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FROM CEREMONIAL OBJECTS TO CURIOS:
POWER EXCHANGE AT FORT SIMPSON AND METLAKATLA

by

Joanne Rice MacDonald, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

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FROM CEREMONIAL OBJECTS TO CURIOS:
POWER EXCHANGE AT PORT SIMPSON AND METLAKATLA

submitted by Joanne Rice MacDonald, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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September, 1985

ABSTRACT

Missionaries have commonly been perceived as agents of change. They have generally discredited the traditional cultures which they have perceived as heathen. In the case of the Coast Tsimshian of Port Simpson and Metlakatla, one of the unstated goals was the removal of the ceremonial regalia of the chiefs and shamans.

Both protagonists viewed Christianity and civilization as an inseparable package. The missionaries' end goal was assimilation of the Indians, which did not happen.

This study examines the predisposition of the Coast Tsimshian culture to accepting the new religion. Price's (1978) prediction that chiefdoms offer low resistance to assimilation is applied.

It is argued that the Indians viewed the surrender of their regalia as a power exchange, receiving in return for their regalia access to the power of White culture. For their part, the missionaries mediated not only between the Indians and God but between White curio seekers and the Indians, with the result that the ceremonial objects were transformed into curios and ethnographic objects in the dominant culture.

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Due to the numbers involved it is difficult to acknowledge individually the archivists in the various religious and specialized archives in Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria and Seattle who tried their best to be of assistance. I am particularly indebted to the curators and their staff in the Ethnology Departments in museums in Canada, the United States and Europe who answered my letters, thereby providing the information required for the material culture data base for the research.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MUSEUMS:

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York
Berlin	Berlin Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin
BCPM	British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria
BM	British Museum, Museum of Mankind, London
CFM	Chicago Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
MMBC	Maritime Museum of British Columbia, Victoria
MH	Musee de l'Homme, Paris
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, New York
MOA	Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver
MNEC	Museum of Northern British Columbia, Prince Rupert
NMM	National Museum of Man, Ottawa
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
S.I.	Smithsonian Institution, Washington
Burke	Thomas Burke Museum, University of Washington, Seattle
PR	Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford
FAM	Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon
Phil	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
VM	Vancouver Museum, Vancouver

ARCHIVES:

APSC	Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia, Vancouver Theological School
CCFCS	Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, Ottawa

G UW Garfield Archives, University of Washington, Seattle

PAC Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa

PABC Public Archives of British Columbia, Victoria

SIA Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington

UCBCCA United Church, British Columbia Conference Archives,
Vancouver

UCCAT United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto

USFAS United States Federal Archives, Federal Records Centre,
Seattle.

INTRODUCTION-CHAPTER ONE

A.1 Aim

This thesis applies the method of ethnohistory to a study of contact between Indians and Whites on the Northwest Coast. It examines the relationship in the second half of the nineteenth century between the Coast Tsimshian Indians of Port Simpson and Metlakatla and the first missionaries to settle among them. The thesis will both enumerate traditional Tsimshian objects now in museums and link them to their original village settings in order to examine the factors that led to their removal and their change in status from ceremonial items to ethnographic specimens and to curios. We shall see that in the indigenous culture, the objects symbolized both the secular and supernatural power of their chiefly owners. I will argue that their surrender to the missionaries corresponded with a change in the natives' view of such "powers".

I have chosen the communities of Port Simpson and Metlakatla for study because they were the geographic focal points for the dissemination of Christianity to the Indians on the Northwest Coast. Both native and White missionaries trained at these two centres before taking their message to the Queen Charlotte Islands, to the Nass and Skeena Rivers, and to points as far south as Bella Coola and Fort Rupert.

The Coast Tsimshian Indians comprised nine separate villages or tribes to be described in Chapter II. These tribes, plus others to the south, form a distinct linguistic and geographic unit of the larger group of Tsimshian speaking

peoples who have lived on the Coast and two adjoining river valleys for approximately 5,000 years (MacDonald 1976:25). The Nishga live in the Nass River Valley, the Gitksan on the Upper Skeena River and the Southern Tsimshian on the coast, to the south of the Coast Tsimshian (see Figure 1). These four societies share a common social structure, allowing the integration of examples from the broader area to support the thesis goals. The description of Coast Tsimshian culture, including social organization and cosmology, will be presented in Chapter II.

In considering changes in ideological perceptions that have resulted from culture contact, this thesis addresses a problem which is common cross-culturally. Garfield, the Tsimshian ethnographer, identified it as a central one for the Tsimshian, defining it as, "the manner in which various stresses in social systems have affected relationship to supernatural beings" (Garfield [MS:1947] quoted in Elmendorf, 1984:281). As Goldman (1975:8) noted for the Kwakiutl, "Tribal societies have terms for the sacred, but not for religion. They have terms for special powers, but no demarcation between the natural and supernatural." Burridge wrote that "...religious activities will change when the assumptions about the nature of power, and hence the rules which govern its use and control, can no longer guarantee the truth of things" (1969:7). The stress we will examine became manifest when the missionaries to the Tsimshian removed components of the traditional material culture.

Two missionaries who pioneered conversion of the Tsimshian will be the focus of discussion. The first, William Duncan,

Figure 1 (After Cole 1985)

Location of Coast Tsimshian and Adjacent Groups

represented the Church Missionary Society of London, England, an evangelical society of the Church of England whose mandate was limited to native missions. Duncan arrived uninvited by the Indians at the Hudson Bay Fort and Indian village of Fort Simpson in 1857. Duncan moved his converts to the nearby old Indian village site of Metlakatla in 1862. The second, Rev. Thomas Crosby answered the Fort Simpson invitation for a Methodist missionary in 1874 and was asked to leave in 1897.

The contact between the missionaries and the Indians during the 40 year period of intense missionization resulted in the Tsimshian relinquishing material elements of their traditional culture and adopting religious and other beliefs and behaviours (and expectations) of the White civilization. I will argue that the Indians viewed this change as an exchange of traditional forms of power for those that were promised to them by Christianity. Neither the Indians nor the missionaries made any distinction between Christianity and civilization. Both were offered as an inseparable package and were accepted as such. This thesis thus considers the role of material culture in acculturation. Many of the indigenous items relinquished by the Tsimshian went to museums in North America and Europe. I have surveyed the major museum collections which contain objects from the villages of Fort Simpson and Metlakatla in order to ascertain the quantity and type of material obtained by both missionaries and others from the mid nineteenth century to the present. The results of this survey are presented in Appendix A. As far as I am aware there is no other acculturation study that has

reconstructed a village's material culture in a diachronic fashion utilizing museum collections as a data base. There are a number of Northwest coast tribal groups, surveying museum collections for their own research purposes, often in conjunction with land claims research.

Nor has the role of the missionaries in obtaining articles from their converts been extensively explored. Until now, Duncan's collecting of curios has gone largely unnoticed, though his role in the selling of a now famous stone mask to the Musee de l'Homme, of Paris in 1881 is known in museum circles. Few people are aware of the full extent of Rev. Crosby's collecting or his role as a middleman in assisting the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. to gather a Northwest Coast collection. These museum data, as well as the associated museums records and missionary reports and other documents, provide a basis for reconstructing the context in which these items of material culture left the Tsimshian for the curio cabinets and museums of the dominant culture.

This thesis thus goes beyond the more common approach of simply viewing material culture as a rough indicator of the extent of acculturation (for example, the degree of assimilation). Instead, it examines the significance and meaning to the Indians of their surrender of their objects. Thus the claim commonly heard today by the descendents of these natives that the missionaries "destroyed" their traditional culture by banning the potlatch, and burning their totem poles is critically assessed.

The description of the Tsimshian traditional culture offered in Chapter II will provide a baseline for considering the changes which accompanied their contact with the missionaries. As we shall see in Chapter IV, the missionaries viewed the removal of material objects as a sign of the Indians' willingness to assimilate, that is, to relinquish their cultural identity and move into the dominant society. In point of fact, such assimilation did not occur; despite their best attempts, the missionaries were unsuccessful. This most salient fact must be taken into account in examining this case of culture contact. Chapter II will include a detailed account of the Coast Tsimshian's cosmology and how they perceived their traditional relations to the spirit world. Such an account will culturally situate the objects which were to be relinquished, and it will support my argument (to be developed in Chapter V) that, from the native perspective, their surrender of items of their material culture was in effect an exchange of traditional "power" for the "powers" of Christianity and civilization.

B.) Relationship of Thesis Goals to Theory

Although this thesis is essentially descriptive-analytic in nature, it can be situated within a broader theoretical frame of reference, namely acculturation theory. Price's (1978) approach to culture contact between Canadian Indians and Whites is relevant to this study and can indeed be both tested and expanded by the data to be offered here. As we shall see, both of the missionaries to the Coast Tsimshian met with little resistance from the Indians. Such a (non) reaction is predicted

by Price, who argues that the degree of Indian resistance to Whites was affected by their own socio-political institutions. Following general practice in the anthropology of New World natives, Price divides indigenous Canadian societies into four major types, based on general features of their socio-political institutions, *viz.* bands, tribes, chiefdoms and states. The Indians of the Northwest Coast, as we shall see in Chapter II, had societies of the chiefdom type. According to Price, the pattern of resistance varied for different society types, but it also varied temporally as sequences of culture contact began earlier, in the east than in the west. Indeed, following Patterson (1972), Price divides the contact period into four phases: First Contact, Early Resistance, Assimilation and Ethnic Revitalization; he then considers how different types of societies reacted to contact during each of these phases. Figure 2, which charts the resistance by bands, tribes, chiefdoms and states, shows clearly that chiefdoms such as the Tsimshian offered low resistance to conquest through two periods, identified as "Early Resistance" and "Assimilation", with a rise in the final period identified as "Ethnic Revitalization".

I will return to Price's general theoretical approach in Chapter V where I will argue that not only the nature of the socio-political institutions of the Tsimshian affected their response to contact, but that their ideological preconceptions were also of crucial importance in this regard.

Figure 2
Militance By Evolutionary Level With Conquest And Neocolonialism
(after Price 1978:44)

Price's model does not allow for the full range of acculturative alternatives. Assimilation, for example, is only one of several modes of adaption. Berry (1973:14) defines "varieties of adaption" in his discussion of acculturation to include four distinct varieties of acculturation: assimilation, integration, rejection, and deculturation. They are shown in Table 1 on the next page.

TABLE 1

Dichotomous Answers to Questions of Acculturation (After Berry 1973)

Varieties of Acculturation	Retention of Cultural Identity?	Positive Relation- ship to Dominant Society?
Assimilation	No	Yes
Integration	Yes	Yes
Rejection	Yes	No
Deculturation	No	No

Berry (1973:13) notes that:

In the case of assimilation, relinquishing cultural identity and moving into the larger society is the option taken. Integration, however implies the maintenance of cultural integrity as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework. Therefore, in the case of integration, the option taken is to retain cultural identity and move to join the dominant society. [emphasis added]

In the case of the acculturation of the Coast Tsimshian, I will attempt to show that the missionaries sought assimilation, while the Indians (in Berry's framework) apparently attempted an integration strategy.

C.) The Method of Ethnohistory

For the past three decades, ethnohistory has focussed particular attention on the relations of the Indians and the missionaries in the colonization of the New World, especially in the eastern portion of the continent. Ethnohistoric studies are seeking answers to the same questions as conventional

anthropology; they are dealing with issues of cultural continuity and change. Ethnohistory is therefore defined not totally by its topics but by its methodology. Trigger has noted that there are outstanding issues regarding the development of ethnohistory: "There merely seems to be a tacit agreement that ethnohistory uses documentary evidence and oral traditions to study changes in non-literate societies from about the time of earliest European contact" (Trigger 1982:2). Expanding this definition, ethnohistory draws on certain types of secondary sources for its data. In this study I have used letterbooks, diaries, missionary reports, Government reports, autobiographies and biographies to reconstruct events and the perceptions of these events by missionaries and the Indians during a 40 year period from 1857 to 1897. The cultural perceptions of the White participants are recorded in the documents from which much of the thesis data is drawn to create the historical context of Chapter III. Since sources both reflect and testify to the nature of the culture from which they come, research in ethnohistory both depends on and ultimately contributes to the critical assessment of the sources upon which it rests.

The missionaries' goals and strategies are well documented, though their role in the collecting of material culture has been more difficult to reconstruct. Their reports emphasized their successes to the point where it would seem that all the Indians were most anxious to be converted. Any instances of hostility were not reported. In Duncan's case, the Hudson Bay Journals noted when his school house was looted, though I could

find no reference of this event in his reports. Crosby noted the falling off of school attendance without offering any reasons. Presumably the missionaries did not want to jeopardize mission support at home by drawing attention to a want of enthusiasm on the part of their converts.

For the most part the Indian's statements are filtered through the missionary's memory (or bias) as he recorded the content of Indians' speeches. The missionaries' descriptions of the religion of the Indians did not go beyond finding their stories or mythology naive and full of childlike wonder. Since missionary reporting of Indian beliefs and behaviours was incomplete (ethnographically), and clearly biased, I will use twentieth century data collected by anthropologists to reconstruct the native point of view.

D.) Data

1.) Museum Collections

While this study draws some of its primary data from museum collections, it is not a study of museums or their collecting policies per se, but an attempt to understand in part how objects came to the museums, and what such transfers meant for the native culture process.

In order to understand the meaning to both missionaries and Indians of object transfers, the object data are divided into three categories: Ceremonial, Domestic, and Livelihood. These categories are museological yet also reflect the traditional perceptions and behaviours of the owners of the objects. If the relinquishment of ceremonial items by Indians was viewed by them

as a power exchange, it is necessary to differentiate the ceremonial (or power) objects from the others. However, it should be noted that many of the objects owned by the chiefs which reflected their powers are scattered in all categories. Many spoons, boxes and stone objects would have had individual names and supernatural significance in the traditional system. For this study, the ceremonial category focusses on those identifying items worn by the chiefs and shamans in their public roles. In many cases it was impossible to separate the two categories of items, as some chiefs performed shaman-like roles at various times, the distinction between these two roles was often blurred by the missionaries and other collectors. The actual objects themselves are quite distinct in appearance, but it is impossible to view the objects. For that reason errors in the museum catalogue descriptions are repeated here.

I surveyed 17 museums in Canada and the United States, 7 in Britain, 1 in France and 3 in Germany. These museums are listed in Appendix A. The selection of museums was based on my past experience¹, and information in Douglas Cole's manuscript (1984) But the Bowls are No Longer There: Museums, Expositions, and the Artifacts of the Northwest Coast, published as Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts (1985). In spite of the fact that most early collections from the Northwest Coast were made by British seamen or missionaries, I located only a few stone pieces attributed to Fort Simpson in the British Museum's Museum of Mankind in London. There are two large collections in American museums which undoubtedly contain Fort Simpson material, but the village identifications are not

provided. These collections are discussed in Appendix A. Many museum experts can make attributions by tribe or individual artist, but it is impossible to make village attributions once the objects are removed from their original context.

The next problem in museum research revolves around the catalogue data, in terms of accessibility and reliability. The ideal arrangement is for the researcher to visit each museum, see each piece, and look up the accession records. Unfortunately distances, costs, and museum policies regarding visitor access often prevent this approach. I dealt with the majority of museums by mail and the slowness of most responses would deter any but the most determined. The problem is that most museums are understaffed and lack access to information retrieval systems. Canada is fortunate in having most of its major ethnographic museums connected by CHIN (Canadian Heritage Information Network) which will provide printouts at the researchers request. The data, whether computerized or not, are only as good as the original catalogue records and here there is a problem of validity: A "rough blanket" in one catalogue was actually a Chillat blanket when matched with a photograph. It is likely that vague or incorrect descriptions of some objects has resulted in pieces being wrongly categorized in Appendix A.

This survey does not include objects that may still be in private hands, though with the high value placed on Northwest Coast ethnographic pieces in the last few years many curios of the last century have found their way into museum collections. Certainly some objects from the two villages will be in museums

not covered in this survey, though I am confident the major collections are included. It should be noted that some of the pieces included here may no longer be in these institutions, having been exchanged or sold, or returned to their original setting.

While the listing of objects by typologies may appear tedious, the lists in Appendix A are of interest to museum people or researchers in other fields as well. In the case of this study, it is also hoped that the native people of Port Simpson and Metlakatla will find the survey useful as a reference for cultural projects for the band, or in the land claims process.

The figures shown in the two following tables are extracted from the data of Appendix A which recognizes the pieces that have survived fires, neglect, and incomplete collector documentation.

Table 2

Object Summary of All Collectors Listed By Village

	PORT SIMPSON	METLAKATLA	
Ceremonial	104	22	
Domestic	172	48	
Livelihood	146	51	
<hr/>			
TOTALS	422	121	543

This enumeration of museum holdings totals 543 objects from Port Simpson and Metlakatla, collected in the period from the 1830's to 1950. Port Simpson is represented in museum

collections by approximately four times the number of objects as Metlakatla. An examination of the population figures does not explain the ratio. Initially Port Simpson was the larger community with just over 2100 people counted by Duncan in 1857 (Gleaner:October 1881). It lost over 700 people in the small pox epidemic of 1862, it also lost the Christian converts who chose to accompany Duncan to Metlakatla. By the time of Crosby's arrival in 1874, both communities were just over 800 people (Christian Guardian, November 4, 1874:349). By the time of the first federal census in 1881, Metlakatla had pulled ahead to 1000 while Port Simpson was still about 800 people (Reel 13,284:FAC). Since the two village populations were approximately equal, an examination of the Christian influence in each community offers another interpretation. We know that everyone at Metlakatla had at least Christian leanings if they were not baptised, whereas in Port Simpson no more than one half ever professed Christianity (Bolt 1981:114).

According to the data in this thesis, and in the broader picture of the Northwest Coast, the major museum collecting occurred in the 1870's and 1880's (with the exception of Barbeau's large collection of mainly domestic items from Port Simpson in 1915). It appears from Table 3 that the category of "other" collectors acquired the remaining material at a slightly later date. It is the ceremonial objects which reflect the largest spiritual sacrifice on the part of the Indians. Five times the number of ceremonial objects were collected from Port Simpson. It may be that Drucker was correct when he suggested that the Fort Simpson Indians who accompanied Duncan in 1862

"...left behind, figuratively, masks and headdresses, chiefs' dance rattles, mountain-goat-wool blankets, and other ceremonial regalia" (Drucker 1965:201). The flow of curios does not reflect directly the breakdown of the traditional system postulated among the Kwakiutl where the death rate left many empty titles without qualified people to fill them (Walens 1981:154). Garfield (1939:184-191) has re-constructed the succession of chiefs at Port Simpson back for many generations and does not indicate empty titles, though this may have occurred in the lower ranks. The discrepancy in collection figures between Port Simpson and Metlakatla may be explained by the better documentation for the Port Simpson material.

Table 3

Collector Summary By Village 1830-1950³

Port Simpson (P.S.) and Metlakatla (Met.)

MISSIONARY COLLECTORS (Miss)

OTHER COLLECTORS

	P. S.	Met.	Total	P.S.	Met.	Total
Ceremonial	56	13	69	48	9	57
Domestic	42	14	56	130	34	164
Livelihood	49	38	87	97	13	110
TOTAL			212	+		331 = 543

Table 3 indicates that the missionaries collected over 30 per cent of the total objects collected from Port Simpson and Metlakatla. The missionaries exceeded the other collectors by one sixth in obtaining objects that would be classed as ceremonial.

Ceremonial goods represented 25 per cent of the total number of items collected. An analysis of missionary collecting will be presented in Chapter IV.

2.) Documentary Data

The data sources for the missionaries are housed in archival institutions separate from museums. Part of the contribution of this study is the melding of these two sources of difficult to access or "rare" data. It was necessary to visit the archives in person as the research area on missionaries and Indian material culture is not an indexed topic.

One of the most important methodological checks in ethnohistoric research is the evaluation of the sources and understanding of their biases (Trigger 1982:9). The missionary documents record their activities in a positive light, the strength of opposition or failures are hard to assess. Grant (1984:169) has pointed out that missionaries were rarely interested in Indian culture, and cited Father A.G. Morice, missionary to the Carrier, as one of the few exceptions. I had anticipated that a thorough search of the original writings of Duncan and Crosby would shed light on their attitude to the traditional material culture. There is a conspicuous absence of description of Indian life beyond sweeping generalizations regarding heathenism and the poor living conditions. While I have evidence of missionary dealings in curios, their official reports never mention these activities. In fact, the material culture of the Indians is almost completely ignored. Crosby once wrote about halibut hoots in a children's magazine, Home and School, (vol.IX,

no.10, May 19, 1898) and that is his only positive recognition of the function of the Indian material culture. Duncan conducted a census shortly after his arrival in Port Simpson but never mentioned the interior of the houses or what people were wearing.

Yet it is not appropriate to dismiss the missionaries comprehension of native culture totally. Both Duncan and Crosby became fluent in the native language, and as the first ~~white~~ people to live among these people their knowledge of native culture was in fact extensive. Unfortunately their chosen vocation in life prevented them from seeking to communicate this knowledge. Both were aware of the possible conflicts between Christian ideology and that of the traditional culture. Duncan accompanied his lists of the curios he offered for sale with descriptions that indicated he had a good grasp of their function in the traditional society. We do know from other sources the obvious Indian features of Fort Simpson:

In 1862, James Deans (1899:7) visited Port Simpson and:

was astonished at the amount of carvings and paintings on the houses and tall columns, to be seen everywhere.

But by 1878, George Dawson (1880:115b) reported that:

among the Tsimshians at Port Simpson, most of the original carved posts have been cut down as missionary influence spread among the people (Halpin 1973:26).

The documentary data cited in this report are described here by classification of type.

a.) The letterbooks of William Duncan on microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada document Duncan as a curio dealer.

Unfortunately, letterbooks provide a one sided picture, as the replies are rarely included. Information on Crosby's collecting activities are contained in letters written by Crosby dealing with curios sent in 1875-76 to James G. Swan collector for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. They are available from the Smithsonian Institution Archives. A small collection of the Crosby papers unrelated to collecting is part of the Ebenezer Robson and George Raley papers at the Public Archives of British Columbia. The Kate Hendry letterbooks, at the Public Archives of British Columbia, record the young teacher's description of New Years feast events in Fort Simpson in 1884, and the brief description of the events is most useful.

b.) Diaries and journals were not a principal resource for this study. I have consulted Duncan's diaries in the past, and found them to be introspective and not relevant to material culture research. I do refer to Bishop Hills' diary, a typed copy of which is held by Anglican Provincial Synod of British Columbia Archives housed in the Vancouver Theology School, and the published diary of Paul Emil Teichmann (1963). Crosby diaries do not exist as far as I am aware. I have referred to the Hudson Bay Company Journals on occasion in order to draw attention to differing attitudes to the Indians as well as a record of events not covered by Duncan. I was unable to view the reminiscences of Hudson Bay factor, C.M. Morrison in the Prince Rupert and District Archives. Arthur Wellington Clah, Duncan's first instructor in Tsimshian, and an early convert, kept journals consisting of 14,000 pages. This material is housed in the Wellcome Medical Institute in London, England and will be

available in Canada on microfilm at the PAC in late 1985. A few pages exist in the Barbeau/Beynon files of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Ottawa.

c.) The published material by Duncan and Crosby is found in two formats—religious magazines and books. The magazines printed the letters from the missionaries in the field and were the main contact between other missionaries and headquarters. These letters provide detail not found in other places and provide the best missionary overview of Indian society. The publications of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the Intelligencer and the Gleaner are available at the Synod Archives in Toronto and at the Vancouver Theology School. Magazine volumes not available in Canada were obtained by writing to CMS Headquarters in London, England. The Henry S. Wellcome Collection at the United States Federal Archives and Record Centre, Seattle, contains Duncan material related to New Metlakatla, as well as earlier material. The Maritime Museum of British Columbia, Victoria has difficulty to access information on the seniority lists of British seamen in the late nineteenth century.

Methodist journals and publications are available in the United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto, and the B.C. Conference Archives, Vancouver. The Methodist Missionary Notices printed letters from the field every two months and Rev. Crosby and Rev. Green on the Nass usually sent reports. The Christian Guardian extracted material from the Missionary Notices. The Methodist Outlook and Home and School both started publication in the 1880's using the letter report

format. Crosby published two books on his missionary experiences on the Northwest Coast; Among the Anko-me-nuns (1907) and Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship (1914). The latter book records his experiences with some individuals under the heading "Indian Characters and Triumphant Deaths." A recent thesis, "Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian of Port Simpson 1874-1897" by Clarence R. Bolt (1981) examines the level of control exercised by the Tsimshian in their conversion.

The most thorough contemporary study of William Duncan is Ushers, William Duncan of Metlakatla (1974). There are also many chapters devoted to Duncan's work in other historical studies. There are also biographies of Duncan written by indiscriminating admirers, the most famous are by John W. Arctander (1909), The Apostle of Alaska, and Sir Henry Wellcome (1887) The Story of Metlakatla.

d.) Anthropological resources are necessary for the reconstruction of traditional Coast Tsimshian culture. William Beynon, a part native from Fort Simpson, collected data for the anthropologists Franz Boas, Marius Barbeau and Viola Garfield from 1915 and 1955. The Barbeau/Beynon files housed in the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies and now available on microfilm are an invaluable source of primary data, and have been used for a number of theses and books. Beynon correspondence is also found in the Garfield Archives at the University of Washington, Seattle. The major published sources on Coast Tsimshian culture are by anthropologists, Boas (1916) and Garfield (1939, 1953). Boas' works on Tsimshian mythology

provides the largest published corpus of Coast Tsimshian mythology to date. After 1903 he was assisted by Charles M. Tate, a part native of Port Simpson whom Boas had to chastize for editing portions of myths that might offend the sexual mores of White society (1916:31). Boas did not actually visit Port Simpson though he did spend some time at Port Essington and on the Nass River in 1886. Garfield conducted field work in Port Simpson for her Doctor of Philosophy research in the summers of 1932, 1935 and 1937 with particular emphasis on clan and tribal affiliations (Garfield 1939:169). Her Master of Arts degree examined the traditional marriage patterns existing in New Metlakatla in 1930. Her works present the most comprehensive description of the social structure. Halpin's research (1973) on material culture and the crest system of the Tsimshian was the first study of museum objects relating them to a corpus of ethnographic data, in this case, the Barbeau/Beynon files. Other ethnographers in recent years have drawn on the Barbeau / Beynon archive. While Barbeau's interpretations have been open to criticism over the years, the raw data he collected with Beynon has been utilized many times. The Tsimshian scholars cited in this thesis are listed here chronologically with the approximate dates of their field work and published research noted: Boas and Tate (1895-1916), Barbeau and Beynon (1915-1955), Garfield (1930-1953), Barnett (1941), Adams (1965-1967, 1973), Dunn (1972-present), Guedon (1972-present), Halpin (1973-present), McNeary (1976-present), Cove (1978-present), Miller (1979-present), Shane (1978-present), and Seguin (1980-present). I have not included extensive research on compiling dictionaries by linguists nor

data not generally available to researchers, such as the extensive Gitskan files of the K'san Archive in Hazelton, British Columbia. Many of the ethnographers of the last 15 years have relied on a blending of the information collected from contemporary elders with that of Boas/Beynon material at Columbia University and the Barbeau/Beynon Archive in Ottawa. Ethnographic reconstruction of the Coast Tsimshian culture back to the time of the missionaries in this study was possible by drawing on the above cited sources.

Summary

This study is an ethnohistoric examination of one aspect of the contact between the missionaries and the Indians of Port Simpson and Metlakatla. The descriptive material in Chapters II and III provides the ethnographic and historical contexts for the collection of curios described in Chapter IV. The analysis and theoretical implications follow in the last two chapters, guided by the contemporary models of acculturation theory provided by Price (1978) and Berry (1980).

CHAPTER ONE-ENDNOTES

1. During the summer of 1979 I interviewed elders in the communities of Port Simpson and Kitkatla in an effort to further document the twin stone masks held in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa and the Musée de l'Homme, Paris. The report is on file in the Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, November 1979. A compilation of the 1923 and 1924 Barbeau collection notes from Kitwanga housed in the National Museum of Man, was published by Parks Canada (1984) titled, Gitwanga Village Life: A Museum Collection.
2. The return of the Kwakiutl potlatch goods confiscated in 1922 to the villages of Alert Bay and Cape Mudge in 1979 and 1980 presented an unusual example of museum de-accessioning, in this case the Museum of Man, Ottawa. New museums were built in the two communities to house the returned collections.
3. Included in the missionary count of objects are the collections of people who were assisted by them, such as Swan, Lord Dufferin and I.W. Powell, and other clerics; Dr. Raley and Bishop Lemmens. The "other" collectors include Tate, Emmons, Bosson, Barbeau, Newcombe, Perry and some others. Appendix A includes a brief description of the "other" collectors.
4. I wish to thank Dr. Andrea Laforet, West Coast Ethnologist, Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, and my husband Dr. George F. MacDonald, for searching out information for me while undertaking their own research at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT - CHAPTER TWO

A.) Ethnographic Background

1.) Introduction

In a study of acculturation, the reconstruction of the traditional culture is particularly important because it establishes a baseline against which subsequent change is elucidated. The point must be made, however, that native cultures were not static in precontact times, but were constantly undergoing changes whether from internal or external forces (Trigger 1982:13). Trigger notes that Boas and other anthropologists commenced studies in British Columbia in 1884 and recorded memory culture that referred to the mid 1800's, "by which time most Indian peoples had been considerably altered by European contact" (Trigger 1976 vol.1:11). I would argue that the data presented for the reconstruction of the cosmology later in this chapter, though drawing on memory culture back to the missionary period of the mid nineteenth century, had not been altered significantly by contact. Grumet (1975:299) estimates a population of "between 8,000 and 10,000 for the ten Coast Tsimshian tribes prior to the mid nineteenth century, if depopulation during the proto-historic maritime fur trade period is assumed. The Gitwilkwila tribe became extinct in the historic period, reducing our discussion to nine tribes (Boas 1916:482).

2.) Traditional Economy and Settlement Pattern

The nine tribes of the Coast Tsimshian claimed separate territories along the lower Skeena River where they spent their

summers in villages preparing food from their land and the sea. Each territory focussed around a salmon stream, with hunting and berry picking areas on the slopes of the adjoining valley. In the pre-Fort days, the tribes moved to their permanent villages in the Prince Rupert Harbour area for the winter months. Metlakatla was one of the old winter village sites while Fort Simpson, twenty miles north toward the mouth of the Nass River, was a camping spot used when moving to the oolachen fishing grounds of the Nass River in the spring. Offshore islands served for sea mammal hunting, seaweed and bird egg collecting. Hunting and trapping were not major occupations for the Coastal people, particularly in the historic period. The Coast Tsimshian seasonal round is set out in Figure 3 on the following page. The tribes at Fort Simpson became middlemen to the interior Tsimshian speaking tribes of the upper Skeena River, trading interior furs for trade goods from the Fort in the period 1834 to 1850 (Grumet 1975:307).

3.) Villages

The congregation of the nine coast Tsimshian tribes at Fort Simpson after 1834 constituted a change from their traditional settlement pattern described above. Duff (1977:58) postulated increased friction among the Indians as the traditional system operated in the new setting. "The larger groupings of Indians raised new questions on how tribes and families were to be ranked, and set the stage for greater potlatches and winter ceremonies than ever before" (Duff 1977:5). There is no documentation for Fort Simpson to confirm this speculation, though Grumet (1975:305) notes that following the

Figure 3 Coast Tsimshian Seasonal Round.
(Drawn by George F. MacDonald)

1835 small pox epidemic which hit the Coast Tsimshian hard:

"This massive depopulation "softened" the Coast Tsimshian social hierarchy and altered traditional intergroup relationships." The rivalry of the tribes was expressed in terms of their ranking recognized at feasts. Garfield (1939:204) has cited the ranking of the tribes in 1869 or slightly later at a feast given by Chief Legaic of the Gispalaots, whose tribe ranked first at Fort Simpson. Though ~~one chief~~ ranked highest, there was not a single village chief, who could speak for all the tribes at Fort Simpson.

The Gitxala [Kitkatla] ranked above the local tribes so Dzi'basa received the largest contribution and his subchiefs more than those of the other tribes. The rest of the tribes ranked in the following order, Gitsaxial, Ginaxangik, Gitsis [Gitsees], G'lutsa'u, Gitwilgeots, Ginadoiks, Gitando, and Gitlan.

The names of the nine villages of the lower Skeena and adjoining islands reflected distinctive features of their territories, either in resources, physical appearance of the land or, in the case of the Gitsees an event recorded in a myth which credited a supernatural being with teaching them how to make a hair seal trap during a famine (Garfield 1939:176). Table 4 on the following page translates each of the tribal names. While the original name of the tribes sprang from their winter village sites, these names continued to identify the villages as tribes after they eventually congregated at Port Simpson following the establishment of the fort in 1834. Garfield (1939:177) recorded that each of the tribes had its own section of beach at Port Simpson, and on the nearby island which was joined to the mainland by causeway during the missionary period. "The chiefs

and the subchiefs' dwellings were in the centre of a tribal strip."

Table 4

Tribes at Port Simpson

Village/Tribal Name	Translation
Gitaxangik	"People of the Hemlock"
Gitando	"People of the Other Side"
Gispaloats	"Elderberry Place People"
Gilutsau	"People in the Inside"
Gitlan	"Canoe Stern People"
Gitwilgeots	"people(where) is Kelp"
Gitsees	"Seal trap People"
Ginadoiks	"People of Swift Current"
Gitsaxlal	"People from Side of "Xlal"[shrub]"

To the south of the Skeena River there were other coastal Tsimshian who remained separate from the Skeena River tribes. They did not move to Port Simpson following the establishment of the Fort in 1834, though some members were attracted later to Metlakatla. They are defined currently as the Southern Tsimshian and speak a slightly different dialect. The Kitkatlas on Porscher Island maintained a particularly close contact with the Gitaxangik tribe based on a common origin myth. The Kitkatla chiefs were invited to important feasts in Port Simpson. The Port Simpson people also acknowledged though to a lesser extent, the Gitlope and the Gitamat people, as well as the Kitkatla whose main village is now Hartley Bay. Hartley Bay was established on

Christian principles after the collapse of William Duncan's Metlakatla in 1887 (Seguin 1985:73).

The tribal composition of Metlakatla was broader than that of Port Simpson. Duncan wrote that he now had representatives of all the Tsimshian (Coast-north and south, Gitksan, and Nishga) living in his village (letterbook, Duncan to I.W. Powell, August 13, 1881 :PAQ).

4.) Social Organization

Garfield (1939:177) considered the Tsimshian divided into virtual castes at birth, with the chiefs and members of their lineages at the top, commoners below them and slaves at the lowest level. Each of the tribes had a head chief who exercised his leadership over his local group, which could include persons of all four clans or phratries; the two terms being interchangeable in the Tsimshian literature. I will use clan per Garfield (1939), Halpin (1973) and Cove (1985). The exogamous matrilineal clans are glossed in English as the Blackfish, Eagle, Raven and Wolf after their principle totemic crests. Clan loyalty surpassed tribal loyalties and cross cut the whole Tsimshian system and beyond. The restrictions of clan exogamy extended beyond the Tsimshian themselves. Garfield (1939:231) noted:

The Haida Eagles were considered "brothers" to the Tsimshian Eagles and Ravens, the Haida Ravens to the Tsimshian Blackfish and Wolves; and marriages between them not allowed.

The Coast Tsimshian met with other groups in the feast context in which, depending on the scale of the event, those from outside added importance to a feast, in particular "on the most

important occasions, also members of outside groups, even those of alien speech" (Boas 1916:537).

The clans were further subdivided into a system of Houses and lineages. The House or "waab" (Seguin 1984:111) was the basic social unit, composed of matrilineally related lineages. There is double meaning attributed to the term "waab", first as a social unit and secondly as a physical structure, "house", underscoring the people's identity with their dwellings. The traditional dwellings were large enough to hold the extended family of the chief:

In the winter dwelling lived the head, his mother if she were a widow, his wife and small children; his widowed or divorced sisters and their small children, also his younger brothers and cousins (mother's sisters sons) and his grown nephews and their wives and children. There would also be other relatives, according to the circumstances, but these were the usual ones represented (Garfield 1939:277).

The lineages lived in a number of separate dwellings, but supported a particular chief as House head. The House head carried the most prestigious name and was assisted by councillors, who advised on a variety of matters. The name of the House and the chief's name were the same. The "members" of a House can be thought of as the ranked names, not the individuals who filled the names at any point in time (Seguin 1984:111). The lineage members also included the lower ranking people who, had access to House names, they were called the wa'a'yin (or never healed). Households also could include some slaves traded or captured in war, who without any lineage affiliation had no hope of a place in the social system.

The House was the resource owning unit, with responsibility for the management vested in the chief, who controlled access to the territories. House property consisted of:

fishing and berrying spots, as well as a roster of perpetual personal names, myths, songs, and various design which the chiefs are privilege to wear on their ceremonial clothes or display on their totem poles (Adams 1973:25).

The chief was economically responsible for his tribesmen. "...[he/she] must feed them when necessary and has to lay aside supplies for this purpose (Garfield 1939:182). In return, the chief received support from his tribesmen, regardless, of clan in order to maintain the tribe's ranking in the feast system. Tribes provided their chiefs with slaves, and luxuries such as copper shields, Chilkat blankets, copper ornaments and richly ornamented chests, dishes and spoons (Garfield 1966:35).

Boas (1916:506) noted:

the various groups also had names for their canoes, coppers, the chief's large wooden spoons, stone pots, war knives, and for the dishes used by the chieftaness.

The objects were thus embedded in the names of the House.

The exogamous nature of the clans, with an avunculocal residence pattern postulated for the Coast Tsimshian (Halpin 1973:56) wherein young men went to live with their mother's brother and continued to live there. This pattern, resulted in women and their young children living in houses of a different clan. To compensate for the tension caused by this situation, feasting paid lavish recognition to the "father's side." The

earliest childhood responsibilities fell to father's side; cradle building, lip piercing for girls, and ear piercing for boys, and many of the child's names came from the father's side. When a totem pole was raised:

It was customary to honor the members of the father's side lineage by assigning some of the responsibilities to them. They might be asked to hire and pay the artists, provide food for the feast or property for the potlatch, for which they received substantial return (Garfield 1939:209).

The significance of the recognition of the father's side at feasts will be explored later in this chapter. The concept of reciprocal relations with the supernaturals underlay all the feasting events. It was from this connection that wealth and well being flowed to the Tsimshian. Adams (1973:43) stated the Gitksan view:

...one must respect the supernatural powers who have been responsible ultimately for providing the food one eats. One way of respecting them is to put on a feast, otherwise they might desert the lineage and thereby impoverish it, because without their help one cannot attract the game.

When the food was served at the feasts, the territorial source of each dish was announced, thus the feast foods linked the people, the land and the supernaturals. The discussion of the feasts, rituals and objects of the Coast Tsimshian is developed below in the context of the Coast Tsimshian's relations with the supernatural.

B.) Coast Tsimshian Relations With The Supernatural

This discussion will lay the basis for arguing that the response of the Tsimshian to Christianity was affected by their

own ideological preconceptions. I am particularly concerned with the "powers" that the ritual objects were believed to embody in the traditional belief system. The majority of the objects collected by the missionaries had important symbolic meanings for the social structure.

The reconstruction of the Coast Tsimshian world view or cosmology is largely drawn from analysis of the mythology. The missionaries were in an ideal position to collect these data, but did not appear to have considered their mandate to civilize to include a responsibility to record heathen culture. They represented a time when men were judged according to the new industrial age standards. The non-material wealth of the Tsimshian was not for outsiders to see or understand.

The Coast Tsimshian cosmology is therefore reconstructed from mythology and analysis of the social structure and its rituals provided by recent ethnographers. The myths are largely about persons of chiefly status (Cove 1985:57). The focus on the chiefs is indicative of their leading role in displaying the symbols of their power on behalf of their House, and the House histories rested in mythology. When the chief displayed his objects the mythology was recounted and the chief's right to these objects was validated at each telling. The objects thus functioned as symbols to both validate and perpetuate the prevailing social order.

The title of the chief, "semoigyet" glosses as "real person". The unique qualities implied in the use of the term "Real" separated the human and supernatural into categories of those with power who were considered "Real" and those without who

were the "ordinary" people.

A Real Person (Sm'oigyet, chief) held a high name, passed to him/her matrilineally; each name was associated with an origin story, crests, songs, dances, and economic powers. Becoming "real" depended on lifelong participation in the property distributions of the 'yaokw'.... Each animal village had its own village, with "Real people", commoners and slaves, similar to Tsimshian villages (Seguin 1984:111).

Love (1978,1985) followed by Seguin (1984,1985), has developed the concept of the Real/Sacred person as an integral element in Tsimshian cosmology, allowing for the continuity of expression between the human and non human worlds. As noted above, the two realms mirrored one another in terms of ranking, there were high ranking Real beings in both milieu. The non-human Real beings had the ability to bestow powers on their human counterparts. Contemporary Northwest Coast ethnographers have taken pains to make others aware that in native thinking the supernatural is not part of a dichotomy between man and nature. Guedon (1984a:140) explains that:

For the traditional Tsimshian Indian, animals, and spirits, are part of a continuum; man is the one who has to bridge the gap.

In this study we shall examine the objects that "concretized" the relations of man with supernaturals and bridged the gap between the powerless human condition and that of the supernaturals in certain ritual contexts. The chiefs and the shamans were the major power brokers between the people and the supernaturals. We shall first examine the various roles of the chief in the feast context, followed by the secret society rituals, and conclude with the role of the shaman. The basic

paraphernalia of each group are set out in Table 5. The extant objects that once belonged to the chiefs and shamans of Port Simpson and Metlakatla are listed under "Ceremonial" with 14 subheadings in Appendix A.

1.) Rituals

All the significant events of the Coast Tsimshian social life were marked by a feast, or potlatch. Potlatch is an old term, rooted in the Chinook language meaning "to give". The giving of gifts by the host chief to the guests or witnesses to the event was an integral part of the event.

The feast has been analyzed by Halpin (1973:51) into two structural orders in Coast Tsimshian society: an halait order and a potlatch order. Both employed "distinct kinds of material culture and distinct forms of ritual expression" (Halpin 1973:24). These ritual events were held sequentially in the winter season with the chiefs as the central players. Halpin (1973:51) defined the potlatch order as celebrating the order of descent groups and affinal ties, of clanship and exogamy. We shall deal with the potlatch order first. A quote from the Barbeau/Beynon manuscript (MacDonald and Cove n.d.:145) provides the feast setting:

Then followed the headmen of these tribes in the same order, each headmen being called out in order of rank. The distribution of gifts took the whole day and night before it was completed. After all the gifts were distributed, Xoop called out to his chief, "Come, chief my master, Legaix! Stand before your equals and look into their faces. You have now put aside your black mourning." With that, Legaix stepped forward, wearing his dancing robes and again danced, before the guests, and his tribesmen sang the dancing songs. When this was completed, he sat at the

rear of the house where his uncle formerly sat. Xoop and the other Gispaloats headmen who were the spokesmen then addressed the guests, reciting the Gunhoot history of this House. After they had all finished, or while they were speaking, the guests affirmed what was said by all mumbling at the same time. Should any of the guests feel that they had been slighted, then they would have left the feast house and the gifts.

The chief at these events wore his dancing clothes; crested robe, or gwishalait (Chilkat blanket) apron, leggings, headdress (amhalait), carried a Raven rattle and the event was announced by a box drum (see Table 5). The term "dancing" often prefaces objects in museum catalogues. Guedon (1984a:138) translated the term halait to mean "dance", "dancing" or "dancer". The significance of this dancing role is evident in the Indian dichotomy between Christianity and native religion. A young Nishga chief explained to Duncan "that a dance, with them, meant just the same as the Book with the white people" (Arctander 1909:145).

1. (a) Crest Definition

These dancing items fit into the category of crest objects which may be seen as rendering the social structure visible as they were owned by Houses. Barbeau emphasized the relationship between crest and myth. "Crest without a myth to explain its origin and connection with the owner was an impossibility; and such a myth was the patrimony of a clan or family" (Barbeau 1917:560) quoted in Halpin 1984:19).

Halpin (1984:18) defined a Tsimshian crest as a :

.... series of named entities or objects, usually referring to animals, which were owned by social groups who were privileged to

represent them according to certain rules on totem poles, housefronts, ceremonial headdresses and robes, and certain other objects of material culture. Crests were jealously guarded possessions.

Halpin's analysis of the Barbeau/Beynon data established that there are several hundred crests owned by the Tsimshian speaking peoples (Halpin 1984a:17). It should be noted that "The Tsimshian differentiated terminologically between crests as names (ayuk) and the material manifestation of them (dzep) (Cove 1985:135). Dzep glosses "to make or to own", the object which gave the supernatural power physical existence was owned by the House (Cove 1985:137). A few examples will describe the crest acquisition process.

1(b) Crest Acquisition

Halpin (1973:141) has described the Tsimshian crest system as totally traditional Tsimshian, with only two crests attributed to experiences since the arrival of the White man. Both relate to the early days of the Hudson Bay trading forts. The crest of Mr. Ross's dog recalls an incident when a Factor's dog bit a chief in the leg during a secret society ritual (Simpson 1847:205), and the other relates the first sighting of the palisaded fence around an upriver Skeena River fort (Barbeau 1973:177).

The myth of Gitnagunaks, published by Boas (1916:285-292), describes the reciprocal gift of crests given by the supernaturals, in return for gifts of food from their human guests. This myth serves as an example of the the level of detail recorded in the myths. The events related to the crests are summarized as follows: The myth involved four men, one a chief,

who were taken under the sea to the house of Gitnagunaks, one of the underwater supernatural monster chiefs. The chief presented Nagunaks with the following gifts: four coppers, mountain goat fat, tobacco, boxes of grease, crab apples and cranberries, as well as red ochre and eagle down. The return gifts were presented to the humans in the presence of all Nagunaks "fellow-chiefs in the rocks." Nagunaks gave to the chief:

my own garment covered with horns, and my principal crest, the mermaid children going up the river, and my copper canoe, the copper canoe stern-board, and copper paddles, and also my carved house.

The chief's companions also received gifts of hats and storage boxes. In return for the gifts the men were told not to hurt any fish. On their return to their own village, the gifts were publically displayed at a feast to which all the chiefs from the surrounding tribes were invited, each wearing "his own crest, hat, and decorated garment."

The Gitnagunaks myth while describing the crest acquisition process also presents the social context for announcing a crest. The crest myth required three features for its assertion (Halpin 1984a:19): a potlatch, presentation of the crest, and "the telling of the myth that transformed crest display into assertion of crest ownership." The Gitnagunaks myth underscores the mirroring of the human social pattern, in the supernatural.

1(c) Crest Representation

Halpin (1973:5) writes "Tsimshian crest art was a special use of artistic images to make the Tsimshian social structure

visible." Through her analysis of the Tsimshian crest system drawn from the Barbeau/Beynon data, Halpin (1984:17) has identified several hundred crests for the total Tsimshian area. She has also identified the primary and secondary crest animals by clan for the Tsimshian (1984:26). The primary animals are particularized by the addition of "modifiers" such as "Prince," "Real," and "Of the Sky." Her analysis will assist in identifying objects now in museum collections; she states: "we should be able to analyze, rather than merely identify, the relationships between the semantic and visual systems" (Halpin 1984:30). The artists who created the objects for the two orders will be described later in this chapter. The crest art can be organized into three categories of artifacts:

1. architectural features; totem poles, including house entrance poles, house posts, house front paintings, beams, rafters, and ceremonial entrances.
2. costume features; robes and headdresses.
3. less often, feast dishes and ladles.

....The focus or climax of these crest expressions were the person and dwelling of the chief, who was the embodiment of his group's power and prestige (Halpin 1984a:21).

1) Architectural Crest Representation

1) Houses:

The descriptions of the old houses are drawn from data which describes the transition period from traditional to European style dwellings. The social significance of house building was described by Beynon in an account recorded at a ceremony in the ruins of the last long house named "Where Spawn Coppers" in Port Simpson (see Appendix B). Names and painted

housefront design were a feature of the old houses. The validation of the name of the house required gift distribution. Houses have been interpreted in the metaphor of skins, and painted houseboards were recycled as grave monuments or coffins (MacDonald 1983:7). Garfield noted major renovations to the old houses had commenced several years before Crosby's arrival to Fort Simpson in 1874, though Crosby noted only one house outside the fort was shingled (Methodist Recorder December 1899:5). Garfield (1939:279) recorded an account of the transition of a house from traditional to European which may have occurred previous to Crosby's arrival.

They named the door the Wave Door and announced the name at the feast as Grizzly Bears predecessor had that of the house front painting which was ruined when the windows were placed. They enumerated the house front paintings that had adorned the dwellings of the lineage in the past and announced that henceforth they would have no more paintings.

11) Totem Poles

Totem poles were the largest and most valuable of the crest objects. Like the house front paintings they were a public statement on constant view. The Indian resistance and resentment at requests for their removal can be appreciated when it is understood they were viewed in native law as "deeds to the land":

..the "histories" of the clans are themselves the traditional statements of rights to certain territories, which are accepted as valid by the other clans. The totem-poles stand as visible symbols of these histories (which were related whenever a pole was erected), and in a sense are considered as

legal deeds to the territories concerned (Duff1959:12).

The history of totem pole collecting from Port Simpson will be discussed in Chapter IV.

2) Costume Features

Halpin (1984:21) stated that most of the Chilkat blankets worn by chiefs did not depict crests, nor did the raven rattles. However, it is possible that some Chilkat blankets depicted crests. Barbeau (Collector Notes, V11-A-132, 1915:NMM) describes a crest Chilkat blanket and lists the gifts required to validate a house front of the same crest as the blanket:

Gemk in a ye'ok ceremony adopted the Medik (grizzly) which he already had painted on the front of his house, as a headdress and pattern for a robe. He had for that purpose to give away 200 elk skins, 200 blankets, 70 guns, and 70 leather bags. After that ceremony he had the painting on the front of his house reproduced in painting on leather, and had the best 'tsilqa't (Tlingit) woman weaver to weave it into a blanket. She took a year to weave it, and was paid \$150.00. It was made 40 years ago. Gemk never actually used it. It passed down from Gemk to Mr. William Musgrave, from whom it was purchased.

"The most expensive things were "Chiefs headdresses" dancing robes and chief's rattles. Frequently slaves were paid to those who made them "(Morrison Collector Notes:CFM). It should not be surprising that regalia was ranked. Mrs. Morrison noted that a finbacked whales head of the killerwhale clan was worn last in the dances "as the last and highest degree. When this is worn more property is given away than usual" (Collector Notes: CFM).

The chief's costume of Chilkat blanket, apron, leggings, and headdress was much sought after by collectors. Crosby posed

in this regalia which formed part of his own collection and is now in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa (See Plate 1).

3.) Feast Dishes and Ladles

This category of crest objects encompasses many domestic objects related to the feast context. A description of the relationship of hosts and containers for the Kwakiutl could also apply to the Coast Tsimshian:

During a potlatch great attention was paid to the dishes used. Because they were covered with family crests handed down from the past, such containers were signs of high hereditary position. Moreover, the size and lavishness of each container corresponded to the rank of the guest who used it and to the ability of the host to impress his guests. As each guest was given a dish in order of his rank, the speaker called out the names of the dishes and the corresponding ancestral history. All were urged to eat well and to eat as much as possible. Whatever food remained was taken home by the guests as a gift from the hosts, often in finely wrought little wooden dishes (Jackson 1974:16).

2.) Halait Order

Following Halpin's identification of the two orders, potlatch and halait, we now will consider the halait order. The term halait was presented above in the context of the chief's dancing objects. Halpin's (1973:74) definition stated: " halait is a very important word that cannot be easily translated, but which can be taken as a signal that supernatural beings or forces are involved." As noted earlier, the objects associated with halaits differ in form and ritual from those of the potlatch order. Table 5 lists these halait objects under the heading "pre-potlatch" as that was the time for the presentation of the naxnox rituals with costumes, props, and masks animated by the

Plate 1. Rev. Thomas Crosby dressed in chiefly regalia, posed with Sudaith' (Victoria young) of the Gispalats tribe, around 1876. (British Columbia Provincial Museum, negative PN 4191.)

supernatural voices of hidden whistles. Songs and stories could also accompany the naxnox presentation. This manifestation of the supernatural was called naxnox. As opposed to crest, naxnox were dramatized usually with a mask, with the face of the wearer hidden. Halpin's (1981:282) analysis of the 650 naxnox names in the Tsimshian area collected by Barbeau/Beynon reveals there was a predominance of qualities emphasizing the weaknesses of the human condition, especially those qualities that would be unthinkable for chief such as: "foolishness", insanity, physical deformities and infirmities."

2(a) Naxnox Acquisition

Naxnox names were owned by houses much like crests, though the system allowed for new naxnox based on particular individual experience by any member of the House. The chiefs owned the most powerful naxnox, and were permitted to pre-empt naxnox of lower ranking persons in their House (Personal Communication, Cove:1985). The chief's most powerful naxnox was "the return to life" naxnox, wherein a chief calling upon his naxnox powers could revive a person theatrically killed before an audience as a demonstration of his powers (Adams 1973:47). Adams (1973:41) explained for the Gitksan that:

Most names of adult men and women have naxnox which go with them. Each name entitles the holder of it to a "reserved seat" at feasts. A naxnox is both a particular spirit whose power the owner of the name is supposed to inherit when he takes the name, and it is also a "show" or dramatization of the power of that spirit.

2(b) Naxnox Representation

As stated above most naxnox are presented as masks, though small sculptures, and total costumes were also featured as Barbeau's large collection of naxnox material from Gitwanga demonstrates (MacDonald 1984). The Coast Tsimshian created the most dramatic and famous naxnox masks in a twin pair of delicately carved stone masks, one with eye holes, the other unseeing. These human naxnox masks were theatrically presented, one worn over the other dramatizing the impossible: stone eyes that opened and closed, a human quality transposed into stone. The motif of animated eyes were often shown in Tsimshian masks. The collection of these stone masks is discussed in Chapter IV.

Boas (1916:555) provides us with the most compelling description of the power of a naxnox mask collected by his native informant Henry W. Tate of Port Simpson in 1905 (Collector Notes 16.1-371ab:AMNH):

It has a body like that of a dog. The Chief did not wear it on his face or on his head, because the mask had its own body, and it was considered a very terrible object. Its whistle was very hard to blow. Nobody now knows how to do it. It is not blown with the mouth, but it is squeezed on a certain mark on the whistle. All they knew about this thing was that it was living in a rock of the mountain. They had a song of this mask. It was always kept hidden, and no common people knew about it, only the children of the head chief and the children of the head man of Dzēba'sa's tribe. The children were very much afraid to hear the voice of Boiling Words. It was a very terror among the common people, and it was a great cause of pride among the prince and princesses to be allowed to touch it. It was very expensive to obtain the right to use it. This mask was made during the time or a little before the arrival of the white people here. Before the white people met chief

Dzeb'as on the ship, they made the mask with stone axes and beaver-tooth knives. Many chiefs who have used the masks [sic] have died.

The above description of "Boiling Words" indicates that it was inherited, an aspect that will be examined later in this chapter.

It also "was always kept hidden". The concept of an object's power becoming diluted from exposure, or harm coming to uninitiated viewers, can be inferred from the treatment of the sacred regalia. Garfield (1939:276) noted: "In some houses there was a boarded off room at the rear of the house in which dancing paraphernalia were kept."

A contemporary example of naxnox power was cited by Adams (1973:43) from the K'san Native Art Centre at Hazelton on the upper Skeena when:

Native tourist guides at the Skeena Treasure House, for instance complained of aches and pains which "must be caused by a mask because of something (that the guides) said about it that wasn't quite right.²

3.) Secret Societies:

The chief played the role of wihalait or "Great Dancer" in the secret societies. In this capacity he passed on or threw his power into other human beings, a sharing of his power not possible with crests. All members of the village (except the slaves and wa'ayin) participated in the halait system, which was conceptualized as a series of "steps" or elevations in power by means of initiation ceremonies (Halpin 1982:76).

The wihalait costume worn in secret society events consisted of cedar bark head and neck rings accompanied by skull rattles, wood drum and whistles. None of these objects were

identified from Port Simpson and Metlakalta as they were likely destroyed in the fire after the wihalait's death. The destruction is in keeping with the individual aspect of the secret society material (Garfield 1939:241) in contrast to the crest objects that were inherited by successors.

Each society was defined by a specific list of naḡḡḡḡ corresponding to ranked grades for the initiated members of the societies (Guedon 1984b:153). The secret societies exclusive to the chiefs were called the Destroyers and Cannibals. The less exclusive societies were the Dog Eaters and the Dancers. The secret societies are considered to have arrived late to the Coast Tsimshian from the south. Their unusual feature of membership which, "cut across kinship lines so that persons of all clans and many lineages worked together in carrying out any one ceremonial" (Garfield 1939:297). This unifying aspect of the secret societies may have served as a precondition to Christianity where people from various Houses and clans shared a common membership. The clans did not normally join in action together, though some powerful village chiefs such as Legaio were able to gather support from all the clans.

The secret society rituals featured an ascent to heaven, a traditional concept of an upper region reached by exit from the smokehole of the house. In the cases of children being initiated, the chief threw the initiating powers into the novices who then disappeared through the smoke hole into heaven, there to "acquire wisdom" (Halpin 1981:270 quoting Beynon 1957:Vol.3). When the initiates returned in their wild state they were tamed by the chief who was paid for both the "throwing" and the "taming."

Clearly, such a ritual "acted out" the beliefs and supported the role of the chief as the power broker. Shane(1984:169) found evidence in the Barbeau Beynon file for the wihalaht, which she glossed as "great shaman" utilizing the services of the haldaogit who were secret, malevolent practitioners of evil spells to apply pressure on parents to submit their children for initiation. The haldaogit stand in contrast to the role of the shaman.

4.) Artists

The creation of the crest and naxnox and secret society objects was divided between two groups of artists. The crest art was of a public nature and items such as totem poles were carved by the ukgihla a less prestigious group than the gitsonth (CCFCS:A-VIII-31c). The word derived from "gidson" meaning "inner or secret room" (Shane 1984:160). The gitsonth created the naxnox and secret society objects. It was essential that their creations of masks, costumes, props, large mechanical devices, whistles and trumpets remain a secret. The range of gitsonth objects identified by Halpin(cited in Shane 1984:165) included items usually perceived as crest items:

frontlets, raven rattles, whistles, and horns and masks. It is also possible that round shaman's rattles, box drums, and interior house screen should be included.

While the chief's channelled the supernatural powers through their position, the effect was heightened by the presentation of unique ritual objects never seen before. Failure of a creation required that the gitsonth forfeit their lives to

compensate for the personal embarrassment of the host chief. Some gitsontk became famous carvers, much in demand, who would travel to other areas. In part their unique and often spectacular creations helped to maintain the position of the chiefs as mediators with the supernatural. The personal creativity of the Tsimshian artists accounts for the broad spectrum of representation of crest, naxnox and secret society creations. This diversity of expression complicates interpretation of museum specimens.

5.) Inheritance

At the death of a chief his or her material wealth was distributed at a memorial feast.

Much of the wealth in possession of a chief came from his tribe and the influential men often dictated the disposition to be made of wealth which they had helped to accumulate (Garfield 1939:264).

These same tribesmen oversaw the burial of their dead chief. There is one famous example when the chief's tribe ignored his death in retaliation for his son's behaviour. The renegade chief, Haimas, destroyed his aged father's copper that had been bought for him by his tribe.

It was customary for the tribe to buy, or aid in a chief in buying, a special copper shield. This was broken up at his death and the pieces, which were called the "bones of the chief" were distributed among the chiefs of the other tribes (Garfield 1939:264).

At the death of the elderly chief, his wife waited for his tribesmen to assist in his funeral, none did. As a result she took all the personal belongings of the chief, "such as his

dancing garments, armor, rattle, masks and other things representing his supernatural powers" (ibid:265) and went to chief Dzi'basa at Kitkatla. On arrival there she stood in her canoe and announced her intention of giving to Chief Dzi'basa the, "masks and supernatural powers of your brother" and cited the names of each of the powers (Garfield 1939:265). Dzi'basa held the feast "to bury the chief", and as a result the Ginaxongik lost their

4 feast position to Dzi'basa (Garfield 1939:266). Property was often the focus of quarrels. Charles Morrison, Hudson Bay Company Chief Trader, wrote to Duncan, as Justice of the Peace July 6, 1875 regarding property sought by some of the Gitlans and Ginanxongik from Metlakatla. "We-shakes I am given to understand claimed this property on account of some old Indian heathen-potlatch which took place some time ago." Morrison was aware of the potential for trouble and stated "I know that in cases among Indians where an amount of property like this is involved, an altercation over it would very likely lead to bloodshed, as you and I have often seen to be the case" (Morrison to Duncan, July 21, 1875: PAC).

6.) Feasts and the Supernatural

As described above feasts were held to celebrate a variety of events, the most important of which focussed around the mortuary feast and the elevation of an heir (Seguin 1984b:123). At the time of commemoration of the dead chief, a pole could be raised, or new names taken (Halpin 1984:19). Seguin (1984:118) has developed an hypothesis, supported in the mythology, regarding one of the functions of the traditional feast system.

One interesting possibility is that the guests at a yagkw [feast] may have been receiving food and gifts in an inversion of the bestowal of gifts by non-human Real Beings, and in fact in the stead of those beings. Gifts from the non-human Real beings included food, wealth and crests. Seguin concluded that the father's side at feasts represented the non-human Real Beings and that a gift given to these people was a gift to the other side (1984:124). She suggested that in the memorial feast context the high ranking guests of the host may be viewed as representatives of the "Real Beings from other Worlds." Dunn has developed this concept to include interethnic exogamy based on the analysis of kin terminology. He concluded: "The Haida are seen as supernatural, animal, patrilineal (in that they interchange in the myths for the patrilineal, supernatural animals)" (Dunn 1984:102).

Seguin viewed the giving of gifts by the hosts as emptying the House of the "waab", defined as the local matrician (Seguin 1984:111). In this emptying process the new name-holder gifted the guests as representatives of the non-human Real people:

Otherwise the name-holder came to the supernatural full of things acquired by his predecessor through his connection to the same supernatural, holding part of the substance of the supernatural that had never been restored (ibid:126).

The concept of reciprocity is implicit in this process. Human bodies filled the titles, and as the bodies changed the supernaturals waited expectantly for gifts in exchange for their goodwill in bringing wealth to the people through the successful

exploitation of the resources. The Hudson Bay Journal (PAC), November 28, 1864 provides an example of emptying the House, with the entry:

Niestohyah, the new head chief of the Keenakangeak[Ginaxongik] has been giving away the property of the deceased chief Al-Laim-lakah, and a keg of liquor of his own containing ten gallons, so now he takes the name WeShakes.

The important connection to make in the traditional cosmology involves the belief that gifts given to the human element serve as substitutes for the supernatural in the social context. Cove (1985:314) makes the point regarding the role of the chief as wihalait in the secret society rituals that:

The goods given to the wihalait are manifestations of the sponsors powers, since all wealth is ultimately due to relations with the supernatural. The payment is therefore part of an exchange involving power, and not merely wealth and not merely wealth for services.

7.) Shaman:

The Coast Tsimshian shaman (swanescu) or "blowing halaits" were basically healers, gifted in the skills of soul retrieval, soul loss often being the purported cause of illness. The shaman caught lost souls in a bone tube called a soul catcher. An example of their work is provided by Rev. William Pierce (1933:120):

I remember one time when Rev. T. Crosby was very ill at Fort Simpson. An old conjuror, named Neasbeans, went into the mission house and said, "don't you be alarmed, Sir, I found your soul last night lying in the gutter all covered with filth. I got my stick and poked it, rolling it over into a dry place. You need not be afraid that you will die; in a few days more you will be well again. Sure enough at the time specified the old man took the soul to the mission house and was desirous

of placing it on Mr. Crosby's head.

Guedon's (1984b:194) recent field work and research among the Gitksan had led her to conclude that the Tsimshian shaman complex has remained stable for some time:

On the whole, the paraphernalia and techniques used by the mythical shamans are the same as used by historical ones. The attire is identical, as are most of the rituals. The feats and abilities attributed to mythical shamans are also very much like those described for modern individuals, if applied on a larger scale: to heal the sick, to restore luck, to see into the future, as well as to see in the land of the supernatural or the land of ghosts, and kill one's enemies, to travel and explore. Such similarities may indicate that Tsimshian shamanism is a very stable cultural complex.

The mythical shaman wore a crown of grizzly bear claws, filled with down, an apron, a necklace of ivory charms representing various animals, and carried one or two "live" rattles (Boas 1916:333). Guedon has itemized these shaman regalia in Table 5. The museum examples are cited in Appendix A under "shaman regalia."

Shaman form a distinct category from the medicine men in the anthropological literature, the latter, usually being associated with religious and moral instruction (Guedon 1984b:181). The role of shaman was independent of lineage affiliations and both men and women were eligible depending on their personal qualifications. It was an individual responsibility executed in the curing or healing ceremonies or halaits. The shaman's role was not validated in the feast context. Shaman had healing powers and were also able to control the haldaogit, a group of witches who worked in secret and

sought to harm people through the use of magic (Guedon 1984a:148). If the wihalait coerced unwilling parents as suggested above, to submit their children for secret society initiation with the assistance of the haldaogit, it would appear that shamans could be pitted against chiefs in this context.

Beynon (B-F-201.2:CCFCS) recorded that "the old people used to consider that evil winds coming from the sky brought the sickness of all description". It should be noted that this perception was quickly replaced with affixing the responsibility on White people. The Bella Coola refused to participate in the 1881 census stating that the last time the census was taken the white men sent the small pox among them and they nearly all died (Reel 13,284:FAC).

The people who actually made medicines to heal people were very rare.

Any of the natives who understood the art of making medicine from roots and bark were never doctors at all. In one large village there might be forty doctors, but out of the entire population perhaps only one person understood the making of medicines (Pierce 1933:121).

The missionaries consistently used the term "medicine man" to refer to the halait ceremonies involving chiefs. In Chapter III we will examine the conflicting roles of missionary and shaman as they were both involved in healing. Bishop Ridley, who replaced Duncan at Metlakatla wrote of his medical skills: "I am known for hundreds of miles as a medicine-man" (Ridley 1903:58). The secret society rituals such as the cannibal performance attracted the most attention from outsiders. Duncan sent back a long description of a cannibal event he viewed from the verandah of the Fort. The Hudson Bay Journals (FAC) entries

describing life "in the camp" noted : November 13, 1860, "Indians busily employed dog eating;" and on February 29, 1860 "This afternoon we had a cannibal exhibition in front of the fort, performed by a KitsaamakKalem [sic] Indians;" followed a few days later on March 3, 1860: "This afternoon four Cannibals had a feast from Talush's slave."

The Shaman's communication link with the land of ghosts was through fire. The burning of objects becomes of interest later in Chapter IV. In general, following a death, objects and food were sent on to the deceased by the shaman who interpreted what objects the dead person desired. Shaman's regalia and corpses were not burnt but set off in a separate gravehouse, often on an island.

Summary:

The feast context, the pinnacle social event, not only rendered the social structure visible but validated the connection with the supernatural world. The contact point for the supernaturals who controlled access to wealth and power was through the chief, a Real person who was recognized by his House supporters and the Real beings among the supernaturals. Shaman drew on individual power and had the ability through the use of personalized paraphernalia to retrieve souls and on occasion contact the ghosts of the deceased.

The objects cited in this chapter associated with the Coast Tsimshian concept of the supernatural are summarized in Table 5 on the following page.

Table 5

PARAPHERNALIA AND SOUND INSTRUMENTS
OF HALAIT AND OTHER PRACTITIONERS
IN TSIMSHIAN COSMOLOGY
(after Appendix of Guedon:1984a:158-59)*

SHAMAN (swanaskxw) halait	CHIEF (potlatch)	CHIEF (naxnox) pre-potlatch	CHIEF (wihalait) secret society
fur robe	crested robe	costume	cedar bark
grizzly bear	apron	props	head ring,
claw crown	leggings	masks	neck ring
bear teeth	headdress		
eagle feathers	amhalait		
eagle down	gwishalait		
(no masks)			
round rattle, skin drum sticks	box drum Raven rattle	whistles	skull rattle wood drum whistles

* the semhalait distinction of Guedon is incorporated into the potlatch category for this study.

The crest, and naxnox worn by the chief and the shaman's regalia symbolized the Tsimshian connection with the supernatural world. The chief's crest regalia confirmed the recital of the mythology from which it sprang. The naxnox displays allowed the chief to publically display and "throw" this power into other people. These powers enabled the chief to care for his supporters and they in turn supported him with gifts which he could distribute at feasts for the benefit of the House members. At periods of transition in leadership, the House was emptied of its wealth, a symbolic gesture which may be interpreted as a ritual

to appease the supernaturals. This act may have worked to the missionaries benefit and will be discussed in Chapter V. Chapter III will describe the historical circumstances leading to the "power exchange".

ENDNOTES-CHAPTER TWO

1. While the association of objects with the two orders is considered "solid" (Sequin 1985:40), Sequin noted that there is need for more study of the interpenetration of the two systems, particularly the cross over of names between the crest and naxnox systems.

2. Naxnox identified with the landscape called spaanaxnox still exist along the Skeena River and people still have personal naxnox, but they are not presented in public as far as I know.

3. A large number of artifacts in museum collections were stolen from shaman graves. A walking stick from Fort Simpson in Appendix A notes "stolen from doctor's grave."

HISTORICAL CONTEXT-CHAPTER THREE

Introduction

This chapter describes the historical events that led to the interaction between the missionaries and the Indians of Fort Simpson. The attitudes and actions of the missionaries, and others who in the name of Christianity and civilization applied pressure and demanded major reforms in the Indian lifestyle are described. These pressures or displays of power from the Indian perspective will be seen to have contributed to the collecting of the ceremonial objects from the Coast/Tsimshian, described in the next chapter.

A.) Fort Simpson

1) Establishment of Fort Simpson

The establishment of a fort among the Tsimshian ended the Indians' autonomy in their homeland. The fort was an intrusion which established a base with employment for White people who lived on a year round basis among the Tsimshian and observed life "in the camp" (a phrase used in the Hudson Bay Journals to describe the Indian village outside the walls of the fort). As described in the last chapter, the fort site created an Indian community of nine distinct tribes living side by side for the first time. The size of the population alone, which Duncan (Stock, Vol.II:615) counted in January 1857 at 2156 plus about another 400 absent, was enough to attract missionary attention. The concentration of trading also attracted renegade schooners to the area who tempted the Indians with alcohol, a forbidden trading item as far as the British were concerned. Fort Simpson

was the second choice of the Hudson Bay Company after their earlier fort at the mouth of the Nass River established in 1831 was abandoned. The company move to the North Coast was precipitated by the decline in the sea otter stocks and the desire to exploit the inland furs.

The new Fort Simpson built in 1834 was well fortified with large pickets and corner bastions. Good business practice called for formal relations in trading: "Indians will be displeased if a Gentleman is not there to trade with them" (letter, McNeil to HBC management, October 18, 1855:FAC). Company policy kept the Indians outside their grounds, with only one Indian at a time allowed in to trade. Barnett states the, "Indian saw extremely little and knew practically nothing of white man's culture" (Barnett 1941:164).

During a stopover to repair his gunboat at Port Simpson in 1854, Captain Prevost was impressed with the quality of the Indians of the fort "bold and defiant even in the face of imminent destruction....what was needed to permanently restrain the Indians from murder and pillage was not the presence of a warship, but of a missionary of the Gospel" (Davis 1904:12). On his return to England, Prevost convinced the Church Missionary Society, through its chairman Thomas Venn, that Fort Simpson was an ideal location for a missionary, noting the large number of native villages in the area of the Fort, and comparing Fort Simpson to the London of the Coast (Stock 1899:Vol.II). The CMS operated on the principle that native indigenous missions would be started by British assistance and then continue on their own

with trained native leaders. The main mission fields were in Africa, India and New Zealand though the CMS had sent a missionary to the Red River Settlement (Canada) in 1822.

By the mid 1850's a more relaxed policy was in place at the fort (Barnette 1941:164), which co-incided approximately with the arrival of William Duncan in 1857. By 1860 most of the Indians were taking their furs to Victoria where it was easier to obtain rum and tobacco (Usher 1971:54) and there were opportunities for employment (Fisher 1977:63).²

B.) The Missionary Movement

By the mid-nineteenth century the British evangelical societies had been active around the world for over fifty years. British Columbia was the last outpost "opposite Shanghai" for the Church Missionary Society which could now say that it spanned the world (Stock 1899:vol.II:614). The Methodists spread to the north coast after an active period commencing in 1859 on the southern part of the coast.

The social thinking of the early nineteenth century had drifted away from the concept of the noble savage. Bishop Hills' diary (Victoria, November 23, 1860: AFSBC) described the West Coast Indians as "fallen from nature." "Their habits are unnatural, and it is Christian civilization which alone can bring them back to true nature..." The missionaries accepted the new thinking associated with cultural evolution that sprang from the same roots as social Darwinism (Usher 1974:13). Edward Tylor, the British anthropologist, espoused cultural evolution. Indeed, he ordered a west coast Indian shaman's "soul catcher" from Boas,

"a piece of great interest, he wrote, to the history of religion" (cited by Cole 1984:222). This evolutionary perspective, as a quote by Usher (1974:13) makes clear, was used by the missionaries to legitimize their work:

Missionaries were attracted to evolutionary social theories because they accorded with their own belief in the unity of mankind, provided a framework in which to fit the barbarism the missionaries encountered, and held out the possibility of success for their own work (Usher 1974:13).

This evolutionary perspective accounts, in part, for the collectors' attraction to the stone tools of the Tsimshian people, which will be described later. Bishop Hills added a novel interpretation of the origin of man based on the similarity he noted of stone tools throughout the Pacific area, including New Zealand:

Thus we have proofs of wide spread unity, these proving by this sameness of pattern to have had a common original[sic] confirming so far the Scriptures which assert the derivation of man from one stock, and that God made of one.... all nations upon the earth

(Bishop Hills, October 18, 1871:APSBG).

1.) William Duncan and Rev. Thomas Crosby

The basic expectations of the missionaries of the period were the same, and an examination of the backgrounds of William Duncan and Thomas Crosby also shows a number of similarities. Though William Duncan and Thomas Crosby represented different denominations, they were both part of the evangelical movement of the nineteenth century which offered civilization and Christianity simultaneously to colonized people around the world. Duncan represented the Church of England. Crosby represented the Methodist Church, a less formal denomination within Anglicanism

"which substituted enthusiasm and personal religious involvement for the patriotic condescension of many of the ministers of the state church of the time" (Elliott 1985:19).

Though Crosby travelled to the West Coast from Woodstock, Ontario, he was a recent emigre to Canada. Both Duncan and Crosby shared remarkably similar roots, though they did not meet until adulthood. They were both born in Yorkshire into working class families, Duncan in 1832 in Beverly and Crosby in 1840 in nearby Pickering. Both decided to dedicate their lives to their churches after hearing pleas for missionaries from experienced evangelicals. Duncan trained as a missionary teacher, rejecting the ordination option, a move that would later lead to conflict with church officials. He was selected for Port Simpson by the CMS as "experience had shown that such a station is better commenced by a missionary school master than by one of holy orders" (Usher 1974:27, quoting Intelligencer 1857,pg.19).

Crosby, with little formal education, was assigned as a teacher to the Indians of Nanaimo after impressing the Victorian Wesleyans with his evangelical enthusiasm. He was ordained in 1871 in recognition for this work. He was designated as an Indian Missionary and "was in charge of the Methodist Mission to the Indian tribes and as such became nationally and internationally known" (Runnalls 1974:46).

Duncan and Crosby were to spend their most productive working years about 20 miles apart speaking the same Indian language and working among the same people. Their British heritage led them to ascribe to the view that "the highest stage for civilization to reach was that of Protestant, Victorian

England. The CMS periodical the Intelligencer, in fact, believed quite explicitly that "there is to be found in England a more advanced social organization than, perhaps is to be met in any quarter of the globe" (quoted in Usher 1974:14).

Duncan did not expect the transformation from heathen to civilized to take a long time.

First, the people with whom we are dealing, we are bound to remember, were a few years ago fairly saturated with vile superstitions and intoxicated to madness by heathen rites and ceremonies, and though now through the preaching the Gospel they have been delivered from heathenism and have embraced Christianity, yet it will take a generation of time at least to rid them all of the enthralling and deadly influence of their deeply rooted system of evil (Duncan to Committee CMS, March 29, 1876: PAC).

In order to raise the Indians onto the social level with themselves, the missionaries and their sponsoring agencies supported the introduction of civilization along with Christianity. The Indian religion was not considered a problem. Crosby (1914:99) noted, "It was not, apparently a coherent system, nor otherwise of a high order, either intellectually or morally." Duncan was quick to note that "...there is generally a belief among them that the whites so possess some grand secret about eternal things and they are grasping to know it" (Fisher 1977:131, quoting Duncan's diary January 14, 1858).

a.) Village Interaction

The introduction of Christianity and its accompanying tenets of civilization affected profound changes in the social life of the Indians of Port Simpson and resulted in the Coast

Tsimshian people being divided into two separate villages in 1862, and into three villages by 1887.

1) Establishment of Metlakatla

The missionaries were anxious to pass on the "grand secret" which required a total overhaul of the Indian lifestyle, both personal and at the village level. Duncan waited nearly five years after his arrival to move his converts, about 300, to their new location, the old village site of Metlakatla, twenty miles to the southeast of Port Simpson. The establishment of this utopian community in 1862 followed the CMS pattern, which established self-supporting villages for converts in Africa, India and New Zealand (Usher 1971:56). The move which had been in the planning stage for some time was precipitated by word Duncan received from the Bishop in Victoria of a small pox epidemic there among the Tsimshian (HBC Journal, May 18, 1862: PAC).

The motivations of these first converts to leave Port Simpson beyond that of the fear of the small pox epidemic were examined by the anthropologist, Homer Barnett, who spent the summer of 1940 interviewing elders in Fort Simpson. Barnett attributed Chief Legaic's decision to leave Port Simpson to be related to internal dissension within his tribe, the Gispalaots. Legaic's departure enabled him to leave a difficult situation and prompted his uncle to declare against Metlakatla (Barnett 1941:165-166). Legaic apparently only took six followers with him to Metlakatla which would seem to reflect internal dissension in the tribe. His actual conversion took place later, after a night of soul searching on Legaic's part. Before his conversion

he had maintained residences in both communities. The Gitlan tribe of 300 people moved with Duncan en masse, and Barnett (1941:167) attributed this show of support for Duncan to intertribal rivalry. Some Gitlans had been killed by Gilautsau tribal members and the incident was never resolved. Therefore in order to save face the Gitlan people followed their chief to Metlakatla. These explanations focussing on intra and intertribal rivalry seem entirely plausible, though these data cannot be cross checked.

There was an hiatus of 12 years during which the people of Port Simpson were without a resident missionary. Duncan did try to maintain some contact with Port Simpson through native teachers, and people seemed to move from Port Simpson to Metlakatla. During this period Duncan reported back to the CMS that many Indians came to die there: "many sought it only as an asylum, and come but to die, as our graveyard with its 250 graves can testify, but others again, have sought it as a home and are doing their utmost to make it such" (Intelligencer 1876:527). It is not clear if Duncan's medical skills in healing or the desire of dying relatives to be once more with kin who had left the old village life behind were the attraction of Metlakatla.

11) Port Simpson

By the time of Crosby's arrival with his new bride in June 1874, there were about 800 people in both communities. Crosby differed from Duncan in that he was invited to come to the village. The Methodists had been invited to Port Simpson the previous winter by a small group of the Indians, headed by Kate

and Alfred Dudoward who had converted to Methodism in Victoria. The motivations for the conversion are unclear, though Beynon (1941:86) suggests Alfred Dudoward was angry with Duncan and "in order to retain his prestige and in retaliation, this chief encouraged the Methodist Church to send a missionary to Port Simpson." While Duncan had moved his supporters to a new village and in an effort to abandon the old order, Crosby does not appear to have ever considered moving the people away from Port Simpson. These new Methodist converts, were part of the group who had resisted Duncan. The anguish caused by splitting the community on the previous occasion made the prospect of agreeing to a move very unlikely. The Tsimshian people found the village separations difficult as one of the speeches given at the time of Admiral Prevost's final visit to Metlakatla in 1878 makes clear: "We are sorrowing because we are divided from our brethern at Fort Simpson" (Duncan letterbook, June 22, 1878: PAC). The arrival of Methodism caused more friction between the two villages. Port Simpson still contained a group of CMS supporters who had refused to move with Duncan in 1862. Rev. Robert Tomlinson, CMS assistant to Duncan wrote from Fort Simpson on June 28, 1874 asking Duncan to speak to the Anglicans "to repress that habit of despising those who have joined the Methodists" (Tomlinson to Duncan, June 28, 1874: PAC).

The CMS established other separate Christian communities on the Nass, and the Methodists followed the CMS example encouraging Rev. A. E. Green, a colleague of Crosby's to found the community of Greenville on the Nass River.

b.) Church Ritual

By 1874, the two villages had resident missionaries but the range of Christian ritual varied between the two. Rev. Crosby was authorized to serve all the Christian rituals. However, in Duncan's case, when he chose a missionary career he purposively chose not to be ordained. His reasons ranged from wishing to retain the option of returning to secular life to a belief that "as an Evangelist and Pioneer he could break up the rough ground, go through privations, open new fields and then let the settled ministry occupy and build up" (Bishop Hills, May 11, 1866: APSBC).

Duncan had to rely on ordained missionaries to conduct baptisms and confirmations. (His first curio dealing appears to have been with fellow clerics invited particularly to conduct baptisms). Duncan prepared his pupils well for their induction into the church and was sharply critical of the Rev. Crosby in this regard: "He did not know (perhaps he did not care to know), that the poor Indians were seeking baptism from his hands to act as a charm for their bodily preservation" (Duncan to CMS, March 29, 1876: USFAS). Duncan was not qualified to serve the Eucharist and would not allow visiting clerics to present the Lord's Supper to the Indians. His inflexibility on this point became a point of conflict with his superiors and led to his withdrawal from the CMS in 1881. Shortly after his arrival in Port Simpson, Duncan had reported to the CMS the dramatic cannibal performance that he witnessed from the verandah of the Hudson Bay Fort. His gruesome record of the secret society's

Cannibal ritual made a deep impression on Duncan. Similar events are also reported in the Hudson Bay Journals during Duncan's tenure at Port Simpson. The impact of the cannibal secret society theatrics likely convinced Duncan not to present the Indians with the rituals of the communion, particularly with its symbolism of the blood and body of Christ (Laviolette 1973:28). Duncan (Letter to CMS, March 29, 1876: USFAS) wrote:

In nothing does the odour of their former state more constantly show itself than in their tendency to regard in a superstitious sense every rite and ceremony of the church and to attach undue importance to the powers of those who are serving them in God's name.

We have no record of Crosby's attitude toward communion for the Indians. The two missionaries could also be contrasted in their attitudes to revivals. Crosby mentioned revivals occurring a number of times, but the one in the fall of 1877 happened at the two villages while the resident missionaries were away. Rettig (1880:38-39) studied the Duncan letters and found that Crosby was uplifted by the blessed revival, while Duncan saw a quick about face to heathenism. Crosby had responded positively to the 1868 revival among the Salish at Chilliwack (1907:176-182). His broad-mindedness was evident in his comments on a visit to Kitimaat as the first missionary: "Heathen dancing was going on and some who bite people were dancing, but they were very kind to us and we had a blessed time" (Guardian, Decemoer 26, 1877).

C.) Civilization

Both missionaries sought to civilize their converts, in a process that involved total change in many aspects of their

lives. The Indians appear to have welcomed these initiatives. Historian Robin Fisher (1977:124-125) writing about Indian-European relations in British Columbia noted that, "the missionaries demanded total cultural capitulation from the Indians." He contrasts this to the less invasive approach of the traders. The missionaries demanded that "their teaching and their example had to be either accepted or rejected, and acceptance meant virtually a total cultural change for the proselyte."

The missionaries did not work single handedly. Like the Hudson Bay Company they could call on assistance from the patrolling gunboats to help civilize the Indians. These patrolling British gunboats were the Indians first introduction to the power of "civilization". Captain James Prevost, the ardent Christian who pressured the CMS to send a missionary to Port Simpson was on the north coast on military manoeuvres aboard the Virago in 1854. Earlier in his mission he stopped on the Queen Charlotte Islands to impress the Haida "with a harmless display of force" as a warning against further plundering of ships. At that time, Prevost found time to inscribe a Bible for a Haida who later became a "first convert" for Duncan protege, William Collison (Gleaner 1881:118)

The colonial legal system supported Prevost's display tactics as the "first case of gunboat diplomacy" (Gough 1984:98). Judge Mathew Begbie, the first colonial judge for both colonies (1856-1894) corresponded with Duncan, regarding judicial matters as Duncan was a Justice of the Peace. (Begbie also wrote to him about curios as we shall see in the next chapter.) On one occasion (no date) Begbie's sentencing speech, (likely sent on

to the CMS by Duncan) set out the colonial attitude toward the use of force in the plainest language:

.....if the white men intended to do harm to the Indians, the whites could destroy them off the face of the earth. The whites could send up one man-of-war, which could easily, and without landing a man, destroy all their houses, and canoes and property, and drive them naked and helpless into the woods to starve. No canoe could venture to go fishing. In one year the white men could destroy all the Indians on the Coast without losing a man. One of our cannon could swallow up all the muskets of your tribe (Stock 1899 vol.II:618).

The Indians were also under a state of seige from white diseases. The small pox epidemic of 1862 killed one third of the population in Port Simpson, the majority among the Gispaloats tribe of Chief Legaic (HBC Journal, July 26, 1862: PAC) This was the second serious epidemic on the coast, the previous one occurring in 1834. The Hudson Bay Journals in 1862 noted the efforts of the people to ward off the illness "some left for the bush, those who stayed made medicine, lit fires along the beach," and "a piece of stick with red medicine on it stuck on the top of every house" (HBC Journal, June 21, 1862, May 24, 1862 PAC). There were few deaths reported from Metlakatla as Duncan enforced quarantining of visitors to the village. Calvin Martin (1978:53) has postulated that:

Alien disease did more than decimate the native population; it effectively prepared the way for subsequent phases of European contact by breaking native morale; and perhaps even more significantly by cracking their spiritual edifice. It is my contention that European disease rendered the Indian's (particularly the shaman's) ability to control and otherwise influence the supernatural realm dysfunctional -because his magic and other traditional cures were now

ineffective.-thereby causing him to apostize
(in effect)...

It seems likely that the total Coast Tsimshian population was demoralized over the deaths. The testimony given by a Metlakatla Indian at the time of the first baptism confirms this impression. "Lost ten relatives by the small pox last year, and it opened my eyes to my sins. God's hand was strong to cut down singers" (Davis 1904:63).

The relationship between the traditional healing shaman, the Indians and the missionary is explained by anthropologist McNeary (1972:33) in his discussion of the Nishga on the Nass River:

These conversions, and others like them are understandable when we consider that "religion" and "medicine", that is, the search for spiritual power and the treatment of disease were not separable in traditional thought...As supporters of a rival faith and medicine, the missionaries often found themselves in competition with shamans.

From the native perspective, soul loss was a cause of disease, and shamans were able to retrieve souls. The early missionaries helped to cure people, as well as express concern and offer salvation for their souls.

Certain aspects of the new changes appealed to all the Indians. It is interesting that all the houses in Port Simpson converted to European style during Crosby's tenure, though the population of the village was never more than half Christian (Bolt 1981:114).

1.) Houses

The most obvious change in each of the villages was the appearance of western style houses. When Crosby stated his view

of the role of the missionary, particular skills were mentioned:

Indeed, some had the audacity to say that all the Missionaries had to do was to teach religion. It is not out of place to say that the Missionary who cannot teach the Indian or heathen how to build his home and cultivate his land is too lazy to do it, is not a practical or successful Missionary (Crosby 1914:80). [emphasis added]

Duncan and Crosby both spent inordinate amounts of time in carpentry. This emphasis on physical labour is typical of evangelicals who might spend up to 90 per cent of their time in construction projects (Personal Communication, K. Burridge:1984). In the early days there were no saw mills. Crosby describing the building of his church wrote: "I had even to go to the woods to get out the timber, not with oxen or horses or even dogs. Our mode is to chop down the trees and haul the logs out of the woods by hand, with ropes and raft them" (Missionary Notice, March 1876:95).

The introduction of the saw mill was invaluable in these projects. With the completion of the Georgetown Mill, near Fort Simpson, Crosby (1914:75) wrote:

A great number of families now began, out of their small savings, to put up little "Christian" homes, of three to four rooms each, and thus got out of the old heathen lodges or community houses, where four or five families had often been herded together.

The cramped quarters had caused problems, "when it happens as it often does, that part of them are inclined to religion and part are not so inclined, it makes it unpleasant to conduct family worship, and it's attended with several drawbacks" (Missionary Notice, June 1875:56). Some residents hesitated to build new

houses pending clarification of the land question and the establishment of reserves by the government.. Eventually Crosby could write: "In later years a much better class of house was built, and we could say we had a Christian village" (Crosby 1914:76).

Duncan built a saw mill early in his work at Metlakatla. Sawn lumber was a luxury to the Indians who in their past had split logs off living trees with wooden wedges. Duncan and the Indians did not commence to build their standard model houses until they had lived in Metlakatla for twelve years. An ambitious program of public buildings was completed first. Duncan supervised the building of a large log octagon at Metlakatla to serve as a church, built his own log home, and by 1872 commenced the building with native help of what was reputed to be the largest church west of Chicago and north of San Francisco (Veillette and White 1977:57).

Duncan sold the wood to the Indians at cost and then provided the finishing touches of "all windows, nails, door fixings etc." (Duncan to CMS, January 29, 1874: USFAS). The Tsimshian were envied by other native groups and the Chilcat Tlingit made this clear when:

after they had gone to church for half a year and sent their children to school, went to the missionary and complained that they had not been rewarded for their virtue and had not received boards to build their houses as the Tsimshian had (Krause 1965:230).

2. Self Help

Building projects provide the first record of the missionaries showing interest in the material culture of the

Indians as a possible source of funds. Duncan's first building project in Fort Simpson in 1860, a school house, raised money by the selling of curios. Duncan's biographer, Arctander (1909:149) noted:

For the first time the Indians themselves contributed toward the cost, not only by giving their labour, but also by direct contributions in the way of baskets, carved spoons, and native dishes which all found a ready market in Victoria as curios (Arctander 1909:149).

Crosby also supervised and assisted in the building of a school house and church as his first efforts. When the roof blew off the church, Crosby canvassed the people for assistance. "They began to bring in blankets, furs, muskets, earrings, finger rings, bracelets and everything that could be turned into money" (Crosby 1914:45). In contrast to Duncan's appeal 15 years before to Fort Simpson residents, no traditional items (i.e. baskets, carved spoons and native dishes) were listed.

Both missionaries believed in the concept of "self help" as a first step to assimilation. However the "help" had heavy paternalistic overtones. Dr. Israel Wood Powell, first Indian Commissioner for British Columbia noted in his annual report to the Department after his 1879 visit to Metlakatla that Duncan had "so successfully..filled the duties of magistrate, doctor, judge, jury, chief trader, chief mechanic, and I may add the kind though firm parent of all who for the last twenty years have been placed under his charge" (DIA Annual Report 1879:117).

After 18 years among the Tsimshian Duncan wrote the Provincial government to express his views on giving gifts to the Indians, whom he chose to describe as "ignorant, indolent and

improvident:"

..... they are not poor as to resources,
but are ignorant, indolent, and improvident,
and hence need a guiding and friendly hand
before they can become a prosperous people.
(Duncan to David Laird, Minister of the
Interior, May 1875 in Usher 1973:141)

3.) Christian Village Life

a.) Village Regulations

All the residents of Metlakatla agreed to abide by a strict set of rules, as they were requested to sign a "Declaration of Resident." ⁴ This rejection of the old and acceptance of the new is typical of prophetic movements (Rumley 1973:89). The new system appeared to totally reject the old culture. Duncan may not have explained to the Indians his wish, "that we might be able to break up all tribal distinctions and animosities and cement all who come to us, from whatever tribe, into one common brotherhood" (Intelligencer 1876:525), but they were aware of the village rules which included the following forbidden behaviour:

1. Demonaical rites or medicine work
2. Heathen ceremonies over the sick
3. Use of intoxicating liquors
4. Gambling
5. Painting and disfiguring of faces
6. Distributing property for pride of display
or attaining rank
7. Tearing up and destroying property in anger,
or to wipe out shame (Intelligencer Sept. 1876:526)

There was a list of 15 rules which blended the forbidden with certain approved Christian behaviour. Duncan challenged all the traditional ritual practitioners in the culture. The medicine men were attacked for their involvement with the sick, as well as the feasting rituals of chiefs, with the display and distribution of property. Duncan (Gleaner 1881:109) saw the distribution of property and subsequent impoverishment of the host's supporters as exploitation of the ordinary people:

....all the chiefs and their families are called together, and each receives according to his or her portion. Thus do the chiefs and their people go on reducing themselves to poverty. In the case of the chiefs, however, this poverty lasts but a short time; they are soon replenished from the next giving away, but the people only grow rich again according to their industry. One cannot but pity them, while one laments their folly.

Duncan's efforts to stamp out the old extended to the selection of articles for sale in the Metlakatla village store. Following difficulties in running a boat for supplies Duncan approached the Hudson Bay Company to take over his store, on the condition that: "No red paint or other articles of heathenism were to be offered for sale, and the company in fact was to sell only articles such as windows and locks, "tending to the improvement of the Indians" (Usher 1974:67).

In Port Simpson, Crosby (1914:66) followed Duncan's example:

We also decided to allow no sabbath breaking, no dog-eating, no whisky drinking, no quarelling, no fighting, and no heathen marriages. They were all put in a big book and fines or forfeits placed at the foot of each of them.

Crosby's list of prohibitions, supported by an Indian Council was more specific than Duncan's as in the case of "dog-eating" referring to one of the secret society rituals of the non-ranting people. The Indian Council was described by Crosby (1914:66) as "judge as well as lawmaker." The laws were enforced by the committee which had a chief at its head:

to go to the houses and take away the medicine-man's rattles and charms....Of course this made some of the old conjurers and gamblers very angry, but when they were told that they or their friends had helped to make the laws, they quietly submitted.

Crosby regarded these activities as part of the civilizing process for his statement on the duties of the Indian Council clearly separated the religious and secular roles of the village councillors: "There is no more reason for introducing church matters into an official Indian council than into the city council of Victoria" (Guardian, February 4, 1880).

The Methodists were concerned about the proper marriage form and Crosby (1914:310-311) found clan exogamy a frustrating institution, whereas Duncan encouraged this aspect of the clan system (Beynon 1941:84).

Duncan established his concept of law and order and security. To achieve this goal he initially organized a corps of native constables, who also deliberated on all matters regarding the welfare of the settlement (Intelligencer, Sept. 1876). Duncan developed two separate native forces: "We called out a corps of Native constables, and afterwards selected irrespective of rank, twelve older men of good character to act as a Native Council....I have increased the two native forces

year by year until they now number over sixty men, and include several chiefs (Intelligencer 1876:527). There is the suggestion by some authors that Duncan's lack of recognition of the traditional chiefs became the cause of community unrest (Usher 1973:135). The young men were conscripted into the fire brigade.

Crosby (1914:402) did not hold such rigid control over the community, and allowed for individual expression of rank through the establishment of social clubs. "Instead of their old heathen practices, they have now a fire company, a rifle company, a temperance society, and a Christian band of workers, each with a hall built for themselves."

b.) Potlatch Abolished

As we saw in the last chapter, the chiefs had operated as the hereditary power holders in the traditional culture. The major obstacles to evangelization according to Duncan (Intelligencer, 1876:527) were the power of the chiefs and the institution of the potlatch:

The chiefs were mostly against us, for the fall of heathen customs and the establishment of Christianity, so far as they could see, struck a deathblow to their worldly interests--their revenue, rank and influence. Again, the clannish feelings of the Indians were against us. Their tribal traditions, feuds and jealousies were all opposed to their merging into one community.

But by far the most formidable of all obstacles in the way of Indians becoming Christian, or even civilized, is the custom of distributing property by the chiefs and heads of each family at certain intervals, for the purpose of attaining rank and influence. This custom is a constant source of bickering and jealousy, fighting, and bloodshed, yet so engrossing that for this one object the Indians may be said to live.

Duncan did not use the term "potlatch", but he understood the importance of the event in the traditional system. Both missionaries acknowledged the difficulty for the Indians to withdraw from the traditional potlatch system. Crosby reported:

We have been much tried by many with a desire to settle up their old debts, contracted while in the heathen state, of course the giving up the old ways as they call it left the property very unequally divided, some are now very poor, while others are better off; but it is in such a state of confusion that it can never be settled (Missionary Notice, June 1876:130).

At the prodding of the missionaries, the federal government reacted to the potlatch as well. The amendment to the 1884 Indian Act stated that "celebrating or inciting to celebrate "Potlatch" or "Tamanwas" was to be a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment." The missionaries on the Northcoast did not prosecute anyone though it is likely that they sought to impress the Indians with the punishment potential. This law was likely responsible for the outright destruction of some of the traditional material culture. Rev. Price of the CMS, stationed at Kitwanga [Gitwangak] on the Skeena River recounted that after the Indians consulted with him regarding the federal government restrictions:

The Christians were called together by some of themselves and asked if it were right to keep their heathen regalia and paraphernalia, being the inquirers. The answer was "No"! So without consulting us their heathen things were burnt. We only heard of it after they were destroyed, and we thanked God, and were encouraged (Gleaner, May 1900:69).

The Indians on the Nass perceived a more flexible system under the Methodists. Rev. A.E. Green reported (Missionary

Notice, Feb.1878:276): "They say they were told that if they had a Methodist missionary they could feast and dance and be good Christians all the same.." While Duncan worked to eliminate tribal loyalties, and discouraged feasting, Crosby appeared to have turned a blind eye to events in which tribal identity was reinforced. The description of the following feast suggests the Indians were seeking an integrative approach to culture change.

Elements of traditional tribal feasting continued in both communities, in the context of New Years' celebrations. Kate Dudoward, one of the founding Methodists invited Kate Hendry, matron at the Crosby Girl's Home, to a tea party in December 1883 where some of the women dressed up " and called themselves Russians. "Two more events followed at the same house where "the women were painted and dressed in their skins and blanketed, and other old" fixtures and went through some of their old performances which were both noisy and ridiculous"(Hendry letterbooks 1882-89: PABC). Hendry felt unable to protest as the performers explained that they wanted to give her an opportunity to see what they used to be like before they had the Gospel. At New Years, Hendry accompanied Kate Dudoward and friends to a grand feast from which she left after dinner "not wishing to see our painted sisters perform for I do not approve of their folly yet glad that our grand old religion has made such a change among these poor creatures" (Hendry letterbooks, 1882-89: PABC).

Garfield described the role of women, in each tribe whose main function at feasts was the entertainment of guests. She assumed from their names and clowning features that they were a

modern phenomena (Garfield 1939:322). The Hendry account sets the incorporation of the contact world of foreigners into the feast system back another 40 years. Most of the early foreign groups were represented as well as some neighbouring Indian groups. William Beynon provides the data on "tribal nick names" which related each tribe to a particular ethnic group (B.F.122.4:CCFCS). Table 6, below sets out the affiliation of each tribe with an "outside group."

Table 6
Tribal Nicknames

TRIBE	FOREIGN GROUP
-----	-----
Ginadoiks	Scots
Gitando	"Bostons" (Americans)
Gitsees	Russians
Gitsaxlal	Chinese
Giludzaurs	Japanese
Gispaloats	Carrier
Ginaxongik	Tlingit
Gitwilgeots	Haida
Gitlans	no name recorded
Kitkatla	sailors

In each case, the women of the host group, dressed, spoke (often in a simulation of the foreign language), sang and danced mimicking the foreign group. The integration of novelty and the "outside" into Coast Tsimshian was a feature in the acquisition of crests and the personal spirit powers of the naxnox.

4.) Crafts

While the missionaries sought to eradicate the traditional heathen symbols, Duncan encouraged the representation of clan images. Crosby on the other hand attempted to encourage crafts of a non-traditional nature.

a.) Metlakatla

Duncan's desire to encourage the clan system as the one aspect of the traditional culture that bound the Indians into a brotherhood, as opposed to the tribal units, manifested itself in sculptures of native art mounted as roof beam supports in a chapel (Dallain, Victoria Daily Times, October 8, 1949 :PABC). These carvings, destroyed in the fire of 1901 represented the four clan crests of the Tsimshian nation, two on each pole in a completely untraditional format. The support poles were carved by James Liquinishk, chief of the Gitlan tribe, who were the first tribe as a group to move with Duncan.⁶ Fortunately a photographic record remains, see Plate 2 on the next page.

By 1881, the main complex at Metlakatla had grown to include a reading room attached to the mission residence in which "It is intended to place inside at the corners four large carvings of wood, representing the family devices of the four great divisions of the tribe" (Anderson, Intelligencer 1881:52). A museum was also planned at this point, though no further details are given. It would seem to indicate that there were still objects in the village or in Duncan's possession that would form the base of the collection. However I do not have documentation of Duncan's curio dealings extending beyond 1881. The decade was consumed with the bitter controversy between Duncan and church officials as "the CMS gradually reduced its emphasis on technical skills and began to introduce changes consonant with sacraments instigated by the Oxford movement" (Rettig 1980:32). The Oxford movement sought to move away from the, "liberalizing,

Plate I Totem pole roof supports commissioned by William Duncan for Metlakatla chapel, British Columbia. (National Museum of Man, negative 71-4292.)

rationalizing, and evangelical tendencies" in favour of High Church principles (Random House:1973).

When outlining the history of the various industries established at Metlakatla Duncan added "I am encouraging the Indians to keep up their ancient carving and our Village Hall (now being erected) is to be almost entirely Indian in style and structure" (letterbook, Duncan to CMS, August 13, 1881:FAC). Duncan encouraged other traditional crafts such as hat making, "which might find a market locally or as curios in Victoria" (Usher 1968:301). Among his innovative industries such as coopering and soapmaking, Duncan introduced spinning and weaving for the women. James G. Swan, collector for the Smithsonian Institution wrote to Duncan in 1881 seeking examples of native weaving for the Smithsonian Institution:

I believe this to be the only instance where shawls have been manufactured exclusively by the Indians on looms used by white manufacturers....Any specimens you may be pleased to send will be placed in a conspicuous position and fully described (Swan to Duncan, September 2, 1881:USFAS).

b.) Port Simpson

Crosby attempted to encourage crafts of a general nature, not emphasizing the clan or Indian motifs, through an annual show held in the village. The exhibits ranged from foodstuffs to needlework, knitting, beadwork, and patchwork:

The carvings and woodwork showed ingenuity. One man made a very good model of a river steamer, another a model of a European house, another of an Indian house, and there were several pieces of furniture including a rocking-chair and two very nice cots for babies (Crosby 1914:75).

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

The Industrial Fair or craft show was abandoned after a few years as Crosby was unable to convince the government to supply prizes. The lack of encouragement of artistic endeavour was reflected in the 1881 census listing of occupations; there were no artists listed at Port Simpson, though silversmiths, matmakers, and a sculptor were listed at Metlakatla (Reel C13,284: PAC). In 1889, Rev. Dennis Jennings, substituting for Crosby who was away on the mission ship Glad Tidings (Missionary Outlook, June 1889, Vol. IX, No. 6: 127) assessed the artistic potential of Port Simpson:

Every other man is very handy with carpenters tools, others can do good work at the forge or in the tin shop, while others if brought under the guiding hand of the skilled teacher of art would excel as painters and draftsmen.

Port Simpson did have at least one artist at this time, Freddie Alexcee. Alexcee produced among other sculptures, a remarkable angel font collected by Rev. George Raley in 1886 according to the collector notes. (see cover of Appendix A). The font was removed from the church as it was alleged to have frightened the children (Collector Notes: MOA). It should be noted that Garfield worked with Alexcee during her field work in the 1930's in an effort to find artists who could produce work of traditional quality.

Summary:

The missionaries transformed the villages of Metlakatla and Port Simpson into "Christian" villages: that is villages of European style houses, streets, and, in the case of Metlakatla, street lamps. With government assistance they suppressed the

feasts, and the public forum for the presentation of the chiefly privileges of crest, and ~~naxno~~. The secret society rituals, with their theatrical displays of dog eating or cannibalism were also effectively suppressed. Shaman were decried as "medicine-men" and the missionary provided the health care services. Traditional crafts continued in Metlakatla as either objects for sale or as public art. The latter example being the support posts in the chapel, presenting all the clan crests together, a format not possible in the traditional system. Crosby did not encourage the traditional crafts, though they may have continued "underground" as no more than half of the Port Simpson population were Christian (Bolt, 1981:114). The flow of the traditional objects out of Port Simpson and Metlakatla will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE-ENDNOTES

1. For consistency I have used the contemporary name Fort Simpson, except in quotes which contain "Fort Simpson." Runnals (1974:60) states the name changed from Fort to Port in 1879. Another view is that the name changed when the fort burned down in February 1915, during Marius Barbeau's first field season among the Tsimshian.

2. The Wesleyans joined the Methodists and formed part of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1884. Rev. Crosby became chairman of the Port Simpson district, consisting of ten mostly Indian stations in 1887. In fact, by 1887, Indians constituted 64 percent of the Methodists in British Columbia (Runnals 1974:46).

3. Duncan travelled to Victoria in 1860 when he became aware of the situation there with the Coast Tsimshian. He strove to remedy a situation which seemed to undermine his own efforts. "While I alone was trying to do them good here, a thousand bad men were tempting, corrupting and brutalizing them in Victoria" (Gleaner 1860:138, vol. X). The "bad men" were spreading up into the Tsimshian area with the discovery of gold in the upper Skeena River Valley in 1859.

4. The text of the "Metlakahtla Mission, Declaration of a Resident" stated:

I solemnly declare that as long as I live at Metlakahtla I do adopt the Evangelical Christianity which is based exclusively upon the teaching of the Bible as my rule of faith. I also adopt the Residents of Metlakahtla as my brethern; I choose to be governed by the laws of the Queen of England, and I will dutifully submit to the bye-laws imposed by the Native Council of the settlement.

I also declare that I will neither do myself nor allow to be done by those under my control anything within my power to restrain whereby the Christian Church at Metlakahtla would be divided, the peace disturbed, or that is contrary to the welfare and morals of the village, but I vow that I will do my best to promote the spiritual and temporal prosperity of my home (No date:BCPM).

5. Caption from BCPM photo no. PN 9628, "Carved by 'll-e-guaw-e-isk, destroyed by fire". Liqunishk was listed on the 1881 census as a sculptor (Reel 13, 284:PAC). A descendant recalled

that he carved ivory objects and paddled out to sell them to the steamers (MacDonald 1979:43). Liquinishk presented a house model to Admiral Prevost on his visit to Metlakatla in June 1878 (W.H.Collison to Duncan, October 4, 1879: PAC). No further data on Prevost's collecting is known to this researcher.

5: Drucker (1951:423) reported a similar comic role for women at feasts among the Noqtka, who danced "Imitating Dances" though the subjects were not foreigners.

6. Following Duncan's death in 1918, the New (Alaska) Metlakatla's met with Nass River relatives in 1920 to try and reach a reconciliation with the CMS (caption on BCPM photo #12154).

7. Admiral Prevost gave a gift of gas lamps, (at Duncan's suggestion) to the Village of Metlakatla following his last visit to the community in 1878.

8. Duncan appeared to have a comprehensive grasp of medicine, as his order for supplies to Victoria and correspondence with Rev. Tomlinson, a medical doctor attest. In 1883 Duncan wrote to Dr. I. W. Powell, Indian Superintendent for British Columbia stating he had employed "Dr Afforhams since last October and provided him with medicines at my own expense (Letterbook, Duncan to I.W.Powell, March 8, 1883:PAC). Crosby also saw the need for more sophisticated medical help and appointed Dr. A.E. Bolton in 1889, though the Missionary Society was unwilling to pay (Bolt 1981:109).

MISSIONARY COLLECTING-CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

In order to provide the broader context for missionary collecting, this chapter commences with a brief description of the first collections of "artificial curiosities" from the Indians of the Northwest Coast by the first Europeans on the Coast.

A.) Explorers and Traders

The Tsimshian area was off the main track for fur traders and explorers who regularly visited the Nootka Sound and the Queen Charlotte Islands (Gunther 1972:104). They were also south of the area of Russian exploration, where the fur trading and colonization went together in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Coast Tsimshian were first exposed to foreign visitors in 1787 when two British fur trading ships crossed over Hecate Straits from trading in the Queen Charlotte Islands. The record indicates that the trade did not go well and, "the Indians stole tools, nails and bits of iron from the ships" (Gunther 1972:104). The stealing of metal objects would indicate the Indians knew the qualities of this rare material from the Indian trade network which included native copper from the interior and iron from the Russian trading posts to the north. The legacy of the early European contacts, likely felt first at Kitkatla, was a small pox epidemic among Chief Shakes and his people in 1794 (Duff 1964:39).

The Indian version of the first contact describes the ship like a giant bird and the crew members were perceived as ghosts.

Their perceptions of the trading ships quickly changed from awe of the supernatural beings to recognition of a wealthy and superior group of people with advanced technology. This view was reinforced when the British gunboats became active, as described in the last chapter.

1.) Early Coast Collections

The first collections of "artificial curiosities", an eighteenth century term for man-made objets were made by the late eighteenth century explorers from Russia, Spain and Britain. As King (1981:111), Assistant keeper, British Museum, has noted, "In the eighteenth century ethnographical specimens or artificial curiosities were considered of comparatively little importance; they were given low monetary value and were seldom published or even recorded in detail." The circumstances surrounding the collecting of the first objects from the Northwest Coast by Captain Cook at Nootka on Vancouver Island indicated that objects, such as carved wooden human heads, were given as gifts to the Europeans by the Indians much to the surprise of the ship's crew (King 1981:78). However, ceremonial objects were the exception rather than the rule in these early collections. The majority of items traded were weapons, hunting gear or domestic objects. During his 1793 explorations, Captain Vancouver visited the Tsimshian territories at the mouth of the Skeena River and the Observatory Inlet. He collected 61 objects from the Northwest Coast, without documentation (King 1981:31).

The Russian traders and missionaries were the first

foreigners to live among the Tlingit people, northern neighbours of the Tsimshian. It appears from the range of "art objects" published of the Russian material that ceremonial objects were collected. The Tlingit relinquished high value wealth and ceremonial objects, presumably for new exotic items of Russian manufacture. Though not a great deal is known of the Russian collections, they are early, the majority dating to before 1867. However, a later collection attributed to the missionary George Chudnovsky in 1890: "includes objects of a much earlier date which were given to him by shamans" (Siebert and Forman 1967:16). The Russian ventures on the north coast prompted the Spanish to explore north from their base in California, and the resulting Spanish collections, including early examples of Indian armour are in the Madrid Naval Museum.

Gunther (1972:xiii) recognized the potential of the small collections made by the explorers, noting that, "to a museum minded person these artifacts are just as important as the literature, and their historical value has not been realized." For the purposes of this study, understanding why the native person relinquished a particular object, at a particular time, provides an opportunity to examine the dynamics of the contact period.

It is likely that Tolmie's collection is the first from the Coast Tsimshian. Tolmie was a medical doctor with the Hudson Bay Company who assisted in the move of Fort Simpson to its present location in 1834. Tolmie amassed a large collection during his career which was admired and sketched by Boas in 1886 (Rohner 1967:23). The Fort Simpson objects now in the British

Columbia Provincial Museum are: an awl, ladle, canoe model with a sealer and equipment, and a raven rattle. Twenty years later the next curios, including a raven rattle, were collected by Lieut. Gordon who accompanied Captain James C. Prevost to Port Simpson in 1853. Raven rattles though ceremonial, as noted earlier, are considered by Halpin to be non-crest items and it may be that non-crest objects could be relinquished more readily than crest items. However, we do not know the circumstances of this collecting.

Like the members on the early exploring expeditions, the Hudson Bay Company was primarily interested in collecting natural history specimens, and to that end sent out directions for scientific collecting: further details are found in the introduction to Appendix A. The collecting of objects could be considered like the capturing of animals for the early European zoos, such as the Jardin des Plantes in Paris established in 1793, the London zoo in 1828, and the Berlin zoo in 1844. Like museums these institutions brought prestige to their capitals. The capturing of animals symbolized the conquest of distant and exotic lands. "Explorers proved their patriotism by sending home a tiger or an elephant" (Berger 1980:19). The same could be said for the collections of artifacts sent home by the missionaries and traders.

It should be noted that neither Duncan or Crosby were collectors in any other area such as natural history, though it is recognized that natural history collecting, including ethnographic specimens for curiosity cabinets had declined by the

middle of the nineteenth century. The extent of the missionaries formal education may also have been a factor in the range of collecting interest. Rev. J.H. Keene who followed Bishop Ridley at Metlakatla collected and classified natural history items in conjunction with collecting Indian artifacts encouraged by C.F. Newcombe in Victoria (Newcombe Papers:FABC).

2.) Collecting Policy

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London did not have a policy regarding the collecting of material culture though I think it is fair to say they supported the removal or destruction of heathen objects. The Church of England Journal, the Church Missionary Gleaner, cites one case (April 2, 1904) from Southern Nigeria. The missionaries described the burning of idols by the chief that took one and a half hours to carry out. "It was always done on a Sunday. At the morning service it would be announced that certain persons wished to destroy their idols, and after the afternoon service we would all go to the different compounds and after singing and prayer see them burnt."

Unfortunately, the collections of the CMS museum in London were dispersed some time ago (letter, Keene, CMS Archivist: 1984), and I was unsuccessful in locating any of the Northwest Coast pieces. Missionary museums were not uncommon in Britain:

Missionaries obtained large numbers of objects from those they were endeavouring to convert and these were sent, for instance, to England for display. Missionary museums and exhibitions stimulated interest and, thereby, money for the conversion of Indians, but the meaning of the masks was almost always irrelevant to the collectors' purposes (King 1979:27).

The United Church had an artifact collection at Wycliffe College, University of Toronto, which was transferred some time ago to the Royal Ontario Museum, without documentation. There were no notes regarding the composition of this collection, though it was known to have originated with missionaries, including Crosby.

With this indifferent attitude to the artifacts of the Indians, it should not be surprising that the sacred symbols of the Tsimshian cosmology were rarely mentioned by Duncan or Crosby, yet both actively participated in the curio market by selling the sacred symbols of their converts. We have no indication that they regarded the objects as other than heathen, and possibly as a source of revenue for the mission. The missionaries were always in need of funds, and they followed the concept of "self-help" in trying to finance their missions. We have noted that Crosby and Duncan encouraged the donation of possessions in order to raise money for church or school construction. The only recorded cases of ceremonial objects as opposed to domestic items being donated for fund raising are from the Queen Charlotte Islands. George Edgar, the native Methodist missionary stationed at Gold Harbour, in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1885 noted the chiefs contributed not only trade blankets, but also five headdresses, and one traditional dance blanket toward the building of the Church (Crosby 1914:268). The other example is from Clue: "They gave liberally of their goods, Chiefs' costumes, copper and blankets, towards building a Church, and by the assistance of the little ship The Glad Tidings

they got over lumber to build both the Church and a new village on ~~the island~~" (Crosby 1914:271).

B.) Burning of Objects: A Transformation

As indicated in the last chapter, the missionaries expected total capitulation of the old culture. There are a number of examples where objects were burnt apparently at the missionaries request or perceived request by the Indians, such as the case of the Kitwanga burning reported by the missionary to be a response to the restrictions of the Indian Act. A partially burnt reproduction mask on exhibit at the British Columbia Provincial Museum(1984), explains the commonly remembered motive for burning regalia:

My grandmother told me that when Christianity came, her uncle went down to the beach and burned everything. He had heard that the Lord will not receive you if you still look at your treasures. Kitimaat woman

The native missionary, Rev. William Pierce who grew up in Port Simpson, provides the only detailed description of the destruction of ritual objects, as part of conversion to Christianity. He was invited to witness, or validate in the traditional sense, a clandestine burning of regalia at Bella Coola in 1885:

At midnight two boxes were brought in, both filled with heathen treasures of all kinds--such as the secret whistle which belonged to the man-eater dances, dog whistles, wild dance whistles, aprons, headdresses, leggings etc. These boxes he told me, had been handed down for several generations and had travelled from place to place during the heathen dances. Their frequent use could easily be detected by looking at the top and bottom of each box which had worn so thin that they would bend with the slightest pressure. One of the

secret whistles belonging to the man-eater dances which he showed to me was in the form of five fingers at one end while at the opposite end was just one piece where the blower was. He told me that the Kitimat man-eaters had offered his grandfather one slave for this special piece. The offer being refused, it being against the rules to sell at any price. So when Tom decided to part with these treasures, it was to him a great sacrifice. It meant that the traditions of his family would be wiped out (Pierce 1933:46). [emphasis added]

The point was made regarding secret society objects that in the traditional system it was "against the rules to sell at any price." Yet objects were sold, Swan (letter to G.B. Goode, June 6, 1887: SIA) noted his Haida Indian assistant spent the winter of 1886 in Bella Coola: "and succeeded in inducing the old men to consent to part with their ancient paraphernalia provided I [Swan] would go to their village and select what I want."

Swan held strong views about the role of the missionaries in encouraging the burning of the Indian objects. When describing the missionaries' encouragement of burning poles and relics on the Queen Charlotte Islands, he was inclined to believe that the missionaries understood the objects "to be part of idolatry" (letter, Swan to S.F. Baird, May 27, 1887: SIA).

There may have been a conflict in the Indians' mind whether to burn or sell their regalia. It was obvious that they had to part with it to become acceptable to the White authority figures.

We unfortunately do not have information to indicate if the missionaries paid the Indians for the objects which they subsequently sold to outsiders. The objects were definitely

offered for sale, but we do not know the disposition of the funds.

In an example from a native account collected by Barbeau from the Carrier people, adjoining the Gitksan on the Upper Skeena River, the Indians were asked to burn their regalia as a pledge of faith by Father Morice and the Bishop in about 1905:

And the Bishop said: "Do you burn them without regretting?" And those that burn them said: "Yes, and we would burn more for your sake." But they did not all jump up. And Father Morrice was speaking in their language and he said: "When the fire burns up good all the fire goes right up to heaven, [sic] you have taken it all from our house, but when the fire refuses to burn there are some left." And the Indians made several trips back and forth preaching to others (B.F.321.15:CCFCS).

While the native version of this event portrays the missionary as unsympathetic to the Indians' hesitation to burn their regalia, the translation and abridgement of Father Morice's memoirs states:

..he felt a pang at the sight of this miniature museum going up in smoke. He was acting, however in his capacity as a missionary from whom the savant had disappeared. He was seeking the salvation of souls for eternity through the abolition of what does them harm, rather than seeking to obtain his own temporary satisfaction by retaining the material evidences of a reprehensible organization! To have tried to spare one of those condemned baubles would have quickly defeated the reformer's purpose (Morice 1930:118). [emphasis added]

It is probably not unrealistic to credit these same thoughts to Duncan and Crosby. There is a fundamental paradox. If the missionaries were aware there was a curio market willing to buy these objects, why would they encourage their burning? If the Indians knew of the value in the curio market and wished to

get rid of them, why would they burn them?

To the Tsimshian as other Northwest Coast peoples, the burning of objects may have satisfied a traditional pattern of communication with the spirit world. Smoke from the fire was used to relay messages, food, objects and souls to the other world. Rev. W. H. Pierce (1933:9) wrote that his grandmother sent her morning prayers on the smoke, and noted windy days meant that prayers would be lost. Portions of food were put in the fire to feed the spirits, as well as material goods to be sent to the recently deceased.

At a recent funeral a woman shaman went into a trance, communicating with the dead. In all, five persons appeared to her. One wanted new shoes, another wanted for a dance a violin hanging on the wall in his house. In each case the things desired were brought in and put into the fire in the presence of the gathered mourners (Garfield 1939:240).

There were also other occasions, recorded in the mythology when an object would be held over the fire to release a spirit and the object was left intact (Duff 1959:16). On the basis of these examples it seems likely that some intangible aspect of the burnt material was believed to reach the other world where souls dwelt. In pre-missionary days, the Tsimshian cremated their dead. Tradition required the burning of secret society objects among many Northwest Coast people. Among the Kwakiutl the sacred paraphernalia of the hamatsa ceremony and the batons for beating time were burned at the conclusion of the winter ceremonials (Boas 1897 quoted in Walens 1981:161). Garfield (1939:298) noted that the conclusion of the winter ceremonials in Port Simpson, part of the sending the spirits back to their world was the

burning the cedar bark ring that had hung as a marker on the front of the house.

In the case where an object of evil power was to be destroyed, it would not be burnt but was sunk in the sea: "burning them [evil objects] would intensify the suffering" (Large 1968:76).. The sea was also the repository for objects that could not be burnt, such as coppers, "where the souls it represents will replenish the numbers of that realm" (Walens 1981:149).

There is no way of knowing how many objects were burnt at the time of the missionary influence. The memory culture and recorders at the time lay blame heavily on the missionaries for the burnings. The Indians may have felt coerced to part with "their treasures" to meet the expectations of the missionaries. In the traditional culture, crest and naxnox were not normally burned but passed on to descendants. It seems likley that worn or damaged ritual objects that had ceased to be used would have been burnt as a proper method of disposal. There is the possibility that some Indians as part of their evangelical conversion chose to burn their regalia on their own initiative.

A modern incident provides insight into the feelings of the owners of the ceremonial objects which were removed from them under duress. In 1922 a number of Kwagulth people were charged under the Indian Act (Section 149, Chapter 81, R.S.C. 1906) for taking part in a potlatch celebration. As part of the terms of the charge the participants "promised to voluntarily surrender all their potlatch paraphernalia" (letter, W.M. Halliday, Indian Agent to D.C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent Indian Affairs, April

10,1922, quoted in D. Sewid-Smith 1979:38). At the time of the confiscation of this potlatch material from Alert Bay a young boy witnessed a dramatic moment:

And my uncle took me to the Parish Hall, where the chiefs were gathered. Odan picked up a rattle and spoke, "We have come to say goodbye to our life," then he began to sing his sacred song. All of the chiefs, standing in a circle around their regalia were weeping, as if some one had died (James Charles King, Alert Bay 1977) (Alert Bay Museum, exhibit label:1984).2

C.) Crosby and the Smithsonian

1) James G. Swan, collector

By the time of missionary collecting in the second half of the nineteenth century, the concept of "artificial curiosity" was replaced by the term "curio". The explorers were replaced by professional collectors working for museums in America and Europe.

I will deal with the collecting of Rev. Crosby before that of Duncan as the correspondence of the American collector for the Smithsonian, James G. Swan provides more detail on museum collecting of the period. The transfer of the ceremonial power objects to the missionaries, and government officials, was a gesture on the part of the Indians which outsiders could only faintly comprehend. Douglas Cole's study (1985) of curio collecting on the Northwest Coast is presented from the viewpoint of the dominant culture. He describes his study of Northwest Coast collecting as "White history about Indians and their procurable culture. It is contact history, not ethnohistory" (1985:x1). Cole views the artifacts as commodities, incidentally native owned, that were sought by White procurers to

serve their own ends. "There is no claim here that the trade in artifacts occupied a central place in the Indian economy or that display in museums and exposition greatly affected Indian - white relations" (1985:xi). Cole has written previously on the "dirty tricks" aspects of museum collecting in which the relations between the Indians and the White collectors led to confrontation (1982). This study attempts to address the "ethics" of collecting by the missionaries.

While Cole did not focus on missionaries in particular, his documentation of the co-operation between the Smithsonian Institution's James G. Swan and Rev. Crosby sets the missionary in the position as "middlemen". The Smithsonian policy was aggressive. "No time should be lost; the tribes "are all rapidly disappearing and their original modes of life continually undergoing changes" (Cole 1985:13, quoting letter Henry to Colyer December 22, 1870: SIA). The anxiety of the Smithsonian directors to acquire objects before they were all gone reflected the keen competition for Northwest Coast artifacts in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Swan travelled extensively on the Coast, from Washington to Alaska. On his first trip to Tanu in 1883, on the Queen Charlotte Islands, Swan would liked to have stayed longer:

..but the people are not anxious to sell their curiosities, as they have not yet come under missionary influence (Cole 1985:43, quoting Swan diary 1883, University of Washington Archives).3

Canada's Governor-General received the same negative response to his request to buy a totem pole on his royal tour to

the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1876 (Stock 1881:89). His wife, Lady Dufferin, was able to buy bracelets and carved dishes, and enjoyed the bargaining with the Indians who knew the values of their objects in the Victoria curio trade (Dufferin 1891:266). The experiences of both Swan and the Governor General on the Queen Charlotte Islands, with Indians who had experienced White contact for a long time indicates the difficulty of collecting ceremonial objects prior to missionary presence. In fact, the Haida were reported by Barbeau to have been in curio production before the end of the fur trade (Knight 1978:42).

Following a visit to Port Townsend, in 1887 from his Haida assistant, Swan wrote to the Smithsonian stating:

Now it appears, according to this Indian, that the missionaries have been endeavouring to have the Haidahs[sic] cut down and destroy their Tomanawos dresses and masks. This the Indian is disinclined to do, but has offered to sell me any I may want because Johnny has explained to his people that I send these things to the great chief of the Boston(America) people, who have them taken care of and preserved in a big house (letter, Swan to Baird, May 27, 1887: SIA).

Swan encouraged his assistant to hide the relics and columns and not destroy them pending word from him. In this case, and the Bella Coola example earlier, it seems an Indian was actively involved in trying to prevent the destruction of the objects. The idea of a new prestigious owner and preservation appear to be the major arguments. Status preservation, appears again in Swan's 1889 correspondence when he states that the Tanu material not available in 1883 is now for purchase. "The Indians understood, Swan explained, that their things would be kept in a sacred receptacle, and put "in a glass house" (Cole 1985:47, letter

Swan to G.B. Goode July 27, 1889: SIA).

2.) Fort Simpson

Within one year of his arrival in Fort Simpson in June 1874, Rev. Crosby assisted Swan in collecting 59 objects, the majority of a ceremonial nature, destined for the Philadelphia Centennial exhibition of 1876 (See Appendix A for listing). Duncan was not involved as he was away in Ottawa during Swan's visit. Crosby was assisted by Charles Morrison, the Hudson Bay chief trader and likely his wife, Odeila Morrison who sent a collection of Tsimshian material to Franz Boas for the Chicago World's Fair in 1892. The trio were able to acquire a totem pole and a set of painted house boards for the Smithsonian. Swan was extremely pleased with these hard to obtain items. The house boards," the only front he would obtain at any price" were:

The work of the oldest man in Fort Simpson, consisting of ten planks, each from four to five feet wide and eight to ten feet high, it showed a "salt water bear in the centre doorway and killerwhales on each side" (Cole, 1984:51).

~~At the turn of the century, miscellaneous painted~~
housefront boards were collected by the Methodist missionary Rev. George Raley who succeeded Crosby at Fort Simpson. Infrared photography on the 26 boards has established that they represent parts of a number of designs (Personal Communication: Shane, 1984: MOA). Fort Simpson was famous for its painted housefronts, a point of difference from the Haida villages on the Queen Charlotte Islands which were noted for the quantity of totem poles in each village.

3.) Totem Poles .

While Crosby leaves no record of his attitude toward totem poles, he did comment on one of his first converts who, "had his crest pole taken down, burned his house and built a new one" (*Missionary Outlook*, vol. 11, January 1882). The pole, it will be noted was only "taken down". Swan, on the other hand, was very clear in his description of the disposition of the totem poles, they were either burned or put in a "sort of museum":

Mr. Crosby has induced many of the Indians to give up their old heathen ways, and to remove the ancient carved heraldic pillars which adorn the outside of their homes. Some of them they have burned, others they have collected in a sort of museum, and it is through Mr. Crosby's influence, together with Mr. Morrison the chief trader, that I expect to get some of these huge carvings for the Centennial (Morris 1879:145). [emphasis added]

I believe that the 30 foot Fort Simpson pole purchased by Swan for \$120 was the first one sent to an institution from the Northwest Coast. It is fitting that Swan as the first professionally hired collector on the Northwest Coast made the purchase (Cole 1984:52). He wrote to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution about his purchase: "It is an ancient one but the Indians have cleaned and painted the front of it while the back still retains some of the moss, which indicates its age" (September 24, 1875: SIA). (The Swan pole is illustrated in Boas 1916:plate 1). Swan travelled in Alaska after Fort Simpson, and had no luck obtaining totem poles though he was told they could be ordered. He found the natives asked the "most fabulous prices for their carvings" (letter Swan to Commissioner Indian Affairs October 11, 1875: SIA). He later found out that the cost was not

calculated on the fee paid to the carver, but on the wealth distributed at the time of the pole raising.

As noted earlier Port Simpson did not have as many poles as the villages on the Queen Charlotte Islands, but they were commented on and admired by visitors. Lady Dufferin on tour of the village with Mrs. Crosby in 1876, described one pole surmounted by a large bird and underneath, "was nailed a longcloth apron ornamented with buttons" (Dufferin 1891:265). George M. Dawson, the well known geographer described Port Simpson bereft of poles in 1878, and Israel Wood Powell, on an official visit in 1879, reported, "only a few old, but well cut poles remain to enlighten one on the history of the past" (DIAND Annual Report 1879: 125). In all cases people were likely referring to the free standing memorial pole, as opposed to the frontal pole attached to the exterior of the house or the interior support posts. Visitor's impressions of the number of totem poles does not give an accurate picture.

We do know that one or possibly two poles were collected by Swan, and two other interior poles from "a sub-chief of the Kit-spah-lots[Gispalaots]" were sent by R.H. Hall, a Hudson Bay employee via Victoria, to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, England in 1887. Powell sent four poles to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, described only as "particularly fine, and show the four great crests in the heraldry of the Tsimpshean Indians of the N.W. Coast" (letter, Powell to Bickmore, March 21, 1883: AMNH). It is possible these posts are from Port Simpson, but no documentation is available. Frontal poles

attached to the front of the house with a carved out entryway appear in some old photographs of Port Simpson. Emil Teichmann sketched five free standing poles and one frontal pole during his stopover there in 1868. He wrote that frontal poles were quite common, projecting 20 feet or more above the roof line (Teichmann 1963:115-116).

The answer to the question of the disposition of the Port Simpson totem poles may lie in the old photographs. Charles Horetzky photographed Fort Simpson in 1873, before Crosby's arrival. An examination of the Horetzky series of village photos indicates about eight totem poles (FAC). The few random photographs taken of small parts of the village by Hastings in 1879 and Swan in 1882 show a totem pole in the background. A systematic count and photo record ~~was~~ made by Barbeau in 1915, at which time there were eight standing poles, with one lying on the ground.⁶ Barbeau stated in Totem Poles (1964:453-461) that two poles were erected about 1865, and four others about 1880, which would indicate six poles that survived the Crosby era. He also wrote that religious fervor was responsible for the destruction of ~~fine~~ poles at Port Simpson after 1918 (1929:1). However, during Garfield's field work in the 1930 in Port Simpson, she reported there were remnants of 11 poles, six lying down in various states of decay and five standing (Garfield 1939:210-211). She concluded that no new poles had been erected since the beginning of the twentieth century, and did not mention any recent destruction of poles. Further work is required to present a comprehensive picture of the number of poles that stood in Port Simpson. I believe that the burning of poles was not

extensive, and that visitors were inclined to think that poles had been destroyed or removed as there were many less poles in Port Simpson than on the Queen Charlotte Islands, where visitors record veritable forests of totems.

During Dr. Israel Wood Powell's official visit to Fort Simpson in 1879, Crosby likely assisted him to collect 39 pieces which Powell sold to the National Museum of Canada, in Ottawa, that same year. Some of these pieces were likely associated with the sham battle put on for his entertainment (Annual Report of Deputy Superintendant-General, 1879: 122):

Many of the chiefs presented me with the old stone implements and articles of Indian workmanship, which are now becoming very scarce among them, owing to their adoption of Christian customs. These together with many more I was asked to purchase from those who could not afford to give them, will form the nucleus of a collection of great ethnological value.

In September 1881 Adrian Jacobsen, the Berlin museum collector, visited Fort Simpson after collecting in the Queen Charlotte Islands:

~~I was very anxious to see Fort Simpson, the~~
largest village of the Tsimshian, and never in my life was I more disappointed than when I first saw this place. Instead of stately high poles that beckoned the approaching people, I saw nothing but modern European style houses with little front gardens, and in the middle of the town carefully laid out streets and a Gothic-type church. This was the result of ten years' missionary work of the Methodists. So Fort Simpson was the first Indian village in which I bought nothing because there was nothing to obtain (Jacobsen 1977:28). [emphasis added]

Jacobsen noted that he did have the opportunity of seeing a small collection of ethnological pieces in the village and he

did purchase some stone implements (Photograph by Niblack 1885, cat. no.126730: SIA)) Boarding the steamer at departure time, he met Crosby for the first time, so we do not know what collection he saw in the village.

In spite of Jacobsen's complaint "there was nothing to obtain", Crosby had material to sell after his visit and sold five Fort Simpson pieces, including the Chilkat blanket and tunic illustrated in Plate 2, and some Haida material to Ottawa. In two studio photos, presumably as publicity photographs for missionary headquarters in Toronto, Crosby was again dressed in full chief regalia. Another example of a missionary "playing Indian" is provided by Rev.J.B. McCullagh, the CMS missionary who established the Christian community of Aiyansh on the Nass. He appeared on the cover of his biography (Moeran 1923) holding a rattle and mask and wearing the usual bear fur cloak of the shaman.

Crosby's largest collection, his own personal one of 253 pieces, was sold to the the Museum of the American Indian in New York in 1908. (He had offered the collection to C.F.Newcombe at the British Columbia Provincial Museum, who indicated he did not know of any interested buyer)(Newcombe papers:PABC). Only 18 pieces were from Port Simpson, almost half of the pieces were identified from the Queen Charlotte Islands. In total, Crosby's name is associated with 110 objects in museums from Port Simpson. While Crosby did not supply information on ownership or uses of the objects he collected, he at least noted the location where he collected them. It is now impossible to check these

attributions, and they are usually taken as correct.

4.) Analysis of Crosby collection

The 59 objects which James G. Swan collected in 1875 within a year of Crosby's arrival in Port Simpson were likely drawn from Crosby's first converts. However, Crosby's description of the activities of the Indian Council, a secular body according to Crosby, suggests the collection of heathen objects from villagers in general, including non-Christians (1914:6). In 1875 there were 12 full church members and 100 on trial (Bolt 1981:196). Crosby, assisted by C.M. Morrison collected 23 chiefly items, including two totem poles, one house front and six shaman items. Swan returned to Port Simpson in 1882 and collected a few domestic pieces and a Chilkat blanket (catalogue number 13804 :SIA). Crosby was away during Lord Dufferin's visit in 1876 and no objects were collected as far as I know. In 1879, there were 158 full church members and 100 on trial at which time Powell collected or was presented 39 objects including three chiefs frontlets, two masks, one shaman's goat horn crown, and 16 stone items.

Crosby's roster of Christians reached 248 members in 1889, with 106 on trial, presumably giving Crosby access to a large body of traditional curios. Crosby's personal collection included 16 chiefly items, 2 medicine charms and a painted shirt. The "other collectors" collected 59 ceremonial items (see Table 3) and one more Chilkat blanket was collected later by Barbeau in 1915. It would have seemed likely to have had more than four Chilkat blankets divided among the nine Coast Tsimshian

tribes. These blankets were put on graves or nailed on memorial poles as a gesture of respect for a dead chief (Garfield 1939:213). However, it may be that their value was so high that only the highest ranking chiefs were able to afford them. It does seem that more ceremonial items would have been expected from Port Simpson. It may be that the inadequately documented collections of Powell and Morrison (see Appendix A) would have presented a more complete picture.

5.) Port Simpson at the Turn of the Century

By the turn of the century, the bulk of the traditional material culture was removed from Port Simpson.

If the records of industrious collectors as the Newcombes, Emmons, and Barbeau himself are accurate reflections of what there was still to be collected, the people of Port Simpson had very little movable material culture left to sell (or, by inference, to use as memory aids, by the turn of the century (Halpin 1973:26).

Garfield confirmed this view when she described the preparations of the Port Simpson band in 1901 for the visit of the Duke of York: "Having none of the traditional ceremonial garments to wear, they made chilkat blankets and leggings of canvas and Mr. Alexcee painted the designs on them" (Box 2, file2: GUW). The Port Simpson Band dressed in their painted Indian garments, but wearing traditional headgear are shown in Plate 3 on the next page.

D.) Duncan as Collector

Duncan developed a reputation as a dealer in curios, although unlike Crosby he did not become involved with

Plate 3 Port Simpson Band in painted clothing at turn of the century. Chief Nelson, centre foreground is wearing an amhalait headdress, while other band members are wearing cedar bark hats and neckrings similar to those worn by secret society members. (Vancouver Public Library, negative 9411)

institutional collecting. He dealt in small lots with individual clients, and found a ready market for curios among ship captains, visiting clergy and converts in Victoria. Both Crosby and Duncan appear to have dealt mainly in authentic old objects rather than tourist made items. However, Duncan was kept on establishing profitable industries for his converts and the production of traditional objects such as woven hats (Usher 1968:301), and non traditional Indian art such as silver bracelets and model making was encouraged.

His first recipients of curios collected were fellow clerics, Bishop Hills and Rev. Dundas, both of whom travelled aboard Captain Verney's gunboat the Grappler in 1863 to conduct baptisms in Metlakatla. Rev. R. Dundas's collection and diaries are in the possession of a descendant in London, England, and it is through this record that we know of his interest in collecting:

The bulk of my great-grandfather's collection, which consists of about 80 pieces, was acquired on 26 October 1863 at Metlakatla. He had gone there in Verney's gunboat, the Grappler having previously asked Duncan to make "a selection" for him. These pieces were laid out for Verney and my great-grandfather to divide between them" (letter, Carey to Maranda, March 4, 1980:VM).

Unfortunately, the documentation on the Hills and Verney collections in British museums is not specific as to place. While there is no museum collection in Duncan's name, his letterbooks document the distribution of 51 pieces from Metlakatla, not including the unknown number in the cleric's collection of 1863 described above.

The first reference to curios in Duncan's letterbooks appears in 1872, when Duncan received a letter from Captain Cator of the H.M.S. Scout stating he had been recommended to write by Dr. Trevan of the H.M.S. Sparrowhawk, and was bringing up lots of blankets for barter: (presumably Duncan had been of assistance to Dr. Trevan in the past).

Being myself a collector of curiosities and very anxious to get anything in that way I should indeed be obliged if you would firstly collect from the Indians anything that you might be able to pick up from them. Stone chisels, and hammers, men's headdresses (squared cap), and women's [word unclear] (letter, R.P. Cator to Duncan, February 2, 1872: PAC)

We do not have Duncan's reply. The special mention of stone objects highlights the fact that stone objects were a favourite of collectors at this time; Crosby, Powell and the German collector, Adrian Jacobsen, of the Berlin Museum, collected large numbers from Fort Simpson. Bishop Hills had deduced from the similarity in appearance of Pacific rim stone tools, the homogeneity of mankind. Other collectors may have observed a connection between the stone tools just being uncovered in the Paleolithic sites in Europe, and the appearance of the Northwest Coast Indians as a living stone age people. Usher (1974:90) noted that Duncan reported to the CMS that he

saw the Tsimshian as "a people resembling in many respects, that land and those people the Romans saw in days of yore one becoming Masters of Britain", and he was fond of reminding his English friends that their nineteenth century "is our first".

Duncan attracted many distinguished visitors to Metlakatla, and they were presented gifts to commemorate their

visit. In 1876 the Governor General and Lady Dufferin were presented with silver bracelets, silver napkin rings and furs by Duncan. On their own initiative, the Indians presented them with a mask and tall woven segmented cedar dancing hat. Duncan expressed surprise at the presentation of the hat and stated that "although he had known him [donor of the hat] for years, he had never seen the hat before (Dufferin 1891:265). Dr. Israel Wood Powell took away 25 pieces from Metlakatla in 1879, 22 stone objects and the others ceremonial.

1.) Collection of the Stone Masks

In 1878 Duncan compiled a curio list offering 20 objects for sale to Lieut. Fritz H. E. Crowe of the Shah stationed at Esquimalt. The listing included a "stone face" which Duncan described as representing "the Thief", price \$15. We do not have Lieut. Crowe's response to the list, but we now know that the stone face is the famous sighted "twin" to the stone mask without eye apertures collected by I. W. Powell on his 1879 trip. Powell attributed this stone mask to Kitkatla, though records indicate he did not stop there in 1879. Duncan added a footnote to Crowe's list stating that "Mr. Neil[?] bought last year the fellow [twin] to the carved stone face (first item) and he was wanting to buy the one I have got but was too late" (letter, Duncan to Mr. Engelhardt, August 6, 1878 :FAC). It would appear that Powell got his mask from Mr. Neil. There was a Mr. Neil at the Skeena River Cannery, and since Powell's trip was focussing on fishing matters, it may be that he bought or was given the mask from Neil. During field research in the summer of 1979 I

received information that indicated the stone mask had belonged to Niestoyah of the Gitwilgeots tribe of Port Simpson. It was stated that the mask had been the source of a lot of trouble there and was not associated with the village of Kitkatla (MacDonald 1979:14). The Duncan stone mask was subsequently donated by Alphonse Pinart, the French explorer, to the Musée de l'Homme, Paris in 1881 (Personal Communication, LaMoellé, February 1985:MH) with the information stating it was collected from the Protestant missionary at Metlakatla (Hamy 1896:167). Accompanying the 1878 list of objects Duncan wrote:

I have bought a few Indian curiosities and I thought would suit you as cheaply as I could get them. They are now becoming both scarce and rare. I have not such a quantity and variety as I would have liked (Letter, Duncan to Lieut. F.H.E. Crowe, August 6, 1878:PAC).

Duncan also filled specific orders on request. Both Dr. Ash and Judge Begbie in Victoria corresponded with Duncan over their orders. Judge Mathew Begbie wrote assuring Duncan "As you were talking of sending me other Indian curiosities I wish to repeat that I look for no more in respect of my last advance" (letter, M. Begbie to Duncan, November 5, 1877:PAC). There is a small Begbie collection in the National Museum of Man, Ottawa and only two items are labelled Tsimshian, one a dance headdress from the Nass River, the other five specimens are catalogued as Haida. In 1875 Duncan sent Dr. Ash, possibly the Victorian parliamentarian, a model totem pole he had ordered plus a stone bowl, three spoons and a bracelet to complete the cash advance of \$23. Duncan's documentation is of professional quality:

The carved stone bowl belonged to the head chief of the Kithratla[Kitkatla] tribe. It was used for preparing the quid taken by the chief before retiring to bed. The quidds were made from a plant which is found on the Queen Charlotte islands, and were a luxury which all the head people indulged in previous to the introduction of tobacco. These stone bowls are now very scarce and therefore dear (letter, Duncan to Dr. Ash, October 11, 1875:PAC).

The record left of Duncan's dealing in curios is likely incomplete, as he probably dealt directly with many visitors from the touring gunboats or tour boats. Unlike Crosby, Duncan did not make a personal collection. There is a photograph of Duncan in his study at New Metlakatla with a Chilkat blanket on the wall, and that appears to be extent of his personal collection, as shown in Plate 4 on the next page.

In the case of the 59 objects which Duncan is known to have offered for sale or acted in their sale as middleman, only one tenth were ceremonial, consisting of 4 masks, a hat, a frontlet, a rattle, leggings, a copper and a charm and a goat horn crown. Bishop Ridley, Duncan's rival and successor was also a collector and according to Rev. J.H. Keen lost a "splendid collection" of ethnographic material in the fire that destroyed Duncan's original church and other buildings at Metlakatla in a fire in 1901 (Newcombe papers:PABC).

Summary

This examination of missionary collecting from the two coast Tsimshian villages, set in the broader context of collecting by explorers and traders, establishes that the missionaries were the first major collectors of curios among the

Plate 4 William Duncan in his study in New Metlakatla, Alaska. A Chilkat blanket is mounted on the wall behind him. Photo taken between 1900-1905. (Garfield Album, University of Washington, negative 3083.)

Indians of Port Simpson and Metlakatla. The documentation and recognition of this role for the missionary on the Northwest Coast and elsewhere, for that matter, has not been previously recognized. I believe it is now clear that no totem poles were removed from Northwest Coast villages previous to missionary influence.

While the main motives of the missionaries in dealing in curios was the removal according to Duncan of "willingly surrendered" heathen goods, the market was willing to pay cash. Both missionaries relied on the church organizations for funds to support their missionary work. It is likely that money raised from curio sales was reinvested in the village. The anthropologist Franz Boas met Duncan in 1886 on a coastal steamer and commented on his unusual interest in business (Rohner 1967:48). Swan commented on Crosby's "high executive ability" (letter, Swan to Commissioner Indian Affairs, October 11, 1985:SIA). Both missionaries seized the opportunity provided by the burgeoning curio market to provide a service to the buyers and possibly the sellers with themselves acting as middlemen. Perhaps the missionaries used the argument presented by the native collector, Louis Shotridge who collected among his tribesmen at Kluckwan in the 1920's. "It is in the interests of history that the relics which tell the tale of a vanishing people to [sic] be preserved" (quoted in Cole 1985:261). Shotridge used his high ranking position among the Tlingit to assist him in gaining access to material. However, he noted the real reason for his success could be attributed to the introduction of

Christianity:

One of the most interesting specimens in the list is the Kaguan-tan Fortune medicine bundle. It was only through Christian influence that I was allowed to take this once priceless "Shshed" out of the possession of the clan (letter, Shortridge to Dr. Gordon, April 2, 1917: Phil).

While the preservation of objects may have been a concern to some Indians, others chose to destroy their traditional regalia by burning. The Indians were pressured by the missionary to relinquish "their treasures." An examination of possible Indian motives and the process of relinquishment will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR-ENDNOTES

1. Though these objects are undated, Tolmie was at Fort Simpson at only one period, therefore it seems reasonable to postulate that he collected these pieces attributed to Fort Simpson at this time.

2. These confiscated items were returned to the Alert Bay and Cape Mudge Communities in 1979, and are housed in modern museum facilities on each reserve. See endnote two, Chapter II.

3. The first missionary to the Queen Charlotte Islands was Rev. Collison in 1876, representing the CMS. Crosby visited the the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1883.

4. There are likely two totem poles from Fort Simpson collected by Swan, but the Smithsonian records are not clear on this point.

5. Cole (1985:232) states Rev. R.H. Hall collected the Pitt Rivers poles. Pitt Rivers documentation indicates R.H. Hall was a Hudson Bay employee and not a clergyman (letter, L. Cheetham, April 15, 1985:FR). R.H. Hall, the Hudson Bay factor at Alert Bay was an active dealer in Indian curios (Cole 1985:22).

6. Negative numbers for the Barbeau photographs of Port Simpson totem poles in 1915 are as follows: NMC negative numbers (often multiple views) 31075-76, 31077-78, 31079-82, 31084-87, 31087, 31088-91, 31094, 31095-98)

HEATHENISM TRANSFORMED - CHAPTER FIVE

It will be recalled from Chapter I that in his model of acculturation Price predicts that the nature of contact will be affected by the socio-political level of Indian societies. I also believe that this model can be extended, in the case of the Coast Tsimshian to ideological concepts. In this chapter, we will examine the traditional ideological preceptions of these Indians and how they affected the way they interpreted the ideology offered them by the missionaries as agents of the dominant culture. The Coast Tsimshian perceptions of power, focussing on the mediator role of the chief with the supernaturals combined with the inherent prestige associated with foreigners enabled the Indians to integrate the missionaries into the Coast Tsimshian ideology. Aspects of this integration were described in Chapter II in the discussion of Feasts and the Supernatural. This chapter will draw on data related to both missionaries; however Duncan, as the first missionary among the Coast Tsimshian, was viewed differently than Crosby who came to the area 17 years after Duncan.

A.) Missionaries and the Supernatural

I am arguing here, firstly, that as the first missionary Duncan appeared like a supernatural being to the Indians. The missionaries combined the care taking and supernatural liason role of the chief and the healing role of the shaman. They furthermore, filled the niche of intermediary between the Indians and the supernatural powers of civilization to which they offered access.

Seguin (1984:117) noted that Duncan, as well as the early traders, were welcomed, "with singing and showers of eagle down, appropriate behaviour either toward supernatural beings or toward guests arriving for a feast." The Indians perceived the missionary like a chief or a Real person, acting on behalf of Jesus. Crosby reported the speeches of the principal men in Port Simpson a few months after his arrival: "I am glad, Jesus is going to be Chief at Port Simpson. I know Jesus is the great power" (Missionary Notice, April 1875:39)). The Tsimshian initiated into Christianity by Duncan aroused great interest among other Indian groups. When Duncan was introduced to a delegation of visiting Chilkat chiefs from Alaska to Metlakatla, he was wearing his working clothes. This event, according to a Duncan biographer (Davis 1904:75) brought the following response from the surprised guests:

Surely, you cannot be the man! Why, we expected to see a great and powerful giant, gifted in magic, with enormous eyes that could look right through us and read our thoughts! (Davis 1904:75).

Duncan presented himself as bringing "a message from God" to the Tsimshian at Port Simpson (Wellcome 1887:388). It seems that Duncan was aware that he was being treated as a supernatural and indeed that he used this misconception for his own religious purposes.

One of the old chiefs remarked to [Duncan] in 1860, "you see they follow you—they want to see you—they are learning from you about God and regard you as the same as God to them" (Duncan's journal, December 23, 1860 quoted in Usher 1974:49).

In an address to a group of Indian Commissioners, missionaries and Indian Rights Associations in Washington, D.C. in 1887 Duncan explained his strategy to gain influence over the Indians:

If I had gone and told them I had come from the Queen, or from a nation, immediately I would have created in that man's mind a sort of antagonism, but as soon as I told him I had a message from God, who made him, he instantly began to pause and think and wanted to know about the message (Wellcome 1887:388).

I am arguing secondly, that the Bible, or as described by Duncan "God's letter," was initially revered as an artifact by the Indians. The Bible may have been perceived by the Indians as a naxnox power. In the period before the missionary schools had taught reading, the Bible was sought by Indians on the Nass as a power symbol. Rev. A.E. Green, Methodist Missionary on the Nass River reported the case of a dying Nishga chief who tied his Bible to a stake as a source of inspiration (Missionary Notice, May 1878:296). The imagery of White people in the role of chiefs quickly penetrated the traditional view of the afterlife. Rev. A. Green, reported that a woman, "on her death bed saw what appeared to be four white women, who had come to carry her to her son [deceased], on the other side of the river" (Christian Guardian: July 7, 1890). According to Arctander (1909:104), Duncan understood when: "They [Indians] claimed that when a person was about to die, he could see the great chiefs who had departed before him, and who now seemed to stand ready to receive him".

The ability to read and write the printed word was the most tangible of the White powers to be offered to the Indians.

Another report of visiting Chilcats claims they reported to their friends "wonderful tales of Indians "become white", who could talk on paper" and "hear paper talk" and wore white folks' clothes, and lived in houses with windows..." (Wellcome 1887:135). Paper itself was considered special. Chief Legaic kept his papers between two boards carved as thin as heavy paper (Arctander 1909:135).

Duncan's first school house in Port Simpson was open to all comers. The school provided classes in reading for adults as well as children. Duncan reported four or five of the chiefs diligently attended school. The chiefs controlled access to the school and access to the "power" of reading. The Methodist minister William Henry Pierce, son of a Hudson Bay Company employee and a Port Simpson woman, grew up in Port Simpson and recalled this incident:

My grand father ordered me before him and told me while it was his desire that I attend school, it had been ordered by the chief of the tribe that I should not. There was nothing to do but obey. So I left Mr. Duncan's school (Pierce 1933:11).

Duncan also wished to exert control over who attended his school. An early writer (Johnson 1875:135) states that one of the reasons Duncan wished to move to Metlakatla was to put the "school operation on a more satisfactory footing as the imparting of secular knowledge would thus be limited to those who had embraced the Gospel."

While we do not have the Port Simpson Indian view on how they perceived writing skills, Berkhofer (1965:18) notes one

response: "Some Sioux, for example, thought the mere writing of a request for a gift and the presentation of the slip of paper to the missionary would make him grant their wish."

Duncan's use of Victorian technology was enough to put the gitsonk to shame. He encouraged the Indians to view him in the context of their own ideas about the supernatural and the nature of halait power. "I put up a little saw-mill, and when the Indians found out I was going to make water saw wood, they first of all did not believe it..." (Wellcome 1887:392) Dean Cridge noted that Duncan used magic tricks to impress his students. "On Tuesday Mr. Duncan gave the girls a merry evening with the galvanic battery, introducing the bucket of water and the silver coin, which none succeeded in getting" (Wellcome 1887:81). Duncan also installed a telephone to the saw mill in 1881, which he reported amazed the Indians when it spoke in Tsimshian (Arctander 1909:196)

Thirdly, I am arguing that items introduced by the missionary assumed functions formerly performed by traditional ceremonial objects -for example, the church bell. It is fair to postulate that the church bell replaced the halait whistles. The whistles it will be recalled represented the "voice" of the supernatural and indicated their arrival in the human realm. Archdeacon Woods visited Metlakatla in 1871 to conduct baptisms: "As we drew near to Metlakahtla the sound of the church-bell over the still waters of the bay could be heard for considerable time before we reached the village. The man called my attention to it, and said it meant "school;" the woman promptly corrected him, saying it meant "death" (Wellcome 1887:86). Woods noted that he

also could tell that death was the message. The church bell played a major part in the founding of the Methodist church by Kate and Alfred Durdoward. The decision as to which church bell would be rung first in 1873 at Port Simpson decided whether the people would support the Methodists or the Anglicans. (Bolt 1981:69).

Fourthly, I believe that the ritual of baptism encompassed a number of features of the traditional system, and that the transfer of the ceremonial objects to the dominant culture likely in advance of baptism, as in "emptying the House" was the strongest statement made by the Indians that they perceived they were participating in a power exchange, "where gifts given to the human element serve as substitutes for the supernatural in the social context" (pages 52-53).

1.) Naming and Baptism

The most significant ritual of Christianity to a new convert is acceptance into the church by baptism. In the case of the Catholic church the rite of baptism often preceded Christian teaching, an example from the Vancouver area in 1859 notes that the Catholic missionary:

...baptised about 400 Indian babies and persuaded over 2000 adults to renounce gambling, sorcery, and murder. They did this publically apparently, divesting themselves of all their diabolical instruments of witchcraft and torture and loading them in Fr. Chirouse's canoe... (Cronin, 1960:77 quoted in Rumley 1973:89)

This account suggests that there was a voluntary "divesting" or surrender of their traditional regalia after a mass baptism.

Duncan on the other hand, prepared his catechumens carefully in preparation for examination by an ordained church official. Following successful examination, the candidates were accepted for baptism. Wellcome(1887:79) records Rev. Dundas' account of the baptisms he conducted at Metlakatla in 1863:

..as the candidates stepped forward in front of the assembled congregation Mr. Duncan called up each by his heathen name. In answer to my request "Name this person" he gave the new Christian name, and by it I baptized the candidate. "As I held the hand of each while receiving him or her into the Church of Christ and signing him with the sign of the Cross, I could often feel that they trembled with deep emotion.

The new name can be interpreted as a personal symbol of the commitment to the White culture. The significance of the traditional names and their connections to the supernatural world supports a conjecture that this same sort of connection was made with the new Christian names. Not all names were associated with baptism, though most were connected to the missionary. Duncan is recorded as bestowing the first Christian names in Port Simpson as Christmas presents for his school students (Garfield 1939:225). A study of the names given by missionaries would reflect much of the late nineteenth century British social history brought to life on the Northwest Coast. Some names were acquired through marriage with White men, such as Dudoard, which is a derivation from the name of a French employee of the Fort (Crosby 1914:20). Others took their name from their employer. The surname of Abraham Lincoln, a Gitsis chief, was derived in that way (Garfield 1939:225). Some names were like ~~naxnox~~, reflecting a significant event in an individual's life. Peter Bell of Kitkatla received his name in recognition for

ringing the bell to alarm the Christians that their church was on fire (Stock 1889, Vol. III:633). Rev. McCullagh on the Nass River, saved a man's life by amputating his frozen feet and named the man William Frost (Moeran 1923:77). It is likely that the majority of names commemorated friends or supporters of the missionary, examples being William Follard, the Methodist District Chairman, and G.A. Calder of London, England, the donor of the church bell to the Nass village of Lakkalsap (Patterson 1982b:86). Some names were translations of the Indian name, such as Chief Mountain on the Nass (Patterson 1982b:86). Occasionally we have records of Indians asking for a certain Christian name, as in the case of Chief Shakes of Kitkatla, who requested the name William Gladstone, a person he presumably considered of comparable importance to him (Stock 1899, vol. III:635).

Some religious societies in the eastern United States promoted beneficiary naming as a method of obtaining funds. "...for upon the donation of a stipulated sum per year, the donor had an Indian child named after him or for someone else" (Berkhofer 1965:37). While we do not know of any similar Northwest Coast examples, we do know that by 1880 there were very few Indian names in the church registry of Fort Simpson; White names had the advantage of ease of pronunciation and spelling (Garfield 1939:225).

Traditional names had been received in the context of a feast. However, Duncan was opposed to feasts: "I am doing what I can to repress feasts within the bounds of moderate among the people here [Metlakatla]. I shall do my utmost to discourage

them from going to feasts in other places" (Duncan to Neashots January 1876: FAC). Yet we do know of one occasion of a feast which followed a baptism. Toosh, the father of a baptised child was given permission by Duncan to address the people. He apparently told them why he had given up the heathen way of naming his children. Unfortunately, Bishop Hills' diary does not cite Toosh's reasons (Bishop Hills, May 10, 1866: AFSBC). There is no data at present to answer questions such as "whether traditional patterns were manifested in such matters as the participation of members of father's clan in baptism (in lieu of feast naming), or whether the domain of Christian names was kept distinct from that of Tsimshian names" (Seguin 1985:69). Names in the traditional system had related the owners to the land and the mythology. These new names would appear to have been unidimensional, related solely to acceptance in the White world. The traditional names did not die out in Port Simpson, whereas Beynon (1941:84) notes that at Annette Island, Alaska in the community of New Metlakatla where Duncan's followers moved in 1887 there were no hereditary hunting and fishing rights, and native names were given up, including the social and economic privileges that went with them. Some old traditions of naming among the Haida have only reappeared in the 1980's.

2.) Transfer of Objects

While we are able to document the collecting of ceremonial objects by the missionaries and their subsequent acquisition by the dominant culture as detailed in Chapter IV, there is no concrete data on the circumstances of the actual transfer.

In the case of Duncan and the cleric's collections we know that the objects passed to Duncan previous to the ritual of baptism, which would reinforce the view that the Indians felt they were taking part in an exchange of Indian power for the power of Christianity. The moment of exchange, or collection of objects by the missionary is not actually recorded. Wellcome (1887:178) records an anecdote that supports the interpretation offered here that the Indians considered their baptism a power exchange. In the anecdote, a Bishop baptized an Indian chief in ill health who then handed his rattle to the Bishop. "The Bishop flourished the rattle before the Indian spectators as a trophy". The chief's health worsened and he demanded and received his rattle back. In return the chief threw the glass of baptism water at the Bishop. This story focuses on the rattle as the symbol of heathenism, and highlights the consequences of too speedy baptism, when the motivation of the Indian was one of "seeking cures for their bodily preservation." Baptism was the only church ritual that Duncan was willing to offer to the Indians. While we do not know the circumstances of the collecting we have Duncan's testimony that:

The instruments of the medicine men which have spell-bound their nation for ages have found their way into my house and are most willingly and cheerfully given up (Gleaner, October 1881:112).

While the testimony of the missionaries is often dubious in that they had a tendency to report in an overly optimistic manner, it is possible that people who came to Duncan, often leaving their home villages and kin behind in order to live at Metlakatla, may have felt sufficiently motivated to "willingly

and cheerfully give up" their objects. On the other hand, perhaps some regalia was left behind as postulated by Drucker and cited earlier (1965:201). In the above quote, Duncan claims it was the instruments of the medicine-man he acquired. From our knowledge of the objects offered for sale by Duncan we know that only two items belonged to the shaman, while the majority of his objects for sale were originally owned by the chiefs. Rev. Collison, a colleague of Duncan's who took the CMS mission to Massett, on the Queen Charlotte Islands in the fall of 1876 reported in a similar vein:

The charms and rattles of the leading medicine-man are now in our possession, he having given them up, and he is now an earnest enquirer after the truth, and is always present at the services (Stock 1881:94).

Crosby, on the other hand sought the removal of traditional items through the actions of an elected municipal council. His strategy was to exert peer pressure. He arranged that the reformed conjurors and gamblers drew up laws forbidding the others activities. Watchmen were appointed with a chief at its head, to go to the houses, take away the gambling pins and destroy or take away the medicine-man's rattles or charms (Crosby 1914:66). Crosby, like Duncan chose to target the medicine-man rather than the chiefs in the description of his "civilizing" efforts. It is certain that Crosby was recipient of the confiscated objects (see listings of Appendix A).

3.) Feasts

In this section we will see that White symbolism had replaced that of the traditional Coast Tsimshian in the feast

context. A contemporary account of the appearance and conduct of a Christian chief at a New Year's feast gave the impression that some had made an almost complete transition to the White standards. Both missionaries promoted Christmas and New Year's celebrations as replacements for the winter festival season. At that time chiefs held receptions in their houses, (built for them by their clansmen) that were much larger than those of their supporters. The distinctive appearance of the chief's house was noted as early as 1863, by Rev. Dundas at Metlakatla when he commented that Chief Legaic's "... house is the nicest and best situated in the village" (Stock 1881:51). Legaic's house was later marked by a sign in English that stated he was a carpenter (Mission Life, September 1, 1870:536). It may be that a sign written in English in front of a White style house with glass windows, (some ordered coloured glass), (letterbook, W.H. Collison to Duncan, September 24, 1879:FAC) would have had as much status as a painted house front in the traditional system. Garfield (1939:275-292) recorded cases of the clan building the Chief's house in the 1930's. This traditional responsibility resulted in some very grand Victorian houses being built in remote Indian villages. In contrast, the model houses built to a pattern at Metlakatla, resemble closely the row housing of Beverly, where Duncan was born (post card:USFAS).

a.) Symbolism of the Feast

The symbolism of the feast reflected the new status attributed to the White culture. The chief's ceremonial dress had changed from the headdress, (amhalait) and raven rattle, with

Chilkat blanket and leggings to the White style beaver hat and black coat with silver buttons. The account of a New Year's feast in 1884 by Kate Hendry, the matron at the Crosby Home for Girls presents an image of the Christian Indian feast featuring European clothes and food:

..the chief (a fine looking gentleman, with a curled moustache, high beaver hat, and black coat with silver buttons) came forward and armed me to the table of royalty (Hendry Letterbook:FABC).

Hendry detailed the food at the "royal" table, contrasted with native food at the other tables. "....there was stewed meat, boiled rice, bread, butter, fruit, biscuits, canned peaches and coffee." The differences in the types of food at feasts served at the high ranking tables as opposed to the regular people was noted by others as well. James G. Swan on his first museum collecting expedition for the Smithsonian was invited to attend a wedding held in a large plank house in Port Simpson in 1875. He noted the young and old people were served first a feast of:

rice and molasses and dried halibut and whale oil and such luxuries. Then the house had been cleared, and the table set with clean white table clothes on each, knives, forks, plates, cups, saucers, and all appliances required for a civilized feast....We were served with Roast Goose, Roast Ducks, potatoes, boiled rice, bread, cake, coffee, and tea, all well cooked and very clean. A number of young Indians with white jackets and aprons acted as waiters and everything was as regular and orderly as in a restaurant (letter, October 11, 1875:SIA).

The format of the traditional feast was still intact, though the attire of the hosts, type of food and serving dishes had been replaced by those of the White culture. Prayers and hymns

punctuated the wedding at various points.

In the traditional setting, the food presented by the chief acclaimed the wealth of his territories. Cove (1978:16) notes that, "In Gitksan thought, the principle underlying their subsistence activities was that of reciprocity. Gitksan mythology suggests that giving and receiving with respect is necessary to existence of both man and animals." In Walen's (1981:89) description of the Kwakiutl concept of food (which he regarded as the key to the entire organization of Kwakiutl social and mental life) he noted: "Even the various customs in the preparation, cooking and eating of foods are considered to have direct causal effects on the ability of hunters and fishermen to catch the food in the future." The statements of both Cove and Walen above indicate that a rupture in the traditional food acquisition and consumption system would be a serious breach with, "the supernatural powers who have been responsible ultimately for providing the food one eats" (Adams 1973:43). The symbolism of the White food had significance beyond a statement of status, it may be seen as a statement on access to power.

While the missionaries found the potlatch system of gift distribution to be wasteful, the opportunity to ponder others wealth was irresistible to the Tsimshian according to Rev. Pierce. He (1933:21-22) recalled during his tenure at Fort Essington, the great stir created by the hymn "The Half Was Never Told" which dwelt on the riches of King Solomon, recounted by the Queen of Sheba. The Queen apparently found the grandeur and prosperity of the monarch overwhelming, and reported that "the

half had not been told." Pierce explains that the parishioners awoke him in the night wanting to hear about the other half. He put them off by saying, "when you reach Heaven you will hear the other half." Pierce concludes "It[hymn] always seemed to have a deeper meaning to them than any other hymn they ever sung"[sic].

When the chiefs gave up their ceremonial regalia they gave up their access to the supernatural. In return they accepted the equality status offered by Christianity. It could be argued that the trend toward equality was based in the foundation of the secret societies which had as their distinctive feature, the cutting across of the clan and House systems. The chiefs were formed into collectives in their membership in the the exclusive Cannibal and Destroyer societies (Cove 1985:317). The emphasis on gift giving in the feast system, and the Destroyer societies power to destroy valuable objects and then repay them at three or four times their value, depicted the supernatural, "beings as the source of wealth and a reciprocity with them is ultimately of benefit to humans"(Cove 1985:323). Based on these ideological preconceptions, it could be argued that the Indians had higher expectations from the missionaries than the latter were able to deliver.

In Crosby's case, this appears to have been the reason that leading chiefs in his congregation wrote to the Methodist Missionary Society in 1895 asking to have Crosby removed (letter, Sutherland to Crosby, March 9, 1895: UCCAT). Alexander Sutherland, a Methodist official visited Port Simpson in 1885 and his interviews with Indians revealed a general state of despondency:

David Swanson, complained that although it had been eleven years since "we gave up our old way," no one has visited us to help us in anything connected with the improvement of our village." He pointed out that the people had given all their money for a new church, church bell, roads, new houses and a 500 foot bridge. They had done all this themselves and "now money is scarce because we can get no work, and we need help (Bolt 1981:119).

If the converts had expected the missionary to remain stationary in the manner of a proper chief according to the traditional ideal (Personal Communication, Cove: 1984) they were sorely disappointed in Crosby. The title of one of his books, is Up and down the Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship (1914). Crosby's evangelical verve exceeded his desire to continue working with the same group. Sutherland was told, "Mr. Crosby does not stay at home, he goes to visit other places..." (Bolt 1981:120). Bolt (1981, 1983) recently examined the Port Simpson Indian role in their conversion and concluded they were in control of the process. He described the frustration felt by the converted Coast Tsimshian: "The Indian discontent was not based upon a hankering for the old ways but, rather, on an unfulfilled desire to live in a manner similar to white Christians in other parts of Canada and their friends and relatives at Metlakatla" (Bolt 1981:120).

Bolt states, "The Indians realized that their poverty was a result of the demands made by their new life-style. Crosby's coming had prompted and encouraged the many changes in their village but had not provided the means to pay for them" (1981:120).

The missionaries directed their energies to the abolition of the potlatch, and removal of the crest objects, both of which had the effect of weakening the traditional social structure in which crests were the visible manifestation. The one element that was not affected was the oral presentation of the myth. It is likely that the oral tradition of the crest continued long after the physical representation disappeared. The initial title of Douglas Cole's (1985) book on Northwest Coast collecting was drawn from a remark Boas reported from a speech at a Kwakiutl feast in 1930 where the host described the appearance of each serving dish for his guests: "This bowl in the shape of a bear (is) for you, for each group a bowl." Boas noted "But the bowls are no longer there. They are in the museums in New York and Berlin" (Rohner 1967:297).

Summary

The Coast Tsimshian ideology which focussed its attempts to deal with man and nature in the concept of a continuum, incorporated the missionary initially into the role of supernatural, and later into that of a chief acting as mediator between themselves and the Christian God. The Indian ideology may have allowed them to expect that in exchange for the transfer of their traditional "wealth" objects to the missionaries, they had established reciprocal relations with the White powers. The adoption of White names could be interpreted as a public commitment to the new order. The serving of White foods and the wearing of White clothing at feasts replaced, at least for the chiefs the traditional "power" symbols.

CHAPTER FIVE-ENDNOTES

1. The Galvanic Battery consisted of several voltaic batteries strung together. Possibly Duncan was using a copper coin in an iron bucket, which installed with the battery was capable of producing an electro-chemical action.
2. Post cards and photographs of Port Simpson at the turn of the century portray large Victorian houses complete with turrets and verandahs. See cover, Appendix 'B.

CONCLUSION-CHAPTER SIX

In pursuing their goal of abolishing the old Indian order, the missionaries started with the removal of traditional ceremonial objects, which became simple curiosities or ethnographic objects in the "White society. Occasionally the objects were burnt. The missionaries did not try to understand the Indian culture; instead they manifested, "a form of cultural arrogance, not characteristic of the missionary alone, but a form that reach[ed] its heights in him because of the very nature of the attitude and values which induced him to become a missionary" (Brown 1944:217). Combined with a belief in cultural dominance this cultural arrogance led to the assumption that assimilation was to be the inevitable result of conquest (Spicer 1967:568).

The cultural arrogance was particularly evident in the attitude to the material culture of other peoples. The Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, confirmed that the Victorians were "fascinated by their own progress in industry and technology" (Usher 1971a:38) and that the exhibits from other cultures present "accurate indices of the limit of which civilization had attained in them respectively" (Usher 1971a:38 quoting the Intelligencer 1852:5).

These symbols of conquest were transformed into ethnographic items, labelled "material culture" and were numbered and listed in the museum catalogues of North America and Europe. (The catalogue data drawn from these sources are enumerated in Appendix A.) The majority of the collections of

the early explorers and traders were acquired through trade or were commissioned. The collections of the missionaries, on the other hand, were acquired through a predominantly coercive action which I have argued the Indians perceived as a power exchange. The missionaries, on the other hand, likely viewed the removal of the regalia and other traditional material culture as a secular activity related to the civilizing process, except perhaps in the case of the regalia of the shamans, perceived by the missionaries as rivalrous with themselves. Father Morice may have felt "a pang at the sight of this miniature museum going up in smoke" (Page 99) but generally the missionaries did not indicate through words or actions that they faced an ethical dilemma in their role of middlemen in the sale of curios.

The collecting period of the missionaries co-incided with the initial period of their greatest popularity and declined accordingly, the decline being an index of the success of the missionary attempts to civilize or assimilate the Indians. The last recorded Crosby assisted collection was made in 1882; and for Duncan the last recorded transaction was 1881.

The missionaries acted as middlemen/entrepreneurs in the distribution of over 30 per cent of the total objects collected from Port Simpson and Metlakatla from 1830 to 1950. They collected one sixth more ceremonial objects than other collectors combined (Table 3). These figures reflect the missionaries unique position to negotiate an exchange of Indian ceremonial objects for promised acceptance into the White world. Such an exchange was viewed by the Indians of one of power: as names,

clothing, foods and houses of the White people were taken as the new model for success and presumably access to wealth. The most tangible wealth was that received by the missionary for the sale of the curios. The missionary may have passed on the money to the Indians, however, the records remain silent on this point.

The act of burning ceremonial regalia, whether voluntarily or by coercion, was one of desperation in which objects were sent to the ancestors on the smoke of household fires rather than passed on to descendants. This act seems paradoxical as both the missionaries and the Indians were aware of the curio market value. However, there are indications from the records cited in this study that indicate that selling regalia was forbidden. Retaining the objects as meaningless heirlooms was not compatible with the Coast Tsimshian concept of "emptying the House" in the feast context; perhaps they did not consider it possible to keep such traditional objects after acquiring the new White power. The problem of the disposition of the Port Simpson totem poles remains unresolved. What is certain is that no totem poles were collected prior to the missionary period. The surveys by Garfield and Barbeau of numbers of extant poles at Port Simpson are contradictory. The data accompanying the totem pole collected about 1896 from Kitkatla, now on exhibit in the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, confirms the existence of both missionary pressure and reticence on the part of the Indians. The letter A. Freeman wrote to accompany a pole explains:

At the time of our buying the totem pole, the missionary succeeded in having them all cut down. The part of the pole that Capt. Joyce

and myself bought for the Company was one that the Indians would not burn after cutting it down, but cut it in sections and placed it in their house. We had some trouble to induce the Indians to sell it for \$50.00 (letter, A. Freeman, Canadian Fishing Company Limited, Vancouver, B.C. to Mr. Hager, April 28, 1917, on file Peabody Harvard).

Natives have often been presented as having been only partially converted to Christianity:

Attracted by novelty or motivated by desire for the goods and technical abilities that the missionaries brought with them, some Indians observed the requisite formalities without being "born again." They modified some of their behaviour but not their way of thinking (Fisher 1977:141).

I would argue that the discussion in Chapter V supports the contention that most of the Indians who gave up their ceremonial regalia made a commitment to being "born again". The missionary's conception of Christianity was tightly woven in with the ideals of Victorian culture. Crosby wrote: "However slowly they may follow in the footsteps of civilization, yet once brought under the transforming influence of the cross, by their dress, manners, and mode of life, they give undeniable evidence of being new creatures" (Methodist Missionary Society Report 1879-1880:xi). Since the missionaries did not distinguish between Christianity and civilization it follows that the Indians did not either.

Theory

While this study has a basically descriptive-analytic orientation, there are theoretical implications to the data as well, though they may be regarded as secondary. Berry's table of "Dichotomous Answers to Questions of Acculturation," (Table 1) postulated that the integration option, "implied the maintenance

of cultural integrity, as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework". I postulate that the adaptations of the Coast Tsimshian to the options offered by the dominant culture, which appeared to replace the traditional, were integrative rather than assimilative actions. The factor that enabled the Indians to adopt an integrative strategy was the strength of their oral tradition. While a crest display without a supporting myth was unthinkable, the objects, it appears, were not essential to maintain the oral tradition. White objects and rituals displaced the traditional Tsimshian, and status of the chiefs was maintained in the Indian culture in a syncretistic manner. This strategy allowed retention of cultural identity and the maintenance of a positive relationship with the dominant society. In the case of a chief, his contact with the supernatural world had assured the economic and subsequent social well-being of himself and his supporters. It would appear that the chiefs were looking to the power of White culture to attain that end. They did not, however, cut themselves off completely from the traditional supernatural world. The system of chiefs, Houses, lineages and clans continued.

The role of the chiefs in conversion to Christianity presents a paradox. The egalitarianism of Christianity mitigated against their traditional powers. However, we may conclude from the stresses of disease, death and social disarray that the chiefs themselves were aware that the old system was not working. In their role as Real people they had the responsibility to see that their House maintained good relations with the supernaturals.

They followed Price's concept of non-confrontation between Chiefdoms and States which is discussed below. It was not the chiefs who were among the first baptized at Port Simpson in 1861 by Rev. Tugwell. However, there were representatives of all nine tribes in the baptismal registers at Fort Simpson (Usher 1971b:47). It would seem likely that lower ranking House members or young people as Usher indicates were first attracted to Christianity (Usher 1971:47). However, several chiefs and one whole tribe accompanied Duncan in the 1862 move to Metlakatla. Depending on the authority of the chief, clan members would follow their chief into accepting Christianity. This seems to have been the case at Kitkatla when Chief Shakes converted. He announced his conversion to assembled followers, both non-Christian and converted, and during the subsequent night of prayer:

The men who had held to Sheuksh in the prolonged struggle with the Christians, one by one, between the intervals of prayers, rose and solemnly renounced the past, and professed themselves catechumens (Stock 1899, vol. III:636-37).

The "Early Resistance" period postulated by Price (Figure 2) would coincide with the period between the establishment of the Hudson Bay fort in 1834 and Duncans arrival in 1857 and including his departure for Metlakatla in 1862. The start of the "Assimilation Period" would date from 1862 when the first Indians left Port Simpson with Duncan to establish the Christian community of Metlakatla. Rev. Crosby's tenure at Port Simpson from 1874-97 would also fit into the "Assimilation Period." Price attributes the lack of conflict in State-Chiefdom

relationships in general, and in British Columbia particularly, to the fact that "there was less need to displace the Natives from their lands. Since the Indians there did not farm, they required little land, but instead lived in large villages and drew their food resources primarily from stream and coastal fishing" (Price 1978:45). The misunderstanding of the Indian's use of and identification with the land is rooted in the last century. The Provincial Government in 1874 used that argument to justify the allocation of ten acres per family of five, instead of the more common family allowance of eighty acres per family in the rest of the country (Cumming and Mickenburg 1972:84).

Seguin (1985:96) noted, "Incorporation of Christianity into their system by the Tsimshian did not diminish their conviction that they owned their territories; in general the missionaries became persuaded of the legitimacy of traditional title." One of the reasons for their support was the perception that the native unrest was holding up the civilizing process, that is, the building of new European style houses. The longstanding unrest of the West Coast Indians in their desire to settle land claims with the federal and provincial governments has strengthened the native awareness of the importance of the traditional systems of land ownership. The presentation of the Allied Tsimshian Tribe's land claim to the federal government in 1982 is tangible evidence that the oral tradition of House histories continued among the Fort Simpson people.

Missionaries

The affect of acculturation on the the two Coast Tsimshian communities was published by William Beynon in the American Anthropologist (1941:83-88). Metlakatla, B.C. was not described presumably because of population decline. Beynon described the differences in the social organization between Metlakatla, Alaska (or New Metlakatla) and Port Simpson. The good business sense of Duncan combined with this autocratic rule resulted in an Indian community which was more economically independent than its Canadian counterpart. The reasons for the economic contrast between New Metlakatla and Port Simpson, and for that matter Old Metlakatla, reflects many variables beyond the scope of this study. Beynon noted Duncan did away with clan and tribal divisions, yet he claims Duncan encouraged respect for clan exogamy which would indicate the viability of clan identity. It should be noted that the New Metlakatla Indians were recognized as part of the recent Alaska land claims settlement.

In Port Simpson

tribal and clan chiefs are still respected by their groups, but the economic responsibility which a tribesman has toward his chief is now very small and centers around social obligations....Native names have been maintained, inasmuch as they protect certain exclusive hunting and fishing privileges as well as prestige, and the ya'k feasts at which they are assumed have been kept up in a small way (Beynon 1941:88).

Feasts that might resemble potlatches were not legal in Canada until the Potlatch law was removed from the Indian Act of 1951. The Indians of all three communities; Port Simpson, New Metlakatla and Metlakatla live on reserves where the Indian

identity is currently being expressed in the forum of land claims. The revival of the traditional crafts both for sale and use in ceremonies is another indicator of the strength of Indian identity.¹

An ethnohistoric study attempts to present the native perspective without the benefit of access to data that was collected to preserve the Indian point of view. This study has taken a new approach to museum collections, drawing on the material that was documented as to provenance and collector to provide total village profiles in order to examine the process of removal of the material culture. This approach is in contrast to the majority of material culture studies which focus on specific object categories for specialized study.

The validity of this type of investigation of objects which examines the process whereby the objects move from the indigenous to the dominant culture is an aspect of the culture contact which has been ignored by researchers. My initial research was museum oriented, and established that the missionaries were collectors. I had expected they would have written about this aspect of missionary/Indian interaction. This was not the case, and may explain why this topic has not been examined earlier.

Patterson (1972:7) has drawn attention to the concept of parallels and uniformities in the colonial experience of various peoples. It may be that the removal or destruction of the material culture, especially those objects belonging to the traditional power brokers, may be taken as another predictable

event which occurs early in the Christianizing/civilizing process. A process viewed as secular on one side and religious on the other. The Northwest Coast with its predominantly chief dominated societies produced a number of missionary-collectors ; Rev.W.H. Collison, Rev. George Raley, Rev. A.J.Hall, and Rev.J.B. McCullough. Further study could examine the interaction between missionaries and the Indians and the collection of material culture in other socio-political contexts, such as bands, tribes and states. However, it is recognized that the artistic merits of the material culture of the Coast Tsimshian made it particularly attractive to the dominant culture which actively sought examples to preserve in its museums.

CHAPTER SIX-ENDNOTES

1. Jack Hudson, a High school teacher of Tsimshian descent living in New Metlakatla, Alaska brought a group of teen-age male students to study the Coast Tsimshian collection of artifacts in the Museum of Man in the Spring of 1980. Hudson is attempting to revive some of the old style wood carving. The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia has recently commissioned pieces for exhibition by Tsimshian artists. The Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago commissioned a Nishga totem pole which was raised in front of the museum for the opening of their refurbished galleries on the "Maritime Peoples" in 1982.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY OF FORT SIMPSON AND METLAHATCH OBJECTS AND COLLECTORS

Plate 5 Angel font from Fort Simpson carved by native artist Fred Alexcee. Collected by Rev. G. Raley in 1886. (Photo courtesy, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.)

APPENDIX A

SURVEY OF PORT SIMPSON AND METLAKATLA OBJECTS AND COLLECTORS

A. Other Collectors

This preface to the actual listing of objects in Appendix A describes the activities of the "Other Collectors" whose total collection of artifacts from both villages totalled 543 objects (see Table 3). The sequence of collectors who left documented collections from Port Simpson and Metlakatla are as follows: the Hudson Bay Company men, followed by the personnel of British gunboats, then the missionaries, missionary associated collectors, museum collectors and finally after the turn of the century, anthropologists combining collecting with field work. This category also includes the random collecting by occasional tourists who donated or sold their findings to a museum covered in this survey.

1.) Hudson Bay Company Collectors

The first collection from Port Simpson was likely made by Dr. William Tolmie as described in the body of the study. The Bay men were in an ideal situation to collect. The Natural History Museum in Edinburgh sent out forms to assist in the collecting of natural history data. An officer wrote "I am told if the officers had authority now and then to spend a few shillings worth on the Indians who bring anything curious, I would get more novelties" (HBC London Correspondence Book, outwards, August 28, 1860: PAC). The first known account of a shipment of curios from Port Simpson is dated October 24, 1865. Mr. Moffat wrote: "I

forward a box of curiosities to the address of Dr. Rae which I request may be shipped to England by the first vessel, charging the freight to my account" (HBC: PAC). The circumstances surrounding Mr. Moffat's collections are unknown. He had taken charge of the fort from Mr. McNeil in September 1859. A visitor to Fort Simpson in 1868 provides a possible source for Mr. Moffat's collection:

"There were even Indian weapons, knives, muskets, hunting and fishing gear, which served Mr. Cunningham explained, as pledges of respect of deals not yet completed" (Leichmann 1963:110).

Robin Wright (personal communication, October 1984: Burke Museum) researching argillite pipes stated she understood that the Hudson Bay steamer, the Beaver had had a museum aboard.

Evidence that the Company was also interested in collecting artifacts of this kind [natural science, ethnological specimens, paintings and sketches] from its territories is to be found in an early publication entitled Catalogue of the Museum: and inventory of Indian articles deposited at Hudson's Bay House in London. In this catalogue the section on Indian curiosities is subdivided into articles of clothing and ornament, domestic utensils and tools, warlike implements, specimens of carving and other classifications (Stewart, 1982:4).

2.) Royal Navy Collectors

The Duncan letterbooks established that the Royal Navy personnel were avid collectors on the North coast. Lieutenant Gordon, serving under Captain Prevost made a collection while the Village underwent repairs in Fort Simpson in 1853. Dr. Peter Comrie, Royal Navy made a collection of stone tools from Fort Simpson which were accessioned by the British Museum in London in

1870. We do not know whom Comrie dealt with in Port Simpson, possibly Charles Morrison, chief trader for the Hudson Bay Company. Duncan dealt with several navy personnel commencing with Captain Verney of the gunboat Grappler in 1863, followed by Captain Cator of H.M.S. Scout in 1872, and likely earlier Dr. Trevan of the H.M.S. Sparrowhawk. The record concludes with correspondence directed to Lieutenant Fritz H. E. Crowe of H.M.S. Shah in 1878. The Greenwich Naval Museum, London may contain some material from these collectors.

3.) Other Collectors (Associated With Missionaries)

The earliest trader in native artifacts in the area was Robert Cunningham. Initially, Cunningham was an assistant to the CMS missionary Robert Doolan on the Nass River. The medicine man, Cowwalkik converted in November 1869, and "turned against native healers, denounced them as frauds, and sold his healing paraphernalia to Robert Cunningham" (Patterson 1982a:49). Cunningham disassociated himself from the Church after a falling out with Duncan and became a full time trader stationed in Port Essington. He assisted Mrs. Morrison in the shipment of her collection ordered by Boas for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1892. Mrs. Morrison's collection of 113 objects are not attributed to place, other than the Skeena River in some cases. She sent long descriptive notes about Northwest Coast culture which I have quoted in the main text. The largest item was a totem pole which "was part of a house which stood in an Indian town on Naas River, British Columbia." (Deans 1893:282) Her collection includes a remarkable number of items of unknown

provenance worth in the secret societies. There are three house models identified as Fort Simpson in her collection which were sent to the Columbia Exposition in Chicago.

Dr. Israel Wood Powell, the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the province of British Columbia was a major collector on the Northwest Coast, whose documented collections were described in Chapter IV. His official position afforded him numerous opportunities to travel the province visiting Indian communities. Powell's largest collection of 310 objects was made for the American Museum of Natural History in New York between 1881 and 1885. At one point Powell wrote the museum "I really felt guilty of a want of patriotism in sending the collection out of the country." (Collector Notes, October 3, 1882: AMNH) Among the many cases and casks of objects shipped were four Tsimshian totem poles. However the catalogue entries for his collection do not list any designation beyond Northwest Coast and therefore are not cited in this study.

4.) Anthropologist Collectors

Boas collected very little on the Northwest Coast according to his diary (Rohner 1967), part of the reason was it took him a long time to sell the personal collection he made in 1886. In 1894 Boas wrote to his wife "I am so glad that I am rid of the collection. I don't think I will buy anything for a long, long time" (Rohner 1967:144). As noted earlier, Boas did not visit Fort Simpson or Metlakatla.

Barbeau was the first anthropologist to spend time in Port Simpson. The collecting possibilities had vastly decreased by the

turn of the century. Yet Barbeau, ethnologist with the National Museum of Canada wrote to his Director, E. Sapir January 23, 1915, stating:

There are many fine specimens here, but expensive, such as large coppers, carvings and blankets. I wonder how far my available funds will carry me in collecting (Barbeau letters: NMM).

A month later he wrote: "I have so far purchased 60 specimens most of which will be useful, and a few being valuable." He was especially pleased with the purchase of the grizzly bear and blackfish Chilkat robe, "...it seems one of the finest of its kind; and a 40 year -old specimen in perfect state of preservation." This ~~Chilkat~~ blanket was likely the last one collected directly from the Indians in Fort Simpson. Barbeau collected 267 objects (the majority are examples of types of basketry) in his January to March field season in 1915. He also photographed the burning of the Hudson Bay Fort in mid February, when Fort Simpson literally became Fort Simpson.

Garfield conducted field work in Port Simpson 20 years after Barbeau and collected very little. The Thomas Burke Museum in Seattle, where Garfield was on the staff of the University of Washington has two cedar bark baskets collected from Garfield's field work in Port Simpson between 1935 and 1938. There are also two old, well documented boxes collected from New Metlatla, Alaska where Garfield spent a year as a teacher. Both boxes date back to Fort Simpson days and are included in the Fort Simpson survey.

Garfield commissioned Fred Alexcee of Port Simpson to

design and paint a house model with the artist's crest of the grizzly bear on the house front painting, which is in the Burke Museum collection. Alexcee is represented in a number of museum collections by his paintings and carvings. This survey located seven model totem poles and numerous house models and sculptures. He also painted an unusual series of 38 glass slides representing traditional Tsimshian activities. The Indian agent, C.D. Perry deposited these slides with the Vancouver Museum in 1921 (Collector Notes:VM). An earlier animated set of Tsimshian legends were destroyed by fire (B.F.550.11:CCFCS). His most dramatic carving may be that in the Museum of Anthropology at U.B.C., featured on the cover of this Appendix, which was removed from the Port Simpson church because it terrified the children (Collector Notes, Rev. George Raley: MDA).

B). Appendix A Organization

The survey of ceremonial objects from Port Simpson and Metlakatla is presented with sub headings of object type. In each case, the objects are listed chronologically with the date the collector either personally collected it, or acquired it from another source, or when it was accessioned by the institution. I have chosen the collection date over the others if there was a choice. I have not indicated whether objects were sold or donated. In general most objects were purchased by the institution. In cases where I have included collector's notes I have kept their original orthography. Purchase prices are difficult to obtain and I have not attempted to include this information.

1.) Museums Surveyed

An abbreviation of the name of the museum is listed in the far right hand column, the key to the abbreviations is located at the front of the study. It may be of interest to list the museums contacted which did not have material from Port Simpson and Metlakatla, they are the following: Britain: Horniman Museum, London; Church Missionary Society, London; Great Yarmouth Maritime Museum, Yarmouth; Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; Inverness Gallery, Inverness. In Canada: McCord Museum, Montreal; Glenbow Museum, Calgary (access by CHIN). In Germany: Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg and the Ubersee Museum, Bremen. In the United State: the Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka; Denver Art Museum, Denver; Peabody Museum-Harvard, Boston; Peabody Museum-Salem. There are also some museums that did not respond to my enquiry, the Cranmore Ethnological Institute, Chislehurst, Kent, England (no longer extant), the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Art, Brooklyn, and the Duncan Museum, New Metlakatla, Alaska.

C.) Listing of Objects and Collectors by Category

There are three major categories: Ceremonial, Domestic and Livelihood.

Under Ceremonial, the subheadings are as follows: naxnox masks, naxnox whistles, ceremonial parts and naxnox, hats and headdresses, frontlets, chiefly clothing, rattles-chiefs, coppers, houseboards, totem poles, gambling equipment, shaman regalia, and ceremonial miscellaneous.

The Domestic category objects are subdivided into: boxes, dishes, spoons, baskets, bags, and domestic miscellaneous. The

Livelihood category objects are presented under the following headings: fishing, hunting, tools and weapons, stone tools and weapons and models and sculptures.

CEREMONIAL OBJECTS

The objects are listed by type for Port Simpson, followed by Metlakatla.

NAXNOX MASKS (Port Simpson)

mask, monkey	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
mask, old woman	Swan 1875
mask, three faced	Swan 1875
2 masks, "black" squall	Powell 1879 (NMM)
mask, land otter	Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)
mask, eagle and three eaglets	Crosby 1874-97
mask, fin back whale crest	Crosby 1874-97
mask, dancing	Crosby 1874-97
mask, movable eyes/jaw	Bosson 1900 (NMM)
mask and whistle, "Boiling Words"	Tate 1905 (AMNH)
mask, "Prince Black Bear"	Tate 1905
mask, raven (see note below)	Emmons 1911 (AMNH)
mask, eagle "	Emmons 1911
Mask, beaver "	Emmons 1911
mask, puffin "	Emmons 1911
mask, frog	Perry 1911 (NMM)
mask, rolling eyes, representing trickster	Barbeau 1924 (ROM)

The four Emmons masks with their accompanying whistles or voices were found in a cedar bark bag in the loft of an old house in Port Simpson, date unknown, collection acquired by the American Museum of Natural History in 1911.

NAXNOX MASLS (Metlakatla)

masks

Rev. Dundas, Bishop Hills
Captain Verney

mask, stone

Pinart 1881 (MH)

mask, stone

Powell 1879 (NMM)

mask

Lady Dufferin 1876

mask, lynx, nailed on first Christian church at Metlakatla [this is a problematic piece both in style and documentation.]

Ferry 1916 (BCPM)

mask, human, caplike effect from ears across forehead

Gottschall 1936 (Phil)

mask, human

NAXNOX - WHISTLES (Fort Simpson)

There are no whistles collected from Metlakatla in this survey.

whistles, set of 7 pieces

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

whistle, killerwhale

Raley 1893-1900 (MOA)

clapper, killerwhale with men

Bossom 1900 (NMM)

clapper used in secret societies

Emmons 1911 (AMNH)

4 whistles to accompany masks

Emmons 1911

CEREMONIAL PARTS and NAXNOX (Fort Simpson)

skin sac, for eagle down

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

wooden crab, used in dance

Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)

ornament, bird wing for headdress

Bossom 1900 (NMM)

ornament, killerwhale fin

Bossom 1900

talking stick, Chief Shakes,
taken on visit to Queen Victoria

Raley 1964 (MNBC)

small fin, used by Gispuwadweda in feast
large old fin hole in fin, dug up on
Fort Simpson island.

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

Barbeau 1915

whale backbone, man in the moon carving,
Gispuwadweda crest, belonged to Wisesk.

Barbeau 1915

bow, pearl with arrow

Barbeau 1915

dancing shirt, with puffin beaks, used
in naxnox, not a crest, inherited.
naxnox club, fish shape, used by
Ganhada crest.

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

CEREMONIAL PARTS AND NAXNOX (Metlakatla)

club, kneeling figure

Raley 1893-1930 (MOA)

war club, representing white bear,
also used in halait

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

HATS and HEADRESSES (Port Simpson)

headress

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

hat, wooden, representing fish

Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)

hat, wooden, representing eagle head

Crosby 1874-97

hat, wooden, representing beaver

Crosby 1874-97

headress, mother eagle and family

Crosby 1874-97

hat, wooden, bears head, human hands

Bossom 1900 (NMM)

hat, wooden, killerwhale

Bossom 1900

hat, wooden, pole with frogs

Tate 1905 (AMNH)

hat, wooden, bullhead

Tate 1905

with seven persons

Tate 1905

hat, wooden, beaver with pole

Tate 1905

HATS (Metlakatla)

tall cedar dance hat

Lord Dufferin 1876

CEREMONIAL- CHIEFLY REGALIA

FRONTLETS (Port Simpson)

2 frontlets

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

frontlet, bird face with sun

Powell 1879 (NMM)

frontlet, raven

Powell 1879

frontlet, bear crest

Powell 1879

frontlet, frog and raven crests

Barbeau 1924 (ROM)

FRONTLETS (Metlakatla)

frontlet

Duncan 1878, (list only)

frontlet, mans face with abalone
frontlet, moon "Legaic" written
on back

Powell 1879 (NMM)

Powell 1879

frontlet, bird

Newcombe 1913 (BPM)

CHIEFLY CLOTHING (Port Simpson)

dancing blanket

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

dancing shirt

Swan 1875

leggings

Swan 1875

belt for chiefs dancing dress

Swan 1875

chilkat blanket

Swan 1882

chilkat blanket

Crosby 1874-97 (NMM)

chilkat tunic with sleeves

Crosby 1874-97

chilkat blanket

Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)

chilkat blanket

Barbeau 1915 col (NMM)

CHIEFLY CLOTHING (Metlakatla)

leggings

Duncan 1878, (list only)

button blanket

Perry 1911 (NMM)

RATTLES-CHIEFS (Port Simpson)

rattle, chiefs

Tolmie 1834 (BCPM)

rattle, raven

Gordon 1853 (NMM)

rattle, dancing

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

rattle, chiefs

Swan 1875

3 rattles

Swan 1875

rattle, chiefs

Tate 1905 (AMNH)

RATTLES (Metlakatla)

- rattle, chiefs Duncan 1878, (list only)
- rattle, raven Bossom 1900 (NMM)
- rattle, raven, old chiefs Bossom 1900
- rattle, chiefs, used in halait Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

COPPERS (Fort Simpson)

- coppers Museum of Northern B.C. (on loan)

COPPERS (Metlakatla)

- copper, carved, shaped like a shield. "Representing rank, greatness, and wealth of the possessor. Some in the old times would fetch two to three hundred blankets." Duncan 1878 (list only)

HOUSE BOARDS (Fort Simpson)

- house front, painted Swan 1875 (S.I.)
- Tsimshian house boards Raley 1893-1930 (MOA)
- painting on canvas representing crest of Gispwawdewa and of Wiceks (Ginax-ongit). Painted by Charles Dudoward. Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

There were no painted houses at Metlakatla during the missionary period. Some may have stood in the earlier winter village.

TOTEM POLES (Fort Simpson)

- One pole, cut in half for shipping
another pole in Smithsonian(?) Swan 1875 (S.I.)
Swan 1875 (S.I.)
- 4 Tsimshian poles, unidentified Powell 1882 (AMNH)
- 2 interior posts, carved, Gispawloats
Hall 1887 (PR)

Note: Totem poles were not raised at Metlakatla.

GAMBLING EQUIPMENT (Fort Simpson)

gambling set	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
gambling set, 29 sticks in cloth	Crosby 1874-97 (NMM)
gambling set, 20 sticks	Crosby 1874-97
gambling set, 12 sticks	Crosby 1874-97
Lehal bone, incised circles	L.A. Peck 1947 (BCFM)

GAMBLING EQUIPMENT (Metlakatla)

mat, stiff, dehaired skin	Bossom 1900 (NMM)
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SHAMAN REGALIA (Fort Simpson)

crown, bear claws	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
2 medicine bags	Swan 1875
skin bag for Doctors implements	Swan 1875
tobacco box, medicine man	Swan 1875
skin drum	Swan 1875
crown, goat horn	Powell 1879 (NMM)
charms, medicine mans	Crosby 1874-97 (MA)
apron, medicine mans	Crosby 1874-97
rattle, globular	Bossom 1900 (NMM)
rattle, doctors	Tate 1905 (AMNH)
walking stick, carved and painted "stolen from doctor's grave"	Aaronson 1908 (NMM)
charm, halait, double-headed "Applied by medicine man to heart of patient. As it was super- natural, had power to restore health. Found on beach."	Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

SHAMAN REGALIA (Metlakatla)

charm, bone	Duncan 1878 (list only)
charm	Powell 1879 (NMM)

CEREMONIAL MISCELLANEOUS (Port Simpson)

There is not a corresponding category for Metlatatla.

bag for vermillion	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
cane, with fish head carving	Swan 1875
buckskin shirt, representing brown bear and mountain demon	Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)
cane, 3 human figures	Tate 1905 (AMNH)
stone figure, double ended, ceremonial.	Laroll 1930 (RUM)

DOMESTIC OBJECTS

The category domestic objects includes boxes, dishes, spoons, bags, baskets, jewellery, and miscellaneous. Bill Holm (Burle Museum) is convinced from his museum research that the most common objects in museum collections are boxes (course lecture, October 1984). I venture based on this sample, that the spoon category is the largest. Each chief would own large sets of spoons for feasts, likely in greater quantity than boxes. The boxes stored the dry food for feasts, ceremonial regalia and were packed for the general moving of goods by canoe.

BOXES (Port Simpson)

All these boxes were steamed and bent, (kerfed) having one seam sewn shut. The bottom was pegged into place.

box, lidded grease box, painted	Powell 1879 (NMM)
box, small, opercula inlay	Powell 1879
box, wolf design	Crosby 1874-1897 (NMM)
box, beaver and sea otter on ends, octopus on sides	Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)
box, trinket, killerwhale shape	Bossom 1900 (NMM)
box, for dry food, painted beaver, hawk on other side. Chief Dudowats.	Emmons 1911 (AMNH)
box, old, painted, Mrs. Dudowards from her maternal grandmother	Barbeau 1915 (NMM)
box, oldest in Mrs. Dudowards possession	Barbeau 1915

box, thick cover, painted thunderbird	Barbeau 1915
box, old, 3 generations	Barbeau 1915
box, large, painted, 40 years old	Barbeau 1915
box, for dry food, painted grizzly bear, made 1871.	Barbeau 1915
box, Ginaxongit, for S. Ward's wife	Barbeau 1915
box, large, painted "Where the raven has a human face".	
Made by Gitxata, Gispuwadweda	Barbeau 1915
box, large, general storage, painted grizzly bear and stars, Gitxala	Barbeau 1915
box, painted, crests Gispaloats tribe, maker Ginadoicks	Barbeau 1915
box, for spoons, engraved design, sides maple, top, bottom cedar, 40 years old	Barbeau 1915
box, red painted corners, made before Duncan arrived in Fort Simpson	Garfield 1930 (Burle)
Box, painted design, made about 1860	Garfield 1930

BOXES (Metlakatla)

This survey located only one box from Metlakatla. Perhaps all the boxes were required for the move to New Metlakatla in 1887.

box, yellow cedar, painted	Newcombe 1913 (BCPM)
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DISHES (Fort Simpson)

3 carved dishes	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
dish, horn	Swan 1875
dish, wooden, faces at ends	Powell 1879 (NMM)
2 dishes, wooden, carved	Powell 1879
dish, wooden, an animal face each end	Powell 1879
dish, wooden, rectangular, shell inlay	Powell 1879
dish, wooden, rectangular	Powell 1879
dish, wooden, low rectangular	Powell 1879
dish, wooden, carved ends, shell inlay	Powell 1879
bowl, sheep horn, incised	Powell 1879
bowl, sheep horn, bird shape	Powell 1879
dish, wooden, small, round, plain	Raley 1893-1930 (MUA)
dish, wooden, painted	Raley 1893-1930
2 dishes, carved as bear's feet	Bishop Lemmens 1892 (BCPM)

dish, carved all four sides,
representing raven, used by old
woman as work box

Emmons 1911 (AMNH)

1 dishes, alder, square ends

Newcombe 1912 (BCPM)

2 dishes, hemlock, for grease
dish, canoe, for food everyday
dish, representing "people under
the sea", copy of dish belonging
to Isabassa, gitxata. Used by
chiefs in feast.

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

Barbeau 1915

dish, yew, bottom cedar, inlay of
shellfish found on Haida, found in
vicinity of Bella Bella. Eating
vessel for everyday.

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

bowl, wood, carved
bowl, wood, with lid

Galbraith (n.d.) (VM)

Webber (n.d.) (VM)

DISHES (Metlalatla)

dish, large, carved, chiefs

Duncan 1878 (list only)

dish, wood, frog form,
carved, painted

Raley 1893-1930 (MOA)

SPOONS

It appears that nearly every collector on the Northwest Coast collected a few spoons. It seems likely that this was an area of traditional culture that adapted readily to the tourist market. Barbeau collected a wooden spoon that was noted as an imitation of a horn spoon. Barbeau also collected two sets of spoons in Port Simpson in 1915, both from people who were not resident there. One was a "set of 9 horn spoons and one wooden purchased from Haida of Skidegate at Port Simpson" (Collector Notes, VII-B-1175:NMM). The other set of 11 soapberry or "soapallie" spoons was from a Kispitox resident (Collector Notes, VII-C-619:NMM). The breaking up of the sets probably accounts for their widespread distribution.

SPOONS (Port Simpson)

spoon, goat horn

Tolmie 1834 (BCPM)

spoon, hemlock

Tolmie 1834

ladle, plain

Tolmie 1834

ladle, large, horn
2 carved spoons
2 spoons

3 spoons, (1 wood, 1 horn, 1 unknown)

3 spoons, wood, carved, painted
soapberry paddle

spoon, goat horn, raven head

spoon, horn, carved handle,
2 pieces, used long ago

ladle, horn, supernatural raven
ladle, maple, eagle crest,
most distinguished guest drank
through notch on side of bowl.
ladle, steer, used by chiefs,
carving represents a naaxmox
of Tsyebse.

ladle, for dipping and measuring
grease.

ladle, wooden, for grease
spoon, goat, carved, for berries
spoon handle, carved,

4 generations

spoon, elkhorn, plain, used by
upper class in festivals.

spoon, goat, gahhada, inherited

spoon, goat, gispuwadweda crest

spoon, goat, plain

spoon, wooden, 2 raven heads,

imitation of a horn spoon.

2 spoons, wooden

3 spoons, (horn, sheephorn, cow)

SPOONS (Metlakatla)

3 spoons

6 spoons, goathorn, carved

3 spoons, (-sheep, goat, wood)

6 spoons, set, wood,
carved, painted

11 spoons, set, goathorn, plain

spoon, wood, carved

spoon, wood

spoon, goathorn

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

Swan 1875

Swan 1875

Crosby 1874-97 (MAI)

Raley 1893-1930 (MMA)

Raley 1893-1930

Bossom 1900 (NMM)

Aaronson 1908 (NMM)

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Barbeau 1915

Peck 1947 (BCPM)

Peck 1947

Duncan 1875 (list only)

Duncan 1878 (list only)

Bossom 1900 (NMM)

Perry 1911 (NMM)

Perry 1911

Perry 1911

Crease 1925 (BCPM)

Gottschall 1936 (Phil)

BASKETS

The basket collection from Port Simpson represent a concerted effort on Barbeau's part to make a definitive collection. He collected the native terms for the various types of baskets, and recorded the maker of each. This survey indicates the missionaries did not collect or assist in the collection of baskets, though Duncan encouraged their manufacture as a 'curio item for sale.

BASKETS (Port Simpson)

basket, cedar bark, for fish eggs	Aaronson 1899 (NMM)
17 baskets, cedar bark, for berries	Barbeau 1915 (NMM)
10 baskets, cedar saplings and spruce root, for dipping oolachens from water	Barbeau 1915
basket, for mountain goat fat, cosmetics	Barbeau 1915
basket, for earrings, ornaments, paint	Barbeau 1915
27 baskets, cedar bark	Barbeau 1915
basket, for water and liquids	Barbeau 1915
basket, used by Haida and Tlingit people to hold spoons	Barbeau 1915
3 baskets with handles	Barbeau 1915
2 baskets, cedar bark	Garfield 1935-38 (Burke)

BASKETS (Metlakatla)

basket, coloured, seagrass, wool	Mrs. Buttmer 1885 (MOA)
basket, spruce root	Mrs. Buttmer 1885
2 baskets, for oolachen	H. I. Smith 1928 (NMM)
basket, spruce root, and paint	Helmer 1965 (MOA)
2 baskets, open, round, cedar bark	Dallain 1978 (BCPM)
basket, with grass embroidery	Dallain 1887-1902
basketry over a jar	Dallain 1887-1902
basket, split root embroidery	Dallain 1887-1902

The Thomas Burke Museum, Seattle, has a collection of small baskets, a few of which have the word "Metlakatla" as part of the design. There may also be baskets from New Metlakatla in museum collections.

BAGS

Barbeau was surprised to find beaded work in Port Simpson (Barbeau to Sapir, February 11, 1915: NMM). Crosby mentioned beadwork as one of the categories in his first Industrial Fair in 1875. There are no bags attributed to Metlakatla.

BAGS (Port Simpson)

bag, ornamented with beads	Rust 1875 (Phil)
sac, beaded, for shot powder	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
bag, beaded, 40 years old	Barbeau 1915 (NMM)
bag, beaded for ammunition	Barbeau 1915
4 bags, beaded made 30 years ago	Barbeau 1915
3 needles cases, old time silk work	Barbeau 1915
knife sheath, beaded, made by Victoria Young, owned by Gitando tribe	Barbeau 1915

DOMESTIC MISCELLANEOUS (Port Simpson)

hat, spruce root, painted	Gordon 1855 (NMM)
"rain hat of Chimsyan"	
labret, wooden	Comrie 1870 (BM)
nose ring	Swan 1875 (S.I.)
2 bracelets	Swan 1875
2 pair ear pendants	Swan 1875
wash tub, wood, ornamented	Swan 1875
cane, hand holding fish	Swan 1875
comb, hawk on handle	Anderson 1891 (BCPM)
bucket, cedar bark, old, Wiceks family, Ginaxongik, Gispuwadweda	Barbeau 1915 (NMM)
2 cradles, cedar bark	Barbeau 1915
3 mats, cedar bark	Barbeau 1915
mat, cedar bark, canoe sail	Barbeau 1915
Mat, cedar bark	Johnson 1978 (BCPM)

DOMESTIC MISCELLANEOUS (Metlakatla)

These bracelets were likely made for sale, and could be in the category "Models and Sculpture."

2 bracelets, silver

Duncan 1875 (list only)

LIVELIHOOD OBJECTS

The stone objects were of particular interest to collectors as discussed in the text, and for that reason they are kept as a separate category. They could have been listed with "Tools and Weapons" or with "Domestic Objects" in the case of mortars and pestles documented for grinding tobacco, bark and paints.

FISHING (Port Simpson)

seal bait and native line

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

3 halibut hooks

Swan 1875

salmon net

Swan 1875

eulachen net

Swan 1882 (S.I.)

halibut hooks

Swan 1882

halibut club, wood, carved, painted

Crosby 1874-96 (NMM)

Halibut club

Crosby 1886 (NMM)

2 halibut hooks

Newcombe 1912 (BCPM)

32 halibut hooks

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

8 halibut hooks, set

Barbeau 1915

9 halibut hooks, set

Barbeau 1915

2 halibut hooks, metal

Barbeau 1915

3 halibut floats

Barbeau 1915

eulachen net

Barbeau 1915

3 netting needles, for making nets

Barbeau 1915

sticks to hold eulachen nets

open when fishing

Barbeau 1915

shuttle, to make nets

Barbeau 1915

halibut hook

Peck 1947 (BCPM)

trap post marker,

stone head

unknown (PAM)

FISHING (Metlakatla)

harpoon spear, iron tip

Newcombe 1913 (BCPM)

HUNTING (Port Simpson)

There are no hunting items from Metlakatla in this survey, and this piece may not have been used in Port Simpson.

bow, yew from Kitkatla

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

TOOLS AND WEAPONS (Port Simpson)

(see separate listing for stone tools and weapons)

awl, horn handle

Tolmie 1834 (BCPM)

war knife

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

beater, whalebone, "to"
hammer bark for weaving"
indian loom, with sample goats hair
bark beater

Crosby 1886 (NMM)

Crosby 1886

Crosby 1886

tongs, split, shaped ends

Raley 1833-1930 (MOA)

knife, mammal rib, for
perforating bark for shingles
knife, used by women for
scrapping hemlock bark

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

Barbeau 1915

elbow adze, rusted

Helmer 1964 (MOA)

TOOLS AND WEAPONS (Metlakatla)

(see separate listing for stone tools and weapons)

2 iron blades with handles
spear and shaft

Newcombe 1913 (BCPM)

Newcombe 1913

STONE TOOLS AND WEAPONS (Port Simpson)

hammer, bird head
hammer, fish shape
tool, animal form
hammer
maul

Comrie 1870 (BM)

Comrie 1870

Comrie 1870

Comrie 1870

Comrie 1870

war club
pestle

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

Swan 1875

3 OF/DE 3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

mortar	Swan 1875
sledge	Swan 1875
hammer	Swan 1875
adze, elbow	Powell 1879 (NMM)
16 weapons	Powell 1879
catalogued in archaeology	
hammer	Swan 1881 (S. J. P.)
maul	Tolmie 1884 (NMM)
club	Jacobsen 1885 (Berlin)
axe	Jacobsen 1885
stone sledges (hafted and unhafted)	
stone pestles (carried in hand,	
used in fighting)	Jacobsen 1885
adze	Crosby 1886 (NMM)
2 hammers	Crosby 1886
adze	Jacobsen 1893 (BCFM)
D-adze	Raley 1893-1930 (MOA)
pestle, basalt, phallic	Bosson 1900 (NMM)
weapon, carved head	Emmons 1911 (AMNH)
adze, for canoes	Barbeau 1915 (NMM)
adze, dug up on island	Barbeau 1915
axe, found on beach	Barbeau 1915
mortar, paint, dug up	
in garden, Works Canal	Barbeau 1915
mortar, found on beach	Barbeau 1915
mortar for grinding bark food	Barbeau 1915
Mortar for grinding paint,	
dug up on island	Barbeau 1915
mortar for paint inherited	Barbeau 1915
war club, formerly used in war	Barbeau 1915

STONE TOOLS AND WEAPONS (Metlakatla)

mortar and pestle,	Duncan 1875 (list only)
weapon	Duncan 1878 (list only)
9 weapons, "very ancient,"	
dug out of the ground"	Duncan 1878 (list only)
13 stone mortars,	
(catalogued archaeology)	Powell 1879 (NMM)
2 pestles	Powell 1879
10 weapons	Powell 1879
charm	Powell 1879

MODELS AND SCULPTURES (Port Simpson)

(including carved figures)

canoe model, figure with seal float
 medicine figure, (unclear for category)
 whistley cup, bear claw shape

Tolmie 1834 (BCPM)

Swan 1875 (S.I.)

Swan 1875

house model

Powell 1879 (NMM)

house models, Port Simpson

Morison 1892 (Chicago)

figure, angel, baptismal font
 carved by Alexee, 1886

Raley 1893-1930 (MOA)

2 paddle models, carved, painted

Raley 1893-1930

figure, bird monster, carved
 by Freddy Alexee

Sherbourne, no date (MOA)

paddles models, painted

Meade 1900 (BCPM)

5 totem pole models, one intended
 as a model for a grave monument
 house model, copy Wice's house
 painting

Barbeau 1915 (NMM)

Barbeau 1915

house model by Alexcee

Garfield 1934 (Burke)

house model by Alexcee

Webber 1952 (VM)

canoe model

Steveright 1954 (MOA)

2 totem poles, models by Alexcee

Webber no date (VM)

5 totem poles, models by Alexcee

Lipsett no date (VM)

canoe, model with figures and

accessories, by Alexcee

Lipsett

bear figure, holding copper

by Alexcee

Lipsett

painting, Port Simpson scene

by Alexcee

Lipsett

house model, by Alexcee

no information (VM)

MODELS AND SCULPTURES (Metlakatla)

C.C. Perry, Indian Agent at Metlakatla collected a number
 of items he classified as "Modern Indian Industries" without
 village location. They included two carved salad spoons and
 forks, six carved handled spoons, six model totem poles, a
 walking stick and a canoe model (Collector Notes: NMM).

totem pole model

Duncan 1875 (list only)

house model

Duncan 1878 (list only)

2 totem pole models, carved, painted
figure, wood, eagle, Chief Pietre
candlesticks, Chief Pietre

3 paddle models, painted, one with
church design

copper, model, repousee, painted

2 model totem poles

Dallain 1887-1902 (BCFM)

Dallain 1887-1902

Dallain 1887-1902

Dallain 1887-1902

Dallain 1887-1902

Gottschall 1936 (Phil)

APPENDIX B

TEXT OF A SPEECH IN THE RUINS OF THE GILUTSAU HOUSE, PORT SIMPSON

Plate 5a House frame and front pole of the Gilutsau house. Photographed by Barbeau 1915. (National Museum of Man. negative 13191.)

Plate 6b Eagle House, Port Simpson. (British Columbia Provincial Museum. negative PM 13191.)

APPENDIX B

The following text is reproduced in total from the Barbeau/Beynon Archives (A-V11-Sg:CCFCS). Some grammatical corrections have been made for the sake of clarity.

"Record of a feast (presumably about 1916-18) when the ruins of the House of Niesne'we, chief of the Giludzao fell to the ground.

This house situated on what is now the property of the Hudson's Bay Co., was probably one of the most interesting of its kind. The house was not the largest among the Tsimshian tribes, but the timbers that formed the main support of the building was the largest of any house among the Tsimshian people, the timbers of this house measured, in length diameter [sic] At this feast held as it were in sorrow, and as the chief said, when addressing the people, "To-day, I am crying and I want to show my sorrow to all the other people of the Tsimshian nation, I want them to see and to know why I am sorry, why my tribe are all sorry. You all know that house, the house that used to shelter all the other chief before me and one that cost a lot of wealth to erect, well this has fallen down, and is now a thing of the past." The feast, given to the men of the whole nation, was then served, food being given to all and when all had finished the leading lek'aget, of the tribe spoke and he gave what was the history of the house, the history of how and who built the house which is as follows: (speaker, Niespins):

When the chief of the Giludzaos and all his tribesmen wanted to build the house that should shelter the chiefs and all the royal chiefs of the tribe, they planned to build a house that was different to the other houses of the chiefs. The big timbers that was to form the top of the house, was to be the largest of any that was in any of the houses of the other chiefs and all were in favor of this. Then all the tribe were called in, and to the Ganhada people, because they were the next people to the Giludzao at that time, was given the task of getting out one these timbers. The rest of the tribe, the Gispuwadweda and the Laxh-ibe, went after the other stick, that was to be the mate of the one that the Ganhada people were going to get. There was much rivalry as to who could get out the first stick. The Ganhada people, they went to Finlayson Island, right across from the village and the rest of the tribe went to Wark's [sic] Canal, some distance away from the village. The Ganhada people searched all

over the island and finally they came to the tree that they wanted and they started to cut this down, the young men doing the cutting and the elder men made songs that they were going to sing in case they should be able to get their stick to the village first. The young men burned the big tree down, by starting a fire around the butt of the tree. They got the tree down and when the young people started to clean it off and to shave it; when this was finished they all stood together and when they packed this tree to the beach, where they left it. Next day they started off for their village with the big timber and they saw that they landed first, so they started to prepare for a feast. The other three clans took two days to get their stick to the water and then another day to get it to the village, and then when they were near the site for the new house they were met by the Ganhada people and songs were sung. (Informant knows them) and all were called to a feast that had been prepared by the Ganhada people of the tribe. The Giludzao tribe, then councilled that these timbers would be too heavy for them and they decided to call in the help of all the other tribes, to take one of the timbers and erect it in its place. The tribe of the Giludzao were to erect the other timber. They then tried to see who would get their timber erected first and the other tribes had all the strong men from all the other Tsimshian tribes and they started to get their timber, but the Giludzaos were also very strong, as well as numerous, they got their timber up first, taking one day to put theirs up, and the others took two days. (The method they had of erecting the timber was as follows: first one end was raised, and then it was pried up, and then sticks that are crossed, like the letter 'A', are placed at the raised end and then the people lift with these sticks until they have the end of the timber in place. Then the other one is raised in the same way.) When it was in place the house was not long in being complete and then one of the greatest feasts of its kind that was ever held in the village and great preparation was made for this feast. A name was first selected for the house, and the people of the tribe named the house "Where spawn coppers" and in front of the house a painting was made of many small copper shields, and for every one that was painted on the house, the chief had to have a copper in the house that represented the one in the

painting, that is if there were ten copper shields on the painting the chief would have to have ten coppers in the house to correspond to that in the painting.

All the members of the tribe contributed to the feast both in food and in wealth, all the best and rare furs were brought out and these placed in the house of the chief, and food was also contributed. It may be well to describe, as much as possible the interior of this house. At the very back (inside) was a sort of partition, this was the private quarters that was used by the chiefs and the other members of the royal house, and it was here that the halait would blow the naxnox whistles. These whistles were never blown in public, and if anyone but the halait blew these, the whistles were supposed to be of no value as a supernatural thing. So the room was set apart for these uses. In it the members of the chiefs family, (generally the nephew and the nieces) were kept until such time they assumed their higher positions. It was never shown to the public, and was always kept guarded. On each post in the house of which there were eight in number were carvings of the Medik the head portion only and at the rear of the house there was also another painting much the same as the one at the front of the house.

The people were now ready for the feast and a canoe was sent out to Kitkatla inviting the guests and also a canoe was sent to each of the other Tsimshian tribes who had the Ga'o as a myth, and who came from Temlax'am, they contributed to the feast, and also helped in the preparations, and helped in the serving.

When the canoes came back, they invited the guests, the people made all preparations and then the guests began to come in and as soon as one canoe came, the men of the Giludzao tribe met them and took the canoe up into the house and there they put it in the fire. All the chiefs of the other tribes were treated in this way, and a lot of oolichan grease was placed on the fire. Then the chiefs of the invited tribes started to put the fire out but in this they were unsuccessful, and the fire was too great for them. When all the canoes were burned, the people then gave the guests food and then after the food was all finished the people started to distribute the gifts and for each canoe that was burned, the chief gave another one and with it valuable furs and all the guests received gifts.

At this time the house assumed the name, and

was known as the house of the Princes and chiefs of this tribe, in this house all the young chiefs, before they assumed their positions were taught all about the secrets of the halait and all the duties of a chief and halait.

The house although gone and in ruins is still kept alive, and the name of the present house, the home of the Giludzao chief is known by the above name, and it was generally made known at this feast, but the old custom of distributing gifts was not gone into at the present. I believe this was left for another day when a great feast will be given, probably during the winter months."

END

FIN

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