For Youth, a former government summer employment program), the ideas for the film program did not originate either with the students or from among the people involved locally in the project.

Ostensibly, the combination of institutions and people

was logical. As an outcome of the summer's projects, the National Museum would acquire documentary and archival footage; the National Film Board would fulfill obligations to the Treasury Board by utilizing a relegated number of man-hours provided by the Federal Treasury Board; and student film makers would be employed, be exposed to the Federal Government civil service, gain experience, and acquire films to edit during the following winter or summer. The Hesquiat Band would acquire workprint with which to secure finishing money for whatever films they wanted to make from the material shot at Hesquiat. Nevertheless, no films were produced from the Hesquiat footage, and at the time of this writing, no films have been completed from footage shot for film projects carried out elsewhere in British Columbia.

The Hesquiat Band representatives and the student film makers left the project feeling exploited. From their point of view, the most obvious goal of the project, finished films, had not been realized. Neither the N.F.B. nor the National Museum expressed any intention of bringing the film projects to completion. Once the original film footage reached the storage vaults of the National Film Board in Montreal, the project was considered closed.

A post mortem investigation into the Hesquiat Film Project unearths explanations and rationalizations that include: lack of time, naivety, inexperience, and fear at the local level, combined with tokenism, indifference, waste, poor conception and conflicting, changing aims at the national level. However, these reasons for lack of completed films

give only superficial explanation for the collision of expectations and the resulting use of materials, energy and emotion.

Through interviews and letters, I have assembled material with which to examine project origins, aims, and expectations of people in the context of chronological developments. My exploration of this material was undertaken to discover why perception and action were blocked in this circumstance.

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With this acknowledgment I wish to engender my deepest appreciation, respect, and admiration for the people whose support, both moral and material, made the completion of this thesis possible.

Dr. A. J. Reynertson

Stephen Charleson, Jr.

Dr. Norman & Lucille Larzelere

Prologue

"It was really a matter of finding this particular group of people, not wasting the money, and finding them summer jobs. And at one point, nobody cared what they did. They could have sat in Vancouver all summer, twiddling their thumbs. The government was primarily doing a fronting at \$100 per week to a different group of students than the ones they were reaching with Opportunities For Youth."

Susan J. Anderson, Film Supervisor,
hired as Archaeological Artifact
Cataloguer for the National Museum
of Man, Spring, 1972. Quote from a
taped interview.

"I guess I had a misplaced idealism and wanted to make a totally objective type of documentary that was non-exploitative and non-partisan. That was right up until the point when we got there. . . . If the Band could retain ownership of the film, reversing the exploitation of the National Film Board and groups like that, then it was the first sort of blow, in a media sense, for aboriginal rights."

Brian J. Clayden, student from the
University of British Columbia who
signed the National Film Board contract
that involved him in the Hesquiat
Cultural Project as part of a three
member film crew. Summer, 1972.
Quote from a taped interview.

"There was quite a few in the Bob Douglas boat, quite a few, even a dog in there. I went in there and saw all these faces, all staring blankly, sitting on this big pile of gear. Really lots, pack sack, Jesus, everything you could think of seemed to be there. . . . I came in and sat down and said, 'Holy man! It's really gonna be something!'"

It was raining, so I came into the boat. They were [buying gas] or something. This guy came up to me and asked me after awhile if they could get naptha there. I said, 'yeah, sure.' I was glad to make contact with one of them and

it turned out to be Alan. I found out, 'Oh, it looks like one of them is going to be friendly anyway.'

So, I carried his five gallon can to the gas station and held it up for him too. I was so happy he was friendly."

Stephen Charleson, Jr., member of the Hesquiat Band, who worked as an archaeologist on the Hesquiat Cultural Project in the Summer of 1971. Winter, 1971-72, and Summer, 1972 at Hesquiat. Quote from a taped interview.

"As long as they are aware that you are going to touch them, they have to be aware of what way they are going to be touched.

You are in a sense exploiting people when you take pictures of them. And it's your responsibility to give them some understanding into the way you are exploiting them, for what purpose you're exploiting them, and what use your exploitation is going to have."

Dr. A.J. Reynertson, Professor in the Department of Theatre, University of British Columbia. Quote from a taped interview.

"The first words I heard were 'Anthropological Salvage'. It's kind of a scary term. It sounded like we were going in to be a garbage crew, that we were going to dive for sunken treasure. It was very strange."

William Roxborough, student from the University of British Columbia and member of the film crew that went to Hesquiat in May, 1972. Quote from a taped interview.

"It was really the first band in B.C., if not in Canada, that said, 'We have a problem. We need some assistance in achieving a solution.' And more importantly, what they're in essence saying is that, 'We want and need to assume the major part of the responsibility for protection, preservation and eventually reconstruction of our own cultural history.' "

Jim Haggarty, B.C. Provincial Museum, worked directly with the Hesquiat Band in carrying out archaeological research. Quote from a taped interview.

"At the beginning we had no idea. We just knew that film was film and wouldn't it be nice to make something out of this [opportunity] . . . We thought we could let a crew go up there and shoot wildly and madly and it would all hang together."

John Raymond, Cultural Committee member in 1971-74 for Hesquiat Indian Band, West Coast of Vancouver Island, B.C. Quote from a taped interview.

"It was blowing real hard when we got there . . . We had to unload all this stuff. [The boat] was going up and down in the rain and Douglas seemed to be kind of a green horn . . . He didn't even know how to be in the wind, you know, so he could load up the canoe without tipping us."

I was thinking of the whole summer, how it was . . . going to be, because I already spent one summer with white people, working. I figured this was going to be more exciting. But when I saw the beginning and everything was going all haywire, I said, 'Jesus, I hope it isn't going to be like this all summer.'"

Stephen Charleson, Jr.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HESQUIAT BAND AND THE HESQUIAT PROJECT

*We see shows of how Indians live
and we see shows of people in school and
all sorts of statistics. Indians are
still being looked at as statistics.*

John Raymond¹

*They [Indian people] used all of
the senses that they had and lived
harmoniously with that which surrounded
them. They were cognizant of the limit-
ations of nature, and the very fragile
perch that Man had. [They] had to pay
attention to the spirits. [They] were
part of the complex whole. They knew
that. We perhaps lost sight of it.*

James Haggarty²

¹ Co-ordinator/Director for the Hesquiat Cultural Project. Quote from a taped interview, Spring, 1975, Vancouver, British Columbia.

² Assistant Curator, Division of Archaeology, Provincial Museum, Victoria, British Columbia. Quote from taped interview, Fall, 1974, Victoria, B.C.

HEREAFTER, ALL QUOTES FROM INTERVIEWS WITH PERSONS CITED.

Not far from the Government wharf where the Transcanada Highway terminates in Tofino, British Columbia, there stands a small frame building. To the left of plank steps leading up to the door, a rotting dugout canoe hangs suspended between two pipes driven into the ground. Outside the entrance, petunias and marigolds grow from a pitted cast-iron pot. This is Tofino's West Coast Maritime Museum. For less than a dollar, a visitor can gaze over the display cases that contain relics scavenged locally, and ponder items on personal loan from Tofino residents.

Early fishing records, old photographs, pieces of brass from ships, starfish, seaweed, and crabs are there. Pale green and blue bottles, glass net floats, deep-blue trade beads, or a flat piece of wood, painted in fading-red, white and black might stimulate the imagination of the on-looker. The piece of wood is two dimensional in its representation of what must be a dog, a sea serpent, or perhaps a wolf.

The unassuming visitor sees only a fragment of a mask, and takes no notice of the small holes of decay penetrating the surface, holes made by some long dead insect, chewing through the cedar, turning around and chewing back through the thickness of the board until much of the mask is filled with holes the size of small nails.

The climate of the West Coast of Vancouver Island is wet, rough, windy, and unpredictable, as any of the local residents will readily confirm. The shore tangles with dense salahal bushes, cedar, fir and hemlock that all rot together on the forest floor. Few conditions combine for the

long term preservation of wooden artifacts in a climate where the decomposition of organic material is rapid. Even an archaeologist digging systematically will find no more than the crumbled remains of wooden objects, or the more resistant articles made of bone, metal, glass or porcelain. Only in burial caves is there enough shelter from the incessant precipitation to aid the preservation of wooden articles. The dark brown wooden coffins, taken from the caves that housed the remains of the Nootka whalers, are pitted with the same tiny holes bored through by the same tiny insects that found nourishment in the mask tourists may ponder in the little museum in Tofino.

In August, 1972, feelings Indian people shared privately were given public credence. Mr. Charles Ehlers was charged, under the Archaeological and Historic Sites Act, Section 4B, with the removal of a mummified body from the burial caves on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. The mummy was found in a shed on property Mr. Ehlers had sold in Surrey, B.C.³

In 1969, a logging operation in Hesquiat Harbor on a Hesquiat reserve, had accidentally uncovered behind a dense wall of salahal bushes burial caves that had as yet been untouched by the insensible plunderings of tourists, fishermen, loggers and miners. One Hesquiat Band member recalled the incident:

³ See Appendix, articles from the Vancouver Sun and Province, "Mummy".

I think it was when they started logging off Yaksus. There was a bulldozer going along through there making a road. Connie was working on it and they discovered this mummy and cave where there was all kinds of people buried in boxes . . . some of the white guys were crawling in the caves. [The Band] found out there were a lot of things missing. It was Connie who had a meeting with John Raymond and Rocky [Leonard Amos]. They were just trying to save the bodies and anything else that came out of the caves.

Stephen Charleson⁴

Shifts in awareness among the Indian people have often been stimulated by ever-changing forms of contact with the non-Indian world. Until the incidents involving the loggers, Hesquiat Band members assumed that respect due the dead would be maintained, no matter the cultural background of the dead or the isolation of the Hesquiat Harbor area, which is accessible only by boat or plane. However, the experience at the caves prompted Connie Charleson, Stephen Charleson's first cousin, to seek Band action against the kind of interference that had fomented resentment and hostility among the Indians for years:

Everytime we saw Connie, he'd tell us about the time when loggers went in and discovered this cave and all the goodies they found. This really annoyed me that nothing was being done about it.

⁴ Winter, 1975, Richmond, B.C. See Also Epilogue, Vancouver Sun, September 7, 1972. "Hesquiat Vandalism Spawns Museum".

Finally, we brought it to a Band meeting . . . They said, "John, go ahead and do something about it."

John Raymond

For years, Indian people have borne the cost of assimilation into the dominant white culture at the expense of their own cultural heritage. The reserve and residential school systems effectively distorted and diminished the importance of Indian values and traditional ways of life. Younger generations of Hesquiats were left with little knowledge of their language or traditional native skills.

Concurrent with political demonstrations erupting elsewhere in North America and in response to changing political awareness among racial minorities, the Hesquiat Band organized a Cultural Committee to preside over cultural aspects of band life and to establish a mechanism for the preservation, protection, and renewal of Hesquiat cultural traditions. The experience at the caves evolved into the catalyst necessary for the formation of the committee. The underlying motivation and focus behind the band action was the conscious desire to counter-balance the weight of domination by another culture, and to build barriers against the effects of cultural erosion.

TABLE 1

Hesquiat Band Members and Organizations Involved In Development of the Hesquiat Cultural Project, 1972.

Constance Charleson	Band member working with logging outfit when burial caves were discovered and looted on Band reserve land.
John Raymond	Non-Indian, recently adopted into the Band. Worked closely with Rocky Amos to organize Cultural Committee and Hesquiat Cultural Project.
Leonard (Rocky) Amos	Band member. Active in Band politics and organizations. Important force in formation of Cultural Committee and Hesquiat Cultural Project. Elected chief in 1973.

Hesquiat Cultural Committee

Formed to establish the protection and preservation of cultural aspects of Band life. Committee comprised of Band elders: Hereditary Chief Ben Andrews, Alex and Mary Amos, Alice Paul; younger Band members including Rocky Amos and John Raymond.

Provincial Museum of British Columbia, Victoria, B.C.

Donald (Don) Abbott, Head, Division of Archaeology, first contacted by Hesquiat Cultural Committee to establish ways of preserving burial material.

Hesquiat Cultural Project

Evolved as a concept encompassing many aspects of Band life. During the first year of the Project, burial caves were located and identified with the aid of the Provincial Museum and a University of British Columbia Master's student in archaeology. Surface material was removed from caves and taken to the Provincial Museum for cataloguing.

Stephen Charleson, Jr.	Band member hired in late spring of 1971 by the Cultural Committee to locate burial caves in Hesquiat Harbor and assist in the removal of surface material in the caves. Worked in the winter of 1971-72 to clean and catalogue artifacts.
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Instead of simply walling up the caves with cement to prevent further intrusions, the Hesquiat Cultural Committee decided to secure the assistance of professionals in determining the best method of preserving the burial materials that remained in the caves. After first contacting the University of British Columbia's Department of Anthropology and Sociology, the Committee was referred to the Division of Archaeology at the Provincial Museum in Victoria, B.C. There, Don Abbott talked to the Committee representatives about the possibilities open to them in the area of archaeological investigation.

Initially the Band representatives were highly skeptical of all governmental institutions and their involvement in Band life, because of the quality of the contact they had had in the past with white dominated organizations:

It was protecting the Band from "rip off" It's been Church and Government and the way they've handled it, and archaeologists come along and handle the Indians in the same way. National Museum walked in and did their survey projects and walked away again. People haven't known what was going on.

John Raymond

Caution was not confined to the Hesquiats; the Provincial Museum was undergoing a shift in approach to its relationship with Native people:

Right now, our aims for our division rotate around our involvement with Native people in everything we do. We're beginning to think in terms of five, ten years

from now and how what we're doing now is going to be viewed People say, "Well, you know, no one's going to really care." My point has been, I don't know whether that is true or not because I haven't talked to a lot of people about what's proposed. All I know is that we now can see better ways of doing things We have a fairly good indication of criticisms of the past.

Jim Haggarty

During the winter of 1970 and 1971, long hours of discussion took place in the homes of Band elders. They were trying to clarify with the Provincial Museum representative, Jim Haggarty, the role the Museum could play in the preservation of the cultural artifacts remaining in the caves. From the outset, the Hesquiats established that their intention was to maintain control and possession of the materials. The question of preservation remained secondary to the issue of ownership of cave materials, especially if the archaeologists were to become involved in the project that was beginning to develop for the following summer.

Once the idea of introducing outsiders into the Band project was accepted, the concept of a legal contract began to develop out of the discussions that followed. The Band representatives reasoned that a legal document would protect the Cultural Committee from internal Band censure, should the project not proceed according to plan and promise. At the same time, a contract would shield the Band from further exploitation from the outside by guaranteeing that any individual working at Hesquiatt would be working for the Band, and not for himself or for the governmental institution paying his

wage.

People at the Provincial Museum reacted with a feeling of affront and insult to their personal and professional integrity:

When we talked with John and Rocky about it, here was this thing of trying to convince them, "I agree with what you are saying, that it has been exploitative", and I found myself saying, "but I'm different".

I suppose I was a little naive. What John and Rocky were basically saying, "We don't believe you because other people have told us the same thing". And it's probably true.

In essence, I was no different and it occurred to me that I was saying things that must have been said by people prior to me, and they had, indeed, just gone in and done their work and come away, wrote papers, got promoted. The situation within the particular Band remained the same. They still lived in poverty. No one seems to care. It's just a colonial, exploitative system at work.

Jim Haggarty

It took time and an atmosphere of co-operation for the representatives of the Provincial Museum to develop an understanding of the reasons motivating the necessity for a contract. Eventually, mutual respect began to emerge, alongside the legal bonds, and at the same time, the Cultural Committee relaxed its defensive stance towards the Museum. Trust was the pre-requisite to the success of the co-operative arrangement.

Theoretically, and in many ways, practically, the Band and the Provincial Museum were working toward the same goals. The first summer of the project, 1971, was spent locating burial caves and systematically cleaning them out. Test pits

beneath the burial sites were dug for archaeological samples. During the following winter, 1971-72, the University of British Columbia Master's student and Band member, Stephen Charleson, both of whom had worked at Hesquiat, cleaned and catalogued the artifacts brought to the University of British Columbia for that purpose.

While work on the artifacts proceeded in Vancouver, Band elders continued to meet with Jim Haggarty in Victoria to develop construction plans for a traditional long house. The plan was to be a synthesis of memory and anthropological records. The idea for the long house arose in response to storage problems the Band would be faced with, once the archaeological data had been compiled at the Provincial Museum and the material had been returned to the Band. Gradually, the idea for a museum/learning facility gained momentum. What started as a general concern to stop the theft of burial materials soon blossomed into an innovative project that would eventually affect the entire Band and the Provincial Museum.

Summer classes in language, dancing, basket making, and carving were envisioned among the multitude of ideas generated during the formative months of planning. A linguist would be needed to work with the elders to record stories, songs, vocabulary and grammar. At every phase, Band members would be trained to carry out many of the professional's duties.

The response of Stephen Charleson, hired by the Cultural Committee to make the first exploratory survey for the burial caves in Hesquiat Harbor, illuminates what the realization of

project goals meant, in a personal sense, to individual
Band members, especially those of the younger generation:

I guess for any one in the tribe who went out and found them [the caves] the same way I did, they'd probably feel the same way I did Each time we found a cave, it seemed to make me feel, "Well, jeeze, we've been hanging around here for quite a few years, Holy Man." It awakened a whole sense of belonging, you know. Like maybe one of my great-great grandfathers might be here, maybe his bones might be here. Even further back.

When we were looking around, that's what I kept thinking, you know, "Jesus, we're really finding out how come we're here. These people who are buried in these caves are part of the big reason".

Plans for the long house at Hesquiat included a burial crypt for ancestral remains. The materials had become symbols of cultural identity, and it seemed that no one could interfere with the growth of that spirit. Charleson:

Whatever happened in the beginning was carried on right through the spirit of the whole thing. Everybody's looking at the caves in a real different way now. Everybody's aware of them now, from the oldest guy to the youngest baby, you know. They all know what the caves are in Hesquiat, which reserves are theirs, and they're starting to feel really possessive about it, starting to realize that they have something.

A lot of them are living in towns, and there they really can know that they have something when they get lost.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FILM PROJECT, ORIGINS & OBJECTIVES

We were approached by the B.C. Provincial Museum the previous year to see if we could provide a physical anthropologist to the Hesquiat project. I arranged a contract with Jerry Cybulski for this purpose and when the N.F.B. and the National Museum began their joint student field recording programme at about the same time I discussed with Suki Anderson the idea of having some coverage of the Hesquiat Project in conjunction with a film program in Southern B.C.

... The museum's role in the film program was to designate the area of operation and to provide some anthropological guidance which was where Suki Anderson came in.

The purpose of the film project was to record what I thought at the time was a most interesting example of a spontaneously generated cultural revival project in which this museum had some involvement in supplying specialized personnel

... It is difficult at this stage to evaluate the success of the Project The value of the overall project to the Museum has been mainly in the physical anthropology area in establishing working relationships with Bands that has gone on to produce Oweekeno Project in which Jerry Cybulski is also involved. Both the Hesquiat and the Oweekeno Projects have yielded a great deal of important information on physical anthropology and Cybulski has published and submitted a number of papers resulting from the projects.

George F. MacDonald⁵

⁵ From a letter dated May 19, 1977, Ottawa, Ontario. See Epilogue, page 70.

Prior to the actual release of funds in April, 1972, the beginning of a new fiscal year, plans circulated in Ottawa and in Montreal for the proposed film survey to be funded by the Federal Treasury Board as part of a student summer employment plan. Dr. George MacDonald, Head of the Archaeological Survey of Canada for the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, would direct the film project, aided by Dennis Sawyer, appointed as Project Supervisor from the National Film Board in Montreal. Approximately 60 students would be hired, 15 students ultimately selected from educational institutions in British Columbia, to document on film and in stills, the work of the Archaeological Survey of Canada.

The Programme's primary objective was the employment of student film makers who would not find work in the film industry during their summer vacations. As by-products of that objective, the National Museum would acquire archival footage of the work being carried out in the Archaeological Survey, and the National Film Board would comply with the Federal Treasury Board in utilizing a relegated number of man-hours for student employment. The National Museum and the National Film Board would share production responsibilities; the N.F.B. would administer the budget while the National Museum provided filming situations and directed the student film crews.

The first information forwarded to the educational institutions providing film courses arrived in a letter sent by Dennis Sawyer, dated March 6, 1972.⁵ According to this

⁵ See Page 87 of Epilogue for copy of letter

communique, the Federal Government had "allocated some funds for the purpose of providing work opportunities"⁶ for students enrolled in film courses who were able to obtain 16mm film equipment from the educational institutions they were attending. The program would provide transportation and living expenses away from home, 16mm film stock, processing, work print and sound stock. The letter clearly specified the extent of N.F.B. responsibility for ownership and finishing of the material gathered:

*All materials produced under the Program becomes the property of the National Museum of Man. If the Museum wishes to take any of the record material acquired under the Program to a further stage of refinement, it will make appropriate arrangements directly with the respective institutions and cover the costs of such work.*⁷

In late March or early April, Susan J. Anderson of Vancouver, British Columbia received a phone call from George MacDonald asking her to assume the major responsibility for administering the film program in British Columbia. She had talked with MacDonald in the late fall of 1971 about the possibility of becoming involved in the film project, and when the funds were released, the involvement became official:

[I received] a phone call from him [George MacDonald] saying that the money

⁶ See Page 87 of Epilogue for copy of letter.

⁷ Ibid.

. . . had come through and what they wanted was to send film crews with some of their crews going out on archaeological digs in British Columbia So they wanted me to find film crews for those digs, (at that point I think three of them) He wondered if I wanted to be a supervisor for the three archaeological film crews in the Province.

Susan Anderson⁸

The program was divided tentatively into phases to be carried out during three successive summers: shooting during the first summer, reshooting and initial editing during the second, and finishing during a third and final summer. Finished films were never part of the objectives for the first summer's work.

Anderson's retrospective perceptions of the Program and of the motivations behind the overall plan were marked by aspects of cynicism:

The government was primarily concerned with doing a front at \$100 per week to a different group of students than the ones they were [reaching] with Opportunities For Youth . . .

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY FRONTING?

Well, they have summer student employment programs in all branches of the Federal Government, and the National Film Board has been incredibly resistant in saying, "We are professionals and those are just students who don't know

⁸ Spring, 1975, Victoria, B.C. From a taped interview.

anything." The Treasury Board just stood up and screamed that that particular branch had to take [on the project] or it was bad publicity for them if they didn't The only way the Government could get summer student employment in the [film] industry was to put pressure on the National Film Board.

WHAT WAS MOTIVATING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROCEED WITH A PROJECT THAT MET WITH RESISTANCE FROM THE PRODUCING AGENCY, THE NATIONAL FILM BOARD?

Publicity, strictly publicity. Summer student employment has a very minor function of exposing students to the Federal Civil Service. . . [at the same time] all these institutions are desperately short of man-hours in their regular budgets These students come in to catch up what the Federal Government refuses to give enough budget to do. It's true in all departments, not just the National Museum.⁹

Shortly after her first conversation with MacDonald in the Spring of 1972, Anderson received another call from him asking if she would locate two additional crews. There was too much money in the budget to limit the British Columbia projects to three. At the time of Anderson's appointment, less than two months remained before the scheduled starting date in mid-May for most Government-funded student summer programs. During this intervening period, a regional head-quarters required setting up, student film makers had to be located, briefed, hired, oriented, and equipped, and travel arrangements, processing and shipping

⁹ From taped interview. Bold-faced questions are those of the writer.

of the film needed organizing. Now, in addition, two totally new projects had to be found.

Other problems began to surface. In addition to there being too much money for the number of extant filming situations, the field directors of the various archaeological digs slated to receive film crews began to offer resistance. MacDonald envisioned films, according to Anderson, that would establish a geographic and historic context for each of the sites. Ultimately this approach would have to involve the living decedents, the Indians, of those people who left behind the artifacts being unearthed at the archaeological sites. The field directors were not enthusiastic about the additional responsibility of directing a film crew added to their summer's plans at the last minute. The problem was:

*Nobody was interested in film.
[MacDonald's] supervisors in B.C. were
hopelessly unenthusiastic about it.
Each supervisor would also have to spend
time in places other than their arch-
aeological sites to organize other kinds
of footage for their [particular] film.*

*Obviously, if you're doing an arch-
aeological site in Prince Rupert, in Prince
Rupert Harbor, you need to spend a lot of
time . . . taking pictures of the Indians.
What was actually happening was . . . even
if they knew enough about film to know
that that's what was needed, they didn't have
the kind of rapport in the community . . . to
be able to do that kind of thing successfully.*

Susan Anderson

Originally, Hesquiat and the Hesquiat Cultural Project had not been considered as a site for film, but the cultural

revival project developing there offered a situation where filming could be undertaken and many of the obstacles encountered at the Archaeological Survey film sites avoided.

Hesquiat appeared as a logical addition: Anderson knew James Haggarty, director of archaeology in the Hesquiat Project. He worked for the Provincial Museum in Victoria and could serve as a perfect intermediary between the Hesquiat Band and the Film Supervisor. There remained just enough time to introduce the idea to the Band, select the students and introduce them to the Band's Cultural Committee, and everyone would have a week or so to prepare for four month's filming at Hesquiat. The idea seemed simple; what remained to be clarified were the details of execution for the inclusion of the Hesquiat Project in the Film Program.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM MEETS THE HESQUIATS

When you're going into a foreign culture, which you are when you're dealing with the ethnographic film, you tend to carry your culture with you and see through your eyes, hear with your ears. That's not going to give you any insights into another culture. It means you're walking around with a little envelope on your head. You've got to get rid of that envelope.

Dr. A. J. Rēynertson¹⁰

¹⁰ From a taped interview, fall, 1974, Vancouver, B.C.

Concurrent with the consideration of Hesquiat as a filming site, rumors surrounding the film projects had already reached the Provincial Museum in Victoria by early spring, 1972. Money, it seemed, was going to be released by the Federal Treasury Board. No one at the Provincial Museum knew how much, for what purpose, or how it was going to be administered. What did stand out was the intention of the National Museum to involve archaeological projects in B.C.

Hesistancy and reluctance to be involved in the projects was not confined to the archaeological crew directors working under MacDonald. The film projects were being pulled together with one month for organization, preparation, orientation and integration into existing plans. James Haggarty, Assistant Curator, Division of Archaeology at the Provincial Museum, heard the rumors and was advised by people in the Museum to stay away from the film projects because there was no "lead time". The idea of film seemed good in theory, but Haggarty expressed uncertainty:

You really need to take time to break any work of this kind into a community. If they [were] talking about moving onto a reserve, . . . I [could] well see it would be a disaster.

However, the Hesquiat Cultural Project, to all outward appearances, answered needs of the National Museum. Plans for the construction of a traditional long house meant that ethnographic filming would be possible. A film project at Hesquiat would absorb some of excess money allotted to the National Museum project, but more importantly, here was a

situation where rapport between a governmental institution and the native people of an area had already been established. The addition of the Hesquiat Project to the National Museum film program seemed equally expedient for the Band, and could fulfill a number of the Hesquiat Cultural Committee's objectives: film would make a relatively permanent record of cultural material for educational use with the young people of the Band during the summer months away from residential schools. Film would also be a perfect way of generating additional funding through publicity and advertising. To add film to the Hesquiat Project and the Hesquiats to the National Museum Film Program was seemingly perfect.

If the Hesquiats were going to become involved, many elements had to dovetail very quickly. Anderson required immediate confirmation by the Hesquiat Cultural Committee of the Band's intention to join the film project. Haggarty suggested that she try to meet with the Cultural Committee on April 15, when it would be assembling to make a reconnaissance trip to Hesquiat. Committee members lived in Victoria, Port Alberni, and Vancouver. In meeting with the members on that date, Anderson could be introduced to all of them at once, discuss the film project, and appriase the living conditions for the film crew at Hesquiat.

Anderson met the Cultural Committee on April 15. Together with James Haggarty and the Cultural Committee, (John Raymond, Rocky Amos, Alice Paul, Larry Paul, Alex and Mary Amos), Anderson travelled to Hesquiat. It was during this trip from Victoria that the Cultural Committee first heard about the

National Museum's proposed film project.

In view of the fact that only two weeks remained before the starting date for the Hesquiat Project, a quick decision had to be made. The Hesquiat Cultural Committee experienced directly the pressure arising from the short lead time allowed for consideration of the proposed film project:

We had to make up our minds wham bam. All the other [film] crews were spoken for . . . It was a pressure to get the crew accepted or rejected [by the Cultural Committee as a whole]. To say, "Yes", you want them, or "No", you didn't. We thought that there was an opportunity and if we didn't take it, we'd lose it.

John Raymond

Financial necessity also formed part of the Band's considerations. Anderson was offering to pay room and board for the students on a per diem rate consistent with the guidelines established by the N.F.B. This amount would be in excess of the actual expenses incurred by the crew while at Hesquiat. In addition, if the film crew could make its preparations in time to leave Vancouver on May 1, the date the archaeology and work crews were scheduled to take a chartered boat from Tofino to Hesquiat, then Anderson could transfer to the Band money that had been budgeted to transport the film crew and gear out into the field. Since the Band required additional funding for the Cultural Project, financial considerations played an important part in adding to the pressure placed on the Committee to come to an immediate decision.

Thus it was, in spite of obviously conflicting elements,

that the Cultural Committee agreed to at least meet with the film students to discuss film and to outline the quality of involvement the Band expected from the film crew in the Hesquiat Cultural Project.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE BAND, THE STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL MUSEUM

It was just protecting the Band from "rip off". Today you might be quite sincere in saying, "I agree in everything you are doing and I'll never write anything about the Band or give my impression about the Band in print or for sale to public or for publication". You might be quite sincere in that. Twenty years from now, who knows, you look back over your notes and you write some article on the Hesquiats and it might be altogether different than what the Hesquiats think of themselves and the project. This is what we were concerned with.

John Raymond

After her trip to Hesquiat with the Hesquiat Cultural Committee, Anderson contacted students through Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia. She outlined briefly for the students what the summer's work would entail, estimated what salaries would be paid, and made a tentative selection of three students from U.B.C. to go to Hesquiat: B. J. Clayden, J. Martell, and B. Roxborough.

Within the week, the students met with two members of the Cultural Committee for the Hesquiat Band: John Raymond and Rocky Amos. This first encounter between Band and students was fraught with hesitations and fear. The primary reason for the Band's caution at this stage of involvement in the film project was fear of exploitation of the Band by outsiders such as had precipitated the contractual agreement between the Band and the Provincial Museum in the preceeding year.

Discussions between the Committee representatives, Susan Anderson and the students revolved around the Band's demand for total control and ownership of any material produced by the students in the form of stills, 16mm footage, quarter-inch sound tape, or any written material. The Committee insisted that the students and representatives of the National Museum sign a contract guaranteeing the Band's demands.

Preoccupation with ownership of the filmed materials led the Band to a minimal consideration of how finished films were to be produced. Archival material alone was of little value to the Band, and Anderson had suggested that the film program would be continued during the following summer. The Band, misunderstanding the film-making process, assumed that

finished films would be an inevitable outcome of the film project.

I can remember having some very optimistic discussions with John and Rocky about what can be done, knowing very little and needing a hell of a lot of input from people familiar with the techniques of film making. I think that was one of the very real reasons the Cultural Committee went after control of the footage, so that it wouldn't sit and do nothing.

James Haggarty

The film project for Hesquiat was being formulated, albeit haltingly. Discussions did not reach a stage of detailing where the film original, not just the work print, would ultimately reside. It was decided that the students would, in effect, be working for the Band under the supervision of the National Museum, while being salaried through the National Film Board. Legal complications had not yet arisen. No one knew the original would be destined for the film vaults of the N.F.B. in Montreal.

Anderson understood that plans for the second summer's editing project were entirely problematical. The only definite arrangement was for shooting, processing and work print during the 1972 summer. She was in a position in which she had to sell the program to the Hesquiat Cultural Committee:

They [the National Museum] were talking about it [finishing the films], but I knew the Federal Government well enough to know that the possibilities of it really happening were totally up in the air . . .

One of the big problems with this project was getting money for the travel expenses to send people out in the field.

Now, obviously, in a project where everybody's doing editing, you're most likely to get money again. That seemed to me like a possibility, that there would be another project similar in nature the next summer with far lower costs, simply salaries and stock costs, nothing else.

If the Band insisted on ownership of the material, the shift in ownership to the Band could be advantageous for the National Museum. With the workprint, the Band would have some solid material with which to procure finishing money, which would, in effect, eliminate the National Museum's need to procure finishing money for that portion of the film project:

We talked about where the original film would end up, because of the Hesquiat contract. I got my first copy of the contract from Haggarty before the 15th of April. So I knew what we were up against in terms of what we were going to do about it. I said as far as I was concerned, if the Hesquiat Band wanted to have total control over the editing, of whatever film footage came out of that project, the way I saw it, the National Museum would probably be quite happy to have that happen, because that would mean that someone else would be paying at least part of the editing costs.

Susan Anderson

Transfer of ownership of the film materials from the National Museum to the Hesquiat Band did not present problems in the mind of the National Museum representative talking with the Band. However, when Anderson discussed the situation with the lawyer for the National Museum:

[He] had a cat fit when I eventually got to talking to him directly, because there's no way a government agency can effectively do something that will be owned outright by somebody else It's a totally illegal situation. If the Federal Government spends money on a project, that project's output is the property of the Federal Government.

Susan Anderson

When it came to the Band contract that each of the film crew had been asked to sign, the National Museum later said:

. . . those contracts [were] a restriction of their own [the film crew's] personal activities . . . that no matter how it's worded, it couldn't legally apply to the corporation, because nobody in the corporation or agent of the corporation was going to sign one of those contracts. In fact, for the film crew, if the contracts were challenged, they were null and void anyway, but if the Band wanted them signed, then [the film crew] could go in there and sign them, . . . but never tell the Band that the National Museum as a corporation couldn't and wouldn't sign that contract.

Susan Anderson

She told representatives of the Cultural Committee that the Band contract presented problems because of the way the contract was worded, and explained that if they insisted on a contract involving film, then they would have to limit access to the viewing of the material, under a "uses contract":

. . . I was very clear, because I knew at that point that the film had to be owned by the National Museum The material was the property of the National Museum, but the pictures could be the property of the Hesquiat Band, and therefore, we could negotiate about how they were used.

This kind of contract had been used between owners of artifacts, private individuals and Indian Bands, when a restriction of use was required. The Museum technically owns the item, but the use of the item is limited to the wishes of the donors or the Band. This kind of arrangement was suggested to the Cultural Committee.

From the National Museum's point of view, as long as the actual signing of contracts was delayed, with the students in the field the actual problems of Band ownership did not have to be worked out. The advantage lay with the Band to negotiate the details before the film crew began shooting at Hesquiat.

On the basis of assurances coming from the National Museum through Anderson, the students were given permission to travel to Hesquiat, without filming equipment.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STUDENTS MEET THE NATIONAL FILM BOARD

He [Dennis Sawyer] turned off a lot of people, because the N.E.B. obviously didn't care and they were not going to work in the kind of project where nobody cared what kind of material they produced.

Susan Anderson

The National Film Board was the only contact the film students were going to have that summer with people experienced in making documentary films. When Dennis Sawyer arrived in Vancouver, approximately ten days before the Hesquiat Film Project was scheduled to begin, it became evident that the N.F.B. would not be contributing any of its expertise, except as a mechanism for issuing checks to the students. The N.F.B. was not concerned with the quality or with the completion of the proposed film projects, and Sawyer's expectation of the project would be fulfilled if even 1,500 feet out of 20,000 feet for each film project turned out to be usable material.¹¹ The N.F.B. would administer the budget, and the success of the project would not be measured in terms of return on investment or in finished films, but rather in terms of money spent on student summer employment.

The meeting between Sawyer, the students and Anderson was a revelation to everyone. Sawyer discovered that Anderson had already selected students for film projects, something he had been doing across Canada on his way to Vancouver. Anderson learned that the film projects, set up by the National Museum to involve a great amount of travel, were minimally budgeted:

We all arrived at Peter Jones' office [Vancouver Regional Office of N.F.B., executive producer] with the students interested in the programme.

¹¹ Telephone interview, April 22, 1977.

We found out that they had to have equipment, that they were going to get paid \$400 per month, and minimal expenses, very basic travel to and from the projects. The National Museum had set these kids up to be travelling with projects. They were going to be travelling around to the different archaeological sites in the Province.

Susan Anderson

More surprising for the students than the financial complications facing the program director was the lack of support, in terms of interest or experience, demonstrated by Sawyer in his talk with the film students:

Dennis Sawyer said very clearly to the group of people there that they [the N.F.B.] didn't care about the film, that they couldn't care less whether anybody ran anything through their cameras or not that summer, that all the N.F.B. was concerned with was this bloody publicity of student employment so that they could get those people [the Federal Treasury Board] off their backs.

Susan Anderson

Sawyer insisted that the N.F.B. would not put any of their facilities at anyone's disposal for the completion of films started under this film program. The program had been set up in response to the dire need for student summer employment and no funds had been allocated for the completion of the films.

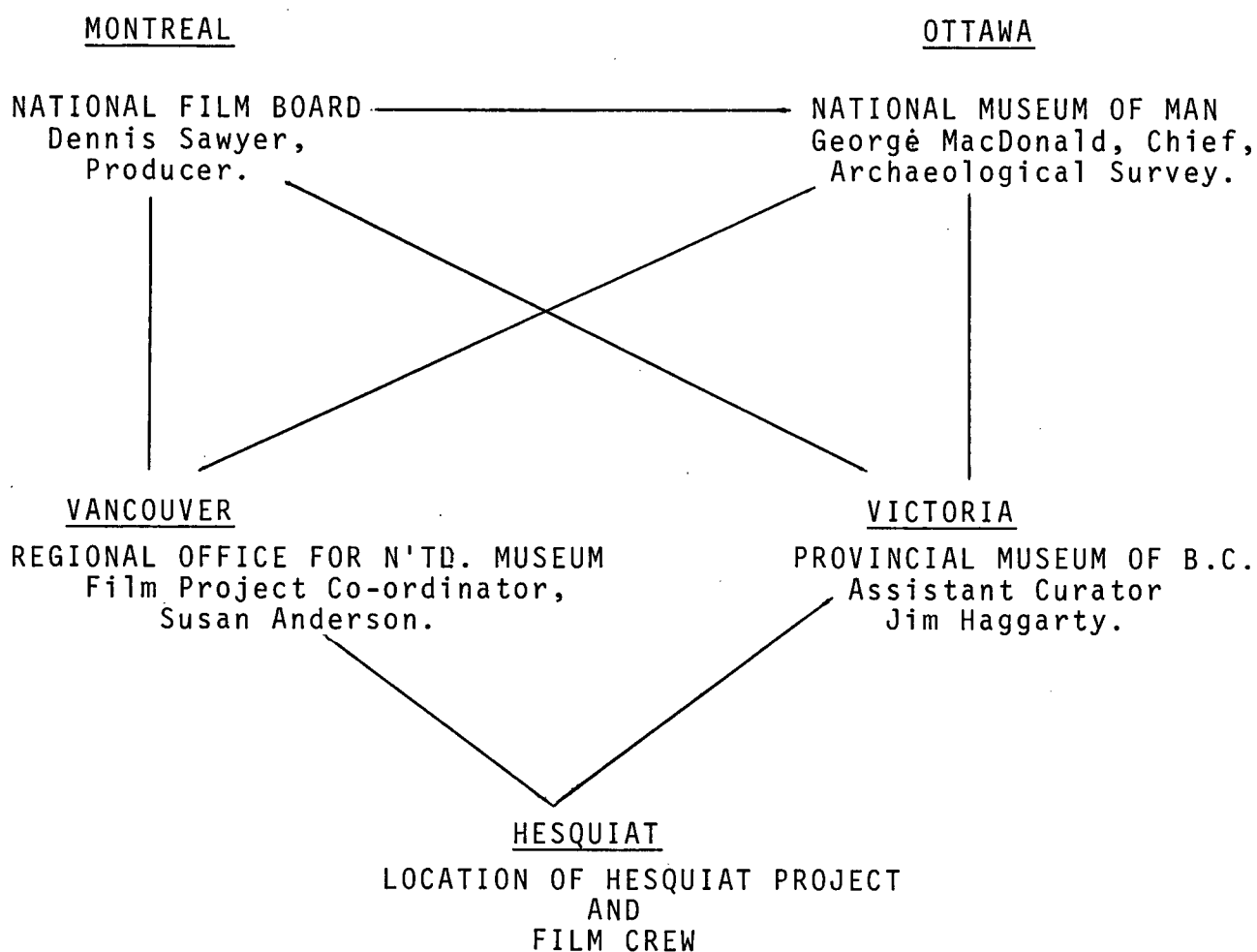
Many of the students present at that meeting (15 had been selected for the five British Columbia projects), refused to work on the project since no one in the producing agency was

concerned with the quality or purpose of the work to be produced during the summer. The students who chose to remain involved, naively felt that the project still contained enough positive value since they would be working for the National Museum, and in the case of the Hesquiat film crew, for the Indian Band.

The meeting concluded with the signing of a contract between the National Film Board and the remaining students. The unheeded fine print contained the N.F.B.'s right to all materials produced by the students while under contract to the N.F.B. It was a standard contract used by the N.F.B. with free-lance film makers to carry out work for the Board not handled by in-house staff.

By the end of the meeting, all the lines of contact and communication for the Hesquiat Project had been established. The tone for the project had been set. Commitments had been made and preparations for the journey to Hesquiat could begin.

TABLE 2

Lines of Communication for the Film Project

CHAPTER SIX

THE FILM STUDENTS AT HESQUIAT

Fantastic! It would be a chance to learn some more about photography, give me a chance to learn some more about how to put a film together, and the prospect of having 45,000 feet of color stock free of charge to shoot in a perfect setting with an ideal subject . . . [it] just sounded like paradise, which is why I got involved, plus the salary was nice.

B. J. Clayden¹²

Even if you're going in to just take footage, record footage, I think that you have to have an extremely detailed knowledge of what the particular situation is that you're going to get into -- in documentary in particular, where supposedly what you're trying to put on film is what is out there and not what is inside your head. To find out what is out there takes a lot of thought and a lot of thought process.

Dr. A. J. Reynertson

¹² From a taped interview, Vancouver, B.C., 1975.

According to schedule, the film students left Vancouver for Hesquiat at the end of April. The two week interlude between the meeting with the Cultural Committee representatives and the actual day of departure was filled with frantic list making and searching for items to cover every conceivable eventuality that might present itself to the film students at the remote and rainy bluff of the Hesquiat Reserve. The crew scrounged and bought tar paper, a staple gun, chicken wire, tarps, sleeping bags, kerosene, lanterns, matches, axes, knives, plastic containers, rain gear, playing cards, and books to tell them what they didn't know about the North West Coast Indians, the environment, and film.

The film expedition began as an adventure for the film students. Leaving Tofino with all the people destined to spend the summer together, surrounded in the chartered boat by the piles of gear and supplies, the sensation of heightened experience left most of the non-Indians speechless, wide-eyed and a bit sea sick, rocked as they were for most of the 4½ hour trip to Hesquiat by choppy waves, rain and wind that none of the local people would have ventured out in except to keep the city people on their predetermined schedule.

The boat ride from Tofino to Hesquiat threaded northwest through channels formed by tree-covered rocky land formations, past Vargus Island, Flores Island, out Sydney Inlet to the open Pacific, to the mouth of Hot Springs Cove where the "Bob Douglas" boat turned in to pick up one more person and Larry Paul's speed boat. When they rounded the

point and entered the quiet of the long cove, the crews saw what would be their closest contact with supplies: the Hot Springs Cove gas station and fish camp where local people and fishermen bought gas, food, beer and hard liquor, mailed letters and sold fish. On the wharf jetting out into the water from the red and white frame buildings, Steve and Millie Charleson, Steve's sister, stood watching the arrival of the boat filled with the strangers Steve would be digging next to in the archaeological pits at Hesquiat, home reserve of Steve's Band. He hadn't expected the film crew and had no idea of who any of the people were.

Traditionally Hesquiat had always been the focus of Band life, the spiritual center for identity as a Hesquiat. Band elders had grown up there, and despite the ostensible current desertion of the land, all significant Band memory was tied to that location by right of history and cultural tradition. That focus was sustained and given new energy by the Cultural Project, even though most of the buildings on the reserve, tangled in briars and lost in dilapidation, would never be restored. In 1972, only three band members, George Ignace, his daughter Patricia and his grand daughter, Janice, shared plans to remain at Hesquiat for the summer and much of the winter, whether or not the Cultural Project developed as discussed. George was one of the Band elders, a man rich in the knowledge of Hesquiat traditions, songs, and stories, pieces of the tradition that formed the impetus behind the Cultural Project that brought students from the University of Victoria and the University of British Columbia, plus

Band members to work as cooks, carpenters, carvers, basket makers, archaeologists and film makers. Everyone was gradually assembled to undertake the work of the second summer of the Cultural revival project.

The first two weeks at Hesquiat were spent solving the most immediate problem facing everyone at Hesquiat: living accommodations for the crews. Every day, repairs were taken a little further. Cedar logs hauled off the beaches were cut and split into shakes for the roofs of the buildings. Storage areas and shelves were created, and plastic was put over windows that no longer held glass. The crews worked together, gradually becoming familiar with one another. The film crew learned during this time that none of the Band members knew about the film project and had been greatly surprised to see the additional white people that comprised the film crew.

While accommodations were readied at Hesquiat, the National Museum representative, Susan Anderson, worked in Vancouver to clarify the contract permitting the use of film at Hesquiat. Before the contract was completed, Anderson telephoned the film crew to tell them to return to town to pick up the film equipment and film stock, since the Cultural Committee had given permission for the transport of film gear into Hesquiat, even without the signatures on the contract. At the beginning of June, the crew returned to Vancouver and collected all the film materials: 30,000 feet of 16mm color reversal stock, both Kodak EC0 7252, and EF 7241, 7242; approximately twenty-four hours of quarter-inch magnetic sound recording tape; twenty dozen rolls of 35mm slide film, and black and

white 35mm stock; two 16mm Canon Scoopic silent cameras; one Bolex 16mm reflex camera with a 12-120mm Angenieux lens; and still cameras and dark room equipment. The Nagra IV tape recorder was being shared with another film crew working out of Vancouver and wasn't scheduled for Hesquiat use until the middle of the summer. If the gear and materials didn't excite the crew, then the prospect of actually using all of it certainly did, especially after being in the field for nearly a month without the tools of film making.

The student film makers constructed a darkroom in the corner of one of the old buildings, using plastic garbage pails for rinsing tanks, and water packed by hand from the well that provided all of the clean water needs of the Hesquiat project. To begin with, there were many activities to photograph and infinite realms of Indian culture to explore. After a month without equipment, the students were willing to sign nearly anything that would allow them to begin shooting.

After permission had been given, the three students sought clarification as to who they were actually working for. The Hesquiat Project had inspired their loyalty. They wanted to support the Project and do whatever was necessary to aid the Band in establishing ownership over the film material:

That was the thing about the filming that we all felt idealistic about. I know I did. The contract was breaking ground. If the Band could retain ownership of the film, reversing the exploitation of the N.F.B. and groups like that, then it was the first blow, in a media sense, for aboriginal rights.

B. J. Clayden

The students felt a natural alliance with the Band, and looked to the Cultural Committee for leadership and direction in the kinds of films the Band actually wanted and needed. The contract was due to arrive for signing at any time, and it was expected that with contract negotiations coming to a close, the Cultural Committee would then have time to discuss in detail how film could best serve the Hesquiats. The film crew did not perceive that direction could not come from the Cultural Committee because of a lack of knowledge of film and because the Committee was spending most of its time and energy administering the other aspects of the Hesquiat Cultural Project. The confusion resulting from not realizing where the direction would have to come, if anything was going to be accomplished that summer, left the students with strong inner conflict:

I wanted to make a film for the Band, not knowing what the Band wanted and not being able to communicate well enough through the different cultures to understand what was wanted and not having the personal strength to just take a very subjective view of the situation and impose myself on it, which is probably what we should have done.

B. J. Clayden

The actual directors of the Hesquiat Cultural Project lived in Vancouver and held full time jobs during the summer. In the middle of June, John Raymond and Rocky Amos flew into Hesquiat for the weekend with contracts in hand for the film crew to sign. Anderson had already seen the contracts, had called the film crew, and told them that they were free to

sign the documents, but that the legality or binding force in the contracts was open to doubt. The students were confused and disillusioned in discovering that the Band's desire for ownership rights over the film material could not be enforced legally. It was later explained that the Band contract would be void in a court of law since the contract restricted public access to a public place. This was news to the students. An Indian reserve is Crown Land and set aside for use by the Indians. Further, because it is Crown Land, the National Museum, as a Crown Corporation, needs no one's permission to move onto an Indian reserve:

. . . They need nobody's permission to do anything on Crown Land. The Archaeological Survey goes out and surveys and digs holes in the ground. They don't need anybody's permission. It's just a publicity point to do that. Legally, it needs no permission . . . And that was the way they saw this whole project.

Susan Anderson

The students signed the contract, understanding very little of the legal implications of how the contract would affect the N.F.B., or how the Band actually planned to use the document. The tone for the summer had been set; the students began to feel like pawns in someone else's game.

In addition to a lack of confidence in the strength of the overall film project and doubt that as a group of individuals they could make films, the crew members were stymied by other conflicts as well: the inexperience of the film crew meant they overlooked the extent of adaptation and

planning necessary to undertake a film project of this kind. They were incapable of formulating and carrying out a proper plan, and no one on the crew realized that enthusiasm was not enough:

We were really naive as far as documentary film making went, and maybe we didn't have the confidence we could do it. But I'm sure we could have, if we hadn't felt so much pressure to please somebody else, and not knowing who, not being mature enough to please ourselves, to put film above everything else.

B. J. Clayden

In addition to the personal conflicts felt by the film makers, a lack of rapport existed between the Hesquiat Band and the students in their role as film makers. This gap grew out of the first meeting, in April, between the students and the Cultural Committee representatives in Vancouver, John Raymond and Rocky Amos. It was during this first discussion that the project directors communicated a strong sense of protectiveness towards the Band and told the film students to leave Band decisions to Band members. The directors feared the intrusion of outsiders into the established Band processes. Now another element was added to naivety and blind enthusiasm:

I know we came on really strong and almost scared outsiders of the project and I'm glad we did, because people went into it in the right way, with fear.

John Raymond

As a result of these strong warnings, the crew members became afraid of Band members and felt self-conscious about being present in the Indian Culture. They began to keep to themselves, making involvement with Band members working at Hesquiat virtually impossible. The crew was blind to the most important resource for film, the people themselves. Several Band members saw clearly at the time that a different orientation by the film crew would have improved the situation, as voiced by Stephen Charleson:

If it had been clear in your minds that you were working for us, you wouldn't have had to worry about the National Museum, the N.F.B. or anybody else, just have to worry about the kind of job you were doing for us. Ask us what you should shoot. Instead it seemed like you guys listened to the N.F.B. or Suki [Susan] Anderson or something like that. Never asked what we thought about the whole thing.

Since the film students were aware of many unresolved aspects of the project troubling the organizers in both Vancouver and Ottawa, they began to see themselves as an imposition on the Band, an element that had been unnecessarily foisted on the Hesquiat Project. They felt the directors of the Hesquiat Cultural Committee had been cornered into accepting the film project prematurely. This idea found reinforcement in the shyness Band members displayed towards the film crew during the initial days of contact at Hesquiat, when the Indians were wondering who the extra white people were. Instead of recognizing individual and cultural differences, the crew interpreted the distance as evidence that

the film crew was a disruption, an unaccepted element to be distrusted. Band members saw them in a totally different manner:

Well, when you guys first came, I didn't know which one of you were archaeologists and which ones were photographers. When you first arrived at Hesquiat, no one knew what your jobs were. You guys were all just strangers. White people coming to work for us. It took a few days, maybe a few weeks, before finally we distinguished you guys apart, you know. You, Billy, and B. J. were photographers, and Haggarty, Bob and Allan were archaeologists.

Stephen Charleson

The film crew had come to Hesquiat as a work team to carry out a specific job. Since Band members didn't know how a film was made, they assumed that what the film crew was doing was part of that unknown process. The students didn't know that the Band saw them as expert:

We didn't think of you guys as some kind of imposition or anything like that, you know. We thought we'd hired some people with a lot of technical knowledge in making a movie.

I guess if you guys didn't know what you were doing, we expected you to ask. If you were in trouble, we had no indication that you were in trouble. We thought you were just going about your job normally, whatever you were doing.

Stephen Charleson

The feelings of isolation and disorientation that the film crew was experiencing were natural in a new situation, especially in another cultural setting. Unfortunately, there

was no one at Hesquiat who could stimulate a transposition of negative feelings into positive awareness. The crew required insight into themselves and into the process of entering another culture, and they needed to acquire patience for watching and relating what was seen to be the goals of the film.

While the National Museum representative had verbally outlined what kind of filmic material would satisfy the Museum, no one in the Cultural Committee had a clear idea of what the Band wanted. Everyone unconsciously expected everyone else to know, when, in fact, no one knew specifically how to fulfill any of the general expectations of the different groups involved.

On a more practical level, the lack of communication and rapport between crew and Band could be attributed to the fact that no time had been spent by the crew in getting to know the Hesquiat people and their culture, the history of the Band, or the history of the cultural project. A blindness distorted the film makers' vision. For example, it had been suggested by Anderson that Alice Paul, the cook for the project, would make an excellent subject for a short film on basket making. No one accounted for the amount of time it takes to film even a static task, such as the weaving of a basket.

Since there was not enough money to hire Band members to work solely for the film crew, the people who had been singled out by Anderson as film subjects were almost totally preoccupied with other aspects of the Hesquiat Project of more

immediate concern. Alice Paul for example, was cooking for nearly 30 people at Hesquiat. Aside from the activities that conflicted with the needs of the film crew, Alice simply did not have the energy or inclination to weave a basket for a film. She normally worked quickly, weaving for pleasure and for intended sales. Later that summer, Alice told one of the film crew members that many years before, a man had come to Hesquiat and had taken photographs of her mother making baskets. She felt her mother was a far better basket weaver, and since the photographs were already taken of her mother, the crew should spend its time trying to locate that material. Alice later identified a picture in the Curtis Collection as being that of her mother.

Filming problems were not limited to trying to find time for elders to be filmed. There was difficulty in filming the younger people as well. The crew had no insight into the kinds of embarrassment Band members experienced when the filming process was new to them and not yet understood. The film crew was shy and couldn't ease the same feelings in the people they were filming. Resistance to being filmed was a stance the crew didn't recognize; it assumed if it was working for the Band, then Band members would somehow magically cooperate. Charleson described Band feelings:

I had the real funny image in my head of you guys who were going around to take pictures of these guys who were kneeling on the ground [doing archaeology]. It seemed real funny. I didn't want to be in on it, because everybody looked real silly. That's when I knew it was going to be a really weird summer,

when I started feeling real uncomfortable right from the beginning, because I didn't think of myself being in this movie where all they did was just be kneeling down through the whole thing. I guess I was thinking about a whole different film than you guys were at that time . . .

I guess the other people that were there felt about the same as me. They were kind of shy. If they had a piece of dirt on their face when you guys came around, they rubbed it off. Because they wanted to look good in the pictures.

The film crew had not explained its intentions; no consciously formed methods of approach existed. It assumed the Band had been told about film making and understood what was required. The crew went through all the motions of shooting scenes, with little insight into the reality of what they were doing. But between themselves as film makers and the people they were filming was a vast distance.

As an archaeologist, Stephen Charleson sensed the film crew was missing the importance of the findings at the Survey pits:

It seemed like they were in the wrong places at the wrong times a lot of the time. We'd be doing something important in archaeology or something like that and you guys weren't there. We'd all be working away, wondering, "Where the hell are they? There's something really important going on right here". Not even there. If they wanted the whole story, they were missing a lot.

The film crew was blind to the insightful details of events that a documentary film must capture if the surface reality of a situation is to be penetrated, and the essence of the reality revealed.

Remaining directionless, the crew could not order its approach. Its attention scattered in trying to record everything rather than selecting the telling events. Eventually the film crew ended up wondering what to shoot. When attention was placed on one particular activity, there was a tendency to shoot far more footage than the activity warranted, because the crew could not imagine how the material would be edited.

Lack of control over the frequency of workprint shipments back to Hesquiat was another obstacle that interfered with the crew's learning experience. Unprocessed film mailed from Hesquiat on Wednesdays barely had time to reach Vancouver in time for processing and reshipping back to Tofino, and on to Hesquiat on the following Wednesday's mail plane flight. A minimum of one or two week's delay was inevitable. However, for reasons the film crew never understood, the first shipment of workprint from Vancouver did not reach Hesquiat until very late in July. There were enough mistakes in the first roll of film to put the film crew on the right track, technically. As it was, by the time it did view the footage, mistakes of that first week of shooting had only been duplicated, time and again, during the intervening weeks of filming.

The types of errors were elementary and easily corrected. The crew had adopted the habit of not using a tripod. The resulting footage was shaky and could not be justified by the situational context. It had also relied too heavily on the automatic through-the-lens light metering system without realizing that some lighting situations were fooling the system.

The results were shots that "wowed" as the camera panned over a scene with varying light levels, or shots of under-exposed subjects against light backgrounds such as the sky or ocean. One of the cameras was scratching the film emulsion. A single letter sent to the crew, if not the work print itself, would have alerted the crew to what the film supervisor must have been screening in Vancouver.

Coupled with the technical flaws was the flat, uninteresting, lifeless quality of the footage. The human details were missing. Close ups to give the audience insight into the meaning behind events were not there. No amount of editing, voice-over narration, or music would compensate for the lack of insight. With the project going into its final month, the crew felt totally demoralized and unable to objectively sort through the problems in the footage.

In the time that remained the most successful shooting experience arose out of the celebration, "Hesquiat Days", arranged by the Cultural Committee to bring Hesquiats to the cultural project to see what was being accomplished. A potlatch was given, with Indian dancing, singing and game playing. The celebration lasted three days and provided potentially rich visual and audio material. For the first time the crew felt it had a definite purpose and focus. It set to work, and the Hesquiats responded:

Most of them up there, Hesquiat Days, when a lot of them came up, saw you guys for the first time. Saw you running around doing your whole movie thing. Seeing you taking pictures during their celebration, they all figured they were

gonna be in it then, you know. "Ah, this movie in Hesquiat, this is our part".

Stephen Charleson

However, sync sound was not possible with the equipment and inexperience led the crew to attempt what professionals would have accomplished in a different way. Without crystal sync facilities in both camera and tape recorder to maintain a constant running speed between both machines, it would later, in editing, be virtually impossible to synchronize the sound of singing and drum beats with the actual film images of people singing and drum sticks hitting drums.

There were people at Hesquiat who could have given aid to the crew in finding its way into another culture even if the film making continued to be troubled. One band member, Stephen Charleson, had worked with the archaeologists the previous summer and observed the slow process of orientation that the archaeologists had undergone. His experience as an Indian in the white culture made him intensely conscious of the process of acculturation, and he had definite ideas about what kind of films the Band needed.

Stephen attempted to communicate to the film crew that it should first of all relax, look around, and then make up its own mind about the content of the films.

What would have made it successful is if the people went up there would be people who knew what they were doing, knew their equipment, knew what they need

to make a film, everything . . .

Get those same people to ask for help when they are there. Hold a meeting. Find out who you're going to ask, what the most important thing will be to be filmed in each part. Then go find out from somebody else, who's in charge of this, who knows this the best, get help from them. Sit down and talk to them, one at a time. Find out exactly from them what you should photograph, what the most important steps are, whatever the procedure is, whatever their job is. Then go and watch them for awhile. Then it would make a lot of sense.

Get people you're filming really involved in the process. Tell them what it is. Explain to them that they might have to do something over again. It's some kind of motion. Tell them that they shouldn't be self-conscious when they're singled out of the whole bunch.

I guess every day make sure you involve them. Get them to work for you and tell you when something important is going to happen. Show some of them how to [use the equipment].

The crew was unable to apply the advice and remained stymied by conflicts. By the end of August, everyone had lost the will to try. The film had been spent, and enthusiasm was gone, even for Stephen who had been keenly interested in the film project at the beginning:

We gave up on thinking about how I wanted the film to be or the whole thing like that. I think everybody else got that way around the same time, too.

Patterns had been established and it was too late for any outside influence to push the film project in another direction:

We didn't want to help, you know, or we didn't even think of helping, I guess, helping you guys and telling you guys, "Hey, come on over here with your equipment. There's something important happening here. See that artifact, we're really proud of it. We want you to shoot it for us" . . .

We placed you guys outside. We didn't want to work you guys too much. I don't know why. Maybe it looked like you guys weren't enjoying it, I guess, otherwise we'd be thinking, "These guys really like to take pictures. I wonder what they'll take pictures of next". Instead we were saying, "These guys wouldn't like to walk all the way over here with their stuff", it was that kind of feeling.

Stephen Charleson

WINDING DOWN

All during Hesquiat Days, they thought they were being filmed. The people knew that you guys were there for the Hesquiat Film, and since all that happened, all the footage and that seemed to have disappeared, you know. It's not even talked about any more. They forgot all about the film, I think. Maybe there's still a few of us who remember it's still there. But I think there was probably quite a big disappointment they didn't see a movie come out of it, but not too much, 'cause it's not really as real as it is to all you people out there. You guys care about it more than we do.

Stephen Charleson

By the end of the summer, a vast number of black and white stills and color slides, plus most of the 16mm film stock had been shot and sent to Vancouver for processing. The crew numbly catalogued the 35mm material, packed gear, and went back to Vancouver engulfed in feeling that the film experience had been a failing and wasteful venture. It was impossible for the crew to evaluate the events that had developed at Hesquiat, and to determine why the initial enthusiasm had not found fulfillment.

The contract between the National Museum and the Band did not exist. John Raymond continued to be engaged in acquiring physical possession of the film material, without actually understanding the distinction between "work print" and "original". In light of subsequent events, the assurances given to Raymond by the National Museum were ironic.

I really still didn't know enough about what we had, that we really had the control of the film that the National Museum assured us, because the only contact we had, George MacDonald, gave us all the assurances. But I never really felt, I still know that there is a negative or something somewhere in Montreal that can't be, won't have anything don't to it. He assures us that we have complete control over it and that that thing in Montreal can't be touched.¹³

John Raymond

The most important detail of ownership was being overlooked:

¹³ See Epilogue Page 78, letter from Dennis Sawyer, dated July 22, 1976.

where would the "original" be stored and would there be access to it?

The people in the Archaeology-Ethnology Division [National Museum of Man] made it perfectly clear that they thought the Band ought to have the footage . . . The lawyer for the Corporation said that they would be willing to set up what is called a "uses contract".

Susan Anderson

The uses contract was never presented to the Hesquiats for signing.

After the close of the summer's film program, the decision was made in Ottawa that it would not be continued the following year. There would be no funds for editing. Without completion money or access to the original footage now stored in the N.F.B. vaults, the costs to the Band for finishing the films would be excessive, because the Band would have, to raise, in addition to funding costs, funds to pay for the printing of a duplicate negative, since Band access to the original did not exist. At the same time, early in the spring of 1973, John Raymond and Rocky Amos resigned as directors of the Hesquiats Cultural Project, leaving negotiations unfinished between the Band and the National Museum and the National Film Board.

The N.F.B. had never expressed interest in the images contained in the film emulsion; however the N.F.B. did claim ownership in the film material on which the images were stored. Since the Band had not been dealing with the N.F.B., there was no possible way for them to know the ultimate out-

come of the ownership struggle. Dennis Sawyer of the N.F.B. knew about the demands for ownership by the Hesquiats, but according to Anderson:

What had happened was that all the original from all of the projects stored in the lab in Vancouver was bundled up and sent off to Montreal when the projects were over. So the N.F.B. had it in its vault and will not release it to anybody which means if the National Museum was going to pay somebody to edit a film out of the footage, they obviously need for somebody to have access to the original, once the editing is done so that they can do the A & B rolling. The National Film Board will not give permission for that. They will allow the dupe original out, but not the original at all. The National Museum was screaming about that because the filming was done for them, and to be denied access to the original was ridiculous.

If the Band or anyone else wanted to complete films from the material shot that summer, it would have to pay for the duplication of the original. Even with a "uses contract", the Band would not have direct and immediate control of all the film material.

No one to date has seen all of the footage shot at Hesquiat. There is no way at this time to establish the viability of trying to complete a film from the footage. The Band has no immediate plans to edit the film. Without completed films, the summer's project must remain an unfinished experience.

But there is an alternate ending to this story, a "might have been":

Probably that movie, if the movie was made in Hesquiat that summer and finished in the winter, it would probably play a big part in the tribe. Hesquiat Days. In the night time, they'd have a continuous showing of it. People look at it, look at it, look at it and look at it. That's what would have happened if it was a good movie. Maybe at Christmas time or when somebody gets married, during a Band meeting or after a Band meeting, they could whip out the old projector and see the Hesquiat movie again. It would have been theirs. It would have been like an Indian dance. It would have been like a boat in the fleet. It would be a part of life. Addition to the year. Something to put in the year. Something to look forward to. That's what it would have done.

Stephen Charleson

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

Newspaper Articles Pertaining to the
Charles Ehlers Case

VANCOUVER PROVINCE, August 1, 1972.

Removed from Island cave INDIANS - B.C. - ANTIQUITIES

Mystery of Surrey mummy cleared up

PROV. AUG 1 1972

The owner of a mummified body found in Surrey at the weekend said Monday he removed it from a cave on Vancouver Island to save it from animals and humans.

Charlie Ehlers said in a telephone interview that when he discovered the cave four years ago, many of the old Indian artifacts inside it were still intact.

But each summer as he returned to the cave, near a logging road about 35 miles southwest of his Tofino home, more and more articles had been destroyed by bears, other animals and humans.

Ehlers, 47, said he finally took the mummy and the box it was in from the cave in April when he found it to be the only undamaged artifact left.

More than 30 RCMP members converged on a house in Surrey Saturday night after a man reported he had found a body in a box in a house he had purchased from Ehlers.

John Stertz, a contractor, had bought the house and property for a subdivision and with John Niemi, a locksmith, was installing locks.

They found an old box under a table and took it to the front yard where they broke it open and found an almost



Old house in Surrey where mummified body was found.

perfectly preserved human body wrapped in brown canvas.

Ehlers had been moving his belongings to his permanent home in Tofino but said Monday he couldn't find the mummy and box and figured it had been stolen.

The next he heard of it was Sunday noon when Tofino RCMP came looking for him.

He said they took him to a police car where they searched and handcuffed him and put him in jail for six hours until two Surrey RCMP officers arrived.

Ehlers said he managed to convince the police there was

no foul play involved by taking them to the cave where he found the mummy and by producing a letter to the Vancouver museum offering the artifact to them.

"The police were sure surprised when I showed them the cave," Ehlers said. He

signed a statement and was released.

The mummy was taken to Royal Columbian Hospital after its discovery and two university of B.C. anthropologists were to inspect it today in an attempt to determine its age, sex and date of death.

Grave or museum?

Coroner will decide dispute over mummy

VANCOUVER PROVINCE

August 3, 1972

An attempt will be made today by archaeologist Bernard Simonson to acquire a mummified body found in a Surrey house last weekend as an exhibit for the Provincial Museum.

But Joe Frank, a councillor for the Tofino Indians at Opat-sat, says he will do everything in his power to have the Indian body brought back and given a decent burial.

Coroner Doug Jack of New Westminster said Simonson contacted him Wednesday and said he hoped to be able to obtain the mummy. "He is now on his way to Tofino to meet with the Indian leaders and get their permission to take the mummy."

Jack said pathologist Dr. Cam Coady and Dr. K.R. Donnelly of the department of anatomy at UBC examined the body Wednesday and found it well mummified.

"It is a female and very old but no one would attempt to guess the age," Jack said. "There were some fragments of woven cloth on the chest and head which looked like linen. It was definitely white man's cloth."

Jack said the woman's knees were drawn up to her chest and the feet crossed. The left arm was across the chest and the right arm was along the side of the body. The head was turned to the left.

"A decision will likely be made today on what to do with the mummy. I guess I will have to make that decision and it will depend on what the Indians have to say."

Frank said he had known about the body for years and made an attempt to have the cave sealed off about five years ago. He said he didn't realize the body had been taken until police phoned him earlier in the day. "I think we should be left alone. Can't you let us rest in peace?"

Frank said the cave is near the site of the old cannery operated by J. H. Todd & Son on Tofino Inlet at the mouth of the Kennedy River.

"There was an Indian village there when the cannery was operating in the 1920s and 1930s. There was a great epidemic in 1925 and 1926 and people were dying like flies."

RCMP said a recent inspection showed there are still more artifacts in it and another bid will be made to have it sealed off.

Frank said most of the members of council were out fishing Wednesday night and the earliest they could meet would be this morning. "I don't know what their decision will be. But what would you do if this was one of yours?"

The mummy was found last weekend in a Surrey house that had just been bought by John Stertz. The previous owner, Charlie Ehlers of Tofino, said he removed the mummy from the cave last April when he found that humans and animals were destroying the artifacts. He had known about it for four years.

Earlier Wednesday archaeologist Simonson said he is considering action against Ehlers for removing the mummy from the cave.

VANCOUVER SUN & PROVINCE, August 4, 1972.

AT VICTORIA MUSEUM

Indian body held

The remains of an Indian woman who was buried in a Vancouver Island cave no more than 100 years ago are now being held by the provincial museum in Victoria.

Provincial archaeologist Bjorn Simonson said Thursday the remains would be returned to the local Indian tribe near Tofino if that was their wish.

"I think the interest of the Indians overrides the archaeological interest," Simonson said.

The body was found in a house in Surrey last weekend by John Stertz, who had just purchased the house. Charlie Ehlers of Tofino, the previous owner, said he had removed the mummy from a cave at Tofino inlet last April.

Doug Jack of New Westminster, as coroner for the area where the body was found, took charge of it but released it to Simonson Thursday.

Simonson said he thought there was only a remote possibility that the Indians would approve of the museum keeping the remains.

"If they agreed, we would store it, but I doubt very much if it would ever be displayed," he said.

"I don't go along with that sort of display — it amounts to an indignity.

"I don't think you'd like to see your grandmother's re-

mains on display in a museum.

"Our policy is to go along with the Indians and right now they're on the backs of the anthropologists and others for disturbing Indian burial grounds."

Simonson said it was not technically correct to refer to the remains as a "mummy" since no special preserving process was used in the Indian burials. He said the remarkable state of preservation was due to the extremely dry condition of the burial cave.

Under provincial statute, the Archeological and Historic Sites Protection Act, it is illegal to knowingly disturb burial sites, he said.

The act provides for a maximum fine of \$1,000 or six months in jail, or both, on conviction.

"This kind of vandalism is not tolerated by the Indians nor by ourselves," Simonson added.

Two other mummies are still lying undisturbed in hidden caves along Tofino Inlet, said Mrs. Elsie Seymour, curator of the West Coast Maritime Museum.

The area along the inlet was a traditional burial ground for the Clayquot Indians, she said, and there are probably more bodies in caves no one knows about.

INDIANS - B.C. -
Museum plans
to return
mummy to cave
AUG 4 1972

A mummified body discovered in a Surrey house last weekend has gone to the Provincial Museum in Victoria until arrangements can be made for its final resting place.

Archaeologist Bernard Simonson said Thursday museum officials hope the mummy will be returned to its burial cave on Tofino Inlet at the mouth of the Kennedy River. Even if the mummy remains at the museum it will not be put on display, he said. Two museum representatives are currently in the Tofino area to discuss the situation with the Indian band.

VANCOUVER PROVINCE, August 5, 1972.

More Indian mummies in secret Island caves

Prov. AUG 5 1972
Canadian Press

TOFINO — At least two more Indian mummies are in secret caves in Tofino Inlet near this West Coast Vancouver Island village.

Mrs. Elsie Seymour, curator of the West Coast Maritime Museum, says many local residents have known about the preserved historical bodies for about four years but have kept their exact location secret from strangers.

She says her husband, Nick, has been to the caves near the mouth of the Kennedy River and has a photograph of the mummies, one a male and the other a female.

The mummy, which was re-

cently removed from a West Coast cave and taken to Surrey by Charlie Ehlers of Tofino, is now reported to be at the Provincial Museum in Victoria.

Mrs. Seymour says one of the two mummies she knows of has been "messed about" by animals or humans. The other, the female, is intact.

She at first thought the mummy found earlier was the intact female but her husband went to the cave this week and said the mummies were still there.

Mrs. Seymour says the mummies were the remains of members of the Clayoquot Indian tribe.

INDIANS - RE - ANTICULTURE

VANCOUVER PROVINCE, August 15, 1972

Removing mummy results in charge

Prov. AUG 15 1972
Special to The Province

TOFINO — Charle Ehlers is scheduled to appear in provincial court Wednesday to enter his plea on a charge of taking a mummy from its burial place.

The charge results from an information signed in Tofino Monday, under Section 4 (B) of the 1972, Archeological and Historical Sites Protection Act. The section states: "No person shall knowingly desecrate or alter a burial place or remove from it skeletal remains."

The act provides for a maximum fine of \$1,000, six months in jail or both, on conviction.

Ehlers said Monday he would plead not guilty. He said he took the mummy from a cave on Vancouver Island in April — four years after he found it — because bears had damaged two others in the same place.

The mummified Indian body was discovered two weeks ago by contractor John Stertz in a Surrey house he bought from Ehlers. "It was obviously a human body," Stertz said. "It was in a sitting position, with its head turned to the left and its hands straight down."

Stertz said the mummy was in a makeshift plywood box wrapped in brown canvas. He immediately contacted the police.

Ehlers said he had taken the box to Surrey in the trunk of his car intending to give it to the Vancouver Museum. "I brought it over on the weekend and the museum was closed. I was going to go back."

He said he left the mummy in its box at the Surrey house along with other personal property, rather than moving it to a farm he owns in Cloverdale. "I didn't want to take it out to Cloverdale and then

have to bring it back to Vancouver again."

Ehlers said the mummy had been in a cave about 20 miles on the highway from Tofino and then about 17 miles into the bush. He said he had been hunting for black bears when he found it. "I was back there in April and just bones were left of the other two mummies. My mummy only weighed about five or 10 pounds."

The mummy now is reported to be at the Provincial Museum in Victoria.

Joe Frank, a councillor for the Tofino Indians at Opitsat, has said he will do everything in his power to have the body brought back and given a decent burial. He said he had known about the body for years and made an attempt to have the cave sealed off about five years ago.

VANCOUVER SUN, August 14, 1972

MAN CHARGED OVER MUMMY

TOFINO—A charge of removing skeletal remains has been laid against a man allegedly removed the 100-year-old mummified body of an Indian woman from a rock shelter here last April.

RCMP said Charles Ehlers of Tofino has been charged under Section 4 (B) of the 1972 Archeological and Historical Sites Protection Act.

The section states: "No person shall knowingly destroy, desecrate, or alter a burial place or remove from it skeletal remains." The act provides for a maximum fine of \$1,000 or six months in jail, or both, on conviction.

VANCOUVER PROVINCE, August 17, 1972.

Accused pleads not guilty in Indian mummy case

PROV. AUG 17 1972

TOFINO (Special) — A man charged with removing a mummified Indian body from its burial cave on Vancouver Island pleaded not guilty Wednesday and was remanded for trial Sept. 21.

Charles Karl Ehlers, 47, of Tofino, was charged after a mummy was found July 31 in

a Surrey house he previously owned.

Meanwhile, provincial archeologist Bernard Simonson said in Victoria he had been told by members of the Clayoquot Indian Band they want the mummy returned, and now is awaiting an official request from the band leaders.

The well-preserved body of the adult female Indian is being kept in the provincial museum in Victoria.

The charge against Ehlers is the first laid under the Archeological and Historic Sites Protection Act, designed to protect Indian burial grounds.

HESQUIAT VANDALISM SPAWNS MUSEUM

Indians act to guard burials

By RON ROSE

One day in 1970 some loggers working on the west coast of Vancouver Island stumbled upon a bush-screened cave just above the tideline.

They went in, ignoring the warnings of two Hesquiat Indians who were working with them.

Inside, they found it was a tomb for long-dead members of the Hesquiat tribe.

There were skeletons and even some bodies which appeared mummified, the flesh apparently preserved by the salt air of the sea coast sanctuary.

The loggers took out one of the bodies, sat it up in the mouth of the cave and took pictures of their find.

That did it for the present-day Hesquiat people. There had been increasing reports of vandalism and piracy by misguided and greedy souvenir

hunters, and the leaders of the Indian band determined to stop it.

They also decided to take steps to preserve their heritage by honoring their ancestors in a way that would impress the white man.

The story was told in a special interview granted The Sun this week by Rocky Amos, chairman of the Hesquiat Cultural Committee, which for two years has been directing archeological, anthropological and linguistic studies of the old Hesquiat village near Estevan point, north of Tofino.

And Amos, 25, a Vancouver heavy construction worker, leaves no doubt that the Hesquiats themselves are directing the professionals.

Everybody working on the site had to sign a contract acknowledging that the Hesquiats retain the rights to finds which may have price-

less historical value. That even applied to a film crew hired through the National Film Board by the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.

The crew of three spent the summer shooting activities at the dig but the Hesquiat Cultural Committee is hanging on to the film until its disposition is agreed upon.

If any commercial use is made of the film the money is to go to the band. And even if it's only used for educational purposes, the committee is going to take a hand in the editing to make sure that the picture tells the true story.

The ancestral bones have been collected from nine burial caves, examined and catalogued and stored away for eventual enshrinement in a museum-archives building to be called the Cultural Research Centre.

Artifacts that tell of early historic and prehistoric living conditions have also been collected, studied and catalogued.

Tribal legends and songs have been taped in an ambitious program to recreate the Hesquiat language (a Nootka dialect), which was slipping into disuse.

And this summer construction began on a traditional cedar-slab longhouse which will serve as a centre for dancing and other culture development at the village which had been all but abandoned.

Most of the band had moved away in recent years, to another Hesquiat reserve at nearby Hot Springs Cove, to Port Alberni, Victoria or Vancouver.

"But already people are talking about going back," said committee member John Raymond, who, like Amos, lives in Vancouver.

Since the committee was set up Amos and Raymond have been busy negotiating with various authorities, which turned out to be a two-way deal.

They had to convince federal and provincial authorities that the project deserved financial aid, and they had to hire the scientific field workers after making sure they saw eye-to-eye with the concept.

"We were pretty suspicious at first," admitted Raymond.

VANCOUVER SUN, September 7, 1972.

from molesters

"INDIANS TO GUARD BURIALS",
continued.

The significance of the work was best described by Dr. Jerome S. Cybulski of the department of anthropology at University of California.

Cybulski, who spent last summer at the site on a grant from his university, explained in a paper last fall how the scientists systematically recorded variations in bones and teeth.

He said preliminary estimates based on specific bone counts indicated that about 100 individuals are represented in the collection of skeletal bones from nine caves. Most of the caves yielded between three and 11 individuals, and one had as many as 60.

"The skeletal material from the Hesquiat harbor will offer a significant contribution to knowledge about the physical variation of early indigenous populations of the B.C. coast," he wrote.

"It is currently the largest sample with specified provenance to be collected and analysed from the territories of the ethnographically-defined Nootka-speaking peoples, and the first collection of skeletal material from this particular area of the west coast of Vancouver Island."

He said continued study of the bones should pinpoint genetic differences between people who lived in various localities.

The project is also significant, he said, because people of the band are taking an active part in it, and the information obtained showed that skeletal remains need not be removed from burial areas in order to be studied scientifically.

About 10 persons worked on the project last year and this year the number was stepped up to 30. Work on the longhouse provided employment for band members, but many other band members contributed work and services.

In charge at the scene of the work in both summers was hereditary chief Ben Andrews.

The researchers, and the band members who worked with them, were bunked in refitted cabins on the isolated reserve, and for recreation, they hiked five miles to the Estevan Point lighthouse to play volleyball.

Access to the old village is by charter plane or fishboat so there were few distractions.

"We didn't allow liquor on the project," chuckled Amos. "We wanted everyone to realize it is serious."

Field work ended for the year at the end of August but the studies will continue through the winter and work will resume at the site next summer.

Attracting a lot of attention is the linguistic program, which got into full operation this year under linguist Dr. Barbara Efrat.

Band elders have been talking into tape recorders in the Hesquiat dialect and English, telling all they can remember of the legends, giving specific information about events and places and describing life in the old days.

Thus, succeeding generations will learn how baskets were woven, how fish was cut, dried and salted, what herbs were used for medicinal purposes, how longhouses were built and space utilized.

An English alphabet is to be created for the Hesquiat words and graded language lessons given.

Square nails and boxes held together with wooden pegs found among the artifacts indicate the bodies were put in the caves before the trading ships came to the coast in the 18th century.

History still seems close to the village, where the church built by pioneer Benedictine missionary Father A. J. Brabant still stands.

And the Hesquiat are finding their place in history. One of the first things they did this summer was hide the bell from the church, dedicated to the Hesquiat people in 1884.

The bell had been removed from the old church tower and there were stories that somebody was going to "rescue" it as a memento of the past.

It was all a misunderstanding, someone said later, but a plane chartered by the "rescuers" was turned back at the beach and band members hid the bell in the bush.

Later this summer six of the Hesquiat carried the bell 1,000 feet to the project, where it was used to signal the work day.

VANCOUVER SUN, October 14, 1972.

Man who removed remains fined \$300 in Tofino court

OCT. 14 1972

Special to The Sun

TOFINO — Charles Carl Ehlers was fined \$300 in provincial court here Friday after he was found guilty of removing skeletal human remains from a burial place.

Ehlers was charged July 30 under the Archaeological and Historic Site Protection Act.

Ehlers — Aphaloma Charlie, as he is known here — moved one of two mummified bodies he discovered in a cave at Kennedy Cove, about 35 miles from here.

The offence wasn't discovered until John Stertz bought several acres of Surrey property from Ehlers and discovered the remains in a plywood

box under a table in one of two houses there.

Sertz and a friend pried the box open and discovered the body, estimated to be 50 to 60 years old, curled up in a fetal position.

The mummy was transferred to the morgue at Royal Columbian Hospital in New Westminster where pathologist Dr. Campbell Joseph Coady examined it and identified it as a mummified female body which he described as "light as balsa wood."

Dr. Coady testified that it was impossible to determine cause of death.

Ehlers was arrested by Tofino RCMP July 30, but re-

leased later that evening. He admitted removing the body from the cave.

Sheila Gay Cunniff, the Boehm, archeologist at the Vancouver Centennial Museum in November 1971 testified that she received a letter from Ehlers at that time asking if the museum was interested in securing one of the mummies for the institution.

Mrs. Boehm replied that the museum was interested but that it was against the law to remove the remains from their burial place.

Ehlers moved one of the bodies early this spring when he took it to Surrey where he moved there.

Dan David, a 68-year-old Tofinian who has lived in the area all his life, testified that he was at the cave in 1923 for the burial of a woman removed by Ehlers.

Although he hadn't read had to the spot since, David had no problem leading police to the Friday before appearing in court.

In passing sentence, provincial Judge T. G. Colthurst commented that he was satisfied that the remains removed by Ehlers were undisturbed skeletal remains. He added that the evidence presented by the Crown and David proved that the cave was a burial place within the meaning of the Act.

The evidence of the Crown and the statement by David and Ehlers also satisfies me that the remains did remove skeletal remains from their burial place.

APPENDIX II

Newspaper Articles Pertaining to the

Hesquiat Cultural Project

VANCOUVER SUN, May 11, 1972.

BURIAL CAVES

INDIANS - B.C. - ANTIQUITIES

Grant to aid

work

MAY 11 1972

Indians of Hesquiat Harbor on the west coast of Vancouver Island have been granted \$5,000 to continue archeological examination of tribal burial caves in the area.

The grant, from a \$61,000 cultural fund earmarked by the Indian affairs department for use in B.C., was made by a screening committee of representatives from the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs and from the department.

A similar grant last year permitted a start on gathering artifacts being looted by visitors to the area.

This year two members of the Hesquiat band and a professional adviser will undertake systematic removal of surface material in the search for burial treasures such as basketwork and tools.

The grant provides for payment of a total of \$2,700 to the two band members for their summer's work.

The Hesquiat Cultural Committee, which is directing the work, has plans for building a museum to display the treasures eventually.

Other grants approved by the screening committee at a meeting this week:

Vancouver Indian War Dance Club, \$3,000 to stage the third international war dance competitions;

Cariboo Indian Dance Club, \$1,200 to buy materials to make costumes, two drums and a tape recorder.

Members of the committee are: Noll Derriksan, chief of the Westbank band; Lou Demeris of the union staff; Jack Meek, community services officer for the department; and Don McKinnon, the department's regional supervisor of adult education.

VANCOUVER SUN, July 14, 1972.

At Indian village on Island *Indians B.C. Antiquities* 2,000-year-old find made

Canadian Press

VICTORIA — An archaeological project at an ancient Indian village on the west coast of Vancouver Island has yielded artifacts more than 2,000 years old.

John Raymond, a member of the Hesquiat band, said Friday radiocarbon dating of bone and stone implements indicate they were in use about 480 B.C. plus or minus 200 years.

Hesquiat is about 30 miles northwest of Tofino, near Hot Spring Cove. Raymond said the artifacts indicate the Indian culture has been continuous at Hesquiat for more than 2,000 years.

The archaeological project

was started two years ago at the request of the band. Federal and provincial governments provided funds, as well as trained personnel. Jim Haggarty, assistant curator of archaeology at the provincial museum, is in charge of the dig.

An unusual aspect of the project is that Indian men and women are being trained in archaeological field work.

It is also part of a larger cultural program launched by the band — a museum to house the artifacts is nearly completed. The band also

plans to build an authentic longhouse for use as a cultural and educational centre.

Elderly men are building cedar canoes, one of them a large ocean-going West Coast canoe. This winter several members of the band will be trained at the provincial museum here as museum curators.

"There's a big cultural revival going on at Hesquiat," said Haggarty. "Everyone is involved — men, women and children."

APPENDIX III

Letters Written to and from George MacDonald and Dennis Sawyer
to Determine How the Hesquiat Band Could Obtain the
"Original" Film Material from the National Film Board
Storage Vaults in Montreal

745 No. 4 Road,
Richmond, B.C.
V6Y 2T4
February 9, 1976

George Am MacDonald, Director,
National Museum of Man,
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Mr. MacDonald,

I have heard a few rumblings out here that films are going to be made or are in the process of being made from the 16mm film footage taken in the summer of 1972 N.F.B./National Museum student film project. I would like to know what, if anything, is being done with the footage that was shot up at Hesquiat during that same project.

Are you intending to incorporate that footage into any of the films being planned for the rest of the project's footage? Who has access to the original Hesquiat footage? (By original, I mean the material first put through the camera that cannot be replaced and from which prints are later taken.)

Where does the situation rest vis a vis the Hesquiats? Who controls the footage and its use? Is the N.F.B. prepared to release the original or are people taking prints from it to be then used in place of the original? Would the Hesquiats be able to get the original, without going to the intermediate or internegative print stage, from the N.F.B.?

My interest in this matter springs from my involvement in the project, back in '72, as a student film maker who went to Hesquiat. I am in the process of assembling interviews with local people who were involved and I am trying to access the project from this end of things. To know the ultimate outcome of the project, vis a vis the footage, would help shape the evaluation.

Thank you in advance for your reply to these questions.

Yours sincerely,

Jan M. Martell.



February 13, 1976

Ms. J.M. Martell,
745 No. 4 Road,
Richmond,
British Columbia.
V6Y 2T4

Dear Ms. Martell:

In reply to your enquiry regarding the Hesquiat footage taken in the 1972 film project of the NMM/NFB no final contract regarding use was ever signed but the agreement we did achieve was to put usage of the footage entirely under the control of the Hesquiat Band Council. No prints have ever been made from the masters except the work print which is in the hands of the Band Council (or more specifically, their cultural committee.) The masters are deposited in the Montreal film board offices under a reserve clause which restricts their use to purposes approved in writing by the Band Council. To date no use has been requested and in fact I have never even seen this material.

I do not understand from your letter exactly what use you are proposing but I can state that the material could be made available if the Band approves your proposal and provides us with a council resolution to that effect. Your question about internegatives etc. is a technical one which I am referring to Dennis Sawyer, the officer responsible for the project at the NFB, for reply to you.

Yours sincerely,

George F. Mac Donald
Chief
Archaeological Survey of Canada

/cmv

c.c. Mr. Dennis Sawyer, NFB

NATIONAL FILM BOARD



OFFICE NATIONAL DU FILM

P.O. Box 6100, Station A
Montreal, Quebec
H3C 3H5

March 9th, 1976

Ms Jan M. Martel
745 N^o4 Road
Richmond, B.C.
V6Y 2T4

Dear Ms Martel,

Re: Summer Shooting
Hesquiat Band 1972

Further to the reply from Dr. MacDonald re the above footage, other than the original rushes print from the shooting, no use has been made of the footage due to the agreement made with the Band Council by the National Museum of Canada, also any sound recorded is being held in the same way.

The NFB is unwilling to release any of the above material without prior consent in writing from the Band Council, to anybody. I would imagine also that the NMM and NFB would have to be convinced that the use of the footage in any type of film would have the normal approval clearance screening at workprint stage to ensure that the Hesquiat were not being shown on the screen in a detrimental way.

To ensure the archival value of the footage, once permission had been granted, only reversal masters or internegatives would be supplied from our laboratory.

Dennis Sawyer
Producer
NFB/NMM Sponsor Programme

745 No. 4 Rd.,
Richmond, B.C.
V6Y 2T4

March 13, 1976

Mr. Dennis Sawyer, Producer.
P.O. Box 6100, Station A
Montreal, Quebec
H3C 3H5

Dear Mr. Sawyer,

Thank you for your reply to questions I had addressed to George MacDonald of the National Museum of Man. I would like to clarify one further point.

How would the cost of a reversal master or internegative of the Hesquiat footage be handled? Am I correct in assuming that whoever would be producing a film for the Band would have to raise those funds? If this is the case, what is the per foot cost of both the reversal master and internegative process that would be done in your laboratory?

I understand that nothing can be done with the Hesquiat footage without Band Council approval.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jan M. Martell.

NATIONAL FILM BOARD



OFFICE NATIONAL DU FILM

P.O. BOX 6100
Station A
Montreal, P.Q.
H3C 3H5

April 13th, 1976

Ms. Jan M. Martel,
745 No. 4 Road
Richmond, B.C.
V6Y 2T4

Dear Ms. Martel,

The costs involved in making the reversal master on internegative and rush print from the material on the Hesquiat Band would have to be covered by the person requesting the work to be done.

Yes, you are correct, the producer of the film would have to allow for these costs in the budget.

A further point is that the new printing materials would have to be made optically because, otherwise, everything in the frame would be flipped - left for right, i.e. all the signs, lettering and hands would be as if reflected in a mirror.

Sincerely,

Dennis Sawyer,
Producer.

DS/lr

433 East 23rd Avenue
Vancouver, B.C.
July 17, 1976.

Mr. Dennis Sawyer, Producer
National Film Board
P.O. Box 6100
Station A
Montreal, Quebec H3C 3H5

Dear Mr. Sawyer,

Further to your letter of April 13, 1976 where you state that the new master for the Hesquiat footage would have to be flipped optically in order to avoid a left-right mirror switch of the image:

Why would optical printing be necessary to avoid this effect? How does the effect occur from reversal to an internegative?

Where would the optical printing have to be done?

What is the per foot cost of having the new master made?

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Jan Martell.

NATIONAL FILM BOARD



OFFICE NATIONAL DU FILM

P.O. Box 6100
Station A
Montreal
Quebec

July 22nd 1976

Ms Jan M. Martell
433 East 23rd Avenue
Vancouver
British Columbia

Dear Ms Martell,

Thanks for your letter - I was wondering whether or not my answer to your request had reached you.

Why optical printing? Well that is the only way we can make a reversal master positive, and I mention that method because if you intend to cut in A&B roll, that is the recommended way.

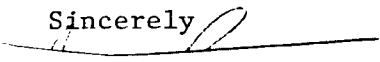
Then of course you take off your internegative and print from that. But should you only require a dozen or so prints, you could go to inter-neg straight away and print from the cut A&B interneg.

It is the cost factor to be considered where the amount of prints for release is large when single strip printing is cheaper than A&B.

As for cost - so much depends on the type of organisation ordering the materials, i.e. various Government Departments get a rate which is different from the private sector and as for where the printing would be done, it would have to be here because we cannot take a chance on the original ever being misplaced.

If I can be of further help please let me know.

Sincerely


Dennis Sawyer
Producer

APPENDIX IV

Letters Detailing the Film Project Origin,
Purpose, and Results

433 East 23rd Avenue
 Vancouver, B.C.
 V5V 1X7
 April 19, 1977

Mr. George MacDonald,
 National Museum of Man,
 Chief, Archaeological Survey of Canada,
 Esplanade Laurier
 Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0M8

Dear Mr. MacDonald:

I am in the process of pulling together a paper for the Department of Theatre, University of B.C., that examines the National Museum/ National Film Board/ Hesquiat Film Project of 1972. Distance impedes a personal interview, so I am writing in hopes that you will have time to answer my questions.

I am interested in knowing, specifically as memory allows:

How was the overall project started?
 Where did the idea originate?
 How did the National Museum come to be involved?
 What role did the National Museum play in the project?
 What was the purpose of the project?
 What were the aims of the project for the Museum?
 What were your personal expectations?
 To what extent were these goals achieved?
 Has anything been done with the footage shot in any of the filming situations?

Vis a vis the Hesquiat Project:

How did the National Museum's aims for the project mesh with the Hesquiat Project, as far as you were aware?

From your point of view, how successful was the project?

What was the value of the project as a whole for the National Museum?

Thank you very much for your time on this matter. Your response will supply a missing point of view, that of the National Museum. I have, since that summer, been dissatisfied with my understanding of the ultimate outcome of the project at Hesquiat and felt a bit of digging into the past would clarify the overall context.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Jan M. Martell



May 19, 1977

Ms. Jan M. Martell
433 East 23rd Avenue
Vancouver, B. C.
V5V 1X7

Dear Jan:

I have just been through two professional meetings and am only now catching up with earlier correspondence. I will try to answer the questions you posed to me.

We were approached by the British Columbia Provincial Museum the previous year to see if we could provide a physical anthropologist to the Hesquiat Project. I arranged a contract with Jerry Cybulski for this purpose and when the National Film Board and the National Museum began their joint student field recording programme at about the same time I discussed with Suki Anderson the idea of having some coverage of the Hesquiat Project in conjunction with a film programme in Southern B.C.]

The National Museum's involvement was thus in regard to the support of the physical anthropology at Hesquiat as well as the Hesquiat Project being a sub-project of the National Film Board/National Museum of Man film programme. The museum's role in the film programme was to designate the area of operation and to provide some anthropological guidance which was where Suki Anderson came in.]

The purpose of the film project was to record what I thought at the time was a most interesting example of a spontaneously generated cultural revival project in which this museum had some involvement in supplying specialized personnel. I really did not know how successful the project would ultimately be, but from what I know now from Jim Haggarty and Gay Boehm it did indeed snowball into something very significant.

I did not anticipate the problems that would arise regarding the contract with the Band and the difficulties that we would have in achieving written agreement with the Cultural Committee. As you are probably aware, we have not even seen the film shot that year. The master has remained in the National Film Board's storage vaults and we respected the Cultural Committee's request that the film not be seen or used without a written agreement.]

...../2

Ms. Jan M. Martell

Page 2

May 19, 1977

It is difficult at this stage to evaluate the success of the Project. I am very impressed with the prospectus you have developed for the film and if that is achieved, then I feel the endeavour was a success. The value of the overall project to the museum has been mainly in the physical anthropology area in establishing working relationships with Bands that has gone on to produce the Oweekeno Project in which Jerry Cybulski is also involved. Both the Hesquiat and the Oweekeno Projects have yielded a great deal of important information on physical anthropology and Cybulski has published and submitted a number of papers resulting from the projects.

I hope this brief response covers the topics in which you are interested and if I could supply any further information please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

George F. MacDonald
Chief
Archaeological Survey of Canada

/jh

433 East 23rd Avenue
Vancouver, B.C. V5V 1X7
April 19th 1977

Mr. Dennis Sawyer
National Film Board
P.O. Box 6100
Station A
Montreal, Quebec

Dear Mr. Sawyer:

I am in the process of pulling together a paper for the University of B.C. Department of Theatre that examines the National Museum/ National Film Board/ Hesquiat Film Project of 1972. A personal interview with you is impeded by distance, so I write, hoping you will have time to answer my questions.

I am interested in knowing:

How and why did the NFB become involved in the project as a whole?

What was the role of the NFB in the project?

What was the purpose of the project?

Was the NFB reluctant to be involved, if so, why?

What were the NFB expectations/ goals for the project?

From your point of view, how successful was the project in achieving those goals?

What was the value of the project for the NFB?

Thank you in advance for jogging your memory on this project. Since that summer I have been dissatisfied with my understanding of the ultimate outcome of the project at Hesquiat and felt a bit of digging into the past would clarify the overall context of the project.

Again, thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Jan-marie Martell.

NOTES FROM A TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH DENNIS SAWYER.
April 22, 1977.

If 1,500 - 2,000 feet of film was usable out of 20,000 feet, the film project would be deemed successful. Technically, it was successful because of the number of students who were employed. Sixty people coming from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia worked on the film projects. British Columbia and Ontario were equally represented by students. Five students came from Quebec. As many colleges and universities as was possible were included and the regional offices of the National Film Board were involved.

The criterion for selecting a specific location for a single film crew was based on interest by the National Museum, the value of the project, and the location's accessibility.

Ownership and use of the film material varied. In the case of Hesquiat, the Hesquiats told the National Museum that nothing was to be done with the film. The National Museum became the custodian of the material. Under its mandate, the National Film Board is the Queen's Council on Film and the N.F.B. retains the film material until a legal agreement is signed with the Band.

At the time the film project was being set up, many people in government were concerned by the dire necessity of creating employment for students. When the film project was being evaluated in the fall of 1972, a conflict of importance arose between this project and others that required funding.

L.I.P. (Local Initiatives Projects) was created in response to criticism of the student summer employment projects under O.F.Y. (Opportunities for Youth).

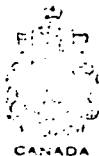
On March 6, 1972, Sawyer sent a letter (see pages following) to all the universities and schools offering film courses. He was led to believe that the project would span a three-year period with shooting in the first summer, editing and re-shooting during the second, and completion during the final summer's project.

Time and distance added to the confusion surrounding the Hesquiat Film Project. Susan Anderson did not understand all requirements or know the full story.

The overall project did prove successful in acquiring material for the National Museum and in furthering the careers of film makers, but was of little value to the National Film Board.

APPENDIX V

Letter Sent in March, 1971 to Schools Across
Canada from Dennis Sawyer,
National Film Board



P.O. Box 6100,
Montreal 101, Quebec,
March 6, 1972.

Dear

As part of its Student Summer Employment Program, the Federal Government has allocated some funds for the purpose of providing work opportunities to suitable students currently enrolled in film or allied courses in various Canadian Universities and Colleges. The funds have been placed under the jurisdiction of the National Film Board and are to be used to provide film, stills and/or sound coverage of many of the projects being undertaken across the country this summer by the Archeology Division of the National Museum of Man.

The primary function of these funds is to provide some summer employment to as many young people as possible. Having in mind, therefore, that commercial rental charges for professional film and sound equipment are high it is one of the preconditions of candidate selection, apart from competence, that each institution supply its own students with appropriate equipment at no cost. The availability of equipment will, therefore, be a limiting factor in the number of students that can be hired from any one institution. All such equipment, of course, will be fully insured by the Program.

The Program will provide each selectee with salary, transportation and living costs when away from home area, 16 mm colour film and sound stock and lab processing to rushes print. All materials produced under the Program become the property of the National Museum of Man. If the Museum wishes to take any of the record material acquired under the Program to a further stage of refinement, it will make appropriate arrangements directly with the respective institutions and cover the costs of any such work.

This letter is simply to alert you to the existence of this project. The Museum is now finalizing its summer program. As soon as we have a list of its priorities we will be in touch with you with a

detailed plan of action. In the meantime, if you could assess your resources in terms of available talent and equipment it could expedite matters at the next stage.

Sincerely yours,

DS:ms

Dennis Sawyer
Project Coordinator
Film Student Summer Employment Program