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**Memorializing Historical Imprints:
Analysis of Historical Texts and Photographs at Kitselas, 1850-1930**

by

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of the requirements for the degree of**

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Abstract

Photography, a rapidly changing discipline during the late part of the nineteenth century, played a pivotal role in the documentation of information, people and places with whom individuals came into contact. In addition to photographs, written texts (archival and published) provide distinctive documentation of events, peoples and places along the Skeena River and at Kitselas between 1850 and 1930. The representations created show the complexity of the context of interaction. The documenters, those being documented and the viewers (or readers) each have a role in the final presentation of a text or photograph.

This thesis employs post-modern concepts and methods in the examination of ethnography as allegory within the scope of visual anthropology. James Clifford's concept of ethnography as allegory is used throughout the analysis. Clifford argues that ethnography presents contextual information and a wider framework to readers. The wider framework consists of a general story with which readers connect. This connection presents the allegory for an understanding of the text. Literature from the field of visual anthropology, such as Edwards' *Raw Histories* (2001) will be examined to assist in making connections between photographs and texts. Pauline Rosenau's commentary on post-modernism is also explored. These theoretical discussions will be examined in relation to four specific historical themes during this time period: the salmon fishing and canning industry; the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway; the work of anthropologists among the Coast Tsimshian; and the impact of missionaries on the Coast Tsimshian people.

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Abbreviations

BCPA – British Columbia Archives

CMC – Canadian Museum of Civilization

NAC – National Archives of Canada

UCCA – United Church of Canada Archives

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The examination of photographs as well as published and unpublished texts between 1850 and 1930 provide varying representations of the people. Written and visual materials portray relationships between individuals and groups differently. These relationships are centered on communities along the Skeena River, where representations show several perspectives of historical events in the area between 1850 and 1930. This time period is considered one of rapid changes in northern British Columbia.

The combination of visual anthropology and historical analysis is key. A simple structure does not emerge in the analysis of histories. Instead, a complex web develops through the reading of materials. The process of reading texts provides an understanding of these complexities, as well as the understanding of developed histories and existing representations. These two concepts deal with the context of interaction by providing different ways of examining information. The use of moderate post-modern theories is part of the analysis. According to Rosenau – “the post-modern text is a plural text, so open (or vague) as to yield to an infinite number of interpretations” (1992: 35). This argument can be extended to photographs. By taking a moderate post-modern position, contexts of representation are explored. The positioning of participants adds to this infinite number. The positioning of subjects, documenters, and viewers/readers plays a role in the reading and viewing of information.

This time period witnessed sweeping changes in many areas. Sporadic contact with Russian fur-trade and mission interests, Americans and British individuals one hundred fifty years prior to 1850 has been documented (De Laguna 1990; Bancroft 1890;

Fisher 1992). After 1850, sustained settlement began to permanently impact the Indigenous people. The impact on the environment became more visible. Developing industries also contributed to the lasting impact seen along the Skeena River and throughout northern British Columbia after 1850. These rapid developments impacted day-to-day relationships and representations between individuals, which are documented in photographs and texts.

The areas occupied by the Coast Tsimshian people are the focus of this thesis. This area of the Skeena River begins at Kitselas Canyon and extends to the British Columbia coast (Halpin and Seguin 1990: 268). Coast Tsimshian society is based on matrilineal descent. The four crests of the Coast Tsimshian are: killer whale, wolf, eagle, and raven (Halpin and Seguin 1990: 274-275). The basic social unit is a 'house'. Each house owns specific fishing and hunting territories, crests, songs, names, and other privileges that are controlled by the chief (Halpin and Seguin 1990: 274).

According to Halpin and Seguin (1990), major changes were experienced due to outsiders. After the maritime fur-trade and the earliest overland trade, missionaries and the establishment of the first salmon cannery in 1876 were one of the earliest factors. The Coast Tsimshian adopted and participated extensively in these changes, as they had in the preceding fur-trade (McDonald 1984). The changes were felt culturally, economically and technologically in traditional structures. This involvement was to some degree documented. No single historical perspective speaks for everyone who lived along the Skeena River during this time. This is reflected in the multi-faceted historical record that exists. Cruikshank (1998) and Laforet (in Laforet and York 1998) discuss the development of relationships between narratives, histories, and those recalling the events,

people and places of the past. The analysis of photographs and texts will assist in identifying the perspectives of participants, both the documenters' and subjects'.

1.2 Literature Review

James Clifford's article "On Ethnographic Allegory" (1986) is an important text for this thesis. Clifford argues that ethnography becomes allegory and is part of a larger (shared) framework. Two messages are found in ethnographic texts. First, there is a cultural meaning, which is culturally specific to the subject matter. Second, a story is implied. Meanings and stories comprise the elements of the wider framework through the development of allegory. Both readers and subjects understand the wider framework, which is formed by the author. This shared framework helps to establish the allegory within the text (Clifford 1986: 99). In addition to documenting ethnographic information, ethnographies "... make additional, moral, ideological, and even cosmological statements" (Clifford 1986: 98). This definition of 'allegory' will be applied to texts, photographs, and the representations presented within these materials. The relationship building with non-indigenous individuals is documented. Within historical texts and photographs, these meanings and stories are documented. These histories discuss changes on the cultural and personal level. This information of cultural elements places the representations within the moment. Clifford argues that "whatever else an ethnography does, it translates experience into text" (1986: 115). The wider context frames the elements for a wider understanding of experiences, which enables the reader to be brought into the reading.

Within a single text or photograph, several perspectives may be found. Texts and photographs document changes through the eyes of the documenter. They also document changes from the participants' perspectives. Clifford states:

Allegory draws special attention to the *narrative* character of cultural representations, to the stories built into the representational process itself. It also breaks down the seamless quality of cultural description by adding a temporal aspect to the process of reading. One level of meaning in a text will always generate other levels (1986: 100) (emphasis in original text).

This narrative character shows readers other ways of viewing the information. They are given a role. They are part of the context of interpretation. This generates new interpretations through multiple possible readings of documented information. The development of these interpretations through the narrative character of the text draws attention to the embedded allegory.

Rosenau argues, "post-modernists dramatically revise the conventional roles of author, text, and reader. They diminish the importance of the author and amplify the significance of the text and the reader" (1992: 25). None of these takes complete priority. Each one has a role in the creation of representations and is involved in the conveying and understanding of information. The author, reader and text have equal roles in this relationship. Each contributes to the interpretation of information. The allegories presented in ethnographies depend on the backgrounds of participants; while those being documented assist in establishing allegories. Readings/viewings from each position contribute to the overall message. The readers/viewers are not isolated from historical events nor are they isolated from participants in the documentation process. Because

every ethnography enacts such a movement [of complexity between oral and written recollections], and this is one source of the peculiar authority that finds both rescue and irretrievable loss – a kind of death in life – in making of texts

from events and dialogues. Words and deeds are transient (and authentic), writing endures (as supplementarity and artifice). The text embalms the event as it extends its 'meaning'" (Clifford 1986: 115-116).

The experiences and background of participants affects the documentation process. The transient nature of texts necessarily means multiple possible readings. A continuity between past documentations and present readings nonetheless remains possible. This continuity informs the wider framework of documents, including photographs. In this view, the allegory connects documents, documenters, subjects and readers through the presentation of common meanings and stories.

Photographs may not be viewed as objective, unchanging truths. Photographs as allegories provide views of the past. As John Berger argues, "we never look at just one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves" (1972: 9). The relationship between things and ourselves allows for the creation of connections. Allegories facilitate these connections. They establish relationships between those involved and the material. To understand a photograph, these relationships need to be established. In this analytic perspective the subjectivity of photographs is apparent.

Sontag's discussion of the violent act of photography suggests that there is a distance between photographer and subject (1977: 13). She argues that "to photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed" (1977: 14). This possession is gained through the process of 'capturing an image'. This 'capture' may be interpreted as a violent act – this is seen through the language used. Photography is an intrusion and the forced detachment is crucial. This process is achieved when photography is used as a method for experiencing

a moment. Photography gives the appearance of participation in the moment of documentation (Sontag 1977: 10). This manipulation is part of the act of photographing information. The detachment of documenters, subjects and viewers is the element for objective viewing. By viewing a photograph as truth, the viewer understands that “. . .the image is re-presentation, which is to say ultimately resurrection, and as we know, the intelligible is reputed antipathetic to lived experience” (Barthes 1977: 32). Sontag and Barthes both argue that a single viewing of photographs takes place. In their views, photographs convey a direct documentation at a moment in time. On the other hand, Berger’s arguments advocate multiple viewings of a photograph. In his view, this provides more information about the process of documentation. This process makes room for the presentation of allegory. The allegory presents each viewpoint and dispels the notion of objective, unchanging truths. Berger’s perspective shows viewers more than an ‘image’. They are led to see that positioning plays a role in the meanings and stories perceived.

Clifford argues “ethnographic writing is allegorical at the level both of its content (what it says about cultures and their histories) and of its form (what is implied by its mode of textualization)” (1986: 98). ‘Content’ includes the context in which representations are made. Both content and form construct the meanings, the stories, the allegories presented in the ethnography. ‘Form’ can be linked to the perspectives of documenters. The ‘mode of textualization’ is presented by the creators of ethnographic texts and photographs. Framing, focus and subject determine the composition of the photograph. Sontag argues, “photography has become one of the principal devices for experiencing something, for giving an appearance of participation” (Sontag 1977: 10).

At stake here is the question of the validity of the photographer's actions. They are part of the moment of the photograph. Photographers are not an invisible entity in photographs. Instead, they shape what viewers will see (Berger 1972: 10) which is present in both ethnographies and composition. Viewers' contributions play a role in understanding the image and subsequently understanding the cultural wider information that is presented. The photographer/viewer relationship lies in background and experiences of both the viewer and photographer. The relationship also lies in the repeated viewing of the image.

1.3 Definitions

The *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (2002) describes 'representation' as: "To stand for, symbolize, or act on behalf of a person, group or thing. . .". Representations may be of events, people or places and are set within a specific time period. Representations are also petitions and commentaries of events, people and places, which describe the documenter's perspective. As discussed in the previous section, three perspectives are present: the documenter's, those being documented, and the viewer's perspective are part of understanding the representation. Each one of these perspectives comprises the context of interaction.

These definitions will be applied to the analysis of the four themes highlighted in this thesis. Various players had different roles in these events. Their roles were defined by their placement in the context of interaction, their ethnicity, and their gender, among other attributes. The representations arose from their particular perspectives. The four themes are the salmon fishing and canning industry; the construction of the Grand Trunk

Pacific Railway; the work of anthropologists working in the area; the work of missionaries on the Coast Tsimshian. Within these themes, the allegories of authors and photographers will be examined. On a broad scale, six allegories are clearly presented. Dianne Newell's (1993) theme of the Coast Tsimshian adapting to new economic structures within the context of the salmon fishing and canning industry. From her analysis, readers see that Newell conveys a sense of profound loss of control. Walter Wicks' (1976) theme of the changing cultural patterns of the Coast Tsimshian to accommodate the presence of and participation in the salmon fishing and canning industry. Wicks conveys the loss of a "colourful past" but to a lesser degree. These two texts will be examined in chapter two. In chapter three, the allegory of an 'wild landscape' being 'civilized' by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway is examined. C. Marius Barbeau's work of an ethnographer 'saving' the Indigenous people from being forgotten is at the forefront in chapter four. Finally, the allegory of the missionary guiding the Coast Tsimshian to a 'better' life is highlighted in chapter five. Other allegories exist within the scope of these themes. The allegories listed above, however, are a portion of the wider historical framework which exists throughout the texts and photographs examined.

Three broad categories of materials will be analyzed. First, 'formal historical texts' are published and edited documents, which deal with specific historical events. Academic but also popular histories fall into this category. Second, 'archival documents' are texts that have not been published. The lack of an editing process is also a characteristic. Documents such as correspondence and private journals fit into this category.

Photographs comprise the final category of material to be examined. Several criteria are used in selecting images for attention. They include: date, known photographer or archival collection, and ethnographic context. Many hundreds of images exist of this area and of the Coast Tsimshian. The Canadian Museum of Civilization Archives, National Archives of Canada, British Columbia Provincial Archives and the United Church of Canada Archives were consulted. Some photographs do not provide enough ethnographic context for analysis. The missing context makes it difficult to analyze the photograph and to understand the positioning of the photographer, knowing the date, the known photographer and the subject. Those being photographed and the context aid in the positioning of the photograph within a time period.

These criteria are important in identifying the photographer's mark, which is central to my argument. The background of the photographer shapes the photographic image. Three elements of composition of photographs are examined. These elements are used to establish photographer's mark. They are: framing, focus, and subject of the photograph. The 'subject' is the element the photographer strives to document. The 'focus' deals with the inclusion or exclusion of background elements. The 'focus' also determines placement of the camera in relation to the 'subject'. 'Framing' deals with the overall composition of a photograph. This element deals with the placement of objects within the 'frame'. Photographer's mark is similar to the author's voice, which is found in the reading and analysis of texts. The elements of composition are analogous points for texts. They are: voice, positioning of the author and established distance. The 'voice' in a text deals with composition. In any text, the author presents information to the reader. 'Voice' is a personal signature, which reaffirms the placement of the author

within the text. The 'positioning of the author' places him/her within the context of representation. The 'established distance' shows how personal the text is from the perspective of the author.

1.4 Texts and Photography in Ethnographic Research

Readers of history must look beyond the event at hand. They must consider other events that were occurring simultaneously. Other events shape representations created in a photograph or written texts. Historical texts are specific in choosing subjects. They do not allow for deviation from the subject. Texts, such as Margaret A. Ormsby's *British Columbia: A History* (1958) or Rolf Knight's *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1848-1930* (1996) examine specific events, people and places. These texts are not equipped to describe every detail. This level of description is impossible. Photographs also provide specific documentations. Edwards argues:

In many ways a photograph denies history. A fragment of space and time, it defies diachronic connections, being dislocated from the flow of life from which it was extracted. While it is 'of' the past, it is also of the present in that the past is transported in apparent entirety to the present. . . (2001: 8).

Photographs offer different perspectives than written texts by providing a visual record of past events, people and places. A photograph presents a 'fragment of space and time'. The presentation of information in texts and photographs is specific to context. An author of a text can reorganize elements from the past to make a point or construct an argument, while a photograph has to emphasize or omit elements through framing (Laforet, personal communication 2004).

The positioning of authors and subjects can be distinguished. The positioning provides clues for perspectives of participants in documenting information. First-hand accounts differ from accounts based in secondary sources. This is seen in the specificity of first-hand accounts. The involvement in the moment determines the information provided and what viewers/readers will see or read. These determining factors establish the allegories presented in the text (Clifford 1986: 98, 100). An academic author's involvement in his/her own moment affects the information presented. The shared understanding is present through allegory. By presenting common meanings, allegories create the connection between readers, subject and documenter. The background of the author contributes to the shaping of historical images.

According to Rosenau, "the reader may construct the text, but the text in turn controls the encounter. The outcome of every interaction, each confrontation between reader and text, is different and unique, temporary and never final" (1992: 25-26). Different representations are made available through these constructions and negotiations. The information found in texts or photographs is informed by the documenters. Their vantage points affect the text. As Rosenau argues the text affects the relationship with the readers. The roles of each entity are interconnected with each other. They are not removed from the creation of the text nor are they removed from the process of reading or understanding.

Authors' voice plays a role in shaping the organization of meanings and stories within a text. Authors' positioning and style allow the readers to understand these meanings and stories. This understanding makes room for connections between authors, subjects, and readers reading the text. By determining the placement of voice (as part of

composition), background information is understood. In photographs, the photographer's mark plays a similar role. It shapes what is caught in the camera's frame, and what viewers see. Clifford argues "What one *sees* in a coherent ethnographic account, the imaged construct of the other, is connected in a continuous double structure with what one *understands*" (1986: 101) (emphasis in original text). Early ethnographic photographs were used for documenting information. Anthropologists used photography in the field. These photographs were considered 'scientific', and were to be used for interpretation. This information was then presented to interested readers.

Early ethnographic photographs, to some degree, created a division between 'us' and the 'other'. Rosenblum (1998: 85) and Berger (1972: 7) point out these divisions. The divisions were more apparent in early ethnographic photographs. The positioning of participants augments the reading of photographs (see Rosenau 1992: 25). Today, the reading of archival photographs is different. It can be attributed in large part to positioning. Ethnographic photographs are now in archival collections. They are not 'artifacts' for first-hand 'scientific' interpretation. Instead, these photographs may be viewed as reference tools or historical documents. The division of 'us' and the 'other' is amplified. Perhaps the *viewer* is the 'other' (Clifford 1986: 101). The changing of roles is not as important as relationships of 'us' and 'other' but this is because "ultimately. . . an ethnographic photographic is more than simply an image of the 'Other', for it brings together the image maker, the subject, and the viewer" (Cummins 2003?: 12). As Cummins argues:

. . . all photographs, and the viewing of all photographs, represent a *process*. This process may involve a series of judgments, negotiations, compromises, consultations, assessments, reflections and/or decisions. These, of course,

necessitate the consideration of the cultural baggage and the experiences of the actors involved (2003?: 7) (emphasis in original text).

This 'process' is also undertaken by authors and readers when reading a text. Each role is informed by an individual's background and experiences.

The 'process' to which Cummins alludes to produces various documentations. The difference in technologies must be considered. Photographs allow viewers to see a subject, place or people. In a text, the description is more detailed. Readers must conjure an image by themselves. When combined with 'process' information is seen and understood. The information in texts and photographs will differ because of these experiences. The presented allegories will differ for the same reasons.

The argument that "context is, as with any historical source, crucial to the interpretation of photographs" (Edwards 1992: 5) is crucial in the analysis of details. This analysis may contribute to a different reading of history. Context is important in interpretation and process. The process of framing photographs by photographers is part of context. A similar argument can be made for textual records. That is why photographer's mark and author's voice must be identified. The analysis of photographs yields their subjective nature, which may be seen in the process of documentation. This subjectivity plays a role in the creation of representations. Photographs (and texts) are not subjective documents. They are created by people whose background are a factor. They are a factor because they determine perceptions. Perceptions impact the way individuals view their surroundings. Elizabeth Edwards states:

Photography brings the expectancy of the real, the truthful. The immediacy and intimacy offered by the photograph also suggest 'truth', for the intimacy and truth are perceived as largely contingent on one another; this, after all, is a guiding tenet of the field of anthropology (2001: 9).

Although photographs were used as documentary tools, other elements must be considered. The framing, focus and subject of an image must be considered. These three elements are important in the examination of historical context. The examination is essential because:

... photographs have made all classes of people in industrialized societies aware of how they and others live. Of course, photographs also may create unreal worlds by imaginatively manipulating the process, but it is the descriptive aspect of camera work that has been the medium's defining character of the past century and a half (Rosenblum 1998: 85).

The 'descriptive aspect' points to the understanding of representations. It refers to the interpretation of the representations made and extracted. These representations are found in the visual record. The photographs analyzed produce a cross-section of professional and amateur photographers who came from a variety of backgrounds. The reasons for being at Kitselas are numerous. A variety of reasons are extended to photographers along the Skeena. Included images are used to showcase various historical representations. Included photographs are from the Harlan Ingersoll Smith¹ collection. They are also from the Barbeau-Beynon² collection. These collections are found at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (the National Museum of Canada). Other photographers such as Hannah and Richard Maynard³ are included. Their son Albert was also a photographer.

¹ As an archaeologist and ethnographer for the National Museum of Canada, Harlan I. Smith produced an extensive photographic and textual collection housed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

² C. Marius Barbeau collected ethnographic information, with the help of his assistant William Beynon, of Coast Tsimshian and Nishg'a individuals and communities in British Columbia. Over the course of his career he also collected ethnographic information from the Kwakiutl, and Haida people in British Columbia but also the Iroquois and French Canadians.

³ H. and R. Maynard were photographers in Victoria, British Columbia. Hannah operated a portrait studio in Victoria. Both Hannah and Richard would travel along the British Columbia coast and into Alaska to take landscape photographs with their son Albert who continued after the death of his parents (Wilks 1980).

Charles Horetzky⁴ and others have also been included. These wide choices of scope of existing representations examined. Each photographer brings a unique quality to his/her photographs.

1.5 Conclusions

The analysis of photographs and texts relating to the Kitselas people of British Columbia are intertwined. We now turn to that analysis.

⁴ C. Horetzky was a surveyor and photographer for the Canadian Pacific Railway. He surveyed and photographed the northwest sections of Alberta and British Columbia, traveling from Edmonton, northwest to the Skeena and down the coast.

CHAPTER 2

Historical Representations of the Salmon Industry at Port Essington: The Role of Author's Voice and Photographer's Mark

One generation of native Indian fishermen was the indispensable guarantor of the fur trader's survival. The next was forced to defend – sometimes by force – the salmon spawning beds and their right to harvest the runs as they had for centuries; people whose fathers and mothers could recall the arrival of the first Europeans spent the summers gillnetting or toiling in canneries. The third generation found its fishing rights denied and its right to work in the new salmon industry put in question (Meggs 1991: 11).

The salmon fishing and canning industry, which was centered at Port Essington, developed rapidly. With it, changes to physical and human geography were instituted. Documents about the industry establish the historical context. There are different types of texts and photographs related to the salmon industry. In large part, these differences are shaped by placement of documenters, subjects and readers/viewers in the context of interaction. Photographs show a different but connected perspective on past events. The texts and photographs examined within the context of the salmon fishing and canning industry present varying allegories. The large variations in perspectives of documenters and subjects accommodate the lack of connections between allegories. Within these documentations, different representations exist of events, people and places. All of them are part of the context of interaction.

Academic texts, popular texts, archival documents and photographs were consulted. Approximately three hundred photographs were found and consulted. A large number of these are documenting places. The documents of places in photographs rarely acknowledge individuals. Less than thirty images in which people were the primary subject were found. The subjects are of landscape or machinery. The focus is on the industry, not on individuals. Overall, photographs of British Columbia's fishing industry

in the rest of the coastal areas are more plentiful. It is not clear why there are so few of the fishing industry on the northern coast. In total, approximately one thousand photographs of the fishing industry in British Columbia were found in the archives consulted. This number comes from photographs housed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Archives of Canada and the British Columbia Provincial Archives. The photographs included in this chapter are typical of photographs taken in the fishing industry centered in Port Essington. Photographs highlighted in this chapter seem to have been taken by non-participants. This cannot be confirmed because archival information is lacking. The images provide information from a cross-section of perspectives, which are reflected in varying positions of photographers. This is in relation to the subjects they were documenting. Photographs and written texts provide views of the Port Essington fishing industry, which show that the industry was not straightforward. It was a negotiation between various parties that emerged as a complex set of relationships.

Formal historical texts pertaining to the salmon fishing and canning industry are plentiful. Some examples include Joseph Forester and Anne Forester's *Fishing: British Columbia's Commercial Fishing History* (1975), Evelyn Pinkerton's "Indians in the Fishing Industry" (1987) and Geoff Meggs' *Salmon: The Decline of the British Columbia Fishery* (1991). Fewer texts regarding relationships between Indigenous and non-indigenous individuals exist. Archival documents are not included in this number. Approximately twenty academic and popular histories were consulted. Dianne Newell's *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries* (1993) provides a clear commentary on these relationships. She discusses the importance of salmon to Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and the importance placed on the

industry's success by non-indigenous individuals. She describes the stratified importance of salmon for the Coast Tsimshian, which is outlined in historical information and entrenched allegories. Texts focus on the participation of the Coast Tsimshian in the salmon fishing and canning industry. This is considered because they participated in two forms of fishing. Other texts also mention the relationship building between the two groups. One example is Walter Wicks' *Memories of the Skeena* (1976). His positioning, allowed him to observe these changes first-hand. Archival documents provide further representations of these relationships. Oral accounts and documents such as correspondence are included here. The documented perspectives provide insight into specific relationships. The difference in audience makes room for specific representations. The evidence collected for the *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* will be examined in this chapter (GR-1993 BCPA 1915).

The identification of the photographer's mark and author's voice is key to my analysis. Representations within photographs and texts provide complementary viewpoints. Viewers add their own interpretations. The photographer's mark is present in every photograph through framing, focus and subject of photographs, and can often be shown only by analysis. Each author provides a different ethnographic context and allegory. The author's voice is present in every text, as surely as every photographer's mark is in every photograph. The author's voice is present in voice, established distance and positioning of the author. These formations will be explored in this chapter. This is part of establishing ethnography as allegory in texts. Photographs made within the

context of the salmon industry create categories of ‘us’ and the ‘other’, which will be explored.

The Inverness cannery was the first cannery established north of the Fraser River in 1876 at Port Essington. It was owned by the North Western Commercial Company (Blyth 1991: 115). The canneries were owned by non-indigenous individuals¹. These individuals focused on the prosperity of the industry, which was dependant on the cooperation of the Coast Tsimshian. Those in charge, however, “. . . wanted Indians as helpers, not full participants or competitors” (Newell 1993: 54). Coast Tsimshian fished for subsistence purposes and they worked in canneries; the seasonal nature of cannery work allowed them to do both. From May to August, Indigenous people worked in the canneries. August and September were reserved for subsistence fishing. These catches lasted through the winter and into the spring (Meggs 1991: 52).

The rapid changes greatly affected traditional fishing practices. The participation in cannery labour impacted Coast Tsimshian economic structures by displacing other activities performed during the summer months. In respect to the industry the Indigenous peoples were on the periphery (Newell 1993: 53, 55). The development of new technologies also affected traditional fishing practices. Fishing boats with engines, not oars are one example. The ability to catch greater numbers of salmon produced environmental and economic changes. In time, over-fishing became a major issue. The

¹ The terms ‘Indigenous’ and ‘non – Indigenous’ will be used throughout this text. The distinction, in this case, is made in order to distinguish between those of European and Asian descent. Individuals from both groups participated in the industry, but in different ways. Those of Asian descent were primarily labour for the canneries, while some of European descent controlled and owned canneries. Individuals of European descent also worked as fishermen. For the sake of continuity, the use of the term ‘non – Indigenous’ within the context of this chapter refers to those of European descent.

introduction of government regulations was another example (Newell 1993: 96). These changes also affected the control of the industry and the regulation of resources.

The participation of Coast Tsimshian peoples was a familial affair. This was true for traditional fishing practices and cannery labour. Indigenous men and boys worked on the boats. Women and older individuals worked in the canneries where they prepared the salmon, packed cans and repaired nets (Newell 1993: 53; Skogan 1983: 62-63). Elizabeth Spalding recalled – “mothers and grandmothers worked by hand, washing and cutting fish and packing cans. They passed the strength of their bodies and their working traditions to their daughters” (in Skogan 1983: 80).

2.2 Photographer’s Mark and the Role in Photographs

Background information of an image is important when identifying photographer’s mark. It plays an important role in documenting the historical record and affects the viewers’ perceptions of what they see. It aids in understanding the context in which representations were made. The mark is found within subject, framing and focus, which are part of the overall composition of an image. The photographer’s mark is present even when the photographer is physically absent. Every photographer has a particular style of taking photographs, which is affected by his/her background. The photographer’s overall composition is also consistent throughout his/her work. The Edwards Brothers’ photographs in this chapter are consistently framed (see Plate 2-1 and 2-12). This is also true for Maynard’s photographs (see Plate 2-3, 2-4, and 2-13). Most photographs can be categorized into two categories. The first category is (formal or informal) portraits. The second category is ethnographic composition. These

photographs document an event or place. These elements become the subject of the image. This is the opposite of portraits, where individuals are the subjects.

Plate 2-1: "Salmon in shed, B.C. Fishing Industry, Vancouver, B.C."
Edwards Bros.; National Archives of Canada; PA-11646
1930?

Plate 2-1 was taken by the Edwards Brothers², who were professional photographers. It is found in the Topley collection, which is housed at the National Archives of Canada. The image shows a prosperous catch. It is the abundance of salmon that draws viewers into the photograph and may be considered central to the story associated with the image. The individual in the centre is not the subject. He is there as a

² George William and Edgar Herbert Edwards are best known for their portraits, but they also took landscape photographs throughout British Columbia (Mattison 1985: E-3).

scale for the number of salmon. Background information is excluded from the overall framing. This enables the viewers to focus on the salmon, which is the subject. The formal framing seems to document the rapidly growing and prosperous industry in this photograph. Their ethnographic compositions focus the viewer's eye on the industry. The viewer does not focus on the individual(s) within the frame. Participants of the industry seem to be placed on the periphery. Perspectives of non-indigenous owners, seems to have been reflected in this photograph. This is seen by the focus on industry, not individuals. The lack of human portraits seems to allude to perceptions of labour. Despite presenting different allegories to readers/viewers the Edwards Brothers and Newell direct attention to the industry and not on individuals. Newell's discussion of Indigenous people as 'helpers' (1993: 54) reaffirms this view.

The photographer's mark is key to distinguishing the photographer's positioning. It shows viewers the placement of the photographer. The photographer's mark is partially affected by relationships between the photographer, subject(s) and viewers. These relationships and the photographer's positioning establish the understanding of representations. To understand a photograph, other photographs and texts need to be examined. Within the context of interaction, however, photographers are present, despite their visibility (or lack of it) in front of the camera. Wolbert argues:

The decisive capability of photography to freeze motion in a way that reveals the direction of movements at the very moment that light hits the film in the camera, is a key ethnographic practice. By means of the gaze and the direction of gaze, photography can also take in the photographer himself. Photographs not only document the presence of an ethnographer, but also tells us something about his absence (1999-2000: 337).

Photographers shape the composition of the image and the scene at the moment the shutter clicks. They are not ‘flies on the wall’.

Plate 2-2: “The Salmon Harvest”

J. Howard A. Chapman; F-06841; British Columbia Archives; Accession no. 193501-001. 191?

Chapman’s photograph (Plate 2-2) offers another perspective. This ethnographic composition was taken at approximately the peak of the industry. The salmon are again the subject of the photograph. It tells viewers a story. The story (and inherent allegory) centres around the salmon. Viewers remain at arm’s length, and only get a glimpse of the process. Viewers cannot fully understand the harvest solely from this photograph. More details may be viewed in a series of photographs and in texts (Wicks 1976; Skogan 1983; Newell 1989; Blyth 1991).

The photographer’s mark is distinct in the above examples (Plate 2-1 and 2-2). The Edwards Brothers (Plate 2-1) and J. Howard A. Chapman (Plate 2-2) have framed

the context of interaction in different ways. Both photographs were taken by professional photographers as ethnographic compositions. They may have been commissioned photographs. The work may have required specific views. This, however, cannot be confirmed. The framing allows for several representations to be extracted. One interpretation of both images is in the emphasis on salmon caught. This shows projected success for cannery owners. In turn, the industry would have benefited. Viewers do not know the circumstances of the catch, which may have been due to natural abundance or over-fishing. These unknown circumstances contribute to the various readings of the photographs. Viewers are responsible for interpreting these representations. They assign meaning through the process of viewing. The common strand in each viewing comes from the overall theme of the salmon fishing and canning industry.

The framing of Plate 2-1 and 2-2 documents the catches. The implications of the industry for others are not documented. This information is usually found in texts, such as the conservation concerns raised by Forester and Forester (1975), Muszynski (1987), Pinkerton (1987) and Newell (1993). Evidence collected at Port Essington for the McKenna-McBride Commission (also known as the *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in the Province of British Columbia* GR-1995 BCPA) and copies of *Fishery Regulations for the Province of British Columbia* (RG 23 vol. 78 File 6 Part 7 NAC) are some examples that document these concerns. A broader understanding of the industry shown in photographs must be gained from texts and photographs. Readers can begin to see the complexities of the industry. The understanding of information can only be gained from several sources. The complexities of the industry are echoed in the complex representations. The broadened understanding is gained from the identification and

understanding of ethnographic information provided and the wider context, which includes meaning, stories and allegories.

Plate 2-3: "Port Essington. British American Cannery"
(R. or A. H.?) Maynard; A-04171; British Columbia Archives; Accession no. 193501-001; 189?

Plate 2-4: "Port Essington Cannery"
(R. or A. H.?) Maynard; A-04205; British Columbia Archives; Accession no. 193501-001; 189?

The photographs of two Port Essington canneries (Plate 2-3 and 2-4) offer static perspectives. Presumably these images were taken on one of Maynard's trips along the coast where Maynard's British Columbia landscape photographs were taken (Wilks 1980). This documentation and representation of Port Essington is narrow. The framing shows calm waters and quiet buildings. The buildings may be empty for the season. The time and season of the image cannot be determined. Maynard's framing lacks direct human activity. The framing and focus presents a static view of canneries at Port Essington. The exclusion of human activity contributes to the static view. The photographer seems to be on the periphery. He establishes a distance between the viewers and buildings. Maynard's positioning determines what viewers see. These peripheral perspectives give priority to the imaging of a place. In turn, it is the documents of place, which seem to provide the allegory of the photographs. Maynard's focus becomes the wider framework for viewing the photograph. A direct reference to cannery activities is not established. The complexities of the industry are not included in these photographs. For these, viewers must consult other photographs and texts.

Plate 2-5: "Counting fish into scows (Fishing Industry B.C.) 1903"
 Photographer Unknown; W. J. Topley Collection; PA11649; National Archives of Canada; 1903

Plate 2-5 from the Topley collection at the National Archives of Canada shows a different view. The focus is narrow. There is an absence of background information of documentation of moment. The photographer documented an event; the subject of the image is the act of counting fish. Presumably, this image was taken near a cannery. Minimal technology forced this work to be done near canneries. To some degree, the event (subject) draws viewers into the photograph. The viewer's eye is directed towards work of the industry. He/she sees the aspects of labour within the industry and the work involved. Plate 2-3 to 2-5 show viewers two opposing views. Viewers must look at positioning of subjects and photographer. They are clues to establishing context and representation. There is a distance between viewers and subject in each photograph,

which is presented in varying degrees. The photographer is on the periphery of each scene. The photographer does not seem to be a participant in the industry and therefore establishes distance for the viewers. Viewers cannot distinguish relationships within the industry based on this image alone, but must rely on other sources for more information.

Plate 2-6: "Salmon fishing fleet being towed to fishing waters, Skeena River, B.C."
 Photographer unknown; Dept. of the Interior collection; National Archives of Canada; PA-47750
 c. 1928.

The photograph of the fishing fleet (Plate 2-6) is from the Department of the Interior collection at the National Archives of Canada. This information establishes another context of representation through framing. The Department of the Interior photographs documented the development of industries between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The framing documents day-to-day participation of

some vessels and fishermen. Very few background elements are included. This focuses the eye on the large number of participants in the industry. It is the photographer's placement that makes the image unique because it seems that the photographer had direct access to the boats and fishermen. Often times these types of images are taken on land. Another traditional position of the photographer is on the docks. These types of compositions establish distance between viewers and subject. Plate 2-6 assists viewers to feel as part of the scene. They are not placed at arm's length but are pulled into the photograph. The photograph is more focused than in Plate 2-5. The access granted to the photographer sets the image within a historical framework. It changes the viewing of fishermen within the context of the industry. The photographer's inclusion in the context provides a more intimate view.

Plate 2-7: "Cunningham's store and dance hall, Port Essington"

Marius Barbeau; negative no. 62371; Canadian Museum of Civilization; 1924

Barbeau's ethnographic composition of Port Essington (Plate 2-7) establishes distance. Place, not individuals are documented. The buildings are the subjects in the photograph. He has placed himself on the periphery of the scene. Individuals are placed in the foreground but are made to blend into the background. This is achieved through their anonymity (in the caption), they are not directly acknowledged. The static view can be attributed to this distance. Barbeau does not seem to be part of the community. He was not a participant in the industry. He is an outside observer. There is a distance between photographer and subject. There is secondary distance between viewers and subject. The framing would differ if Barbeau were positioned further along the boardwalk. Viewers would see more of Port Essington. They may even be pulled into the scene. Instead, viewers see documentation of place because there is no direct connection to the industry within this image.

Plate 2-8: "Salmon catch, Port Essington, Raspberry Island in the distance"
Marius Barbeau; negative no. 62367; Canadian Museum of Civilization; 1924

Plate 2-8 is another ethnographic composition by Barbeau. The subject is the salmon catch. The subject (the activity) is in the lower portion of the photograph. Raspberry Island is not the subject. Barbeau again does not include many background elements. This contributes to the static quality and to the arm's length view of the photograph. The framing of the image contributes to these qualities. The image provides a reference point of the landscape around Port Essington. Barbeau's placement does not provide a great deal of insight into the industry. The established distance shows Barbeau's relationship to the industry. As an anthropologist, he was documenting ethnographic information. This process of documentation in Plates 2-7 and 2-8 provide clues to Barbeau's positioning and the allegory of both images. The associated distance directs the connection to place, not individuals. Barbeau's photographs of Port Essington

are of events and places. His portraiture usually documented cultural and ethnographic information. These photographs were taken in Indigenous communities in the area. The dichotomy in his photographs shows a division in his work. Portraits were for documenting ethnographic information and would be interpreted for his work. Ethnographic compositions were documents of places and events. They were not included in his ethnographic work or texts.

Plate 2-9: "Steam Trailing"

Photographer Unknown; W. J. Topley Collection; PA 11614; National Archives of Canada; 1868-1923

Plate 2-10: "Port Essington, On the Skeena River"
 Photographer Unknown; A-04169; British Columbia Provincial Archives; 1888

Plate 2-9 and 2-10 are two representations of the industry. Both images provide representations of the context of interaction. They provide representations of place and events. In both examples individuals are not the subjects, but are on the periphery of the composition. Plate 2-9 is a focused image of labour. The individuals steam trailing are not acknowledged in the caption. Their placement is necessary, but they are not the subjects. In Plate 2-10, human activity is not included in the framing directly. The buildings represent human activity. Viewers can speculate on details, but confirmation is not available due to lacking archival information. Plate 2-9 and 2-10 provide contextual information for the viewers. They see what Port Essington looked like in 1888. They gain an understanding of work involved on the boats. The images show viewers what the photographer(s) documented. These photographs form distinct representations of the

subject matter. The representations inform the relationship between viewers and subjects. This relationship is peripheral because of lacking information. The personal connection cannot be established due to missing information.

The photographer's mark plays a role in establishing boundaries. The identification of the elements that make up photographer's mark are initial elements. Framing and focus show divisions between subjects and viewers. This is achieved through what is shown and seen. The creations of these boundaries rely on individual perspectives. The viewers' backgrounds affect the way they view a photograph. One must note "what one *sees* in a coherent ethnographic account, the imaged construct of the other, is connected in a continuous double structure of what one *understands*" (Clifford 1986: 101). Clifford's double structure reinforces that ". . . every image embodies a way of seeing. . ." (Berger 1972: 10). The interpretation of a photographic image defines boundaries. Photographs can create boundaries between 'us' and the 'other'. Photographs can show viewers a different way of life. The entrenched representations affect different interpretations. They can show subjects as an 'other'. At the same time, photographs show different realities.

Plate 2-11: "Port Essington, Skeena Commercial Cannery"
 Photographer Unknown; E-01327; British Columbia Provincial Archives; 190?

Plate 2-11 establishes boundaries between viewers and subject. The subject is the Commercial Cannery. The photograph is an ethnographic composition meant to document place. This point of reference partially determines 'us' and the 'other'. In this case, the 'other' is the individuals in the frame. The boundaries are established by the photographer's determination of the subject. Despite the narrow focus, individuals were still included in the framing. They are, however, unidentified individuals, within the context of the photograph. The framing seems to place them on the periphery. They may

be considered on the periphery of the industry. They may be seen as outsiders looking in. Viewers ('us') are being asked to focus on the cannery. The rest of the image is meant to provide background information. One can speculate that it is the creation of several boundaries, which draws attention to the photograph. The re-direction of viewers by focusing on the cannery invites viewers to ask questions regarding circumstances surrounding the framing and composition of Plate 2-11.

Plate 2-12: "Hand trailing"
Edwards Brothers; PA 11612; National Archives of Canada; 1868-1923

Plate 2-12 sets similar boundaries to Plate 2-11. The caption does not name individuals. The act (hand trailing) is the subject in this ethnographic composition. At first glance, little background information is included. The framing is quite narrow.

There are two types of individuals in the image. The fishermen and 'businessman' on the left provide some information. The relationships may be between Indigenous and non-indigenous individuals. This cannot be confirmed. No details are provided about their relationship. This may be viewed as contextually established boundaries. The fishermen are the 'other'. As in Plate 2-11, the fishermen are not directly acknowledged. The photographer establishes partial boundaries, viewers the rest. Viewers establish these boundaries through interpretation of the context of interaction.

Plate 2-13: "Port Essington Cannery"
R. (or A.H.) Maynard; D-06369; British Columbia Provincial Archives; 189?

Plate 2-13 by Maynard establishes different boundaries. It is viewers and the photographer that are the 'other'. The photographer's mark and positioning create a physical boundary. The subject of the photograph is the cannery. The focus is static. As in Plates 2-3 and 2-4, landscape is what draws viewers into the scene. Viewers are not provided with detailed information; they are outside of the scene. They cannot gain

insight into nuances of the photograph. They are the ‘other’. The (unseen and unnamed) participants in the industry have an inside perspective. Their backgrounds tell them that this photograph is subjective. Limited information is gained by only looking at this image. The participants’ understanding of the industry is not presented to the viewers. This combined with the photographer’s positioning makes viewers the ‘other’.

The photographer’s mark is determined through analysis and interpretation. It determines placement of the photographer. In turn, entrenched representations are identified and interpreted. The representations are part of a complex viewing of the photograph. Viewers see the photograph. They gain an understanding of the people, places and events. They gain insight into the context of representation.

2.3 Text, Allegory and Ethnographic Context

Texts offer different information and representations from that in photographs. Texts provide ethnographic context to the events, people and places described. From the established context and themes, readers can interpret wider allegories. What the texts say about cultures and their histories determines allegory. It is found in ‘form’ or the author’s voice (see Clifford 1986: 98). The information and representations presented by authors describe changing landscapes. This is done from the cultural and technological context. The salmon fishing and canning industry experienced many changes between 1870 and 1930. All changes are documented through the eyes of documenters. Participants in the industry were sources for documenters. They contributed to the documentation of changes as well. The relationship between sources and documenters influences recorded information, which is achieved when both individuals contribute to

the text. Ethnographic documents are good examples of these types of text. Academic and popular texts and archival documents will be examined. They are: Dianne Newell's *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries* (1993), W.A. Carrothers' *The British Columbia Fisheries* (1941), Walter Wicks' *Memories of the Skeena* (1976) and the evidence collected for the *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* (GR-1995 BCPA). The context in which they were documented differs; each text provides different perspectives surrounding the salmon fishing and canning industry.

Newell's publication (1993) and Carrothers' publication (1941) offer two distinct views of the salmon industry. Newell focuses on established relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals. Carrothers' concerns himself with the financial development of the industry. Newell discusses the ways that the Coast Tsimshian adapted to and participated in the changes brought by the salmon industry. Salmon was a staple food and used as trading tool (Newell 1993: 29, 30). Throughout the nineteenth century, the Coast Tsimshian participated in trade. They were aware that they were in control of the market at this time (Newell 1993: 31). Carrothers' description of resources for Indigenous peoples is – "it has been estimated that the average consumption of fish by Indians in British Columbia amounted to about twenty million pounds per year . . ." (1941: 5). In these examples, the focus on Indigenous peoples' use of salmon differs. Newell establishes a historical and cultural context; this is a recent element of academic writing. The discussion of Indigenous people as agents is also recent. Carrothers rarely mentions Indigenous people at all.

Academic texts aspire to be objective, but maintain an author's mark. This is found in the choice and framing of subjects and positing of the authors. It is not a matter of voice. Academic texts provide readers with the author's voice. The voice of sources or other authors are heard in various ways, such as quotations, endnotes, and composition of text. They are used as supporting evidence for the main (author's) voice. The formal language of academic texts is another contributing factor. It is a style of writing with a high degree of specificity of information and meant for a specific audience. Carrothers' employs the use of charts based on information from the Department of Fisheries (Government of Canada) annual reports for his arguments (1941: 7-10). Newell relies on archival documents. Objectivity in voice through language use is important by using 'the government' or 'the Indigenous people' to identify participants.

The use of formal language establishes authority. Academic authors assert their authority through style and established distance. The following excerpts act as examples:

In this crucial period, the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Indians lost effective control of the salmon resource and of their labour to the rapidly growing fish-processing industry. Led by the powerful salmon-canning industry, the industrial fishery was capturing supplies of salmon and Indian labour through federal regulations (Newell 1993: 96).

Considerable feeling arose between the whites and the Orientals, particularly the Japanese, who were rapidly displacing the whites. In 1920, the policy was adopted of granting unlimited licenses to all British subjects of the white race and to Indians, and of restricting the number of licenses to others (Carrothers 1941: 40).

In both examples, style is informed by other sources. Readers interpret the text as a historical analysis, not a first-hand account. The established distance between author and industry reinforce authority and informs readers. They are given clues to the author's positioning through the editorialization of their texts. The voice is seen through the

analysis not personal accounts. The analysis becomes the representation of the context of interaction. Academic texts present distanced representations of events, people and places. The positioning of authors is one factor that shows how academic and popular texts provide different ways of documentation.

Simultaneously, under the prompting of the fishing industry and European settlers, the fisheries department policy and enforcement shifted from loose interpretation of Indian food-fishing to strict control and curtailment, and Indians' access to traditional fishing sites and technology declined (Newell 1993: 67).

As the white man's civilization spread throughout the land, the Indian's trapping, hunting, and fishing privileges became continually more restricted and insecure. A blending of the two peoples became a condition of life and the [Chinook] jargon was less necessary. Today it is almost extinct, a dim reminder of a colorful past (Wicks 1976: 60).

The above examples provide different information about a similar issue. Newell's text establishes a distance between readers and author. The discussion centers on the issues at hand. As a result, the representations are static. The theme describes the ways the Coast Tsimshian participated in salmon fishing practices within the context of the industry is buried in the formal language. In Wicks' excerpt, he focuses on the relationship between Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. The theme of his text describes the ways in which the Coast Tsimshian coped with changes to cultural elements within the context of the salmon industry. The language he uses is less formal.

Popular texts are written by people who see themselves as agents within the context of interaction. This position allows for unique documentation of information because representations are more direct than academic texts. Walter Wicks (1976) provides an example for analysis:

That summer, we saw a cannery in operation. The sudden influx of multi-racial people who came to work in preparation for the canning season was exciting to

Paul and me [the author and his brother]. Our long winter isolation was now replaced with people of several groups, Whites, Indians, Japanese, and Chinese (Wicks 1976: 14).

Wicks' positioning allowed him to witness events first hand. His use of words such as 'we' are evidence for first hand documentation. His agency establishes (personal) voice within the context of interaction through his relationships with the subjects. The tragedies he witnessed further the allegory of cultural continuity—

When casualties were brought in, dead or alive, city dwellers were surprised by the consolation and help offered regardless of color or origin. We who were of that conglomerate of peoples did not tolerate aloofness or superior attitudes from any group. The harshness of life was a good leveler (Wicks 1976: 49).

Wicks' text provides representation of specific individuals who were involved. His first person descriptions do not focus only on major events but act as a personal memoir. The author's voice identifies the categorization. The established distance between readers and author is not great. The author's voice in this case, focuses on his involvement and on his perceptions. The voice describes a reality in a string of moments. Readers understand that the author had relationships with participants. He was a participant himself.

Archival documents present Indigenous perspectives more readily. Within the context of the salmon fishing and canning industry, their voices are heard. Indigenous peoples are agents in archival documents. The context of documentation usually depends on others. Their testimonies, however, describe their perspectives. The evidence collected for the *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* (GR-1995 BCPA 1915) provides some positioning of participants. Chief Counselor Peter Ryan stated at Metlakatla:

Some years ago almost nearly all the Indians had to do the fishing on the Skeena river but latterly fewer people are allowed to fish to what it was years ago and that is the great trouble to us because that is the only way we have to get our living. We are afraid that before very long that no Indians will be allowed to fish at all and that is what is troubling us (Metlakatla GR-1995: 2 BCPA).

In this example, it is the Chief Counselor representing his community. He is speaking in a familial sense. The context of the moment is political. Ryan is speaking in an official capacity as can be seen from the lack of editorialization within the text. His voice is directly available to the reader. The language used is meant to provide understanding for the audience, which is the panel of the Royal Commission. The testimony is meant to show the panel changes experience by the Indigenous people.

Chief Samuel Wise describes the relationship between government and Indigenous people –

When a man first finds a child the child is very small and is very weak and is not able to think, but as that child grows up it begins to get big and it is just like us – we are not going to be babies all the time – we want to grow and these reserves are a hindrance to our growth (Port Essington GR-1995: 6 BCPA).

In this passage, Wise is representing his community. It seems that the analogy is offered so that officials will understand. The presentation of this analogy is in the European cultural context. The political context of interaction is a factor in the language used. Wise wants to emphasize his perspective.

Many archival documents written within the context of the industry are set within non-indigenous contexts (GR-1995 BCPA; RG 23 vol. 932, 721-4-6(27) NAC; GR-0435 Box 73 BCPA). The political context affected representations. Readers bridge a perspective of the reading of a document, but often the formality of documents strongly shapes the way they will be understood. Cultural contexts and realities shape

informational presentations. The author's voice can be easily found. However, readers need to identify the positioning of subjects and authors before understanding documents. As in evidence for the *Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* (GR-1995 BCPA). Readers must play an active role in identifying context.

2.4 Conclusions

The context of interaction and distinctive photographer's mark shapes the representations. The identification of author's voice establishes context of representation. The placement of the photographer/author affects what the reader sees. The definition and identity of photographer's mark and author's voice determine the context in which information was documented. The placement of the documenter affects what the reader/viewer sees. These elements provide clues for determining positioning and context. Combined, these elements provide a greater understanding for the reader/viewer. Because the photographer and author document information, their role must be understood because their mark/voice aids in the understanding of their representation. This is so, despite the fact that subjects and readers/viewer also participate in the shaping of representations. They all participate in the allegories constructed around images. Images of the Lower Skeena fisheries are fairly static, and people are usually secondary to the main interest of texts and photographs. We will find a very similar situation in texts and photographs relation to the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, the subject of our next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Building the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, Building Representations

My general impressions of Prince Rupert entirely confirm all that has been written and said as to its advantages and prospects. The harbour is almost unequalled – the scenery, lakes, mountains, islands, rivers are picturesque beyond description . . . at the same time the natural attractions are so great that the place is certain to obtain a large tourist travel as soon as the town is fairly settled and good accommodation provided (A. Waldron Smithers MG 30 A93 1909 NAC).

The perspectives presented by Smithers, a Grand Trunk Pacific Railway official, are one view of landscape. His words invoke a theme that was apparent in textual and photographic views of the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. Photographs of the railway in northern British Columbia vary greatly in framing and focus. Oftentimes, landscape is the subject of the photograph and is usually placed at the forefront. Other elements, such as human activity, are pushed into the background. To some degree, this focus on landscape is the common thread of allegory presented in photographs and texts in this chapter. Associated photographs (from approximately 1870 to 1920) focus on direct links between the railway and physical geography. Oftentimes, individuals are alluded to in these photographs, but direct documentation of individuals is difficult to find. The elements of photographer's mark and composition affect the information presented. Approximately one hundred thirty images were found relating to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway line in northern British Columbia. This number does not include the images created by surveyors, such as Charles Horetzky, the most notable surveyor for this area. During his work he took more than one hundred photographic images. The exact location of his negatives and journals is unknown. Examples of Horetzky's work are presented in the form of photographic plates at the National Archives of Canada and British Columbia Provincial Archives. The photographs chosen

for analysis centre on documentation of the landscape. Within this definition, individuals are sometimes included, but not acknowledged. Photographs focus on documentations of place and railway activities. This focus seems to be continually tied to the associated documentation of landscape. The images included in this chapter are typical of images consulted. The number of images for examination decreased when criteria of date, photographer, and ethnographic context was applied.

The placement of authors within the context of representation will be examined. Not many academic histories have been published on the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in northern British Columbia. In total, approximately ten academic texts were identified. Joseph Arthur Lower's *The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway* (1939) and Frank Leonard's *A Thousand Blunders: The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and northern British Columbia* (1996) will be examined. Popular histories are predominant. Approximately fifteen popular texts were identified and examined. Of these, three were published by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. Horetzky's *Canada on the Pacific* (1874), the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway's *Prince Rupert, British Columbia: The Pacific Coast Terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway* (1909) and the railway's *Official Tour of Sir C. Rivers Wilson, G.C.M.B., C.B., president Grand Trunk Railway System and Mr. Chas. M. Hays, president Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, directors and officials over Grand Trunk Railway lines August and September* (1909?) are examined in this chapter.

Archival documents reflect day-to-day operations of the railway company by providing information regarding the context of interaction by company officials. In these documents, the author's voice is not editorialized. Six hundred fifty documents exist in regards to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and parent Grand Trunk Railway.

Approximately one hundred documents were found for the portion of the line, which runs along the Skeena River to Prince Rupert. This includes promotional projects, correspondence and ledgers. Harlan I. Smith's report "Totem Pole Preservation, 1926" (E 2003.27 B 762 file 6 CMC) will be examined. Smith preserved and restored totem poles in northern British Columbia during the 1925 to 1927 field seasons by securing permission from individuals and communities and then proceeding to restore and preserve the totem poles (Sapir Box 633 f41 CMC 1925). Smith's goal was restore all seventy-one poles in the area. The restorations were meant for the communities, which was the primary focus. There was, however, an interest in poles by non-indigenous people; the restorations were seen as a way to bring tourists to the area (Sapir Box 633 f41 CMC 1925).

Currie argues:

When the Grand Trunk was projected in 1852, it was to be the longest railway in the world. Later, it was characterized as the world's worst commercial failure. It was, in fact, a pioneer – in design and management, in finance and in the economic interrelations of Britain, the U.S. and Canada. It was a pioneer too in that it gave Canadians one of their earliest experiences with 'big business' (1957: 3).

The subsidiaries of the Grand Trunk Railway are included in this statement. The height of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway coincides with Charles Hays' term as president (Currie 1957; Leonard 1996). Hays proposed the use of American railroad company models for construction. (Leonard 1996: 23). Despite problems that arose, Hays pushed forward:

Like all promoted lines he [Hays] expected that this railway would encourage settlement and economic activities along its length, which would in turn generate traffic. But because of its location and standard of construction, the line would

also serve as a fast land bridge between points that already produced traffic and thereby capture through business from other roads (Leonard 1996: 20).

The company decided to build across northern British Columbia, which brought freight closer to Asia by a day's sail (Grand Trunk Pacific Railway 1909?). Construction costs through the mountains were double the cost of work on the prairies (MacKay 1992: 15-16). This, combined with the high standard of construction drove costs upwards (Leonard 1996: 20-21). These decisions were major factors in the company's filing for bankruptcy. The projected success was not realized when the railway amalgamated with the Canadian National Railway between 1919 and 1923.

3.2 Ethnographic Allegories in Text and Photographs

Ethnographic allegories differ from text to text. The presentation of texts

... is traditionally viewed as written communication. It is an attempt to convey a precise message to a specific set of identifiable readers. Enmeshed in a situation, a historical period, a culture, it must be understood in its social, psychological economic and political environment" (Rosenau 1992: 34).

The argument can be extended to the examination of published texts, which includes academic and popular histories. These texts are written for a wide audience while archival documents have a specific audience. In some cases, it is a single individual such as in correspondence. The context of a situation aids in establishing placement of participants. The participants are authors, viewers and subjects of the document. Perspectives and positioning of authors and viewers establish the framing of the text. The viewers' perspective affects the reading of allegories. They interpret the text and representations presented. The allegory in the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway images is an

allegory of landscape. Simply stated, the presented allegory is of the ‘civilization’ of a section of ‘wilderness’ by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The wider framework helps to establish a relationship between documenters, subjects and viewers. The positioning of participants is usually in the background. Their positioning plays a role but they are at best a marginal part of the information being conveyed within the context of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. However, they may be conveying a message of their own.

Plate 3-1: “Canada Pacific Railway Survey. 3 Miles above Levis du Canadien Pacifique.”
Horetzky, Charles; National Archives of Canada; PA 22574;
December 29, 1872

Horetzky had a talent for documenting landscape, which is the reason he was chosen for the Canadian Pacific Railway survey. Horetzky’s photographs draw viewers into the scene. In this case, allegory of landscape is connected to the photographer’s mark. The documentation of landscape provides distinct information of place where no

or little human activity is seen within the frame. Before 1872, Horetzky had a spark, which animated his photographs. But “from 1873 until he left in 1880 his photographs filled the requirements of showing the nature of the country, but they generally lack interest” (Birrell 1975: 32). Horetzky’s photographs show that he focused solely on photographing the landscape. This focus was the instruction given to him by Sir Sanford Fleming who was the head of the survey (see Fleming 1874). Plate 3-1 is animated by the inclusion of human activity, which focuses the viewer’s eye on the image. The framing of this photograph is determined by the inclusion of landscape. The placement of individuals in the background reinforces the framing. Horetzky’s framing of Plate 3-1 does not show outside human activity. The viewer is shown a representation of uninhabited landscape. Horetzky’s vantage point, mandate and experiences play a role in the documentation of the image. Viewers can only see what is presented to them.

Plate 3-2: “January 27, 1873 (Port Simpson)”
Horetzky, Charles; National Archives of Canada; PA 9144; 1873.

Plate 3-3: "Lower Skeena in Kitselas Canyon, [B.C.], June 1879"
Horetzky, Charles; National Archives of Canada; C 38019; 1879.

The two images above (Plates 3-2 and 3-3) are further documents of place by Horetzky. Plate 3-2 of Port Simpson shows no human activity. It aims to solely document the landscape. The buildings at Fort Simpson seem to blend into the background. The subject is clearly the physical landscape not the included human elements. The photograph represents an abandoned landscape, which is part of the overall allegory of railway documentation. Viewers, however, are pulled into the scene. The image was not taken at an arm's length. Plate 3-3 of the Kitselas Fortress is an example of Horetzky's later work. The static image lacks interest in the framing of the Fortress. It establishes an arm's length view for viewers. The image hints that the Kitselas are close to an end. Prior to 1860, the Kitselas people were devastated by smallpox epidemics. Eighty-six Kitselas were left alive. Subsequently, the Kitselas

Fortress was abandoned after 1860 when many individuals had relocated to other areas. The framing of Plate 3-3 reaffirms this sense of abandonment because background information within the frame is absent. The Fortress seems to be part of the landscape. Both photographs are framed to show an uninhabited landscape. The consultation of outside texts shows that this was not the case. Horetzky's publications also contradict this element of framing. His texts describe encounters with people. Plate 3-2 and 3-3 provide narrow documentations of landscape, despite the continuing focus on the landscape associated with survey work.

Plates 3-1 to 3-3 present different representations of geography along the Skeena River. One common thread is the absence of local human activity. Horetzky's *Canada on the Pacific* (1874) describes encounters with individuals. His photographs and texts juxtapose each other. In one case, he uses perspectives of miners as information for his survey. They described Port Essington and the Skeena River as such:

As for Port Essington, itself, it was described as a miserable swamp, backed by precipitous mountains, and having a shoal and poor harbour, a visit to which would have ill repaid me for the expensive and tedious journey down the Skeena (1974: 113-114).

This information is a single representation of the area. Port Essington was a viable place for industry because the northern salmon fishing and canning industry was established here. Horetzky's perceptions and attitudes are identified in the voice. At Kitwanselt, Horetzky visited an Indigenous community:

During the course of the evening and after supper, we were entertained by the exhibition of a native dance, in which some fifty men and women participated. They came trooping in, nearly all masked and dressed in the most curious attire; the men divested of their nether garments, and the women rather scantily arrayed considering the time of the year. To describe the dance would be impossible. The motions were vigorous; and if not graceful, were, at any rate, whimsical, and

rather free; the men and women dancing alternately. There seemed to be a leader on each side, who did his or her utmost to execute the most fantastic steps, which were accompanied by frightful facial contortions, and a monotonous chants, with which they kept excellent and time. After an hour's exhibition they desisted, and retired to their respective habitations, completely worn out, as indeed they well might be, their antics having been more like those of a band of escaped lunatics than of rational beings (Horetzky 1874: 131).

Horetzky's descriptions are full of his perceptions, which are shaped by his background and shown by his use of language. He came from a Victorian society where beliefs in social Darwinism were not unusual at this time. His placement provides additional information for readers. The representation of Kitwanshelt documents a part of the Indigenous culture, but readers are presented with a narrow view of the community. Horetzky was a visitor to the community and did not spend an extended period of time in the community. Horetzky viewed this experience in a personal way. An anthropologist, for example, would have viewed the event differently. The professional background of the author informs readers. Despite Horetzky's lack of understanding, the scene was documented. It is considerably different than information documented in his photographs. The excerpt from Kitwanshelt reinforces the allegory of landscape. Horetzky's language and voice seem to categorize the Indigenous people as part of the 'wilderness' and not as separate entities. The story is further reinforced when the text is considered a written chronicle of Horetzky's work in 'uninhabited' places. Noticeably missing from the text are Indigenous perspectives. This can be seen to establish a greater distance between viewers and subjects who have been placed in the background. Kitwanshelt is presented as a community Horetzky passed. There does not seem to be a connection between documenter and subjects. Readers cannot extract other perspectives because they are not documented.

Plate 3-4: "Native totems, Prince Rupert, B.C."
Wrathall, W. W.; National Archives of Canada; PA 95498; 19??

Wrathall's framing of Plate 3-4 separates viewers from the subject, which is the group of totem poles. The caption and focus do not provide information regarding the poles. This ethnographic composition reinforces views that Indigenous people are apart from their material culture. The Coast Tsimshian cultures seem to have been suspended because the poles provided a sole representation of the cultures through a single cultural element. The Indigenous people themselves are placed in the background. They do not have a voice in the photograph. This perspective may be seen as a form of cultural continuity (of material culture). The allegory of 'wilderness' is maintained through the framing and overall composition of Plate 3-4. The representation of Indigenous people through cultural material was common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

This information provides clues to the placement of the photographer. An approximate date can also be established with these clues.

Plate 3-5: "Looking about east from the National Railway at totem pole no. 4 on left pole, pole no. 9 in the house frame in foreground, pole no. 3 fireweed, leaning in the background of the middle picture, and totem pole no. 2 leaning against crab apple tree at extreme right; 1927; British Columbia" Smith, Harlan Ingersoll; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 70379; 1927

Plate 3-5 taken by Harlan Ingersoll Smith is another representation of the Indigenous people. This portrait of the totem poles is part of the series for the totem pole restoration project, which were meant for the Coast Tsimshian communities but were also supposed to contribute to the Canadian National Railway's tourist industry into the area (Sapir Box 622 f41 CMC 1925). The Canadian National Railway sponsored this project in many ways, by securing rail passes for anthropologists and having a Canadian National Railway engineer was assigned to the project who was responsible for technical work and transport of poles. Plate 3-5 is framed in such a way that the subject and focus is on the

totem poles and not on the people who created them. Readers must return to Smith's field notes for further information where he describes the involvement of individuals. The representation of Indigenous people is inherent in Plates 3-4 and 3-5. It is entrenched in the framing and focus. It seems that viewers are not meant to see the communities in these images. The consideration of this element places viewers at arm's length because detailed information must be found elsewhere.

In Harlan I. Smith's field notes the Coast Tsimshian people are more prominent. Despite the maintenance of the focus on landscape, Smith's theme also presents the cultural continuity of the Coast Tsimshian within the context of the 'Totem Pole Project'. As will be discussed further in chapter four, Smith's photographs are his primary documentations. This position is reinforced when examining the field notes in the context of his work. It seems that Smith was concerned with preserving cultural elements before they disappeared. In his "Report on Totem Pole Preservation, 1926" (B762 file 6 E 2003.27 CMC), Smith discusses the interest expressed in the work. The preservation and restoration of totem poles was at the forefront. The link between photographs and text lies in this fact. Smith's report and notes deal with preservation of poles as cultural elements. The established distance between readers and Smith is not great. Readers understand that Smith was closely involved with the project and that he was familiar with the subject matter. The text describes the participation of Indigenous communities, which is considered by Smith through the examination of specific examples. Smith had established relationships with the people with whom he worked. These relationships aid in the presentation of ethnographic information.

Plate 3-6: "Kitselas. Construction Crew Along the G.T.P. Railway"
Unknown Photographer; British Columbia Provincial Archives; E-00054; ca. 1910

Plate 3-6 provides a view of Grand Trunk Pacific Railway construction. Despite the lack of details, the crew is the subject. The framing shows a great deal of activity at Kitselas. The focus is specific in its documentation because extraneous background information is omitted. It seems that the photographer had direct access to construction crews. The lack of light in the image obscures the faces of individuals, which creates a static view of participants. The documentation of activity seems to be more important than the individuals. The association of activity against the landscape seems to stand out the most and draws viewers into the photograph.

Lower (1939) and Leonard (1996) described poor working and living conditions in labour camps (Lower 1939: 91; Leonard 1996: 96, 97, 102). A difference in positioning reveals differing information. The two academic authors are influenced by their background, which is reflected in voice. They are removed from the context of

interaction. Authors of academic texts are further removed from this context because they are distanced temporally and contextually. Details of construction are not available in Plate 3-6. Information about individuals may not have been required because the documentary nature of the photograph focuses on the event. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway popular texts (1909, 1909?) are another example. The established distance in these texts shows an emphasis on promotion. Descriptions of construction are not mentioned. The voice of these texts is the railway. Those affected by the railway are not acknowledged or discussed; this is not to say that they did not play a role. They were affected by the changes to the environment. This author is positioned within a limited context of interaction and a selective documentation process. In each example, the positioning of the author affects the documentation. The author's and photographer's background and experiences affect the presentation of information. In both the academic and popular texts highlighted, the landscape is the sustained thread. These discussions allude to the importance placed on landscape in the past and present by documenters associated with the railway.

3.3 Authors and Photographers in the Contexts of Representation

The personal experiences of individuals affect what they see and are reflected in the existing documents they create. The documentations of a surveyor differ from those of a railway official. Furthermore, "an author's intentions, motivations, opinions, and the historical, political and social context in which s/he lived are all assumed to influence what s/he wrote" (Rosenau 1992: 27). The relationship of documenters to contexts of interaction plays a role. These relationships are to be found within the composition of a

photograph or text. These relationships may be identified in photographer's mark and author's voice.

Plate 3-7: "In a cutting, Prince Rupert, B.C., 1910"
Photographer Unknown; Hays, C. M. Collection; National Archives of Canada; PA 21986; 1910.

Plate 3-7 is found in the C. M. Hays collection housed at the National Archives of Canada. This photograph is an ethnographic composition. The subject is the cutting, not the individuals included in the frame. The photograph focuses on the work of the railway and so the photographer emphasizes place. The photographer's physical position is

indicated by his shadow, visible at the bottom of the image. Viewers are pulled into the scene by the close cropping and intense focus of the image. That the image is in the collection of C. M. Hays, president of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway is surely significant. Presumably the photographer was an employee or contractor of the Railway. It offers direct connections to the standards of the railway company and the emphasis placed on highlighting landscape.

Plate 3-8: "Kitselas Tunnel, G.T.P. Railway, Skeena River, B.C., 1911"
Wrathall, W.W.; National Archives of Canada; PA 95446; 1911

W. W. Wrathall was a preeminent photographer in Prince Rupert. He photographed much of the surrounding region and had access to many places in the area. The physical geography is the theme of many of Wrathall's photographs. This is visible in many of his photographs (see Plate 3-4 and 3-8). In Plate 3-8 he clearly focuses on the landscape and the people in the image are entirely secondary. The individuals seem to be included more by accident than purposefully. The subject is the Kitselas Canyon Tunnel. There is a distance between photographer and subject. The result is a static, documentary image, the kind routinely found in company archives. Viewers cannot see details of the construction. The focus and framing of his images also imply distance. He seems to have been an outside documenter of railway information. It is not clear what his involvement with the railway may have been.

Plate 3-9: "The Skeena Valley Narrows, [B.C.]"
R.C. W. Lett.; National Archives of Canada; C 46338; ?

Plate 3-9 by Lett documents the operational railway, which is on the periphery of the photograph. The subject is the Skeena Valley Narrows. This ethnographic composition has little background information because the focus is certainly on the landscape. The framing does not document human activity. The photographer was a surveyor employed by the Geological Survey of Canada, which is a determining factor of composition for this photograph and the development of allegory of landscape. The survey's mandate was to document physical geography. Viewers can also determine this mandate because human activity is on the periphery. Lett does not distinguish between Indigenous and non-indigenous elements.

Plate 3-10: "First through train on G.T.P. Railway, April, 1914."
Photographer Unknown; Dept. of the Interior Collection; National Archives of Canada; PA 49805; 1914.

Plate 3-11: "Messrs. Ab. Smith, Chas. M. Hays, D. E. Galloway, Alfred W. Smithers, O. O. Winter, Frank W. Morse."

Photographer Unknown; C. M. Hays Collection; National Archives of Canada; PA 15030; ?.

Plates 3-10 and 3-11 are formal portraits of posed railway officials. They are the subjects of the photograph. The background elements are not prominent. The focus is specific. The landscape frames the subjects (the officials) in each photograph by its inclusion as background information. This element was surely included deliberately as a way to highlight and promote a significant part of the projected success of the railway. In such images viewers are provided with a documentation of 'official' tours. Such photographs are not meant to document only the railway. They document historic events, and can be defined as 'official' documents of the railway companies. Viewers are not

meant to see construction or labour in these images. They are commemorative images of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.

Prince Rupert, British Columbia: The Pacific Coast Terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (1909), a book published by the Railway, provides another representation:

In fact during the winter months whales abound in the water of Prince Rupert Harbor; these, with all of the fish industries, including coal, herring and oolachan, now only in their infancy, are capable of immense growth and advancement, and will be a great factor, not only in the building up of this city, but as a source for lucrative employment to the fishermen, merchants, steamboat owners, laborers, and others, who will purchase, rent and have their homes in Prince Rupert (1909: 11).

The representation of Prince Rupert is promotional. The voice of the author reflects the excitement of the project and it reflects the positioning of the author. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (the author) in 1909 was projecting success of the railway. In Plates 3-6 and 3-7, and in the excerpt above the documenter's positioning is within the company. The text and its images clearly reflect this positioning. The photographer(s) and author were employees. The documents, therefore, establish the promotional quality found in the showcasing of landscape within these texts and photographs. They would probably differ if the author or photographer(s) were not associated with the railway, because it is far less likely that the promotional perspective would be present.

Academic texts offer other perceptions of Prince Rupert. Leonard describes the design of Prince Rupert:

The development of a terminus on the Pacific coast frequently played a crucial role in the fortunes of the transcontinental railway system in North America. Since the location of the port in large part determined the railway's route from the Rockies to the coast, the company's selection and development of its terminus is

shaped not only the pattern of trade but also the growth of settlement over large portions of the Pacific slope (1996: 127).

Leonard's removal from the context of interaction shows different information from company texts. He discusses some of the problematic issues of the western terminus. These discussions are not found in the railway's popular texts (1909, 1909?). Lower offers a further discussion of these issues (1939: 115, 142), for example in his discussions of problems in obtaining land in the area. Both academic texts present issues of choice for the western terminus. Lower's (1939) and Leonard's (1996) relationships to the railway are far-removed. This lack of direct connection to the context of interaction plays a role in the way information is presented. Readers must take these relationships into account. This consideration establishes the critical and chronological distance as part of author's voice. This distance provides separate viewpoints of the railway from authors who were outside of the context of interaction. Lower (1939) and Leonard (1996) provide readers with distanced and wider understandings of some of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway's history.

Plate 3-12: "Prince Rupert, B.C. 1909"

Photographer Unknown; J. R. Wrathall Collection; National Archives of Canada; PA 95488; 1909

Plate 3-13: "1st Passenger train to leave Prince Rupert, B.C., to Mile 100. [Near] Kitlas June 14th, 1911"

Bulton Photo.; National Archives of Canada; PA 29859; 1911

Plates 3-12 and 3-13 provide ethnographic compositions of Prince Rupert. In both photographs, Prince Rupert is the subject but human activity is visible within the frame. The positioning of the photographers shows they were familiar with the town, but they do not appear to have been connected to the railway as employees, rather they record a historic moment. Viewers are provided with references to place, which allude to the coming together of 'wild' and 'modern' elements. They can see the beginning stages of development. Prince Rupert is not represented the same way in all texts, of course. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway's publications (1909, 1909?) promote the town as a continually growing metropolis. In the photographs, Prince Rupert is still developing. Framing reflects a certain distance from the context of representation. The photographers do not seem to be projecting their perspectives of future developments, but are simply recording historic moments.

Plate 3-14: "C.N.R. Railway, Skeena River 'Hole in the Wall', B.C."
 Photographer Unknown; Dept. of the Interior Collection; National Archives of Canada; PA 212816; No date.

Plate 3-15 [same as Plate 4-6]: "Chief Simon Wallace Gaum with Albert Mackenzie, at his left James Feak and another boy, all Kitselas Indians, being shown by Simon the notch in the mountains, and told about how the salmon season ended when the sunset at this notch. These men are sitting on a rock on the west side of the upper end of Kitselas canyon, British Columbia, from which this observation had to be made, and Simon came to show it to us. When explaining where the doors were in Laknitz's house there was one little door on the upper side of the house unusual to houses, and this was in order that the people might get out to make the observation from this rock. In the back ground may be seen Kitselas canon. Simon Wallace Gaum now lives at Port Essington, British Columbia, while Mackenzie lives at Vanarsdol, British Columbia. June 7, 1927"

Smith, Harlan Ingersoll; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 70377; 1927

In Plates 3-14 and 3-15 the placement of photographers is key. Both images document information regarding 'Hole in the Wall'. The relationship of the photographer is central to framing. In Plate 3-14 the railway is in the foreground. The line runs through the bottom portion of the photograph while the 'Hole in the Wall' is in the background. It is not the subject of the image. In Plate 3-15 [4-6] importance is placed on the 'Hole in the Wall' by the Kitselas people because it signified the end of the salmon

fishing season. This was when the sun set in a flap in the wall of Gitxón's house in the Kitselas Fortress,¹ on the railway side of the Kitselas Canyon. These photographs show the different ways landscape was viewed. In both images, landscape is central to framing, but the focus differed between the Kitselas people and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway.

3.4 Conclusions

'Wilderness' was something to be showcased, promoted and 'civilized' according to the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The Kitselas and Coast Tsimshian people interacted with their environment daily. It is the continued focus on landscape, which draws viewers into the scenes in photographs and texts. The positioning of photographers and authors plays a role in composition. The reader, therefore, is presented with different documentations of place.

¹ This is another view of this photograph in chapter 4. Plate 4-6 is from the Harlan Ingersoll Smith collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and offers another perspective of the mountain.

CHAPTER 4

Ethnography as Authority: C. Marius Barbeau and Harlan I. Smith

Now or never is the time in which to collect from the natives what is still available for study. In some cases a tribe has practically given up its aboriginal culture and what can be obtained is merely that which the older men still remember and care to impart. With the increasing material prosperity and industrial development of Canada the demoralization or civilization of the Indians will be going on at an ever increasing rate. No shortsighted policy of economy should be allowed to interfere with the thorough and rapid prosecution of the anthropological problems of the dominion. What is lost now will never be recovered again (Sapir 1911: 793).

Edward Sapir's words in his stated vision for Canada's new National Museum encapsulates a typical mandate for anthropologists during the period of 1850 to 1930. Among the changing methods of fieldwork within the young discipline of anthropology, rapid changes in photographic technology and the process of writing ethnographies, anthropologists such as C. Marius Barbeau and Harlan Ingersoll Smith worked with Indigenous communities such as the Kitselas and other Coast Tsimshian peoples. Their goal was to document ethnographic and cultural information. In Canada, indigenous peoples throughout the country were the focus of ethnographic collections and documentation, largely through retrospective ethnographies. The Northwest Coast was seen as an especially rich area for the collection of information because of the cultural materials, such as totem poles and oral narratives that could be acquired for various divisions of the Geological Survey of Canada (Jendzjowsky 2003).

Ethnographic work within this time period, including the work of Marius Barbeau and Harlan Smith, may be categorized within the wide genre of retrospective ethnographies, which focused on the preservation of 'dying cultures'. Indigenous cultures, those of the Coast Tsimshian, were viewed within a framework of 'traditional'

cultural elements. Barbeau and Smith were by no means the only anthropologists to use this framework for generating questions within their research. Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and many others also generated texts that may be placed within this genre. William Beynon, Barbeau's field assistant also used this as his primary framework in terms of documenting information¹. Ethnographic photographs and texts of this time period assert the presence of ethnographers who composed the cultural reality of the peoples they were documenting (Clifford 1988: 22). This creation of cultural realities comes from the positioning of the author within a culture that is not his/her own. It is through this positioning within a different culture that the ethnographer creates a cultural reality based in the other culture but influenced by his/her background. This assertion of presence and authority can be seen throughout the texts and photographs highlighted in the present chapter. They are examples of how positioning authors affect the composition of texts and the framing of photographs.

The period of 1850 to 1930 was a developmental one for the discipline of anthropology with increasing focus on anthropological research based in universities rather than museums, especially after 1900. Sustained cultural changes occurring among Indigenous communities across North America were key to the discipline during this time, helping to create the "so – called golden age of American anthropology" (Lurie 1991: 549). Lurie states, "it was thought that although all living evidence of the Indians might eventually disappear, the anthropologists' records could meet all scientific needs, analyzed synchronically and comparatively in the 'ethnographic present'" (Lurie 1991: 550). The concept of the 'ethnographic present' refers to the viewing of cultures in the

¹ Marjorie Halpin argued that because of the large amount of fieldwork Beynon conducted for Barbeau, he should be considered an anthropologist in his own right (1978). This distinction is why most scholars refer

present tense based on research or information collected of the past (usually oral histories). Anthropologists who subscribed to this style of writing believed that the peoples they were working with were isolated within their cultural context (Leacock in McGee & Warms 2000: 431). The creation of the 'ethnographic present' within the texts is closely linked to retrospective ethnographies and the mandate for Canada's National Museum given by Sapir. The analysis of cultural elements within the 'ethnographic present' played a role in the publishing of these retrospective texts. The gathering of pre-contact information was key to this analysis and publishing of texts. Sapir's mandate for ethnographic and other collection informed the work of Smith and Barbeau. The documentation of retrospective ethnographic information was at the forefront of their work. To a certain degree, the focus on the collection of retrospective ethnographic information may be considered the allegory for Smith's and Barbeau's work.

Our discussions of concepts of authority in ethnographic texts and photographs centres around the work of C. Marius Barbeau and Harlan Ingersoll Smith. Barbeau and Beynon composed numerous published and unpublished documents over a period of a half-century. Barbeau's *Totem Poles* (1950) and *Tsimshian Myths* (1961) are examined in this chapter. His field notes are also be included in the examination. The Barbeau-Beynon photographic collection holds about 12,000 images. The approximately 192 of 4,000 which have been catalogued are of the Tsimshian². Harlan I. Smith was known for his ethnographic photographs. Approximately 1,200 of 3,600 of his images are of the Tsimshian. This does not include twenty-eight cinematic films and additional textual

to the collection at the Canadian Museum of Civilization as the Barbeau-Beynon collection.

² Information provided with the help of Nathalie Guenette of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

materials that span his time at the National Museum³. Smith's collection of ethnographic information in the field was done primarily through photography. It is for this reason, that the focus on Smith's work will be on photographs not his field notes or published texts.

The process of documenting ethnographic information was central to the creation of texts by anthropologists. Throughout Barbeau's work, readers can see that the present has no legitimacy – the past rules. Barbeau's photographs show that in capturing a moment, the photographer captures all moments. The allegory in Barbeau's work is the preservation of 'dying' cultures. In Smith's work, the focus is on processual imagery. Within his documents he seems to ask 'How do you get the 'present' to stop and talk to the viewer?'. Despite documenting ethnographic information, Smith seems to take into consideration the placement of 'the present' within his work. Through these questions, Barbeau and Smith create different cultural realities in the moment of documentation.

Photography, after its rapid popularization in 1851 following the Great Exhibition, simply became one more way to document the time period. From the 1850s and onwards, as the technology became easier to manage, it came into widespread use (Edwards 2001). The use of photography as part of ethnographic fieldwork was cumbersome. Photographs were taken on glass plates, which measured the same size as the intended photograph. An 8 x 10 inch photograph, for example, was taken with an 8 x 10 glass plate negative. This, combined with exposure times close to one minute and sometimes longer, gives the viewer a greater appreciation for the large photographic collections that exist today. Some photographers of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century also worked within this wider framework of retrospective

³ Information provided with the help of Louis Renaud of the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

ethnographies. Some well-noted examples include Edward Curtis (Adam/Curtis 2001), William Notman (Triggs 1980), Richard and Hannah Maynard (Wilks 1980). Their photographs, although not framed within a formal anthropological discourse, may be considered as part of the wider process of documenting cultural information among the Indigenous people and also of the landscapes through which they traveled.

Edward Curtis set out to document the Indigenous cultures of North America and published a twenty-volume encyclopedia of his portraits entitled *The North American Indian* (Adam/Curtis 2001). Although not an anthropologist by profession, Curtis spent a great part of his life researching and documenting Indigenous cultures across North America. In his efforts to document pre-encounter information, many of his photographs were framed in a way that excluded clues showing that the Indigenous communities had already encountered non-indigenous people in many capacities. Portraits were framed in such a way that the individuals were in traditional dress and/or participating in traditional activities (Adam/Curtis 2001).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Richard and Hannah Maynard offered an interesting perspective on Northwest Coast photography. While Hannah Maynard was more involved with establishing and running a portrait studio in Victoria, she accompanied her husband Richard on his travels along the coast and throughout British Columbia, documenting the people and environments they visited. Their photographs of the natural environment, of man-made structures, and of studio portraits offer viewers a glimpse into the social and physical landscape of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as major changes were occurring. While they had different photographic styles, their dynamic collection shows viewers diverse images of the

province and the changes it was undergoing in the form of landscapes and portraits (Wilks 1980).

Finally, William Notman, a photographer of Scottish background, settled in Montreal and established a portrait studio (Harper 1967; Triggs 1985). Notman's portraits and landscape photographs taken from across Canada all have a reflective quality that speaks to the rapidly changing Victorian society. Notman's photography is known for the formal photographs with a non-indigenous point of reference included in each image. These photographs offer a unique insight into the relationships between Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in larger cities like Vancouver and Victoria on the Northwest Coast. Although Notman was an artistic and portrait photographer, the unique perspectives presented through the unique staging of his photographs show viewers a glimpse into the integration of both cultures in one photograph through the staging of these portraits. This is part of the context in which Barbeau and Smith began their photographic imaging of Northwest Coast native peoples. It should also be noted the Smith was cultivated by Boas as an anthropological photographer (Smith, personal communication 2004).

4.2 Photographs as Authority

Barbeau's photographs have a meticulous quality in terms of framing and on his focus on pre-contact elements. The photographs can be classified into two categories; formal portraits, of both human and non-human subjects; and ethnographic compositions, which include human, non-human and environmental elements. In addition to Smith's ethnographic and archeological work, he was also an accomplished ethnographic

filmmaker. Smith's photographs are usually in the style of portraiture. While sometimes he took centered and formal photographs, most of his portraits seem to be neither centered nor very formal. While Smith is known more for his ethnographic films, his still photographs provide a wider variety of documented topics for examination. Smith's ethnographic films are focused in subject matter, while his still photographs show more than traditional cultural elements of the Indigenous people he worked with – they document, to some degree, day-to-day elements which include both traditional and more 'modern' aspects of individual's lives.

Plate 4-1: "Gitsalas totem poles"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 62383; 1924

Plate 4-2: "William Jackson and family"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 49441; 1920

Barbeau's portraits, by contrast, are always set within the same sort of frame. The subject(s) is always centered, and very little background information is directly visible in the image alone. In looking at two portraits taken in 1924 (Plate 4-1) and 1920 (Plate 4-2) respectively, the background information does not offer immediate visual clues as to the place or circumstances that led to the image being framed in a certain way. Viewers are left to rely on the sparse captions and even more on Barbeau's and Beynon's field notes for clarification. The portrait of William Jackson and his family seems to be framed in the style of retrospective ethnography. This may be seen in the exclusion of background elements and the close framing of the photographs. This framing is consistent with salvage ethnography. Barbeau, the photographer, has a responsibility to be authentic (see Clifford 1986: 113). By 1920, the Coast Tsimshian people had experienced significant encounters with western and non-indigenous cultures. Ceremonial dress would only have been worn for special occasions. The framing and

centered subjects within the photograph do not present this information. Viewers once again must return to the field notes. Plate 4-2 is a representation of William Jackson and his family. It recreates a cultural image of the past. The portrait is an example of salvage ethnography in a visual mode.

Plate 4-3: "Salmon canneries at Port Essington"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 62344; 1924

In addition to ethnographic portraits, the other major category of Barbeau's photographs consists of ethnographic compositions. The particular image of the salmon canneries (Plate 4-3) offers a unique view. The framing of the image gives viewers a glimpse of the work associated with salmon fishing and canning, but the image remains static. The individual in the photograph is unidentified, and the large numbers of boats and individuals associated with the industry are not displayed. The photograph's focus is

on a singular subject, the one fishing vessel. These elements contribute to the narrow framing and the static quality of the photographs. Viewers are not drawn into the scene. This image, although an example of post-encounter documentation, has similar qualities to the portraiture. The static quality associated with Barbeau's ethnographic compositions, and to some degree, his portraits, comes from a narrow framing, and therefore, limited identification of the subject.

Plate 4-4: "The Fireweed pole, two house posts; Gitsalas canyon, north side"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 69726; 1927

This portrait of totem poles at Kitselas Canyon presents another static image. The lack of background information provides little context for viewers. They cannot determine details from this image alone. Viewers are not provided with information about the house posts. The pole is not mentioned in *Totem Poles* (1950). A definite

distance between photographer and subject is transferred to viewers; viewers have only an arms-length view. Without further textual information or a closer framing, viewers cannot gain a large amount of information from the image alone.

Plate 4-5: "Wedding, Gitksan Indians, Kitwanga, B.C."
Smith, Harlan Ingersoll; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 65518; 1925

Smith's style of portraiture differs significantly. This photograph (Plate 4-5) of the wedding procession of the Benson wedding is a good example. The procession trails past the frame of the image. The entire photograph seems to be in continual motion; the candid feeling associated with this photograph, and others within this collection from the Benson wedding in 1925, shows this element of movement. The movement within the photograph also aids in pulling viewers into the scene. The informality of the framing as well as the focus, the (cropped) inclusion of the church aid in momentarily forgetting that the technology was as cumbersome as it was in the early part of the twentieth century. The documentation process does not immediately yield results whereby the individuals

are caught in the 'ethnographic present'. The inclusion of the church and the bridal procession in 'modern' dress serves as a documented example of the Gitksan people as they were in 1925, reminiscent of times past. Viewers see that Smith tried to document changes to the communities he worked with, much more immediately than did either Barbeau or Beynon. The movement that can be found within Smith's photographs suggests a movement forward, instead of standing still, as is the case in many of Barbeau's photographs. Smith's documentation of the wedding procession establishes an immediate connection to context of representation. The photograph that is created documents information that reflects the time period more closely. The authority that Smith establishes does not depend on documenting within the frame of the ethnographic present. His work relies on his experiences. Barbeau's photographs rely on his background, which takes the position that Indigenous cultures were disappearing.

Plate 4-6: "Chief Simon Wallace Gaum with Albert Mackenzie, at his left James Feak and another boy, all Kitselas Indians, being shown by Simon the notch in the mountains, and told about how the salmon season ended when the sunset at this notch. These men are sitting on a rock on the west side of the upper end of Kitselas canyon, British Columbia, from which this observation had to be made, and Simon came to show it to us. When explaining where the doors were in Laknitz's house there was one little door on the upper side of the house unusual to houses, and this was in order that the people might get out to make the observation from this rock. In the back ground may be seen Kitselas canon. Simon Wallace Gaum now lives at Port Essington, British Columbia, while Mackenzie lives at Vanarsdol, British Columbia. June 7, 1927"

Smith, Harlan Ingersoll; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 70377; 1927

The framing of informal portraits by Smith gives viewers an interesting perspective on the landscape, both seen and unseen. Chief Simon Wallace Gaum, Albert Mackenzie, James Feak and the unidentified boy are the focus of Plate 4-6. The notch in the mountain, which is referred to in the caption, is outside of the photograph and is being observed by the subjects, also plays an indirect role – it is the reason for the men to be photographed the way they were. The importance placed on both the individuals and the

notch in the mountain seem to give viewers a specific message – that the environment played an important role in the oral traditions and culture of the Kitselas people. From this interpretation, the intended ethnographic documentation can be drawn. The photograph is very much a portrait of the four men; it is a partial documentation of an oral tradition, which describes how the people knew when the salmon season ended.

Plate 4-7: "The salmon catch at Port Essington"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 62351; 1924

In another example from the Barbeau-Beynon collection, viewers can see that Barbeau's framing and focus of the image differs from Smith's style. In this ethnographic composition (Plate 4-7), the exclusion of background information is the basis for the narrow framing of the image. Furthermore, when consulting the caption, important information (such as the names of the individuals in the lower portion of the

image) is omitted. The fishing vessels are also centered within the frame, which hints at the fact that Barbeau took the time to frame the photograph in a certain way.

Plate 4-8: "Two house posts; Gitsalas canyon, north side"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 69727; 1927

Barbeau's photograph of the two house posts at Kitselas (Plate 4-8) offers another example with a slightly different discourse. This example of Barbeau's portraiture is a documentation of human and non-human subjects. The framing is consistent with Barbeau's ethnographic compositions – there is little background information to give viewers a sense of why this image is framed the way it is, no clues as to a specific location are given, nor is the identity of house posts in the photograph mentioned. Both the totem poles and Irene Durham (the woman in the photograph), point further to Barbeau's need to frame images. While the portrait serves as an important

documentation of the two house posts in 1927, further information is difficult to ascertain from this image alone. Readers must consult the closely linked written notes on the totem poles. We cannot know for certain that these house posts are discussed in *Totem Poles* (1950), because he does not provide their particular names, and in *Totem Poles* the indexes identify only named poles.

Plate 4-9: "Carved ridge pole of a ceremonial house at Gitsalas"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 62287; 1924

Plate 4-9 is of the Qanis Pole of Kitselas. Detailed information regarding the pole is found in *Totem Poles* (1950: 165-169). The photographer's mark and author's voice provides clues as to Barbeau's placement within the context of interaction. The text provides background into the location and carved details of the pole. A narrative by Walter Wright (Neestahawq) is included in the description. It is entitled "Myth of the Dog Salmon". This is an example of Barbeau's photographs and texts coming together to compose a more complete documentation of this totem pole. The photograph complements the text. The information establishes Barbeau's authority on the subject matter. The text is meant for an audience with little background information on the subject. Because Barbeau's voice is identified through author's voice in the published texts, the Qanis Pole (and others) is presented out of their cultural context. *Totem Poles* continues the allegory of 'saving' the Coast Tsimshian from oblivion by documenting their cultural information. The cultural material will not 'disappear' because it has been permanently documented within the text and written the newly created allegory.

This portrait by Smith shows the upper portion of a pole before it was re-erected. Presumably, it was part of Smith's preservation and restoration of poles along the Skeena River ('The Totem Pole Project') during the 1925 to 1927 field seasons. The portrait is on site, and includes background information. The framing and focus informs viewers of conditions during this project, highlighted by the tent in the background. In Barbeau's *Totem Poles* this upper portion of the same pole is presented differently below.

Plate 4-10: "The top of the Raven-Sleeps-on of Qawm, at the Gitsalas Canyon (Tsimshyan)"
 Smith, Harlan Ingersoll; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 70399; ca. 1930
 Information and image taken from *Totem Poles* (1950: 430)⁴

⁴ Note that the negatives of Plates 4-9 and 4-10 have the same accession number.

Despite this being a Tsimshian pole, it is showcased with narratives from the Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian. Barbeau's introduction to the section provides some context of representation:

The difference between a story of *adaorh* (in Tsimshian) and a tale was never a matter of doubt among the tribes of the north Pacific Coast. For example, the veracity of an *adaorh* in the Salmon-Eater tradition stands unquestioned. Such narratives really hold more than a grain of truth and reflect tribal recollections like the passage of Wolf clan ancestors under the receding Stikine Glacier. But the fictitious character of tales like those of the Raven, the Thunderbird, the Whale and the Dragon with Two heads is obvious to most listeners. These belong to the realm of pure mythology (Barbeau 1950: 324) (*italics in original text*).

In this case, Barbeau distances himself from the narratives and poles. Viewers are not drawn into the context of representation by Barbeau's treatment of the image in Plate 4-10. Barbeau's established distance and positioning leave readers at arm's length. Both anthropologists create different cultural realities through their positioning. Barbeau's seems to be of salvage ethnography in a direct sense. He is speaking within the context of an ethnographic present. Barbeau's ethnographic documentations deal directly with his understanding of the indigenous cultural information he documented. By reading Barbeau's published texts and comparing them to his field notes, if his sources provided information that did not fit into his understanding of cultural information within the ethnographic present, then it was omitted from published texts. Barbeau stayed true to his allegory of 'saving' the Coast Tsimshian, but it was preserved according to his frames of reference and created cultural realities (Laforet and Smith, personal communication 2004). Smith's positioning in salvage ethnography shows that he was attempting to restore poles within a different context of representation. His creation of a cultural reality does not take away from the outside changes that were impacting the community at that moment in time.

Plate 4-11: "Port Essington"
Barbeau, Marius; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 62373; 1924

Plate 4-12: "Mr. and Mrs. F. Benson, Gitksan Indians, after wedding ceremony. August 24, 1925"
Smith, Harlan Ingersoll; Canadian Museum of Civilization; negative no. 64378; 1925

Plates 4-11 and 4-12 offer a commentary on events, people and places along the Skeena River and among the Kitselas and other Coast Tsimshian communities. Barbeau and Smith's different photographic styles add to the historical and ethnographic record. The representations made within these images and ethnographic texts are valuable for ethnographic study, although a complete view is difficult to ascertain from the photographs alone. Barbeau's ethnographic composition of his image of Port Essington offers a snapshot of the town in 1924 (Plate 4-11). Conversely, Smith's informal portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Benson and members of their wedding party (Plate 4- 12) records a specific event, with specific participants. In the case of Smith's portraits, Smith seems to

offer viewers snapshots in time in which viewers are drawn into the scene. As already discussed, Barbeau's rigid and sometimes static photographs do not allow viewers to get closer than an arms-length view. Both images, however, are important ethnographic documentations of this era. Smith's photographs, along with the individuals peeking over the shoulders of the Bensons, show the excitement and activity associated with a wedding. Barbeau's photograph of Port Essington offers a quiet documentation of an otherwise busy town as described by other historical accounts.

4.3 Ethnographic Writing: Voice and Authority

The development of ethnographic writing began within the early years of anthropological practice. This style of writing focused on transmitting cultural information. Fieldworkers usually documented the information while living among the community for an extended period of time. According to Clifford,

the new fieldworkers sharply distinguished themselves from the earlier 'men on the spot' – the missionary, the administrator, the trader, and the traveler – whose knowledge of indigenous people, they argued, was not informed by the best scientific hypotheses or a sufficient neutrality (1988: 27).

These 'scientific' positions were conducted within an explicit research setting. This may be readily identified in Smith's and Barbeau's work. It is exemplified through their focus on cultural knowledge, which also contributes to the development of allegory of preserving the Coast Tsimshian cultures through ethnography. Barbeau's positioning may be identified, to a certain degree, through author's voice. The identification of voice within a text identifies the relationship between author and subjects. The construction of this relationship is affected by the backgrounds and experiences of all participants. A

dichotomy may be noted between the field notes and published texts written and Barbeau. In field texts, the voice is that of the Indigenous people; in published texts it is much more that of the ethnographer. The positioning of Barbeau within the context of interaction plays a role in this dichotomy.

The relationship between documenters, audiences and subjects is entrenched in the documentation of information. Each plays a role. In order for the audience to understand the information presented, a connection to subject through allegory must be made. The specific framework of a text contains the ethnographic information, while the wider framework includes the entrenched allegory that serves as a means to connect the author, subjects and readers of a text (see Clifford 1986: 99). While this element has been discussed in chapters two and three, we have augmented it in our examination of issues relating to 'authority' in ethnographic writing. The ethnographers can take a step away from their ethnographic subjects. Field work experiences may become part of the author's background and may affect their perceptions (Clifford 1988: 39). These changes in perceptions will affect the presentation of information to readers. The ethnographic subjects, otherwise referred to as sources, cannot take a step away from the material. The cultural material is already part of their experiences and plays a role in forming perceptions. When ethnographers remove themselves from the context of interaction, the allegory may be presented and understood differently. Within Barbeau's ethnographic work, the allegory presented to readers is one of Barbeau preserving and 'saving' the Coast Tsimshian people from disappearing through his written work.

Barbeau's published works tended to focus on larger concepts and traditional forms, as in the published text, *Totem Poles of the Gitksan* (1929), for example. Smith, a

trained archaeologist, came to ethnographic work in 1920 at the National Museum of Canada. His published works were primarily archaeological or were works that dealt with museum issues. His ethnographic notes and writing focus more on the collection of specific data, as opposed to overall themes, and are reminiscent of archaeological perspectives. The texts deal with issues one at a time and in a specific order (Jendzjowsky 2003).

The two anthropologists had very different foci and approaches to their work. Barbeau's primary method of documentation of information was in his written notes. His photographs were seen as an extension of these notes. Barbeau's work dealt with wider frames of information, rather than focusing on individual cultural elements, which was Smith's style. Smith's photographs are the primary documents in the collection of ethnographic information. It is for this reason that the focus on Smith will remain with his photographs and will not include a discussion of his written work. Smith's training in ethnographic photography and his work in museum settings were major aspects in this emphasis. This difference in documentation is key to understanding Smith's and Barbeau's styles of photography and ethnography, as well as the impacts they made on overall historical representations of the area. A difference in focus, as can be seen in the Barbeau-Beynon and Smith collections indeed yield different sorts of documentation and representations of the same areas. The photographs offer visual evidence as to the differing views of Smith, Barbeau and Beynon.

Barbeau's field notes are ethnographies based on the collection of narratives and other cultural information. In some cases, Barbeau used shorthand to record the information. The "Myth of Sedzan" told by Agnes Hudson is one example (B-F-43.1

CMC). The field notes for this narrative provide place names, and other cultural information. The voice is that of Agnes Hudson. Barbeau merely recorded her narrative:

This was the dirge song that was sung at the erection of the q.aye pole. From this lake the people still wander around the mountains. And while they were at the mountain top they came to a lake in which they saw this q.ayet (or bullhead). . .

Throughout *Tsimshian Myths* (1961) the language is formal. The voice belongs to Barbeau. The sources are cited, but Barbeau seems to have re-interpreted the text. Greater explanation of the Tsimshian language and place names is provided for readers. Each narrative features a documented source. There is an attempt to contextualize the narratives. This process is lost with the loss of the source's voice. When presented in published texts the sources Barbeau worked with are removed from the context. The narratives are temporally and culturally suspended in this alternate context. The original allegory may be obscured within the published texts, or it may be remade. Barbeau's allegory within these specific examples remains the same – he is 'saving' the Coast Tsimshian from oblivion through this texts.

"Ethnography's disappearing object is, then, in significant degree, a rhetorical construct legitimating a representational practice: 'salvage' ethnography in its widest sense. The other is lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in text" (Clifford 1986: 112). Barbeau's *Totem Poles* (1950) may be considered 'salvage' ethnography. The primary voice (Barbeau's) helps to establish positioning within author's voice. Readers understand that Barbeau knew a great deal about the subject matter. Barbeau argues that many of the totem poles on the Northwest Coast no longer exist; that the totem poles are part of disappearing traditions in the area. The totem poles described in the text (1950) are saved from disintegration in a cultural sense. Barbeau's text creates a

cultural reality whereby the poles become monuments to 'disappearing' cultures. The cultural reality comes from the theme of 'dying cultures'. The totem poles and associated narratives are removed from the cultural context. They are at an arm's length to the Coast Tsimshian people.

In the preface to *Tsimshian Myths*, Barbeau states:

The sources of inherited knowledge have not yet dried up, at least not among the three sub-nations of the Tsimshian, whose comparative isolation has sheltered their integrity for a longer period than it has their neighbours', the Tlingits' and the Haidas'. But inherited culture among them is bound to run out with the passing of the present-day elders. The younger generation has definitely turned its back upon the past (1961: v).

This statement is a result of Barbeau's field experience and may be interpreted as his attempt to preserve cultural information within his ethnographic texts. By bringing the narratives into a written format, Barbeau is salvaging the cultural information (see Clifford 1986: 113). Barbeau has suspended the cultural context of the totem poles, and it becomes more difficult to re-place them in their original context. However, it would become more difficult to place them in a cultural context if they disappeared entirely. This belief is the foundation of the allegory of preservation within Barbeau's texts. Likewise, documented narratives are placed in the ethnographic present and cultural context is once again separated from the narratives. The positioning of subject determines the placement of readers and authors (see Clifford 1986: 110-111).

Clifford argues that "it becomes necessary to conceive of ethnography not as the experience and interpretation of a circumscribed 'other' reality, but rather as a constructive negotiation involving at least two, and usually more, conscious, politically significant subjects" (1988: 41). The negotiations of which Clifford speaks may be seen

as the process of relationship building between Barbeau and his sources. Barbeau's field notes demonstrate this point. Within Barbeau's field notes, the development of relationships between sources and Barbeau are a major part of these relationships. These constructive relationships are neither explained to nor understood by readers of Barbeau's published works, but they had to exist in order for Barbeau to be able to document the large amount of narratives and other ethnographic information of the Coast Tsimshian. The 'scientific' research of Barbeau required objectivity in his writing. Despite the process of relationship building with sources during fieldwork, this element is not continued, through author's voice, in published texts. The dichotomy between sources and author plays a central role in establishing authority to the outside readers. Increased distance between sources and author in published texts is entrenched within this process.

Barbeau's field notes provide many examples. Several voices may be identified in these texts. At the forefront, the voice of the source is key as his/her role as the transmitter of a narrative. The positioning of Barbeau is established through his role as a documenter. Barbeau's collection of Northwest Coast narratives makes up a large part of his archive. A narrative about Haimas provides an example. Mr. and Mrs. Peter Ryan (Metlakatla) and Alfred Aukland are the sources for this narrative:

Haimas had already prepared a village in a very safe place known as Kawnde (now known as Hidden Inlet). The people could go right by this place and not know of the existence of the inlet. Here Hai'mas had built on the island a fort in which there was shelter for all and also many boulders and war weapons to repulse any attack on their fortress. He called it tawtzepem-kanao, 'the-frog-first' (Barbeau-Beynon B-F-433.11 CMC).

In this example, established distance between the source and Barbeau is not great. The simple construction of sentences provides evidence that this narrative was told to

Barbeau. The sentence structure reflects a manner of speaking. Another factor in distinguishing this excerpt as a direct transmission of information is the lack of a set time frame. Unlike non-indigenous (European) narratives, the three sources leave the time frame open to Barbeau and readers. It does not seem to be an important factor in the narrative.

The narrative “Strong Man Who Holds up the World” in (*Tsimshian Myths* 1961: 40) provides another example. Sam Bennet originally told the narrative to Beynon in 1952. The voice in the narrative within the published text is Barbeau’s. The language is much more academically formal.

Ages ago, when all the Tsimshian were living at Metlakatla Passage and at Gadu, on the present cemetery site at Metlakatla stood the Gitzhalachl village. The chief had four sons. Three of them were very active, but the fourth, the youngest, appeared to be very lazy and also indifferent to everything. Nothing seemed to interest him (1961: 40).

The text is now presented to an audience who may not be familiar with the subject matter. The established distance is increased. The positioning of author seems to be at an arm’s length to readers and to the source. Unlike the narrative about Haimas above, this excerpt concerns itself with a reference to time. Readers understand that this information refers to events, people and places, from a long time ago. Also, the sentence structure is more complicated than the narrative above. It is not written in a manner of speaking, but in the form of a written, published text. Readers are distracted from the voice of the original narrator. The level of authority is increased through the distancing of author and readers.

4.4 Conclusions

The process of documenting ethnographic information was central to the collection of cultural information that was seen as ‘disappearing’ by anthropologists. This view (and the associated allegories) is connected to Barbeau’s and Smith’s work. Throughout Barbeau’s written texts, the allegories of ‘saving’ the Coast Tsimshian from oblivion by documenting cultural information is seen. Barbeau achieved what he set out to do. Smith’s positioning and focus on photographic images documents ethnographic information from a different perspective. While Smith also strove to preserve cultural information, he seems to have considered the placement of ‘the present’ within the context of his work. Throughout their ethnographic work, both written and photographic, Barbeau and Smith invite readers to see cultural information that they believed would not exist in the very near future. The ‘scientific aspect’ of their work documents different information than the work of missionaries, government official and others. This contrast lays an important role in our examination of missionaries in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Missionaries along the Northern Coast of British Columbia

In their own time, they [the missionaries] were seen by many as heroes and heroines for having chosen to abandon the comfort and familiarity of their own cultured society, for work within what was considered to be a primitive, often barbaric, and definitely pagan environment. Their mission was clearly understood both by the society they left behind and by those in the newly emerging frontier communities where they worked (Whitehead 1988: 4)

The work of the missionaries presents unique allegories. The documentation associated with the work tends to present one-sided information. The Coast Tsimshian people were directly affected by missionary work, a movement which began in the 1850s (Murray 1985: 21). Missionaries were prominent in communities in northern British Columbia, especially Anglicans, Salvation Army (after the 1890s), Methodists, and to some extent the Order of Mary Immaculate (Oblates) and Russian Orthodox. Missionary work continued to establish itself in communities into the twentieth century. In missionary work several perspectives can be identified along the north coast. This chapter will focus on the work of William Duncan and Reverend Thomas Crosby because they were (and continue to be remembered as) prominent figures among communities throughout northern British Columbia.

The number of academic texts on the subject of north coast missionaries is plentiful. Twenty academic texts were found. Of these, fifteen academic texts were examined in some detail. Jean Usher's *William Duncan of Metlakatla* (1974), Clarence Bolt's *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet Too Large* (1992) and Susan Neylan's "*The Heavens are Changing*": *Nineteenth Century Protestant Missionaization on the North Pacific Coast* (1999) were examined. Twenty popular texts were found and examined. Henry Wellcome's *The Story of Metlakahtla* (1887) and

Thomas Crosby's *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship* (1914) will be examined. Academic and popular texts present differing perspectives. The maintenance of the allegory of 'civilization' and guidance of the Coast Tsimshian by missionaries can be seen throughout. Academic texts are distanced from their subject matter. Authors of popular texts more commonly were direct agents, in the context of representation. Texts regarding missionary work are exemplified in these categories. Wellcome and Crosby for example, were entrenched in their subject matter. Usher, Bolt and Neylan are temporally and contextually removed from their subjects.

The archival records of the Anglican Church for the synod of Caledonia in Prince Rupert are not plentiful. Many of these archival documents were destroyed in a fire at Port Simpson that burned many of the records in 1901. Some records may be found at the National Archives of Canada, including Church Missionary Society correspondence and Duncan's private journals. The journals are quite extensive in their documentation of day-to-day events. The Methodist Church records¹ are located at Victoria College at the University of Toronto, in the United Church of Canada Archives; the Methodist records have been amalgamated with United Church of Canada records. They have few records regarding missionary work along the Skeena River. Together, approximately one hundred fifty documents were found. These documents are housed at the National Archives of Canada, Anglican Church Archives in Prince Rupert, the United Church of Canada Archives, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Church Missionary Society Correspondence (MG 17 B2 NAC) and Duncan's journals (MG 29 H15 NAC) were examined.

¹ I will refer to the Church as Methodist for the purposes of continuity within the texts examined.

Photographs of mission work were not as plentiful, as photographs of the salmon fishing and canning industry, for example. In total, approximately one hundred images were found. Many images found are formal portraits of people or photographs of landscape. Ethnographic compositions are almost non-existent. Photographer's mark seems to exemplify the arms-length positioning of the photographer. Viewers and subjects are distanced from each other. These issues present static images within the context of interaction.

William Duncan arrived at Port Simpson in 1858 after an invitation by the military was sent to the Church Missionary Society. Captain J. C. Prevost, captain of the *HMS Satellite*, asked for a missionary to be stationed outside the Hudson's Bay Company fort, at Port Simpson. Prevost felt that the Tsimshian showed potential (as suitable candidates for instruction) (Grant 1984: 124). This request was made after violence erupted between the Tsimshian and Haida people, witnessed outside of the fort (Davis 1904: 12). In 1862, Duncan moved his followers to Metlakatla (Davis 1904: 50). This isolation was for the benefit of the Coast Tsimshian people, according to Duncan. He believed this move would focus attention on religious education. Duncan and his supporters took different positions than the superiors of the Church, such as those who followed Henry Venn as the secretary for the Church Missionary Society. Duncan subscribed to Venn's beliefs and opinions (Fisher 1992: 131), but less to his successors. At the centre was the belief that Indigenous people should be independent. Duncan's work was structured in this way (Murray 1985: 12), but not everyone subscribed to Duncan's methods. At the forefront of this conflict was Bishop Ridley. It must be understood that -

[Reverend] Cridge, like Duncan, was an evangelical Anglican sponsored by the Church Missionary Society, a Low Church organization that downplayed ritual, the sacraments, and the authority of bishops. [Bishop] Hills and [Bishop] Ridley, by contrast, were High Churchmen who promote a *via media* religious in the tradition of the ancient and undivided Catholic Church (Christophers 1998: xv).

This division was a contributing factor when Duncan moved to Alaska. He established the community of New Metlakatla. This separation was from the Church Missionary Society and from influences that hindered his work.

Duncan's work was well underway upon Crosby's arrival. Reverend Thomas Crosby's arrival in 1874 at Port Simpson was by the invitation of Alfred and Kate Dudoward (Bolt 1992: 39). Crosby's ultimate goal was conversion and 'civilization'. Crosby, like Duncan, aimed to control every aspect of day-to-day life of the Coast Tsimshian. The Indigenous people, however, blended new and old cultural elements. The best example of this is the change to potlatches. Bolt argues that "undoubtedly traditional assumptions and patterns were altered, but the Tsimshian had not become demoralized puppets, and easy prey for European treachery" (1988: 222). By not becoming 'demoralized puppets', the Coast Tsimshian held a degree of control. The retention of cultural elements acts as a prime example. Crosby focused on spreading religious teachings to various communities. Crosby traveled to communities, while Duncan stayed with his followers. His *Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship* (1914) describes his work in a number of communities.

5.2 Outline of Subject

The arrival of Duncan at Port Simpson altered perspectives of those inside the fort. The initial impressions by Duncan did not look favorably on the situation. In a passage from January 14, 1858 (Journal 3), Duncan recounts:

I cannot describe the condition of the people better than by saying that it is just what might be expected in savage life. I have hardly recovered from the depressing sensation which a sight of this state has awakened (Duncan MG 29 H15 NAC 1858).

Crosby's initial perspectives were similar. Despite being fascinated by elements of Indigenous society Crosby stated – "I cannot have anything to do with the old way, the dance, the potlatch, etc., it is all bad" (Bolt 1992: 35). In both cases conversion and 'civilization' were seen as keys to success. Bolt argues:

The Tsimshian had to become replicas of western Europeans in how they lived and worshipped. Conversion was, of course, the primary requisite, but, for Crosby, the only suitable context for conversion was that of the complete western way of life. In effect, he was attempting to build a new cultural framework for the Tsimshian, complete with a new social structure and religious symbols (1992: 37-38).

This position can be seen in the focus on pastoral care. Both Duncan and Crosby brought religious education. Constructing churches, new homes, and public buildings aided in this transformation (Usher 1974; Bolt 1988: 220; Murray 1985; Bolt 1992: 27).

Duncan's approach was similar to (Roman Catholic) Bishop Durieu's system.

The Durieu system was established first among communities in southern British Columbia, but eventually provided the model for all Catholic missions in the west.

According to John Webster Grant:

Durieu relied on a full-strength dose of ultramontane Catholicism to effect the spiritual transformation of the Indians. Duncan, while equally unwilling to compromise with traditional religious practices, was content to accept at least for

the foreseeable future a considerably thinned-down evangelical Protestantism (1984: 131).

Crosby's methods were similar. He was also unwilling to compromise with traditional religious practices:

He knew what he wanted to do and how to go about accomplishing it. The Tsimshian had to become replicas of western Europeans in how they lived and worshipped. Conversion was, of course, the primary requisite, but for Crosby. The only, one suitable context for conversion was that of the complete western way of life (Bolt 1992: 37)

The emphasis on conversion went hand-in-hand with the adoption of European practices. This was seen as being 'civilized', in other words, living and acting in a culturally appropriate way. Victorian (English) social norms dictated the definition of 'civilization'. Duncan and Crosby both subscribed to these beliefs, part of their cultural background, and informed by their personal experiences.

Crosby's first response to the Native people among whom he lived was one of both fascination and repugnance. He was convinced of the need to learn Native languages to be an effective teacher, and he spent much time at Native feasts and councils, listening to the chiefs and orators recount hunting tales, war deeds and other stories of courage (Bolt 1992: 34).

Crosby's participation exemplifies his particular methods of learning the language. Duncan hired Arthur Wellington Clah as a tutor (B-F-17 CMC n.d.). Neither Crosby nor Duncan participated in feasts. Crosby's methods in learning the language provide insight into general methods of religious education. Duncan and Crosby had similar goals, but the ways in which they achieved their goals differed. From the start, past experiences and background formed their perceptions. Duncan and Crosby came to the coast because of different invitations, and their own formal education differed. All of these factors affected their outlook and methodology. While their approaches differed, major

differences in Duncan's and Crosby's work and perceptions did not exist. This is despite different religious backgrounds. These reasons form the setting for our examination.

Duncan's and Crosby's work as missionaries forms a large portion of early documentation, of mission work, which aids in determining context of interaction and also aids in the determination of context of representation.

5.3 Issues of Representation by Crosby and Duncan

Wellcome's perspective summarizes the position taken by Duncan and Crosby – “the American aborigine is among the least favored of mankind in the progress of enlightenment. We find him still the associate of wild beasts, and still groping in darkness, but seeking for light” (1887: 154). The emphasis on social Darwinism was present during this time period. Wellcome's positioning was dictated by his cultural background. Wellcome's close relationship with Duncan allowed first-hand observation at Metlakatla; his agency plays a role in the formation of author's voice. His close connection to Duncan's work is seen through his close placement within the context of interaction. The element of voice informs readers of perspective and allegory. The allegory is centered on Duncan's process of ‘civilization’ of the Coast Tsimshian through religious education. Readers can see that Duncan was placed in an elevated position by Wellcome and the indigenous people. Wellcome's voice shows his belief that Duncan should follow his mandate.

Crosby's text (1914) focuses on his travels between indigenous communities. The established distance is minimal. Crosby was the singular agent and author. Author's voice aids in establishing context. By establishing context, the entrenched allegory of

missionaries providing guidance for the Coast Tsimshian through religious teachings is understood. Furthermore, the focus of the text lies in the decisions made by Crosby in carrying out his mandate. The same can be seen in Duncan's correspondence (MG 17 B2 NAC) and journals (MG 29 H15 NAC). These similarities are part of Duncan's and Crosby's perspectives; in both cases, context of interaction is key. Duncan and Crosby could not take a step back from their situation. In turn, their experiences and background informed their perceptions (see Clifford 1988: 39). An example may be drawn from Duncan's journals:

I cannot describe the condition of the people better than by saying that it is just what might be expected in savage heathen life. I have hardly recovered from the depressing sensation which a sight of this state has awakened. O dreadful, dreadful to see one's fellow creatures like this when the blessed Gospel has been 1800 years in the world (MG 29 H15 NAC January 14, 1858).

This statement was dated only a few days after Duncan's arrival. Established distance between author and subject does not exist, nor are viewers at an arm's length. In Crosby's and Duncan's accounts, the reactions are immediate.

The reading of academic texts provides additional information. In this case, the established distance is greater. Academic authors seem to present the information with a different allegory. This allegory is found in the wider framework of the text, in which the established distance and positioning are further removed from the source. Neylan provides an example: "the encounter between any First Nation and missionary was a culturally laden relationship, wrought with misunderstanding on both sides and influenced by shifting and unequal power relationships" (1999: 2). This excerpt focuses on groups; individuals are not mentioned. There is an increased distance between author

and subjects, which allows for the identification of the context of representation. Readers can extract information without the direct involvement of participants.

The same can be seen in Usher's (1974) and Bolt's (1992) texts. Despite Usher and Bolt addressing the work of specific individuals, the established distance is considerably increased. The positioning of the authors is at arm's length. In turn, there is a separation of readers from subjects. The authors refer to 'the Tsimshian', as they separated contextually and temporally from the context of interaction. The formal language strives to be objective. Readers can understand the nature of missionary work, which are not necessarily visible in popular missionary texts. The voice in academic texts lacks immediate experience. Such elements are found in documents where the author has agency.

The earliest images found of missionary work begin in the 1870s. These images document information less than one generation after the missionaries arrived.

Plate 5-1: "Metlakatla [B.C.] Church and Mission Buildings. Sept 1878"
Dawson, G. M.; National Archives of Canada; PA44335; 1878

Plate 5-1 offers a simple image of Metlakatla. The focus is extremely narrow. No direct human activity is documented, although numerous texts described the community as busy (CMS & Duncan 1860: 100; Murray 1985; Begg 1901: 14). The buildings are the subjects, but they are not front and centre. As a surveyor, Dawson would be concerned with documenting place. This documentation is connected to changing landscape. The arms-length documentation of place separates viewers from subject. This seems to be the norm in missionary images from this period. Duncan did not create a formal photographic collection, although Mattison states that Duncan bought photographic equipment in 1870 during a trip to San Francisco or England (Mattison 1985: D-8, D-9). Some images are reprinted in the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (1970) and Peter Murray's *The Devil and Mr. Duncan* (1985) (Mattison 1985).

The positioning of Coast Tsimshian people becomes part of an overall theme. Their voices seem to be moved to the background. The photographer's mark is informed by non-indigenous elements. This can be seen in landscape portraits, in which no human activity is apparent. In formal portraits the named individuals are non-indigenous officials. Indigenous individuals are forced into the background.

Plate 5-2: "Rev. Thomas and Emma Crosby on the porch with Miss Agnes Knight, and children of the Crosby Girls' gathered on the grass in front"

Photographer unknown; United Church of Canada Archives; Accession no. 93.049P/139N; 1888.

Plate 5-3: "Rev. Thomas Crosby and Miss Hargrave, teacher, with Henry Tate, interpreter and assistant teacher, and students of the Methodist Indian school on the steps of the Church, Port Simpson, B. C."
Photographer Unknown; United Church of Canada Archives; Accession no. 93.049P/142; ca. 1880.

Plate 5-4: "Metlakatla. Indian Women Spinning Wool"
Dossetter, Edward; British Columbia Provincial Archives; B-03573; ca. 1881

This series of pastoral images were all taken in the 1880s. They are examples of the change in presentation of self reflected in the type of dress and various activities in the photographs. The guidance of missionaries provided for the Coast Tsimshian people continues the inherent allegory of Plates 5-2 to 5-4. They also document major changes to Tsimshian cultural elements, which were brought about by missionary education. The Coast Tsimshian were willing subjects in the photographs, as they were willing participants in the missionary programs (Bolt 1988: 225; Murray 1985; Bolt 1992: 39). It must be noted that these formal images are meant for a specific audience, mainly used to solicit funds and support for missionary projects. Plates 5-2 to 5-4 have a narrow focus and framing. The viewer's eye is focused on the individuals. Background information has been largely omitted. This is despite the lack of identification by name of those photographed. The photographer's mark seems to be informed by a non-indigenous background. The Coast Tsimshian perspective is not apparent here. Traditional cultural elements have been deleted from the portraits. It seems that these elements of composition prove a point. They show that major (positive?) changes were being instituted.

Berger argues that "history always constitutes the relation between a present and its past. Consequently fear of the present leads to mystification of the past" (1972: 11). In the case of pastoral images the past is mystified. The images (Plates 5-2 to 5-4) can be interpreted as the documentation of 'progress'. They do not focus on traditional cultural elements. The inherent message (or allegory) seems to focus on the 'transformation' of the Coast Tsimshian. By their adoption of European cultural elements and their presentation as being more like the European viewers.

Plate 5-5: "Indian [Tsimshian] tea party [Fort Simpson], B.C., c. 1890"
 Photographer Unknown; E. Reford collection; National Archives of Canada; C 60817; c. 1890

Plate 5-6: "Tsimshian Tribe, Nelson's Cornet Band, Port Simpson B.C. 1900"
 Edwards Bros.; National Archives of Canada; PA 28920; 1900

The framing of these portraits shows continuity in pastoral images between the 1870s and the turn of the century. Cultural elements, however, seem to have been reintroduced into the focus. One example includes traditional designs on band uniforms. Another is the appearance of woven hats in Plate 5-5. Viewers are placed at cultural arms-length. Plate 5-5 and 5-6 are static images. Information about the subjects cannot be ascertained from the photographs, and the indigenous people are contextually placed in the background because their perspectives are not available. The continuity of pastoral elements seems to determine the audience. The included pastoral elements are part of the allegory, which strives to show the continuity (and success?) of European and pastoral elements among the Coast Tsimshian. The context of representation is narrow. Plates 5-5 and 5-6 document continuing missionary work, but also act as confirmation of missionary 'progress'.

Plate 5-7: "Anglican Church and Parsonage at Port Essington"
BC Department of Mines; British Columbia Archives; E – 08440; Accession no. 198604-010; 1901

Plate 5-8: "Anglican Church and Parsonage at Port Essington"
BC Department of Mines; British Columbia Archives; E -08439; 1901

It seems that the distance between viewers and subjects has diminished. Plates 5-7 and 5-8 show a closer documentation of place. There is still no direct human activity. One may speculate that by the early 1900s perceptions had changed. Plates 5-7 and 5-8 were taken decades after Duncan's or Crosby's arrival. It seems that missionary work was more widespread. These images offer further documentation of missionary work. In turn, they document the changes to Coast Tsimshian culture. Once again the sustained changes are emphasized through allegory. Throughout the photographs associated with Duncan's and Crosby's missionary work, the allegory of cultural change may be found. The inclusion of more background elements allows a closer view of place compared to earlier images. Plates 5-7 and 5-8 document portions of a parsonage, and they show the adoption of more non-indigenous elements. The blending of Coast Tsimshian and non-

indigenous cultural elements are apparent in these images. At this time, there seems to be a continuance of these 'new' missionary communities.

Plate 5-9: "Wedding party: Susan White and David Musgrave"
Miss Powell; United Church of Canada Archives; Accession no. 93.049P/382; June 16, 1918.

Plate 5-10: "Prince Rupert, Metlakatla Silver Band"
Photographer Unknown; British Columbia Provincial Archives; G-04174; ca. 1910

Plates 5-9 and 5-10 are formal portraits in that there is no direct representation of self. As portraits, Plate 5-9 and 5-10 act as documentations of groups, not individuals. The framing shifts to outline changes to groups, not individual changes. The photographer has placed an emphasis on the uniformity among a gathering of individuals in the photograph. Individual perspectives of those being photographed are not shared with viewers. Despite a focused view, viewers are placed at arms-length. Plates 5-9 and 5-10 may be interpreted as success in 'civilization'. This is despite documented accounts of the continuance of cultural traditions (Bolt 1992: 47). They are primary documents of missionary work.

5.4 Conclusions

The documentation of information by missionaries has a vital role in contextualizing the second half of the nineteenth century. The ethnographic information documented provides information regarding a complex context of interaction. The positioning and placement of missionaries brought drastic changes to communities as we see in the texts and photographs. The prominent individual(s) is consistently the missionary and his work. The perspectives of Coast Tsimshian people cannot be identified easily. This is despite their active participation in the adoption of new religious elements. In these examples, author's voice and photographer's mark are crucial. They are central to the understanding the composition of the documents, to understanding the context of representation. These elements must be considered carefully because they provide a one-sided perspective. The documentation of elements associated with missionary work remain static and at a distance to the viewers/readers. The allegory of photographs and texts in this chapter focuses on pastoral care provided by the missionaries. In order to gain a clearer understanding, viewers/readers must consider the context of interaction and relationships between the Coast Tsimshian, the missionaries and their respective cultural contexts.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

Clifford argues “ethnographic writing is allegorical at the level both of its content (what it says about cultures and their histories) and of its form (what is implied by its mode of textualization)” (1986: 98). Allegories found within these texts create a connection between authors, readers, and the original subjects. Using Clifford’s arguments, historical texts and photographs were examined. This examination was within the scope of four specific themes, which provided a cross-section of historical documentation. The four themes are: the salmon fishing and canning industry; the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway; the work of anthropologists; and the work of missionaries along the northwest coast.

The reading of texts and viewing of photographs within the four themes presents six clear allegories and themes. In chapter two, Dianne Newell’s (1993) and Walter Wicks’ themes are at the forefront. Newell focuses her theme on the adaptation of Coast Tsimshian participants within a new economic framework in relation to the salmon fishing and canning industry. Wicks’ (1976) theme is of the cultural changes sustained by the Coast Tsimshian to accommodate the presence of and participation in the salmon industry. In chapter three, the entrenched allegory in railway texts deals with the ‘civilization’ of a ‘wilderness’. The focus lies within the presentation of landscape. In chapter four, Barbeau’s and Smith’s collection of ethnographic information establishes the allegory. Both anthropologists approach their work differently. Barbeau especially focuses on the allegory of ‘saving’ the Coast Tsimshian from disappearing by documenting their cultural information. Finally, chapter five focuses on the work of

William Duncan's and Thomas Crosby's missionary work. The entrenched allegory in texts and photographs examined is of the pastoral care provided by missionaries

The identification of photographer's mark and author's voice is key. By understanding the photographer's mark more insight is gained into the context of representation. Author's voice provides similar clues of placement. The focus on these elements aids in the understanding of historical context through the embedded themes and allegories presented. Several levels of understanding are found within a text or photograph. Allegories comprise one of these levels. In turn, documented information is presented according to different perspectives. These perspectives may be from authors, readers or subjects. Each individual contributes to the reading of texts and viewing of photographs.

The context of interaction is at the forefront when examining documents. Each photograph or text provides information on positioning within that context. In ethnographic materials, documenters and viewers come together (see Cummins 2003?: 8). As discussed throughout the thesis, photography is a form of participation in a moment (see Sontag 1977: 12). This participation is not exclusive to documenters and subjects. Viewers/readers are brought into this relationship through the process of viewing.

Wolbert argues:

Arranged in a sequence, photographs tell a story which underlines the statements in the text. Such a photo sequence is a special means of constructing ethnographic authority because the pictures can also be 'read' independently of the text (1999-2000: 337) (abbreviation in original text).

Photographs and texts are a documentation of a moment, but this documentation cannot be viewed as an objective, unchanging truth. It is laden with a variety of perspectives and past experiences associated with the documenters and readers/viewers. The consultation of any given photographs must be seen as part of a combination of sequences. Consulted texts are another combination of sequences. These sequences are at least partially informed by participating authors, subjects and viewers/readers.

The four themes examined are complex historical events shaped by various relationships between individuals, places and events. An anthropologist documented information differently from a railway surveyor. The four themes examined overlap, of course, showing the connection between events. Participants are affected by past experiences and background. These experiences are neither segmented, nor static. This is a major consideration in my examination. The dynamic and multi-faceted qualities associated with history are sometimes removed in the process of interpretation.

6.2 Theoretical Discussions

Clifford's discussions of allegories in ethnographies are important in my examination. His arguments are central to our consideration of texts. Allegories play a role in understanding texts, because they are responsible for creating connections between readers, authors and subjects. Clifford argues:

Allegory draws special attention to the narrative character of cultural representations, to the stories built into the representational process itself. It also breaks down the seamless quality of cultural description by adding a temporal aspect to the process of reading. One level of meaning in a text will always generate other levels (1986: 100)

These other levels of meaning were explored in our examination. The ‘reading’ of materials generates these other levels, through which readers may understand the complexities of history. Photographs and texts contribute to this understanding and provide specific perspectives. A singular reading does not speak for everyone.

Documenters develop these perspectives, which are part of the historical analysis and an essential part of understanding histories. This development is key to the shaping of photographer’s mark or author’s voice. Perspectives of documenters are entrenched in these elements of composition.

Post-modern positioning played some role in this thesis. Emphasis on the role of readers was key (see Rosenau 1992: 25); “the reader may construct the text, but the text in turn controls the encounter. The outcome of every interaction, each confrontation between reader and text, is different and unique, temporary and never final” (Rosenau 1992: 25-26). The process of reading is continuous – readings beget readings. This is part of the reader’s and author’s experience; it affects future interactions between readers and authors. By reading texts, readers are confronted with new perspectives.

Photographs also present new perspectives to viewers. The information and perspectives gained stay with readers, the encounter is not final. The encounters between authors, photographers and subjects are also not final. Each individual is affected by their background and past experiences. These experiences consciously or unconsciously inform the way a moment is approached.

6.3 Limitations and Contributions of the Thesis

The limitations and contributions of this thesis are considered in relation to the Kitselas and Coast Tsimshian people. The issues of reading historical documents are important in all cases. The examination of cultural information brings new perspectives to the forefront. Throughout the thesis, I strove to present perspectives that are not often considered. The consideration of Coast Tsimshian perspectives is often placed in the background. A major contribution of this thesis is the relocation of these perspectives, which are now placed at the forefront. The participants of events are showcased. As has been demonstrated, this is not always seen in interpretations of texts or photographs. The dominant perspectives as well as the perspectives of those in the background affect the documentation of information. It is important to locate and consider the perspectives of all participants in the process of documentation, including the readers/viewers.

The 'context of representation' was an important concept in this thesis. Oftentimes, this issue is not considered. Readers/viewers are asked to view a document as an objective, unchanging truth, but photographs and texts need to be questioned. In this questioning, the placement of documenters must be considered as well as roles of readers/viewers. Finally, the overall composition of a document must be considered.

The process of reading texts and photographs is affected by the complexity of a historical period. The period 1850 to 1930 brought major changes to Tsimshian communities. These changes, however, are seldom presented in more than one perspective – missionary, or railway corporations, or the salmon industry, for example. The focus seems to be on small groups of participants. The contribution of this thesis lies in the examination of plural perspectives.

A major limitation throughout the writing process was the scarcity of material. The loss of materials, and some had been destroyed is a larger limitation. Archival documents were especially difficult to locate, this limitation is a major one when searching for the perspectives of documenters and subjects. Often times, published texts focus on the transmission of a particular perspective, and within written documents there is generally a lack of Indigenous perspectives. Some Coast Tsimshian perspectives were found, but greater resources should be provided for locating more of their perspectives.

Particular uses of historical materials are important in showing the complexity of history. Coast Tsimshian material is not always prominent. History cannot be understood from the non-indigenous position only. It is the dynamic quality of history that is often obscured, and may not be understood by reading an individual document. A variety of perspectives may be present in a single photograph or text.

The use of photographs in this thesis was meant to provide additional historical information because photographic images provide a different perspective from verbal texts. These perspectives, consciously and unconsciously affect the way information is understood. Readers must connect with texts in order to understand them. Our examination of perspectives focuses on the importance of historical context, which is an ongoing process that changes with every reading and interpretation.

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