**From Amateur to Professional;
Placing Harlan I. Smith in the History of North American Anthropology**
by
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ABSTRACT

Using a life-history approach and archival documents from the United States and Canada, the career of Harlan Ingersoll Smith (1872-1940) is explored. Smith worked at major anthropological institutions, including the American Museum of Natural History (New York City) and the National Museum of Canada (Ottawa) and on significant projects, including the World's Columbian Exposition and the Jesup Expedition. However, his impact on anthropology is not as well known as some of his contemporaries. This thesis explores some of the reasons why this is so. Smith's career parallels the development of anthropology from amateur to professional. Looking at his career in the context of that development allows for a better understanding of both Smith and a particular time in anthropological history. Smith's contribution to archaeology, ethnology, photography, filmmaking and public education in museums is contextualized by his professional relationships, personal background, and fieldwork.

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Plate 1 Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (99477 LS)

Chapter One

Introduction

Harlan Ingersoll Smith (1872-1940) worked as an anthropologist for close to fifty years in Canada and the United States. He worked with notable anthropologists such as F.W. Putnam, Franz Boas and Edward Sapir at some of the most significant anthropological events and institutions of the time, yet he is not as well known to contemporary anthropologists as his colleagues. His career began during the formative years of the professionalization of the discipline and developed alongside it. He was an archaeologist, a physical anthropologist, ethnologist, photographer, and a leader in public education in museums in Canada. Objects and human remains that he collected and photographs that he took are of continuing importance, and occasionally of conflict, to museums and Aboriginal communities today.¹ Examining Smith's life and career provides some understanding of this important time in anthropological history, as well as offers some insight into one of the lesser-known anthropologists of this period.

Smith began his career at the time when American anthropology, and subsequently Canadian anthropology, were coming into their own and beginning to flourish as a professional discipline. Up until that point, anthropology was generally practiced as a hobby, by amateurs, or generalists, men employed in other fields who had broad outside

¹ In 1992 the Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations jointly sponsored the creation of a document entitled *Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples*. This document was intended to provide a guideline for Canadian museums with Aboriginal collections. It was seen as a more proactive approach to relationships between museums and Aboriginal communities than the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act*, legislation passed in the United States in 1990 that made the repatriation of particular types of objects (human remains, associated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony) a legal obligation of American museums. Repatriation discussions, with Northwest Coast groups in particular, often include discussions of collecting practices.

interests that included anthropology. Opinions differ on their contribution to anthropology as a discipline both then and now, as do the descriptions of the characteristics of these men.² They were not "professionally trained as anthropologists nor fully engaged as such" (Ames 1976: 4). Michael Ames states that they were prejudicial and characterized by "ethnocentrism, naiveté, and dilettantism" (ibid: 4); however, he concedes that amateurs thought in broader terms than some of the professionally trained anthropologists that followed them, linking their particular interest to larger theories and other cultures (ibid: 4-5). Douglas Cole, in his often cited history of Canadian anthropology, describes amateurs as "always earnest, often fabulous, sometimes seminal" (Cole 1973: 43). For the most part, amateur anthropologists were well intentioned, educated men with a particular interest in the area of anthropology. However, once the discipline developed and people began to be educated and trained with the specific goal of being anthropologists, there was little room left for the "early 'armchair' social philosophers"³ (Preston and Tremblay 1997: n.p.). In fact, Darnell argues that the most important distinction between amateurs and professionals was academic training in the discipline (Darnell 1998: xi). The shift to professional anthropology occurred differently in the United States and Canada but the same key people were involved in both.

As Smith began his career in the U.S., the American anthropologist F.W. Putnam (1839-1915) was in the process of establishing anthropology in the United States, even

² While there were likely early female anthropologists, I have not come across references to specific women with a special interest in anthropology during this period.

³ There were exceptions. For instance, Charles Hill-Tout (1855-1944) was an amateur anthropologist who worked as an ethnographer in southern and interior British Columbia. Although not trained as an anthropologist, he contributed much to the discipline and received many honours for his work.

giving the discipline its name and defining its nature⁴ (Mark 1980: 21). Putnam had recently helped to establish university anthropology departments at Harvard (Harvard College Department of Anthropology, 1897) and Berkeley, California (Department of Anthropology, 1903) and was responsible for helping to develop anthropological museums in Cambridge, Mass. (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1875), New York (American Museum of Natural History, 1894), Chicago (Columbian Museum of Chicago, 1893⁵), and California (Anthropology Museum, University of California at Berkeley, 1903) (Mark 1980: 55).

The Bureau of American Ethnology was established (1879) and the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada (est. 1910) was in its embryonic stages. Anthropologists were obtaining PhDs⁶ and training and education were becoming standard requirements for employment. Within this academic and intellectual milieu Harlan Smith emerged from his hometown of Saginaw, Michigan, with very little academic training but with a strong interest and some amateur experience. His great enthusiasm appeared to have caught the attention of F.W. Putnam. With Putnam's influence and support, Smith took part in many prominent anthropological projects at the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th centuries. He prepared exhibitions for the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 under Boas; was an archaeological assistant at the American Museum of Natural History for fifteen years; performed archaeological, ethnological, photographic and physical anthropology work in the Jesup Expedition during the years

⁴ Although the term 'anthropology' had been used in the United States and Europe, primarily it referred to physical anthropology. Putnam incorporated archaeology, linguistics and even psychology, into the discipline (Mark 1980: 21).

⁵ The museum was called the Columbian Museum of Chicago for less than a year. In 1894 the name was changed to the Field Columbian Museum (Dorsey 1900: 247). Currently, the official name is the Field Museum of Natural History.

⁶ The first PHD in North America was awarded to A.F. Chamberlain, a student of Boas, at Clark University in 1892 (Hays 1965: 257).

1897-1899; and was the second person hired (in 1911, after Marius Barbeau) at the newly founded Anthropological Division of the Geological Survey of Canada under Edward Sapir. He compiled an admirable archive of photographs, published over two hundred items (Leechman 1949: 8-14),⁷ and worked with some of the greatest anthropologists of the last hundred years.

While information about Smith is fairly limited, information that he, himself, provided is abundant. The letters Smith wrote from the field were often very personal and offer some interesting insights into his life and career. The correspondence reveals a dimension to Smith that publications and career history does not. It allows the reader to understand some aspects of Smith's character that shed light on his career and relationships. For example, during the Jesup Expedition, he wrote to Boas:

I fear you think I act very strangely at times and I guess I do. I know I have still a trace of the effects of being in father's office during the time everything went to the dogs. It made me have fear of being able to earn a living, fear of being cheated, fear of everything & everybody which was often without the slightest reason and while I could & can reason that there is no sense in such fears I can not even yet escape them. At times they so upset my nerves that I hardly know what I do. I never have been able to escape the fear of losing my situation. I suppose it is all due to seeing everything father had swept away and knowing he was a powerful man compared with me showed me how helpless I was. And at the same time it made me dependent on myself while before I had no knowledge of what that was. I think this accounts for some of my doings that seem strange (HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH⁸).

There is a desperation and a sense of ill health that permeates Smith's letters. This letter in particular offers a possible explanation more succinctly than other archival notes.

Smith's lack of education, insecurity, determination never to be without work, and his fear of instability in his career and personal life appear to be rooted in these earlier

⁷ The majority of his publications are one to two pages long. See Appendix A for complete bibliography.

⁸ American Museum of Natural History.

experiences. His career progressed and his competency in particular areas increased, yet the fears that Smith harbored seemed both to drive him and hamper him. They may have even thwarted conventional academic success. Despite these limitations, he managed to make his strong amateur interest into his career. That a person like Smith, mostly self-educated, well-intentioned, hard-working, and insecure, was allowed and encouraged to continue in anthropology is directly related to the time in anthropological history that he worked. Perhaps if he had come along twenty years later, when the profession was a little more defined, success in his career may have proved more difficult.

Despite these drawbacks, Smith has made an impact in several areas of anthropology. His published archaeological work and site maps provided the basis for many archaeologists working in the same areas for decades after (Thom 2001: 139). With regard to his photography, Smith has been considered "largely unsung...and *the* pioneer in the field (Nowry 1995: 134). In addition, he initiated and successfully implemented public education in museums in Canada. He also left behind a great bulk of material that includes his archival narrative, his material culture collections, his archaeological objects, maps and remains, and his photographs and films. An equally important result of his work is an understanding of the relationship between anthropologists and Aboriginal people at a particular point in history, and an understanding of the history of anthropology itself.

This thesis is an attempt to begin placing H.I. Smith in the history of North American anthropology. While it is by no means a complete investigation of his life or work, it inaugurates the research into a seldom-discussed figure in the history of the discipline. It is meant as a starting point for future research. I will highlight Smith's

activities as an attempt to begin understanding how he came to be where he was and what this can reveal about anthropology at the turn of the last century. In terms of understanding the history of the discipline, Harlan Smith's career exemplifies the transition from amateur anthropology to professional anthropology, and his work reflects those changing times.

Smith's work spans both parts of the history, amateur and professional. He was not academically trained, yet he held significant 'professional' positions. Examining Smith's career allows us to see this shift in anthropology through the work and life of one involved in it. Smith shares some of the same characteristics as those who came thirty years earlier in the field. Yet his timing, connections, luck, and hard work allowed him to gain significant employment and experience. Consequently, the main question and the focus of this research is: How does Harlan Smith's career illustrate the shift from amateur anthropology to professional anthropology?

The research for this thesis was based primarily on unpublished documents and is essentially an archival narrative. There is a useful amount of correspondence in a variety of archives⁹ that relates to Smith; yet there are significant gaps. Many of his field notes are missing, for instance. Luckily, Smith was a prolific letter writer. The majority of information informing this thesis comes directly from his letters, or letters concerning him. Due to the sheer volume of this information (well over fifteen linear feet), ways of looking at archival documents will be explored in the next section, as well as methods of coding and analyzing information. In this case, the life history approach appeared to be the best option for a means of approaching Harlan Smith, at his particular time in

⁹ The American Museum of Natural History, the Harvard University Archives and Peabody Museum Archives at Harvard University, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization all had useful information.

anthropological history. In order to demonstrate this, an overview of the transition from amateur to professional anthropology in both the United States and Canada, will be presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 deals with Smith's time in the United States; from his early years of trying to secure employment to his move to Canada in 1911. This will include his relationship with, and work under, F.W. Putnam, who helped him early in his career. His work on the Chicago World's Fair, Jesup Expedition, and long employment at the American Museum of Natural History will also be included. Smith's relationship with his mentors and his confidence and competence in the field and at home will be highlighted as a means to understanding his actions and their results.

Chapter 4 begins with the hiring of Smith as the Dominion Archaeologist for the Geological Survey of Canada. He arrived in Canada as part of the first professional team of anthropologists in this country's history. There were other archaeologists more qualified that may have suited the post better, yet Smith is the one who was offered the position. His relationship with Sapir will be discussed, as will his various projects in the field. His expansion to other areas of anthropology, including film and museum education, will be reviewed at this point as well.

The final chapter will pull together threads of Smith's life that are revealed through his letters and work. The place of his collections, in museums and to the Aboriginal communities from which he collected, will be discussed and the importance of his character, revealed through his own words, will shed some light on his less than prominent stature in the history of anthropology.

First it is necessary to discuss the research strategies and issues of method underlying this thesis.

Chapter 2

Research Procedures and Strategies

Availability of Information

Archives were the primary source, and practically the only source, of information about Smith. There are very few publications which focus on, or provide in-depth information about Smith.¹⁰ For this reason, the strategy for my research was quite simple: I traced Smith's career through the institutions at which he worked and followed the line of archival documents and publications, as they progressed throughout his career.

Archival research for the various key people in Smith's career (Putnam, Boas, Sapir) also had to be completed in much the same way. The two main institutions of importance for this project were the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and The Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC). The American Museum of Natural History has accession records and correspondence from the time Smith was employed there (1895-1911), as well as some of Boas' correspondence. Approximately 150-200 letters and reports were useful for this research. The CMC Archives has a significant amount of information on Smith's employment from 1911 to 1938 including accession records, correspondence, reports and publications, which makes up well over forty boxes of information. The Sapir collection was useful, not just for the correspondence between Sapir and Smith but for correspondence between Boas and Sapir. Similarly, the Putnam Papers at the Harvard University Archives included well over fifty valuable pieces of correspondence between Putnam and Boas as well as between Putnam and Smith. The smaller holdings at the

¹⁰ Ian Dyck wrote an article in which he discussed Harlan Smith and Douglas Leechman's contribution to Canadian archaeology (Dyck 1998). Brian Thom published two articles on Smith's role in the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (Thom 2001, 2000). Before his death, Douglas Cole apparently was working on a project about Smith but to my knowledge, he did not publish any of it.

Peabody Museum at Harvard University (one small file) produced far fewer letters, but they turned out to be significant, since they included a letter from Boas to Putnam revealing what he thought about Smith and his capabilities.¹¹ The Anthropology division files at the Field Museum of Natural History primarily contained receipts of purchases Smith made for the Chicago World's Fair exhibits and brief descriptions of excavations and exhibits. Finally, the Boas Papers at the American Philosophical Society fill in some important gaps in the correspondence between all of the colleagues. The exercise of making an inventory of the available information about Smith resulted in two problems.

First, there are large gaps in the collection, particularly during the early part of Smith's career and his later years at the AMNH. Second, some potentially valuable information is inaccessible. It was learned that information was deposited at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) and the Royal British Columbia Museum Archives (RBCM) by the descendents of Smith.¹² This material has proved impossible to access. The material purportedly sent to the ROM was not located.¹³ The information at the RBCM has been inventoried but, according to the Curator of Archaeology, funding for the library has been cut, resulting in the collection being dissolved and sent to other, as yet unknown, archives.¹⁴ Finally, there is a large collection of papers, relating to both Smith's personal and professional life, in the possession of family members that are to date, inaccessible.¹⁵ Smith's field notes from his time at the AMNH may form part of this collection. It has

¹¹ FB-FWP, 21 August 1897, PMA.

¹² Conversation with CMC Archivist.

¹³ At the suggestion of the ROM staff, I also contacted the Anthropology and Archaeology departments at the Museum as well as affiliated staff at the University of Toronto. To date, it has not been located.

¹⁴ Personal Correspondence.

¹⁵ Conversation with Smith's great-grandson, Mr. Mallory, December, 2001.

been suggested that it was Smith's practice to destroy them or keep them in his personal collection after using them to write up a publication or report.¹⁶

The process of locating correspondence in the various archives was not as difficult a task as reviewing all of the information. Although it may appear to be a simple process to accumulate data, read it and come to some conclusions, it was not so straightforward. Letters on their own make little sense if the people and situations in the correspondence are not recognizable. For this reason, a lot of background research had to be completed to understand the histories of the various institutions, to understand who the major players were at the time, and to be able to contextualize the information. Careful thought also had to be placed on how to order, interpret and analyze the information available.

The Life History Approach

Looking at Smith's life and career calls for a life history approach. In writing about Sapir, Darnell states that the result will be "an intellectual biography, in which personal relationships are emphasized primarily to interpret Sapir's work and its larger disciplinary context" (Darnell 1990: xiv). A similar approach is adopted here for Smith. This approach will include aspects of Smith's personal life, professional life, and personal relationships to reflect on a particular anthropologist at a particular time in anthropological history. It will be, as the title of Jacob Gruber's (1966) article suggests, biography as an instrument for the history of anthropology.

There are many sources from which to draw the necessary information about Smith, but none are complete, and none can tell the entire story. Although "the researcher yearns to secure every scrap of paper left by a man's life" (Kendall 1965: 17), it is

¹⁶ From Thom (2001: 140), based on his communication with a former archivist at AMNH.

virtually impossible. Instead, bits of evidence or a series of situations are presented as a "means of demonstrating the quality of character evident in the courses of action taken by a person" (Lanning 1996: 16). Of course, presenting a piece of history and expecting it to reveal the entire personality or the intentions of an individual is misleading. It may resemble that person, but likely for only a short period of his life (Gottschalk 1945: 58). Consequently, the researcher should attempt to allow the image of the subject to emerge, with the final portrait being less like a Renaissance painting and more like a Cubist creation (Clifford 1978: 46). A life should be recreated as if it was a mosaic (Edel 1985: 16). The trick is how to arrange the pieces of this life appropriately. It is, in effect, a humanizing process (Edel 1985: 33), an attempt to create a resemblance of the person out of historical documents. However,

the mind and inner world of the subject is unique and cannot be fashioned by anyone else...the subject's inwardness can be recreated only in a limited way and only if sufficient self-communication has been bequeathed in diaries, letters, meditations, dreams (Edel 1985: 16).

Luckily, Smith was unusually personal in his letters to colleagues, often informing them of his health, state of mind and goings-on in addition to professional business.

In addition, I have taken Clifford's advice for moving beyond the traditional approach to biography. A traditional biography sets up the individual in the foreground, and the background (in this case, anthropological history) is dealt with in a limited fashion (Clifford 1978: 45-6). A biography "contracts to deliver a self," and if the biographer does not succeed in creating a whole life and a complete person, it is considered a failure (ibid: 44). It presents a "coherent personality and necessitates storytelling techniques" (ibid: 44). Instead of this traditional approach, Clifford suggests that the concentration

not be only on the individual, but on an intertwining of the foreground and background that would allow one to "portray a more open, less complete person, and thus to create a less centered biography" (1978: 46). Following such a suggestion would allow for the concentration to be on Smith, with the particular conditions and events in anthropological history to be illustrated through him as well as around him. Clifford states that the importance of the background cannot be underestimated, for without a particular background, the individual is not so unique (1978: 50). For instance, had Harlan Smith been born thirty years earlier, he likely would not have been as unusual a figure as he proved to be at the turn of the last century. This "ethnological approach" is less focused on a single life (Clifford 1978: 51-2) but instead uses the individual as a point of entry into a particular historical setting.

In 1966, Gruber wrote about the lack of biographies of anthropologists written by anthropologists but noted that they were beginning to do so. He claimed that anthropologists commonly make use of life histories in ethnology to understand a culture through the behaviour of one individual and that the same principal should easily extend to the writing about anthropologists to understand anthropology (Gruber 1966: 10). Darnell suggested that writing about one's own discipline was a "postmodernist turn to reflexivity" that allowed practicing anthropologists to become "more conscious of their own standpoint(s)" (Darnell 1998: xiv). Gruber suggested two ways in which biographies can shed light on the history of anthropology. First, he stressed the importance of discussing fieldwork. He argued that the development of an individual's methods and concepts and the changes in their intellectual activity could be mapped by doing so. However, he suggested that field notes and publications reveal little about the individual

him/herself (1966: 18). In the case of Smith, it is somewhat different. Smith's fieldwork and his geographical movements can be traced through his notes, but he often included personal information in his notes as well. In fact, his updates and letters from the field to his superiors were often kept as records of his work (HS-FB, 6 July 1898 AMNH).

Although conventional fieldnotes bring to mind notebooks filled with daily observations and notes, Clifford points out that there is no concrete framework for fieldnotes. There is instead an institution of fieldnotes "understood to be a discreet textual corpus in some way produced by fieldwork and constituting a raw, or partly cooked, descriptive database for larger generalization, synthesis, and theoretical elaboration" and that this may include, according to the particular anthropologist, letters, diaries, etc. (1990: 52). These sources are definitely personal and reveal much about the character or situation of the writer. In addition, even if fieldnotes are no longer scientifically useful in the decades since they were created, they may be invaluable as "interpretive text[s]" (Ottenberg 1990: 156). The reexamination of fieldnotes through the framework of new political or ideological theory provides a different result (ibid: 157). For instance, while Smith's letters/fieldnotes may not be as useful for their scientific observations eighty years later, they are very useful as snapshots of the colonial relationship between anthropologists and Aboriginal people.

Gruber's second suggestion, linked to but separate from the first, is the importance of politics. That is, "the informal, often non directive communications between persons involved in the matters and operation of the discipline" (1966: 21). To discuss developments within the discipline without "describing the personal medium within which they grow is to deprive them of their human character" (1966: 21). To achieve this, Smith's personal relationships with others, as revealed through personal correspondence,

will be discussed. As well, correspondence between Smith's colleagues provides contextualization for the period and for locating Smith within it. The compilation of documentary information about a person's life is "a kind of miniarchive" (Edel 1985: 14), the compilation of which would, in part, "reduce the oral tradition of anthropology to some more permanent form" (Gruber 1966: 27).

Archival Methods

As stated earlier, the majority of information about Smith has been culled from various archives. I began by reviewing files directly relating to Harlan Smith, including correspondence, accession files, etc. As well, I looked at correspondence between Boas, Putnam, Sapir, and Morris K. Jesup (founder and president of AMNH and financier of Jesup North Pacific Expedition), for references to Smith and contextualization purposes.¹⁷ Once the items were located, a systematic approach to evaluating the documents was required. While it is sometimes difficult to articulate exactly how one evaluates documents when doing research, there is a standard for archival methods.

Archival documents are unpublished sources of information and as such they have, according to Brooks (1969), particular characteristics which are to be kept in mind while reviewing the material. The documents are unique; however, because documents are often copied for other uses or researchers, it is important to go back to the original source and not to interpret the information through someone else's organizing scheme (Brooks 1969: 11). Of course, archives themselves have a filing system with documents usually being arranged based on the organization and its history. Understanding how an archive's

¹⁷ Ideally, I would have liked to have read all of the staff correspondence from Smith's time at the AMNH and CMC, but it was not feasible for this project.

filing system works helps to locate the material and understand the positioning of documents. Also, the purpose for which the document was created must be considered. Whether the document was intended as a record, to convey information, as an explanation, etc. should be understood because each form of writing is different (1969: 11). For instance, a formal report would be quite different than a diary entry.

Next, the author and organization for which the document was prepared is significant. To understand the relevance of the document, the researcher must know something about the organization being represented. In this case, I had to become familiar with the history and staff of the American Museum of Natural History and the Geological Survey of Canada in order to contextualize information. Conversely, through Smith's letters, information about the inner workings and politics of these institutions may be learned. Finally, the position of a particular document or collection of items may not be understood without related items, or papers may be misunderstood (or understood differently) if arranged by another researcher with a different interest (Brooks 1969: 11). For instance, isolated correspondence from one particular institution did not provide enough information to understand particular moments in Smith's career, without other explanatory letters from the same time, compiled from other archives.

In an effort to trace particular threads in correspondence and to understand the content of a document, documents from as many sources as possible were pulled together and placed in chronological order. The result was an incomplete archive. There were references to letters that were not located or to instructions given without a response. Where possible, history was filled in using information from Smith's publications.

Pitt (1972) suggested a series of analytical processes by which to evaluate the documents. First was "the job of establishing the physical authenticity of a document" (Pitt 1972: 47), accomplished by determining the date and author of the document, usually evident on the document itself or filed in the archives accordingly. The "framework of facts" (ibid: 47) should be analyzed; that is, an assessment of the probability of events occurring as outlined in the document. This was accomplished by cross-referencing with other documents or comparing the information with publications on the same time/topic. Verifying and corroborating the contents of documents, identifying falsehoods and understanding the bias of the author was the next step (Pitt 1972: 47). Familiarity with the author and the correspondent or intended audience may help to recognize or identify possible biases. The final step was the placing of information into a historical context.

More recent theory suggests that archives should be approached less as "sites of knowledge retrieval" and considered more as "cultural artifacts of fact production" (Stoler in press: 4). When discussing colonial archives, Stoler, drawing on Ginzburg (1989), argues that determining the authenticity or truthfulness in a document is not as important as looking at the environment, both social and political, that shaped the 'facts' and what information that provides about the document (ibid: 4). This

ethnographic reading of the archives...invites more attention to the social relations and material conditions in which archives were produced, to their editing or dissenting voices, to how common sense was crafted, to which categories were privileged and resilient while others were demoted or ignored (ibid: 12).

Considering the history, time frame and the political and governmental environment of the time will help to contextualize Smith's correspondence and information.

Understanding the history of the discipline and its relationship with Aboriginal

communities at that time, as well as the hierarchy that existed within the discipline, will present a different reading than just presenting the 'facts.'

While the bulk of the material that has been acquired is useful and illuminating, there are gaps in the correspondence from every institution. This poses an obvious problem. As with any archives-based research project there is always the risk that too much significance will be placed on a particular piece of information simply because of the lack of supporting data and the time that has elapsed since it was written. Also, despite best efforts to be objective, history is subjective and interpretation and conclusions are based on the researcher's situation (Pitt 1972: 46-7). As mentioned, it is also important to cross-reference data on the same topic, not only for consistency, but for further insight because while

the official documentation of an event may tell what happened and may give a formal reason or justification, the human story of how the thoughts and wishes of individuals brought forth certain actions may have been told in more personal, less formal writings (Brooks 1969: 19).

For this research project, professional documents (such as reports or publications) will be used, but personal letters will also be used extensively. As suggested by Brooks, care will be taken by the researcher in all circumstances to "use the sources as thoroughly as possible, and be open-minded in letting himself [sic] be guided by what they actually tell him, rather than simply choosing evidence to support his own prejudice" (1969: 91). Again, using Stoler's example, what is learned may not necessarily be written on the pages, but may be revealed during the reading of the archives.

A danger with this project is to develop a picture of a complex individual and his career using a limited range of certain types of documents. To date, no diaries or personal journals have been located, so Smith's personal opinions, concerns, and issues must be

derived from other available sources. As stated earlier, Smith's professional letters are often personal and deal with matters that shed some light upon his general well-being. It is noted that placing too much weight on passing comments or subject matter that cannot be corroborated through other means does not do justice to the subject either. In an effort to keep this research as fair to the subject as possible, content analysis was performed by identifying words, phrases or subjects that were commonly employed (Pitt 1972: 59). They will be compared to Smith's many published accounts of his work.

To reiterate, when researching archival documents, my primary concerns were crosschecking documents and facts, corroborating evidence, determining the reliability of the documents, and creating a useful organizational system that would reveal patterns and developments in Smith's career. While doing this, certain key questions were kept in mind, some very particular, some broader. Examples of these include: How did H.I. Smith get his start in anthropology? Why was he employed in many important anthropological endeavors and institutions without extensive formal training? Who were the mentors/sponsors of his career and why? How did he come to be in Canada? Why did he shift his work among the sub-disciplines of anthropology so much -- i.e. archaeology, physical anthropology, ethnology, photography, and museum education? What were the impediments to his success? How does his career fit into the history of anthropology? While not all of these questions are adequately answered by the documents available, they do provide a glimpse into anthropological history.

Setting the Stage

"To tell the story of any man, one must say something about the stage on which he acts out the drama of his life" (Garraty 1957: 4). Without constructing this background there is a risk of "overrating [the] subject's importance" (Mullett 1963: 4). In addition, "the total picture of social change can be distorted by such concentration on an individual that we fail to see the man in relation to his times" (ibid: 4). It is useful to remind the reader that the subject and his contemporaries' intellectual attitudes were a product of their time and training (Pitt 1972: 49) and cannot necessarily be judged by those of today. Creating this type of 'ethnographic biography' is useful in understanding not only a particular anthropologist, but also in understanding the mechanisms and workings of a specific discipline (Gruber 1966: 10-11). It follows that in order to discuss Smith, it is necessary to understand the environment in which he lived and worked. Conversely, a look at the anthropological environment will reveal more information about Smith, as well.

By the time Smith became involved in anthropology in the United States, professionalization of the discipline had begun, and it had been a rapid development from curio collecting to a science (Penniman 1935: 179). Evolution and natural selection, stemming from the work of Charles Darwin (1809-1882) and Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913), among others, were the predominant anthropological viewpoints during the last twenty-five years of the 19th century (Eggan 1977: 3). Natural science, of which anthropology was a part, was gaining popularity and respect as a credible pursuit. Several institutions developed during this time in North America that played crucial roles in establishing the discipline. Willey and Sabloff (1974) argue that the two institutions that

had the most impact on the professionalization of archaeology¹⁸ were the Smithsonian Institution (1846) and the Peabody Museum of Harvard (1866) (Willey and Sabloff 1974: 46). Under the auspices of the Smithsonian were the Bureau of Ethnology (1879)¹⁹ and the National Museum (1858). Together, these institutions "provided some of the most influential scholars of the period (ibid: 46-7). The American Museum of Natural History, also home to some notable anthropologists, was established in 1868.

The Smithsonian Institution, established through a bequest from the British James Smithson, had the mandate to research and publish in all areas of knowledge, including ethnology (Cole 1985: 9). In 1850, Spencer F. Baird, a zoology professor with an interest in ornithology began the first attempt at systematic collecting of North American natural history artifacts (Cole 1985: 10). This formed part of the collections of the National Museum.

The Bureau of Ethnology was established in Washington by John Wesley Powell as a research arm of the Smithsonian. Its main focus was American Indians, and its guiding principal was evolution (Eggan 1977: 3). Darnell argues that it was the founding of this institution that marked the professionalization of anthropology in the United States (Darnell 2001: 9). It was funded by Congress "because of a practical need for accurate information about the Indians" (Darnell 2001: 10). It was the first, and for a time, the only government department "devoted to the systematic study of [the U.S.'s] native races" (Penniman 1935: 91). The Bureau also continued the work on mound site archaeology, already a longtime interest of amateurs interested in the origins of the earliest inhabitants

¹⁸ Archaeology and anthropology as a whole, were intertwined historically, as archaeologists often conducted ethnological work as well (Willey and Sabloff 1974: 90).

¹⁹ The Bureau of Ethnology was renamed The Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in 1894.

of North America (Willey and Sabloff 1974: 47-8). The Bulletins and Annual Reports of the Bureau made vast amounts of anthropological information widely available.

The Peabody Museum at Harvard University is the oldest North American museum with a particular focus on anthropology (Cole 1985: 236). Putnam took over as curator in 1875 and maintained his responsibilities, along with other positions elsewhere, until 1909. Initially, there was concern that Putnam, though capable, cautious, and thorough, did not have a Bachelor's degree²⁰ (Hinsley 1985: 61). Despite this, Putnam began the process of training "a generation of archaeologists" (Willey and Sabloff 1974: 4) and has been referred to as the "professionalizer of American archaeology" (Willey and Sabloff 1974: 51). His interest in mound builders and his archaeological activities allowed him to train many students in field archaeology with excavations that were, for the time, "models of good technique" (ibid: 52).

The American Museum of Natural History was (and remains) a private foundation funded almost entirely by donations and the generosity of benefactors. It was the creation of Albert Bickmore, a former student of Louis Agassiz,²¹ who wanted a distinguished, world-class museum in Manhattan and that was, in many ways, "a conscious rival to Washington's National Museum" (Cole 1985: 80). However, it was not until Putnam was hired as head of the AMNH Anthropology department, that the department began to have momentum and direction (Cole 1985: 141-44). The most ambitious project the Museum undertook, The Jesup Expedition (1897-1902), was overseen by Putnam, although directed by Boas. It resulted in the collection of thousands of objects and photographs and many publications.

²⁰ Putnam trained with Louis Agassiz at Harvard University for a time but did not complete his degree.

²¹ A pioneer in natural history studies, Agassiz helped to establish the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University.

Although his protégé Franz Boas is often credited, it has been suggested that Frederic Ward Putnam was the individual who professionalized anthropology in the U.S., having trained more prominent anthropologists and having offered more training than Boas (Mark 1980: 51). Boas met Putnam in 1886 at a meeting for the American Association for the Advancement of Science and it was then that Boas decided to move to the U.S. and work with Putnam (Mark 1980: 173). The two men worked as colleagues with similar goals yet their relationship contained a “strong paternal element” (Cole 1999: 176). Putnam supported Boas’ career by lobbying for jobs for him and hiring him as often as possible.²²

At the time Boas arrived in the U.S., anthropological work was already underway by people such as Alice Fletcher, Frank Hamilton Cushing, William Henry Holmes, John Wesley Powell, Adolph Bandelier, and Lewis Henry Morgan (Mark 1980: 173). A lot of the work being supported was survey work, mapping out the Aboriginal groups in the country. Aside from government-funded anthropology, much of the fieldwork of the time was supported by philanthropists and funneled through museums, making material culture a primary focus. In addition, the three main centers of anthropological work – New York, Cambridge (Massachusetts) and Washington were all linked to one another in some ways. As a result there was “small but coherent and committed group [that had] great influence” (Stocking 1976: 9). With Boas' influence, the predominant anthropological viewpoint shifted from evolution to historical particularism (Darnell 1999: 49). This shift and influence reached Canada where his reputation had already been made through his work

²² In fact, Putnam accepted the position at the AMNH in part, to help out his young colleagues, including Boas (Cole 1999: 177).

with the British Association for the Advancement of Science and where his prized student soon would take the place as the first professional anthropologist in the country.

In Canada the discipline evolved differently and within a different time frame. Its roots are in the writings of the Jesuits and other missionaries, the traders and explorers, and the amateur anthropologists, such as Daniel Wilson and George Dawson. McFeat cites the earliest 'ethnographers' as people such as Father Leclercq, Father Biard, Father Rasle, Father Brebeuf (and all Jesuit priests) as well as Samuel de Champlain, among others. They may be considered such because of "the wealth of urgent, reliable and detailed descriptions they wrote and the cogent analysis they sometimes produced" (McFeat 1980: 2). However, they did this for the particular purpose of acquiring "reliable knowledge" which they needed in order to survive (McFeat 1980: 3). As well, missionaries and priests had to learn the language and culture in order to be successful in communication and conversion (Dyck 2001: 8; Nock 1982: 251; Avrith 1986: 11). Their written material was made public through various types of articles and missionary books, both to increase knowledge and funds for the missions (Nock 1982: 251). While some of the interpretations and representations of Aboriginal people in this material has been questioned (Blackburn 2000), some of the descriptions and information remains useful.²³

Amateur anthropology in Canada was in full swing by 1850. Some 20th century anthropologists characterize the 1800s as "dilettante" anthropology (Cole 1973: 33) practiced often by people "whose professional training was usually in the fields of medicine, law, history or geology" (Van West 1976: 8). Sir Daniel Wilson and Sir John William Dawson were both notable examples of the time period. Both were professors at

²³ For an examination of the Jesuit missions and Aboriginal people, see Carole Blackburn's *Harvest of Souls; the Jesuit Missions and Colonialism in North America 1632-1650*.

universities; Wilson at the University of Toronto²⁴ and Dawson at McGill.²⁵ Dawson was involved with the Canadian Institute in Toronto, a centre for those interested in anthropology and a forum for research and discussions about evolution and North American Aboriginal people (Cole 1973: 34-5). Wilson wrote approximately 45 articles and 4 books on anthropological topics (Trigger 1966a: 4), including the famous *Prehistoric Man* (1862). He was primarily interested in prehistory²⁶ and the evolution (as he saw it) of 'primitive' cultures to civilized cultures (Cole 1973: 33). Unlike most of his contemporaries, Wilson believed that 'primitive' people had the same intellectual potential as others (Trigger 1966a: 12).²⁷

Sir John William Dawson, a geologist by training, became interested in anthropology when an Iroquoian site was uncovered during construction near McGill (Trigger 1966b: 353). He was interested in natural history and the origins of humans (Trigger 1966b: 352-353) and argued against biological evolution theories, believing that different levels of development or 'civilization' co-existed (ibid: 354-55). However, he was a devout Presbyterian and his desire to believe the Bible literally (i.e. that humans could not be more than several thousand years old) resulted in difficulties reconciling his beliefs and his work in anthropology and geology (ibid 1966b: 356). Despite this, his reputation was such that his election, and the election of others like him, to the Royal Society of Canada (established 1882) made anthropology a little more prestigious (Cole 1973: 37).

²⁴ Wilson was the Chair of History and English Literature at Toronto and later, the president of the University.

²⁵ Dawson was the Principal of McGill, 1885-1893.

²⁶ The term 'prehistory' was coined by Wilson (Cole 1973: 33).

²⁷ Trigger argues that although his publications were not perfect, it was the fact that anthropology was his hobby, not his career, that Wilson is not respected in the history of anthropology. He suggests that the Canadian academic community "accord Wilson the honour he deserves, not only as an educator but as an insightful, if isolated and unheeded, anthropologist of our country's past" (Trigger 1966a: 26).

The Royal Society of Canada was initiated by the Marquess of Lorne, Governor-General from 1878-1883, "as part of his personal campaign to promote Canadian cultural institutions" (Berger 1996: 3). He had another motive as well. The Marquess, a collector of natural history and Aboriginal artifacts went to the Northwest Coast in 1881 where he learned that the Smithsonian and other U.S. institutions were removing artifacts from Canada, which he wanted to prevent (Berger 1996: 5-6). Although supported by public funds, the group was limited to "scholars of renown," with membership based on achievement (ibid: 7). The aims of the Society were to encourage research in literature and science, to publish results, to offer prizes and funding, and to participate in the building of a collection for a national museum (Berger 1996: 8).

Many amateur anthropologists were part of this society, including Reverend John Campbell, a Presbyterian minister interested in the linguistic connection of North American Aboriginal people to ancient European languages (Cole 1973: 35-36). Another was R.G. Haliburton, one of whose main preoccupations was his attempts to demonstrate the common family of all cultures based on shared cultural traits, with development based on climate. Northerners of course, were dominant (Cole 1973: 36-37). Another member was Horatio Hale, who Cole describes as "the most significant figure in Canadian anthropology in the pre-Sapir period" (Cole 1973: 37). He participated in the Wilkes Pacific Expedition (1837-1842),²⁸ conducted a lot of work with the Iroquois, and believed that language was the indicator of intelligence, not technological advancement (Berger 1996: 39). Hale was also made research director for the Committee on the Northwest

²⁸ Cole notes that participation in the Expedition grants Hale "semi-professional" status (Cole 1973: 40).

Coast Tribes at the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS)²⁹ meeting in Montreal, in 1884 (Berger 1996: 39). The appointment of the Committee was the "vital turning point" for Canadian anthropological history because it brought together "the representatives of Canadian anthropology" (Cole 1973: 40), or at least those people who were interested and engaged in developing a Canadian anthropology.

Although various representatives with anthropological interests had come together for the 1884 meeting, very little was accomplished until 1888 when Boas agreed to begin his Northwest Coast work. This would last until 1894 and result in five trips totaling 352 days in the field (Cole 1973: 40). In 1896 the BAAS met in Toronto. The Committee on an Ethnological Survey of Canada was established, which included missionaries and amateur anthropologists who wanted to expand the survey of the Northwest Coast to the entire country. In 1904, the committee broke down and it was not until 1909 that the importance of an ethnological survey was again raised. This time, it had the support of then Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier (Cole 1973: 42).

The Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) was a major supporter in the development of the Ethnological Survey of Canada. George Mercer Dawson, son of Sir John William Dawson, joined the GSC in 1875 and became the director in 1895 (Van West 1976: 8). G.M. Dawson was trained as a geologist but was interested in natural history from a young age and was likely influenced by the amateur archaeology of his father (Van West 1976: 8). The GSC initially was founded to assist Canadian mining operations (Zaslow 1975: 4) but grew to include broader natural history collecting as part of the geological work. Observations of and collecting from Aboriginal people was

²⁹ The Committee was established in an effort to document the characteristics and situation of the Aboriginal people in Canada before their culture was affected too greatly by European influence.

considered part of this process. When Dawson went to British Columbia to conduct geological work (1878-79, 1882, 1886-7, 1891) he recorded his observations of Aboriginal people and published the results in various forms.³⁰ Dawson's interest in this area of Canada extended to involvement with the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, which he was responsible for organizing (Van West 1976: 9-10). In addition to his B.C. and BAAS work, Dawson spent time lobbying for a Canadian museum as a place for housing artifacts of national patrimony that were otherwise disappearing from Canada in the hands of foreign collectors (Van West 1976: 9-10).

Although the GSC already had a collection, it was spread throughout several buildings in Montreal. In 1880 the GSC staff and collection moved to Ottawa and occupied the same building (Russel 1961: 2). By the 1890s the GSC museum was already being referred to as the National Museum and its collection was comprised of a variety of objects (Zaslow 1975: 279). It was not until 1904 that construction of a large permanent museum (Victoria Memorial Museum Building - VMMB) began, and 1911 when it was complete. Reginald Brock became director of the GSC in 1907, the first year that "anthropological work" was listed under GSC duties (Zaslow 1975: 279). The removal of Aboriginal artifacts out of Canada was a great concern for Brock, who wanted to get control of the situation (Zaslow 1975: 279). He argued in 1909 that a trained ethnologist was required on staff to head up the Anthropology Hall of the museum and do related

³⁰ Publications include "On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands" in *Report of Progress, Geological Survey of Canada* (1878-79); "The Haidas" in *Harper's Magazine* (1882); "Note on the Occurrence of Jade in British Columbia and its Employment by the Natives" in *Canadian Record of Science* (1886-87); "Notes and Observations on the Kwakwaka'wakw People of the Northern Part of Vancouver Island and Adjacent Coasts made during the summer of 1885" in *Transactions, Royal Society of Canada* (1887); "Notes of the Shuswap People of British Columbia" in *Transactions, Royal Society of Canada* (1891) and "The Progress and trend of Scientific Investigation in Canada" in *Proceedings, Royal Society of Canada* (1894).

ethnological work (Zaslow 1975: 280). Professional anthropology was established in Canada by the hiring of Edward Sapir in 1910 and his mandate to hire a research team as quickly as possible (Darnell 1990: 49). Although he recognized the support of Canadian anthropology societies in getting the museum founded, Sapir credited G.M. Dawson (and his work in B.C.) and Boas (for his work with the BAAS) for "starting the ball rolling" (1911: 789). He likened the Anthropology Department of the GSC to the Bureau of American Ethnology (1911: 789) as both were funded by federal governments and their initial priorities included the mapping out of cultural groups across the country.

In both Canada and the United States, anthropology in the early 1900s was in transition and the profession still in its infancy. The academic community was small and a primary motivation was to collect as many objects and as much information as possible. H.I. Smith worked his way into this environment with very little education compared to his peers; yet it was a time when individuals with a strong interest in fieldwork were encouraged. Putnam, for instance, relied on amateur anthropologists to do most of his fieldwork, yet "he developed at the same time a valuable reputation for insisting on precise, thorough excavation and notation" (Hinsley 1985: 62), allowing a type of 'on the job' training. Boas too believed that people should be given a chance, prizing the character of a person over all and "once committed to a friend, or a dependent, he held fast with...unswervingness; and the only faults he could never wholly bring himself to pardon were those which he construed as partaking of the treasonable" (Kroeber 1943: 22). Together, Putnam and Boas brought Smith into the discipline and supported him throughout his career at a time in the history of anthropology that it was possible to do so.

Plate 2 Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (55810)
Photograph credited to H.I. Smith, August 27, 1922.

"Harlan I. Smith and outfit for hauling plaster of Paris casts of petroglyphs with load of casts in main street at Bella Coola, BC." Caption by H.I. Smith.

Chapter 3

The American Years

An Amateur Beginning

Although Smith spent several decades of his career in Canada, his childhood and the early years of his career were spent in the United States. While documentation from this period in his life is somewhat meager, enough is available to provide a vague picture. This is where Smith's career began and where he made the connections and received the training that eventually would take him to Canada.

Smith's active interest in archaeology began at a young age, which was manifest through the collecting of Ojibwa artifacts and studying the archaeology of East Saginaw, Michigan (Leechman 1942: 114), where he was born and grew up. Intending to turn his interest into a career, Smith enrolled at the University of Michigan in 1892, but completed only two years before leaving,³¹ probably due to lack of funds. He managed to gain some useful experience while there, being in charge of the anthropological collections at the University museum (Leechman 1942: 114).

It was probably around this time that Smith met F.W. Putnam. This relationship was important to Smith's career, with Putnam giving him several opportunities to further his experience in the discipline and in the field. Chronologically (and arguably, developmentally in the discipline), Putnam fell between Lewis Henry Morgan and Franz Boas. He represented the beginnings of the transition from amateur anthropology and the

³¹ In his article about Smith's role in the Jesup Expedition, Brian Thom (2000) states that Smith graduated from the University of Michigan in 1893. Records at the University confirm that Smith was enrolled there that year, but did not graduate from the institution.

belief in the theory of evolution to professionalization and historical particularism. At this time in American anthropology there were very few trained anthropologists. Putnam was an advocate for and encouraged amateur anthropologists, who did most of his fieldwork (Hinsley 1985: 62). The strong paternal relationship that Putnam had developed with Boas was evident in relationships with other young archaeologists as well, including Smith. Putnam "encouraged [Smith], an enthusiastic but unschooled archaeologist" and he "was as concerned with the personal welfare of his protégés as with their scientific work" (Cole 1999: 176). This concern for Smith's well-being would help start Smith's career and would somewhat parallel Smith's later relationship with Boas.

Early Positions with Putnam

During 1891, with Putnam's help, Smith was made an assistant at the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. Under Putnam, Smith worked on the Madisonville Village archaeological site in 1891, other mound sites in Ohio in 1892, and in Madison, Wisconsin in 1893 (Leechman 1942: 114). From 1891-1893 he worked also on the Chicago World's Fair,³² where he made the Michigan collections (Dorsey 1900: 249), and was in charge of anthropological exhibits. It can be assumed that his friendship with Boas, the Chief Assistant there, developed during this time.

³² Accessions records relating to Smith that I obtained from the Field Museum include receipts of exchanges from the AMNH for exhibits at the Chicago World's Fair (Acc. No. 814, 706), an explanation of archaeological exhibits from Michigan with a description of uses and site information (Acc. No. 977), and a description of Smith's exploration of Warren County, Ohio (1892) for the Exposition as well as a discussion of the excavation and exhibition by Smith (Acc. No. 186). To date, that is all of the information I have received from Chicago. It would be worthwhile to visit the Field Museum Archives to review further correspondence.

In 1894 Smith explored ancient garden beds³³ near Kalamazoo, Michigan for the Archaeological Institute of America (Wintemberg 1940: 64). Although it does not appear that Smith worked with Putnam during that year, he continued to write to him and stayed in Saginaw, rather than going back to Ann Arbor to continue his studies. During the summer, Harlan Smith's father wrote to Putnam. Whether it was intended as a letter of recommendation, as an explanation, or as a response to Putnam, is unclear, but it offers some insight into his son. The senior Smith stated:

For all the interest you have taken in my son I am very grateful and I think he fully appreciates your kind help. He is a very good boy but a little peculiar - I have given up trying to lead him in a way he dislikes to go - I doubt if he will ever go back to Ann Arbor as a student. I would like to have him go to Ann Arbor for several reasons but he seems anxious to be in some museum or off in the field at work. This seems to be his desire and I shall be glad when he finds just what he wants and is at it. He cannot interest himself in my business and I shall not insist upon it. He would read + study half of the night if we did not urge him to bed. He studies hard and spends little or no time at foolish recreations. I will suggest to Harlan to write to you (HPS-FWP, 10 Aug. 1894 HUA).

A few months before his father wrote to Putnam, Smith himself wrote him a lengthy letter indicating that he did plan to return to university.

When I left you in Chicago it was with regret that I had to do so before you wished but because I expected that if I left then I could return to college in Feb. -94. I find however little chance of my getting away from here unless I get out + into some work where I can be independent of home financial assistance and where I can also study. Can you advise me in this? Or tell me of any chance? What chance is there of getting into the Columbian Museum and having a chance to study in Chicago University part of the time? While here I have very little time to study except Sunday + evenings however in June I expect to again graduate from the High School here in another course i.e. Engineering (HS-FWP, 12 May 1894 HUA).

³³ These are pre-historic mounds and embankments surrounded by circular earthworks, according to Smith (1901: n.p.). Particular skull types were found there that may indicate Aboriginal occupation (ibid).

In the same letter, he described the work he was doing in his spare time with the Ojibwa people in the area, including village visits, photographs, and the collection of artifacts and folklore (ibid). He explained that to complete that was more of an expense than he could afford, and pointed out that he could not get funding for his "foolhardy nonsense" (ibid). He offered to do some work for Putnam and clearly hoped that an offer from Putnam would be forthcoming (ibid).

The same year, Putnam was chosen by Morris K. Jesup, a financier attempting to save the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) from debt, to head up the Anthropology department there. Although Putnam was still employed at Harvard, he offered to work at the AMNH for one week a month during the year as well as for part of the summer (Cole 1999: 177). Putnam wanted to reorganize the department in New York as well as help out his colleagues, including Smith and Boas (ibid). Smith was offered work with the American Museum of Natural History in 1895 and was made a member of the faculty in 1896.³⁴ In fact, Putnam's support of Smith was so great, that he initially paid a portion of his salary (Cole 1999: 186). Putnam's confidence in his colleagues is evidenced through his argument to Boas that if he joined him at the AMNH, together with Marshall Saville³⁵ and Smith, they "would make the strongest team in anthropology in the country" (quoted in Cole 1999: 182). Although this was a time when formal education was becoming a requirement for institutional employment, Putnam did not seem concerned (as Boas later did) that Smith did not have much formal education. Putnam's apparent notion that students learn through practical experience probably helped Smith.

³⁴ The AMNH Annual Report of the President for 1895 did not list Smith as a staff member but listed his work and collections as a result of "special explorations for the museum" (AMNH SC). By 1896 he was referred to as an assistant in the Anthropology Division (AR AMNH SC).

³⁵ At that time, Marshall Saville was an assistant in the Anthropology Department at the AMNH.

American Museum of Natural History

In 1895 Smith was established at the AMNH, doing routine work that included unpacking and labeling various collections, cataloguing skulls, organizing photographs and negatives, as well as filling in for his colleague, Marshall Saville. Part of his job included working on catalogues, but to his regret, the routine work left little time for them (HS-FWP, 30 Apr. 1895 HUA). He completed special explorations of ancient mounds and village sites in Kentucky and Ohio, bringing back negatives and artifacts for the museum. He also collected specimens from shell heaps near the Harlem River in Manhattan and worked with another archaeologist to collect specimens from the Schoharie Valley, NY. Boas joined the American Museum the same year and his and Smith's friendship, which began in Chicago, grew. Smith began going to Boas' home for instruction in anthropological method and the two, along with Boas' wife, became good friends and the visits less formal (Cole 1999: 192).

The correspondence from this first year on staff is comprised mainly of administrative memos and occasional letters, but a number of issues emerged that would continue to crop up throughout Smith's career, including discord in the Anthropology department, conflict in the field, and his feeling of well being.³⁶ Smith noted in the spring of 1895 that both he and Saville were fatigued due in part to the "circumstances attending the leaving of matters at the museum and the breaking up of housekeeping" but that "everything about the Dept. is o.k. so far as I am able to judge" (HS-FWP, 30 Apr. 1895 HUA). He also began spending a lot of time at the museum, a habit that would continue for years. At that time he was already working up to two hours of overtime per day,

³⁶ Smith's health concerns are discussed because they play an important part in most of his correspondence. I have placed no more emphasis on this topic than Smith himself does.

explaining that he "enjoyed the work better than to be alone at [his] room (HS-FWP, 7 June 1895 HUA). In fact, he expressed an interest in having more work to do, saying

I have had this week several such sad pieces of news that I am almost broken up. If I had more manual labor and was with others where my mind would be occupied instead of alone it would be much better for me (ibid).

Although Smith did not elaborate on the "sad news," his reference to it marks the beginning of similar comments, which continued for years. He wrote Putnam again the next day, stating, "I am feeling enthusiastic again although still a little weak from the mental breaking up" (HS-FWP, 8 June 1895 HUA).

Later, while working in Kentucky, Smith encountered two major problems - managing difficult people and budget issues. He was just beginning to feel the effects of being in charge. In his letters he wrote at length about his difficulties with staff and finances, and his poor understanding of museum procedure and bureaucracy became evident (HS-FWP, 7 Aug. 1895 HUA). Events of that trip also foreshadowed years of complications with excavating human remains. He wrote to Putnam:

I regret to trouble you so... If I don't hear from you before a week from today I don't know what I shall do. I certainly cannot run on like this. I will have to stop the work + wait getting trusted if I can for our provisions. When there is talk of arresting me for grave robbery, when there have been several warnings + people try to drive us out of the country it gives one enough to worry in trying to keep on + when they want the specimens for the county + he has to worry to get them sent on + out of here so they cannot be taken it is all enough to worry about even when he has money to do with (HS-FWP, 29 Aug. 1895 HUA).

Fieldwork seemed to be stressful for Smith, but more so was the return to New York. Smith often tried to stop in Saginaw when returning from fieldwork to visit his father, sometimes causing departmental inconveniences with his delays (HS-FWP, 7 Oct. 1895 HUA). The return to New York always seemed to bring to the fore his difficulty

with city living and his feelings of loneliness and isolation: "I, as perhaps you did not know, am so sick of brick walls + elevated road noises that I am about considering going to Staten [sic] Island to room" (ibid). He considered moving near Mr. Pepper, another museum colleague, to be among "respectable people + [to] be someone among them which I found next to impossible while I was alone the city" and where he would also "be able on Sunday to see grass + trees + the ocean which is a great inducement to me" (ibid). Again, this discomfort in the city and relief when away seems to have been connected to his health.

The year 1896 began with Smith being concerned with his lack of security at the AMNH. His letters from that year demonstrate several things. He mentioned in most correspondence that he was still working on the Kentucky collections as well as labels for various exhibits. He referred to some departmental conflicts in May, but indicated that they were improving when he said that "things have been running very smoothly with sufficient oil to prevent friction since the recent letter to Jesup took effect" (HS-FWP, 16 May 1896 HUA). Throughout the summer and fall Smith reported many problems with the skilled labourers he believed should be at his disposal (July n.d., 18 July, 27 Nov., 30 Nov., 1896 HUA). He summarized all the delays and difficulty the event had caused and the effect that they had on him by stating that "such unreasonable delays detract from ones [sic] ambition and energy which is even more disastrous than the inconvenience and loss of time" (HS-FWP, 30 Nov. 1896 HUA).

Smith was obviously attempting to find his niche in the department and to assert himself as a legitimate member of the staff, but he ran into several difficulties. These events not only affected him at the time but seem to have laid the groundwork for some of

his insecurities in the field. One of these issues was his understandable desire to please his superiors and the fact that he often fell a little short of expectations. This, and his accidental blunders may have been fueled in part by his lack of experience and training and they would soon develop into a pattern. Smith wished to continue the work in Kentucky and Ohio that he began in 1895 (HS-FWP, 11 June 1896 HUA) but was uncertain that the work would be approved, following a meeting with Jesup:

When he arrived he said there was a desire to go out to get more such collections + yet the collections in the museum were not yet labeled. It was so in all departments he said. He seemed deeply annoyed that the whole upper floor was not fully labeled and did not seem to realize the enormity of the work of freighting specimens in both the shelves or the task it is to was + clean a whole collections such as the one from Ky. On the whole I think he was much less irritated when he left than when he came but I do not feel that he will be at all likely to approve my going away for field work until more labeling is done HS-FWP, 29 June 1896 HUA)

His effort to complete the tasks led to problems with Putnam, from whom he did not obtain the requisite final approval from Putnam. He apologized for his actions, explaining that "the incessant clamor from so many here about the lack of labels until it almost drives one crazy undoubtedly made me more hasty than would otherwise be" (HS-FWP, 22 July 1896 PMA). He explained that he did not want to leave the objects without labels, "especially after the way Mr. Jesup talked to me. Such violent dissatisfaction with work that I had supposed was aided by the good luck of big finds makes me feel that it is almost useless to try" (ibid).

Finally, his concern about money was constant. Smith, like others of the time, often entertained the idea of collecting for other institutions, for additional income.³⁷ His collecting was primarily for the AMNH; however, when they were uninterested in the

³⁷ See HS-FWP, 16 May 1896 AMNH; HS-FWP, 12 June 1896 HUA; HS-FWP, 22 July 1896 PMA.

collections, he looked to other museums to purchase them. During most of his vacations in Michigan, he collected objects, photographs, or language (HS-FWP, 12 June 1896, 13 Aug. 1896 HUA, 22 July 1896 PMA.).

Despite the abundance of work that was underway at the AMNH, Smith was still insecure about his position and relied on Putnam's support and efforts to maintain Smith's salary.

I have had no word from any one here about your plan for me. So it may be that this year also they have failed to comply with your advice. I thought best to let you know since you may be thinking that something has been done...I have not been told definitely but I suppose Dr. [Boas] is to be here for 1896. I hope your plan for me will come out as you wished or at any rate that you will be able to keep me either here or some where else at work for you. Pardon me for troubling you with this letter but as you know my present situation is one that tends to make one anxious to be [department] employed more so than in the past when the only motive was the high one for study only and was not coupled with other reasons (HS-FWP, 2 Jan. 1896 HUA).

The 'other reasons' that Smith mentioned probably included his upcoming marriage to Helena Oakes, which in 1897 he had mentioned that he had delayed several times while waiting to secure good work (HS-FWP, 4 Sept. 1897 HUA), and possibly his father's precarious financial situation.³⁸ Putnam's support of Smith was evident through the opportunities he had offered him and his attempts to establish financial security for him. While Smith was thankful, he realized this put him at a disadvantage with his peers. In July Smith thanked Putnam for his efforts regarding Smith's salary yet he also voiced his concerns:

Please do not let any one know anything about my affairs. The men in the office seem to know and they treat me accordingly and have asked me some very unpleasant questions for me to answer. It is hard enough to

³⁸ Smith refers to his father's business going "to the dogs" and the fears that it produced (HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH). Smith's great-grandson mentioned that the senior Smith's business failed, causing a lot of stress for the family (personal communication, Dec. 2001).

have them treat me as an equal + when it gets to patronage it is too much
(HS-FWP, 22 July 1896 PMA).

Perhaps building on his experience with exhibit development with the Chicago World's Fair, Smith began to make suggestions for improvements at the AMNH. He noted his habit of "observing and studying the attitude of the public towards the exhibited material of North American Archaeology" (HS-FWP, 11 Nov. 1896 HUA). He stated that "many cases are passed by the masses" and that people were interested in photographs, reconstructed graves and models (ibid). He summed up the state of the exhibits by saying:

It seems that our North American Archaeological collections are of such a disconnected nature that certain things must be had before they can be arranged in a manner at all attractive to the general public: namely maps, models, and pictures of the typical [underline his] earthworks, burial places,....this of course is for the popular mind rather than for the student who does not need such plain representation as do the great mass of our visitors, who are vastly more ignorant of the simplest elements of these matters than those of any other museum I have seen; and it is these very people we must reach to educate them" (ibid).

He suggested an expedition in which maps, photographs and measurements could be obtained to make the existing collection more representative and complete. In addition, other objects could be acquired during such a field trip to complement the existing collection. While these suggestions were, of course, a means of getting back to fieldwork, he reiterated the need for these things a month later by suggesting that two or three months would be all he needed to fill the gaps in the existing collection (HS-FWP, 11 Dec. 1896 HUA). This seemed to be the beginning of Smith's interest and work in public education, which developed into an important contribution to the field of museology during his Canadian years. Contributing to the difficulties that year may have been the work schedule of the Division. Several exhibits were mounted, including Smith's

Kentucky collection. It was arranged by Smith "in a manner intended to show the life and customs of the people. Instructive labels and photographs help to tell the story" (AR 1896 AMNH SC). In addition, the Ethnology Hall was opened and the Northwest Coast exhibit was expanding. While the President of the Museum described the Hall as "one of the best organized and the most important and thoroughly educational anthropological exhibits in [the] country," he also pointed out that it would continue to advance for years to come (ibid).

Jesup North Pacific Expedition 1897-1899

Harlan Smith participated in the first three years of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897-1902). In 1897 his responsibility was the archaeology of the Fraser River and Thompson River regions of B.C. In 1898 it was the Thompson River area and Vancouver Island. His last year was spent in Washington and Lillooet region. Although he was hired as an archaeologist, he did ethnological collecting, photography, and cranial casts and measurements as well. His length of time away from New York provided more correspondence to and from Smith than any other years at the AMNH. Boas spent only one year in the field with Smith (1897), but for a significant portion of time they were in different areas of British Columbia. This yielded a vast amount of correspondence, between Smith and Boas, and between Boas and others about Smith.

It should be noted that the only information relating to Smith's work in the field, other than his publications, are these letters. There are no field notes in the AMNH archives relating to this work. Luckily, Smith's letters were often lengthy and he tended to mix information about his work with more personal information. He said to Boas "I

hope I do not bother you with my long letters for I enjoy writing details to you" (HS-FB, 8 Oct. 1897 AMNH), but many of his other letters to colleagues and superiors were lengthy and revealing as well. At one point during the expedition he made a request to Boas that he save his letters to form part of his field notes (HS-FB, 6 July 1898 AMNH). These informal 'field notes' provide a rich narrative of his behaviour and process of doing work.

The Expedition was headed up by Putnam, who fine-tuned the details with Jesup and the Museum Trustees, but the work itself was planned by Boas (Kroeber 1943: 13), whose vision of the Expedition was to investigate the connections between people in Northeast Asia and the Northwest Coast of North America. In addition, the research was intended to identify distribution of people on the Northwest Coast, including periods of occupancy, changes in physical characteristics and culture, and influence of or relationship between neighbouring groups (Rohner 1969: ed. note). Boas was also in charge of obtaining the necessary field staff (Kroeber 1943: 13). He decided to involve Smith and Livingston Farrand, in addition to help on the B.C. coast by people such as James Teit, George Hunt and Fillip Jacobsen (Rohner 1969: ed. note). When invited to join the Expedition, Smith was "delighted" and thought it "too good to be true" (HS-FWP, 8 Mar. 1897 HUA). Working with the people from the Northwest Coast exhibits in Chicago made him want to "visit + study them" and that he could not think of a trip "that would have suited [him] in all ways, as well as this" (ibid). Although Smith may not have had the qualifications that other Jesup Expedition applicants did, either Putnam or Boas believed he could accomplish the job.³⁹ Smith likely thought of this as an opportunity to

³⁹ A note to Boas from Frances Mead (secretary to Putnam) outlined some of the possible applicants with the remark that those who were not be wanted would be told that "only trained anthropologists will be available for this work" (Mead-FB, 2 Apr. 1897 HUA). Although Smith did not meet these requirements, perhaps he was included because he was already on staff.

prove himself to his superiors as well as to make his mark in the division. His main assigned objective was to determine links between ancient and modern Aboriginal communities and gather enough evidence to develop hypotheses on prehistoric remains on the Northwest Coast. His evening sessions with Boas in New York may have given Smith some indication of the method of collecting that Boas required, far more so than his years of archaeological work under the leadership of someone else. On the Jesup Expedition, Smith would be on his own quite often, relying on his own judgment for collecting. Surely his time under Boas in Chicago would also have given some informal training in ethnographic method. As time progressed in the field, Smith had great difficulties with some aspects of the work (understanding skull types, for instance) but his development, or Boas' influence, can be seen through his contextualization of objects. For instance, he learned to take photographs, drawings, casts, etc.⁴⁰ to illustrate the ethnographic objects.

For the three years, Smith worked on excavating shell heaps and human remains to be shipped back to the U.S. He spent time in many areas of the B.C. coast and parts of the interior, as well as some time in the Puget Sound area of Washington state. He re-visited many of the sites investigated during the first year of the Expedition.

There were several main issues that can be explored as a result of the frequency and amount of information about them in this correspondence, such as Smith's health, his administration in the field, issues of fitting in, both at the AMNH and in the profession, and the advice, both professional and personal, that Smith received from his superiors. The correspondence also documents the beginning of the relationship between Smith and Aboriginal people on the Northwest Coast. When Smith left for his first field season with

⁴⁰ Ira Jacknis (1996: 186) calls these types of objects "second order ethnographic objects" which are related to, but separate from "first order tangible objects." He discusses these as a Boasian construct. Clearly, Smith obtained some anthropological training from Boas.

the Jesup Expedition, he was 25 years old and already anxious to escape to a less bureaucratic environment.

The first year of the Expedition was spent working in Kamloops, Spences Bridge and Lytton, on burial sites and village sites containing skeletons, and in Hammond and Victoria on shell-heaps (HS-FWP, 15 Jan. 1897⁴¹ HUA). In Spences Bridge, he did some archaeological excavation but without great results, and took plaster casts⁴² of Aboriginal people and photographs of the people and area. In Kamloops, Smith excavated some human remains and eventually collected a lot of material. He also took plaster casts and photographs of people there as well. In Lytton he did some excavating and took photographs of pictographs. He did some minor work on the North Coast between the Skeena and Fort Rupert, and then went on to Bella Bella, Alert Bay and Rivers Inlet where he took more casts and photographs. At Port Hammond he conducted extensive archaeological investigations, at Boas' request. Hill-Tout, a local amateur ethnographer had informed Boas of some irregularly shaped skulls and this was one of Smith's tasks in the Expedition. He was to try to determine if there were two distinct types of people that had lived in the same location and the link between ancient and modern coastal people. Before heading back to the United States, Smith went to Victoria where he met up with Oregon Hastings, a local amateur interested in archaeology and the two went to Cadboro Bay to excavate cairns, with poor results. The issues that developed (outlined above) had begun before leaving on the Expedition and continued in B.C.

⁴¹ The letter should be dated January 15, 1898. It was clearly written about the field season of 1897; Smith must have inadvertently written the previous year's date.

⁴² Smith's 1899 article "How to Take Life Masks" explains the process.

Insecurity and Ill Health

From the beginning of his employment under Putnam, Smith did not seem to fit in comfortably with other members of the staff. This may have been a result of his academic background, or perhaps of his relationships with Putnam and Boas. For whatever reason, there were indications that his first few years at the American Museum were marked by distinct feelings of inferiority among his colleagues and an uncertainty regarding his place in the department. It is difficult to assess how much of this was situational or how much lay in Smith's personal dynamics. However, finances and stability were a major concern for Smith, probably due to his father's increasingly poor business situation and the fact that Smith was engaged to be married. In his letters, Smith was consistently loath to request vacation leave and often gave up vacation time to work. Even requests for leave to attend "scientific meetings" were "granted with hard feelings on both sides," he believed (HS-Putnam, 4 Jan. 1897 HUA). Before finding out about the Jesup Expedition, Smith found the situation so intolerable he asked Putnam for a transfer to the Peabody Museum at Harvard or the Philadelphia Museum, in return offering to work for less pay (HS-FWP, 20 Jan. 1897). He found attempting to do work to "cater to the taste of men, who know nothing of scientific work" (ibid) very difficult. He summed up the situation for Putnam:

This same attempt to cater to tastes not suited to such work has been a serious drawback to my doing the best I could; it has kept me on the watch and in constant fear, rather than allowed me to do what I thought best and is exceedingly demoralizing. It not only produces poorer results for the museum, results but little above the par with ideas those who criticize, but it also reflects upon my own character and energy. I have been doing it about as long as I consider best for me. If I continue in such a habit it will ruin me for future work and I will lose my personality and become a machine to be dropped at the pleasure of this museum in a degenerate condition in which I will be unable to get work elsewhere (ibid).

He believed that Boas and Putnam had the luxury of getting away from the Museum for extended periods of time and as a result, away from the "feeling of debased slavery" (ibid).

Smith was also acutely aware of the below-average salary he was receiving. He believed that nothing would change regarding salary or demands of his giving up vacation time "so long as it is known that I have got to accept whatever is offered" (HS-FWP, 13 Feb. 1897 HUA). His attempts to advance his salary and status increased as plans for marriage become more imminent. He wrote to Putnam from the west coast, pointing out that his name was not mentioned in the Report of the Museum and that he was paid "less than that of a laborer or street car driver" (HS-FWP, 14 July 1897 HUA). He asked Putnam to "get [him] on the roll" upon returning to New York and to pay him what he was worth, or at least what he was being paid in the field (ibid). He also seemed to think that his part in the Jesup Expedition would increase his status in the Museum, not only his salary: "I trust if I return to the museum, and am not kept in the field, I may be assured of a little more decent treatment from the businessmen of the museum such as we expect and receive from our scientific men" (ibid).

Smith's poor health compounded or caused Smith's feelings of anxiety at the museum in New York. He commented on his weight, cough, physical, and emotional health in many letters written from the field. Smith clearly felt his best when away from the city, away from the pressures of the department and in more open space. Early in the Expedition he expressed his enjoyment of the area and indicated how inferior he must have felt back in New York. "It makes one feel like a man; as if one had a right to live

and be free + equal to his fellow men" (HS-MS,⁴³ 3 June 1897 AMNH). Throughout the year he mentioned his happiness and good health many times (HS-MS, 11 July 1897 AMNH), how much his cough and appetite had improved (HS-FWP, 14 July 1897 HUA) and how he had regained his former strength (HS-Winser,⁴⁴ 16 July 1897 HUA). Despite the improvements, Smith noted (at his young age) that: "I did not realize until I tried the work outside that I could no longer endure as I did a few years ago. I had no idea that the indoor life and worry had pulled me down so much that I can not [sic] stand what I did with ease a few years ago when I was accustomed to the outdoor life" (HS-FWP, 17 June 1897 PMA). He recognized that the outdoor life was more suited to him, "but which [he had] to give up for anthropology" (HS-FWP, 22 Sept. 1897 HUA), as work in the city required. He thought he was "naturally cut out for a country man...far from cities" (ibid). Again, nearing the end of the season, Smith predicted dissatisfaction upon his return to New York:

I will be glad to see my friends on my return but it does seem I can never stand it to live in a big city. This trip has given me a taste of my old happiness which will go on return to the city. To me this is glorious country except for lack of some educated associates such as one finds in college towns (HS-FB, 23 Sept. 1897 AMNH).

Certainly, getting out of congested Manhattan seemed to make Smith feel more relaxed. It also gave him the distance to recognize how suffocating the museum situation was for him. He made efforts, especially during the first two years of the Expedition, to find work in other institutions. He believed he had opportunities at the Carnegie Museum,⁴⁵ even going so far as to ask Boas to send a copy of a recent *Science* article about the Expedition to the Carnegie Museum to persuade them (HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH). He was quite

⁴³ Marshall Saville.

⁴⁴ Manager of Accounts at AMNH.

⁴⁵ See HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH and HS-FB, 3 Oct. 1897 AMNH.

hopeful throughout the summer and by the autumn thought the letter he received from his contact at the Carnegie was "one of favorable indications" (HS-FB, 11 Oct. 1897 AMNH). In fact, Boas wrote to the Carnegie on behalf of Smith explaining why he could not immediately respond to their letters (ibid). In response to a question Boas must have asked him about remaining in New York, Smith replied:

Yes, there are reasons why I would like to remain in New York, several reasons. On the other hand I doubt if I will ever like the mode of life in N.Y. and believe I will like the suburbs of Pittsburgh. I think at Pittsburgh I will not have as valued friends as in N.Y. but more moderate friends than in N.Y. I mean that I expect I will like the people of Pitts. far better than the masses in N.Y. but individual friends less. It will isolate me I fear but it will also put on me responsibility that will better develop me or show me I can not [sic] carry it. But I have not the responsibility yet + may not get it (ibid).

Smith did not get the position at the Carnegie Museum (HS-FB, 19 Nov. 1897 AMNH) but claimed that Dorsey wanted him in Chicago. Smith said that "an offer from there would help" but did not seem impressed, seeing too many "drawbacks" to the Museum (ibid).

Smith also considered other means of earning money by writing for syndicated newspapers, noting that at least one "jumps at [his] tips" (HS-FB, 23 Sept. 1897 AMNH). However, he expressed his concern for doing that type of work, saying: "The only difficulty is that I am often in doubt about the propriety of giving them tips for some of the museum + expedition news I hear may not be for publication. That I will have to be careful to ascertain" (ibid).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, Smith did not learn his lesson, running into trouble in 1898 when he wrote an article for *Popular Science News*. Boas must have reprimanded him for writing it without authorization as he wrote to Boas saying he has asked the publication to "kill the article on the Jesup Expedition" (HS-FB, 22 June 1898 AMNH). He wrote: "I am sorry the article seems wrong to you. I tried to write nothing objectionable giving mostly what had already been printed. In the future I guess I better not mention the museum or its work in any way and so will not" (ibid). Boas was likely concerned because Smith did not get approval to write the article and Boas wanted to control the information about the Expedition.

In 1898 the subject of moving was still on Smith's mind. He was invited by the Brooklyn Institute to give a lecture and he was concerned that "[his] first lecture [be] acceptable, knowing that will determine future chances" (HS-FB, 31 Aug. 1898 AMNH).

Boas noticed Smith's ill health as well. He was concerned about Smith's coughing and general health in the early part of the trip (FB-MB, 14 June 1897 APS quoted in Rohner 1969: 204-5) and lamented, "if only he were well!" (FB-parents, 15 June 1897 APS quoted in Rohner 1969: 209). However, Boas noted much improvement in Smith's health as the trip progressed.⁴⁷

Negotiating the Collection

Smith was plagued with other troubles during his work in B.C. Misunderstandings with local landowners, covert excavations, and having to 'sell' the museum to various Aboriginal communities were common occurrences. Smith's past work with the Ojibwa in Michigan, his archaeological work under Putnam, and his collections-based responsibilities at Chicago did not really prepare him for the breadth of responsibility and decision-making that he would have in British Columbia. Unlike some of his previous archaeological work, the work Smith undertook in B.C. directly involved Aboriginal people and work on community land. Because of the potential for conflict and controversy, he was expected to ask permission to excavate and remove human remains, and he had to develop haggling skills to obtain some of the ethnographic objects that he was collecting for the Museum. The result was a series of experiences that provide a snapshot of the history of museum anthropologists and Aboriginal communities.

⁴⁷ See FB-FWP, 11 Aug. 1897 PMA; FWP-MB, 11 Aug. 1897 APS in Rohner 1969: 223; and FB-parents, 15 Aug. 1897 APS in Rohner 1969: 227.

The process of removing human remains from Aboriginal communities proved more difficult and political than Smith might have anticipated. Early in his first season, Smith reported that Aboriginal people had stopped him from taking remains from reserves twice (HS-FWP, 14 July 1897 HUA). In order to convince people that his intentions were purely scientific and that their ancestors would not be collected for the purposes of mockery (which was their concern), he had a colleague at the Museum send him photographs and reports from the Museum. He found that that they were greatly beneficial in "persuading the Indians to let [him] take bones to the building pictured in the Report and to teach the people shown in the view of [the] Lecture Hall" (ibid). While in Lytton, for instance, he encountered resistance to his collecting. He enlisted the help of Indian Agents, and when all else failed, he began collecting covertly,⁴⁸ writing that:

they allowed me to take stone objects and quietly I shipped what bones I could in with the stones. When the Reports came, I gave i.e. 'potlatched'⁴⁹ the young chief the pictures showing the museum, a great school as I called it...I told him the people in New York big city never saw bear deer etc. (HS-Winser, 16 July 1897 HUA).

Apparently, his efforts were successful and the Chief at Lytton reportedly allowed him to take what he wanted as long as he covered up his excavated pits so no one would laugh at them. Smith stated that the Chief wanted him to write to people in New York to tell them the Chief at Lytton "has a good head" and let Smith take things "from Indian land" (ibid). Smith thanked Winsor for sending the Museum documents and stated: "The Reports + pictures you sent for use in interesting whites to give specimens save the day for us with the Indians" (ibid). Unfortunately, this did not seem to solve the problem. He wrote to

⁴⁸ Smith's desperation to get 'good' objects for the Expedition seemed to outweigh any qualms he might have had regarding unethical, even for that time, collecting.

⁴⁹ Smith used the term 'potlatch' in more than one letter. He used it as the literal translation of the Chinook jargon, meaning 'to give'.

Boas not long after stating that the locals were friendly and allowed him to excavate but they would not allow him to remove any bones because they feared they would be presented as a joke in New York (HS-FB, 18 June 1897 AMNH). Smith, trying to get the support of the Aboriginal people in Kamloops, had the local missionary, Father LeJeune, explain in their own language that Smith wanted to collect bones for teaching purposes in New York. The community acquiesced but wanted to ensure that he covered everything he did not take so that, as Smith wrote, "no bad white men would take them to make fun of the Indians" (HS-MS, 11 July 1897 AMNH).

The problem was exacerbated when an Indian Agent⁵⁰ from Westminster informed Smith that all Agents had received notice that "there was a liability of parties digging in Indian grave yards and to look out for them as it was against the law" and that Indian agents were to "warn the Indians + tell them the law on the subject" (HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH). Smith looked into the matter, concerned that Ottawa should be sending out such a message. He was assured that it was not the result of the Expedition's work and was simply a means of making Aboriginal communities aware of the situation. None of the local Indian agents would (or could) provide further explanation (HS-FB, 3 Oct. 1897 AMNH). The fact that Ottawa took some notice of grave excavation may have been in part due to the actions of Dorsey, of the Chicago Field Columbian Museum. There are references in several letters⁵¹ to his indiscretions while working on the Northwest Coast. Putnam, in a letter to Boas, noted that while visiting Toronto, he noticed

considerable feeling about American institutions taking off everything possible from British Columbia, and [that he would] not be at all surprised,

⁵⁰ Smith did not note the name of the Indian Agent.

⁵¹ See FB-Putnam, 11 Aug. 1897 PMA; FB-FWP, 21 Aug. 1897 PMA; FWP-FB, 11 Nov. 1897 AMNH.

at any moment, to hear of some law being passed prohibiting the work in that country except under the authority of the Canadian government (FWP-FB, 11 Nov. 1897 AMNH).

He urged Boas to get all the necessary specimens for study at AMNH (*ibid*).

The following year of the Expedition (1898) proved slightly less problematic for Smith. Early in the season Boas was sent a letter of complaint indicating that Smith did not obtain the proper permission dig on land leased from the Hudson's Bay Company. The pits were left open over the winter season and there was a fear that grazing cattle and sheep would be harmed (JD⁵²-FB, 13 May 1898 AMNH). Smith denied the accusations, stating that he did work on the land but was careful to re-fill the pits. He implied he knew who the culprit was but would not reveal more (HS-FB, 26 May 1898 AMNH). The remainder of the year saw fewer difficulties, although he noted that in Comox he had permission to look for 'curios' but that they were not allowed to disturb any graves (HS-FB, 1 Aug. 1898 AMNH). Knowing that he would have to do some work in the United States the following year for comparative purposes, Smith planned ahead by writing to C.M. Buchanan, an Agency Physician in Tulalip, Washington. He inquired whether he would be allowed to dig in Indian cemeteries and whether "there would be any objections to our taking away from the cemetery...some of the human bones" (HS-CMB, 29 Dec. 1898 AMNH).

In January and February of 1899, Smith used the lessons learned in B.C. and wrote ahead to a variety of landowners in Washington, asking permission to dig on their land as well as to collect any implements or bones he might find.⁵³ In some cases, he rented

⁵² James Deans.

⁵³ For examples, see AMNH correspondence from Harlan Smith to O.A. Damon (11 Jan. 1899) and I.L. Edwards (11 Jan. 1899).

accommodations in private homes despite poor food and lodging, in order to have access to the owner's land (HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH).

While on his third trip to the Coast, Smith seemed more aware of the potential unrest that his presence in a community might cause. He advised Boas that he doubted that "trouble " would arise, yet said that

as the work was done while only few Indians were there those who were absent and have since returned might object. Those that were present did not comfort me much and I feel that would rather let the matter be digested by them before taking up more extensive archaeological studies which out of necessity to careful work and preservation of specimens be done more openly (HS-FB, 16 Sept. 1899 AMNH).

In addition to work-related problems, Smith was the subject of a number of sensational rumors. One of those, mentioned above, was an accusation about his grave excavation techniques. During the last year of the Expedition he was in the headlines of the newspaper⁵⁴ for a particularly odd story. Boas wrote to Smith, tongue in cheek, stating: "I see from the newspaper that you have discovered an Egyptian mummy. I hope you were able to decipher the hieroglyphics" (FB-HS, 30 Aug. 1899 AMNH). Smith, having been sent numerous clippings, replied "it is interesting to be able to learn just what one has found" (HS-FB, 13 Sept. 1899 AMNH). Despite the absurdity of the story, it was a time in archaeological history when perhaps anything seemed possible. Smith had to ask Boas to explain to the departmental administrator that the story was a fabrication (HS-FB, 23 Sept. 1899 AMNH) and Boas had to explain to Jesup that Smith did not fail to write a report on the Egyptian find, it simply did not happen (FB-MKJ, 29 Sept. 1899 AMNH).

⁵⁴ I do not know in which paper the story appeared.

Smith, Boas and Marriage

In correspondence from the Expedition years, a seeming paternal, yet somewhat ambivalent relationship between Boas and Smith is evident. Boas clearly felt some responsibility for Smith, yet at the same time his confidence in Smith's work wavered. Smith relied on Boas for advice and direction concerning his collecting decisions, situations at the museum and the future of his career. He also depended on Boas, and Putnam to a lesser degree, to advise him on personal matters. Integral to indecision in Smith's personal life was his father's business and economic situation. The dramatic decrease in his father's standard of living probably drove Smith to become more obsessive about his own.

In some ways my visit to Saginaw was very pleasant but of course it also has a sad side to go there when we have no home and father is simply being left by his old business associates until he can get some work. He used to say I ought to go into business and now that it is too late and he needs my help it makes his advice come back to me when I realize that I can do nothing for him after all he did for me (HS-FWP, 17 June 1897 PMA).

As well as feeling pressured to be successful in his career, Smith knew that his father would like him to be married and settled, with a home (HS-FB, 5 Sept. 1897 AMNH). The elder Mr. Smith also seemed to believe that his son's "health will be better with home food etc. and believes [he] will be happier and do better work and be less blue when having a home and companion" (HS-FWP, 4 Sept. 1897 HUA).

Smith's romantic life was a prevalent topic of conversation in his letters from the field, primarily in the first year of the Expedition. Smith was engaged for several years to Helena Oakes from Saginaw, Michigan. By the time he left for B.C., and possibly because of the seeming advancement of his career, plans for marriage were imminent. On

this topic, letters flew between Smith, Boas, Putnam, Boas' wife, and others. In true form, Smith took in all their advice but stuck with his original decision. The marriage thread, traced through the correspondence is actually quite useful. It sets up the relationship Smith had with his colleagues, broadens the understanding of his actions and provides an assessment of Smith by his superiors.

Smith had no qualms about soliciting advice about marriage. About Smith's plans to marry, Boas had been "so taken by surprise that [he] hardly knew what to say" (FB-FWP, 21 Aug. 1897 PMA). Boas wrote at length about this "exceedingly serious matter" (ibid) and his failed attempts to convince Smith how difficult and unfair it would be to ask his wife to survive on such a small income. He also discussed Smith's future:

I also told him my opinion of his future; I told him that he was deficient in a great many things which he ought to study and that a year of clear study in books was for him much more important just now than anything else (ibid).

In the same letter Boas also revealed to Putnam what he thought of Smith at this particular time:

There are several things about Smith that worry me. He is such a good, honest and upright fellow, that everybody must wish him well, but I do not believe he has the making of a very strong man. His strong side was not mental work, but cleverness in carrying out work that requires handicraft. His training is so [defective?] that there are big gaps in his knowledge of even elementary things. When thinking over problems he stops short...at questions which are absurdly simple. I have often taken occasions to point out to him that he ought to answer that sort of questions himself and made him answer them. But that is his whole mental attitude. He has good common sense in [?] matters of fact, but he cannot work an abstraction without getting into trouble. Maybe he will outgrow this stage, although I have my grave misgivings (ibid).

In a letter to his wife, Boas mentioned that it was "difficult" to give Putnam his assessment of Smith. He noted that Putnam was concerned and that Smith also wrote to

Winser about it. He wished Smith would "hold his tongue with respect to some people"⁵⁵ and offered his wife this view of Smith:

I have doubts that he will ever amount to anything. His education has many gaps, and will always be apparent because he does not have the mind to spur him on and help him try to fill the gaps. He likes mostly activity which he can do with his hands. He is clever and resourceful, etc., but where theoretical work is involved, he lags behind. His attitude in all possible fields is very naive, and frequently the questions he asks are unbelievably simple. I often tell him to think it over himself and then give me the answers to his own questions. On the other hand he is such a nice fellow that I really feel sorry for him. Well, maybe he will succeed yet (FB-MB,⁵⁶ 19 Aug. 1897 APS quoted in Rohner 1969: 229).

Boas later stated a desire to "have a good talk with Smith" and encourage him to be more independent (FB-MB, 26 Aug. 1897 APS quoted in Rohner 1969: 231). Shortly after, Boas met up with Smith to have an "earnest conversation" in which he tried to persuade Smith to postpone marriage until he had achieved a better salary.⁵⁷ Boas relayed Smith's explanation of himself to Boas:

The last thing he said when we took leave of each other was that he did not know how to talk freely about his affairs, since it was not in his nature to do so...I wish I could force him to open up. I am not a talker myself, but such isolation must be awful! It is not easy for me to talk like a father to him, since we were always good comrades. I should be surprised if he accepted my advice. I hope he will be good in his future work (FB-MB, 30 Aug. 1897 APS quoted in Rohner 1969: 233-4).

Despite his misgivings, Boas was clearly taking on a paternal role, both in regard to work and personal life. Although Smith did not seem to draw much of a line between his personal and working life, Boas cautioned him about confiding so much personal information to colleagues (HS-FB, 5 Sept. 1897 AMNH). Smith said he had "thought of all this advice carefully and while I am thankful for it and the kind interest, yet it is very

⁵⁵ Boas is likely referring to Jesup and Winser.

⁵⁶ Marie Boas.

⁵⁷ Boas thought the matter serious enough to discuss it with his own mother to get her advice, in addition to discussions with his wife and Putnam (FB-MB, 30 Aug. 1897 in Rohner 1969: 233).

hard advice to follow. I don't know at all what to do" (HS-FB, 15 Sept. 1897 AMNH). He reiterated the pressure he felt by his father, and the obligation he felt to Helena (ibid). He seemed anxious to convince Boas that marriage was feasible by interjecting a sentence or two into letters containing his field reports. For instance, he wrote: "Neither Helena nor I expect to need to buy any clothes for about a year so that will save us about \$160 for the year and perhaps by that time I will either get a raise or some outside work writing for some of the papers or such" (HS-FB, 17 Sept. 1897 AMNH). Finally, Smith wrote to Putnam and conceded that he had in fact decided to get married at the end of the summer as planned.

In regard to my marrying, had I not been so bashful about it and had told you and Dr. earlier and received your advice I should have followed it and postponed but now that plans at home are so far advanced it seems I can hardly postpone a fourth time. I have considered your advice carefully + would not like you to think I paid no attention to it (HS-FWP, 22 Sept. 1897 HUA).

He wrote Boas a similar letter, informing him that they had already postponed the wedding from May of that year and since then his "parents and a few others, through them, learned of our plan and arrangements have gone so far that it seems too late now to a fourth time postpone" (HS-FB, 23 Sept. 1897 AMNH). The wedding that was too complicated to postpone took place on November 25, 1897 as a quiet ceremony in Michigan with only the couple's parents present (HS-FB, 19 Nov. 1897 AMNH).

The exchanges about his family are important for several reasons. They outline the pressures for security that Smith felt, both to support a wife and to escape his father's situation. Also, they illuminate the relationships Smith had with his superiors and how his personal life was fundamentally connected to his professional life. He depended on others

for advice on both, and one was interwoven with the other. At that time, at least, he seemed unable to keep the two separate.

Jesup Expedition, Second Season

During the field season of 1898, Smith returned to B.C., this time accompanied by his new wife⁵⁸ (HS-FB, 27 April 1898 AMNH). Mrs. Smith helped her husband in two noticeable ways -- she did drawings of artifacts for him (HS-FB, 2 May 1898 AMNH), and she appeared to improve both his physical and emotional well-being since negative references in his correspondence to either are noticeably absent during that year.

Smith returned to some areas visited the previous year but also tried some new locations. He spent time in Kamloops doing archaeological collecting and photographing people, then went on to Spences Bridge where he did the same in the company of James Teit. In Eburne he worked on the Great Fraser Midden (also known as the Marpole site), which yielded enough significant information to write *Shell Heaps of the Lower Fraser River* (1903). Time in Fort Rupert, Nimpkish River, Alert Bay and Comox was spent on excavations as well as collecting rock and tree burials and some ethnographic material. In Nanaimo and Duncan he made casts of petroglyphs but did not have much cooperation from the Coast Salish people for collections of any other type. In North Saanich, and Victoria he did some additional excavation as well as visited museum collections. Finally he headed back to Port Hammond before leaving for the United States.

⁵⁸ Mrs. Smith wrote an article about her trip for the New York Herald (October 9, 1898) titled: *The Indian Girl of the Present and the Squaw of Barbarism Compared*. She found the Aboriginal people she met on the Northwest Coast to be "interesting, friendly people" although some of their customs were quite "queer."

Smith's responsibilities increased in 1898 and he had clearly learned a lot from the previous year's experiences. He began to do more ethnological collecting than before,⁵⁹ but again, he lacked the training of his colleagues. With Expedition funds, he purchased more artifacts to go with photographs that he took of people involved in daily activities (HS-FB, 27 April 1898 AMNH) to contextualize the artifacts, although he was not yet confident enough to know if he was getting objects for a fair price (HS-FB, 17 May 1898 AMNH). Smith, practiced in archaeology, tended toward the more 'authentic' objects, not realizing the importance of outside influences or integration of styles in contemporary objects. For example, while in Musqueam, Smith wanted to acquire a particular drum, of which the seller had two. One clearly showed "white contact" (HS-FB, 3 June 1898 AMNH). He claimed that it interested him, but believed that "the Museum would prefer the old style and would not care to see how white men's pipes and hats are drawn by Indian artists" (ibid). He sometimes misunderstood the Aboriginal people in the area. When they refused to sell or were slow in making models of canoes for him, he thought them "lazy" (ibid). Also, when the Indians claimed they didn't know the significance of a house post or carving, or told him something he believed to be incorrect, he claimed that "they don't seem to know as much of the old times as we wish they did" (ibid). It never occurred to Smith that people might not want to tell him details or to sell him certain objects. In another instance, having purchased house posts in Comox, he lamented, "I fear northern artists were employed and that northern art shows in some of them" (HS-FB, 1 Aug. 1898 AMNH). He tried to collect stories to go with the poles because Boas told him, it "makes them ten times as valuable" (ibid). However, when attempting to collect

⁵⁹ By mid-summer, Smith reported to Jesup that he had collected 54 boxes of specimens, a little more than one box for each day of work. In addition, he had collected over 100 anthropological photographs, 20 skeletons, 13 plaster casts, and archaeological material (HS-MKJ, 28 June 1898 AMNH).

information, Smith found that "often...the Indians do not know as well as I. One woman told me the beaver was a man, but afterwards I found a more intelligent person" (ibid).

In addition to this ethnological work, Smith continued the shell heap investigations in places such as Eburne, Knight's Inlet, Fort Rupert, etc. Although he was unsure of what he had found and asked Boas many questions about his finds, he attempted to analyze some of the results from the shell heaps. Upon recognizing a pattern of skeletons being located near the tops of cairns, Smith noted:

our finds may not in all cases be correlated with the real losses of these people, but are more less influenced by our luck, consequently, we have to do a great deal and get much in order to eliminate, as far as possible, the luck equation. I also feel that we may be working, yes probably are, in shell heaps of several very different peoples although some of their things were alike (HS-FB, 1 Aug. 1898 AMNH).

A month later he made a list of research questions about the shell heaps to send to Boas. He wrote that work he had done that year allowed him to understand "how much there is to be found out, how much work must be done to eliminate the luck element, and how many more shell heaps and kinds of shell heaps there are than I supposed" (HS-FB, 31 Aug. 1898 AMNH). He claimed that there were years of work ahead because shell heaps yield so much information. "I see so many things I wish to investigate I do not know to which to turn and only hope this is not the last funds and last time we may have for the work" (HS-FB, 7 Sept. 1898 AMNH).

Smith also had more administrative duties with Boas not in the field,⁶⁰ including budgeting, arranging and paying for shipments to New York, and supervising and paying archaeological assistants. He found the latter especially difficult since his time was consumed with "looking after and instructing an inexperienced young scientist [which]

⁶⁰ Boas did not participate in the field seasons of 1898 or 1899.

seriously interferes with systematic work, besides being an extra expense to the expedition" (HS-FWP, 18 June 1898 AMNH). About his assistants, Smith also said that he "can look after [his] work better alone" (HS-FB, 22 June 1898 AMNH). Regarding finances, there were several mix-ups relating to shipping and associated costs,⁶¹ prompting Smith to ask Boas if he questioned Smith's capabilities with money and assuring him that: "I think this letter, together with the accounts I have forwarded to you, shows my understanding of the expedition finances which I trust is correct" (HS-FB, 5 July 1898 AMNH).

Although Smith continued to use educational pamphlets to entice Aboriginal people to relinquish some of their possessions,⁶² he also had George Hunt⁶³ with him to be of assistance. For example, while in Fort Rupert, he said Hunt got permission to take skulls from tree and box burials. However, possibly fearing repercussions, he wrote: "we are doing it secretly...leaving no traces behind us and will use the permission to cover a possible detection" (HS-FB, 13 June 1898 AMNH). The Smiths also became acquainted with Hunt's sister, with whom they stayed one night and camped on her land for an additional period. The Smiths thought Miss Hunt "very nice" and they were "much pleased with the appearance of their home" (ibid). The relationship developed and Miss Hunt sent the Smiths "a pail of milk or something every day" and gave Mrs. Smith a silver bracelet as a gift (ibid). This seemingly good-natured relationship would soon develop into another controversial situation focused on Smith. Apparently, the Smiths were

⁶¹ For example, see HS-FB, 22 June 1898 AMNH.

⁶² See note dated May 18, 1898 and HS-FB, 19 May, 1898, AMNH.

⁶³ George Hunt was the son of a Tlingit mother and Hudson's Bay Company employee. He was raised in Kwak'waka'wakw territory. Hunt collaborated for years with Boas and others, often collecting objects and texts for them.

interviewed by a Victoria newspaper⁶⁴ and were reported to have made some insulting remarks about Hunt's family. Hunt wrote to Boas, saying that "the names [Mrs. Smith] called them there...I am shame [sic] to talk about." His sisters no longer spoke to him because of his connection to the Smiths and were planning to "report to the Indians What Mr. Smith Done to there Daids and that I was Helping them."⁶⁵ Smith would never be allowed back to Fort Rupert "to still there grave again"⁶⁶ (GH-FB, 10 Jan. 1899 APS). Boas wrote back claiming a misunderstanding, because the Smiths spoke very highly of Hunt's family. He surmised that "the whole trouble lies with the meddlesome and nasty newspaper writers" (FB-GH, 8 Feb. 1899 APS). Despite Boas' attempts to rectify the situation, the events did not increase Smith's popularity on the Northwest Coast.

Jesup Expedition, Third Season

There are limited archival records for Smith's final year with the Expedition. Smith visited a number of areas including Kamloops, Puget Sound, Lillooet/Harrison Lake, North Saanich, Eburne, and Nicola Lake. Boas, via mail, tried to direct him to visit the sites where he would find the most answers relating to the question of skull types. He reiterated the importance of solving the problem of the distribution of shell mounds of Eburne and Puget Sound. He also said "of course, I rely on your judgment in all these matters; but I wish to urge you not to feel too much influenced by the consideration of the number of specimens that you are going to send back" (FB-HS, 28 July 1898 AMNH). Boas, in reviewing Smith's collection of skulls from Lillooet, suggested that Smith would have to go back to do other archaeological work besides taking skulls (FB-HS, 5 Aug.

⁶⁴ I have been unable to locate the original newspaper article.

⁶⁵ Spelling errors and capitalizations shown here are in the original letter.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

AMNH) to gain a broader understanding of the area and not to concentrate solely on the skulls. He also suggested that Smith remain in New York the following year to work up all the material he had collected. However, he also stated: "I wish you would be entirely guided in these matters by your judgment, on which I rely. I do not want to interfere in any way with your plans, as I cannot judge from a distance what it is best to do" (ibid). Possibly Boas said this as a response to the many questions that Smith asked while in the field. To Boas' suggestions, Smith agreed, stating "I am sure that I have much to supplement notes, in my mind which will shrink and become confused with other matters if I delay writing it out too long" (HS-FB, 16 Feb. 1899 AMNH).

Smith continued to remove human remains from communities, sometimes asking permission from only one Aboriginal person while hiding it from the others (HS-FB, 7 Aug. 1899 AMNH); although at Douglas he claimed that "all of [the skulls] are so old that the Indians said I might dig" (HS-FB, 19 Aug. 1899 AMNH).

Throughout the summer, Smith spent some time traveling and collecting with James Teit (HS-FB, 30 Sept. 1899 AMNH). They compared memoirs and work and comments by Smith throughout the summer indicates their relationship had become friendly and collegial. The two traveled to the Nicola Valley together where Smith wanted to show Elders his *Archaeology of Lytton* (1899) memoir to gain some additional insight into some of the objects he discussed in the paper.

Although he rarely asked for personal advice in 1898, Smith relied on Boas again for matters unrelated to the Expedition. When asked if he would be interested in going to Chicago as an assistant curator, Smith put off replying so he could discuss it with Boas first (HS-FB, 16 Sept. 1899 AMNH).

Smith decided to take a leave of absence for one month at the end of the season so that he could "return to the Museum refreshed and encouraged (HS-FB, 19 Aug. 1899 AMNH). Unfortunately, any relaxation he may have enjoyed would not last long.

AMNH 1899-1911

In the years following the Jesup Expedition Smith continued with his museum work much as before. However, the return to New York was not as satisfactory as he had hoped. As early as the spring of 1900, Boas wrote to Putnam indicating that they may have to hire someone to replace Smith, who may soon be gone. "I think it is all but certain that Smith is going to leave us, and I should consider it a good plan to look around tentatively for another man now" (FB-FP, 10 Apr. 1900 HUA). Boas indicated that this time, he wanted someone with a strong university background and explained:

The trouble with Smith is that he is altogether too one-sided, and that his general education has been neglected. For this reason he never gets beyond his little points of view, and he does not see the connection between his work and the general broad questions of anthropology (ibid).

However, Smith did not leave that year, nor for many after. In 1900, he held the position of Assistant Curator of Archaeology⁶⁷ and worked on exhibits, organized the cases, wrote labels, arranged displays and continued to work up the results from his time in B.C. (FB-HS, 7 June 1900 AMNH). It appears to have been a busy year within the museum with new accession and record keeping systems established and with collections from the Expedition being prepared for exhibit and storage. It was also a successful year,

⁶⁷ This is the first year that Smith is listed as a member of the staff. However, the 1911 Report when posting notice of Smith's retirement, stated that he had been "in charge of the archaeological work of the Department of Anthropology since 1895" (AR 1911 AMNH SC).

with the Annual Report glowing that "during the last six years⁶⁸ the Department of Anthropology has made such remarkable progress that one is tempted to dwell upon the results attained and to prophesy for its future" (AR 1900 AMNH SC).

The following year continued with much the same work, but Smith began mentioning his health again, even noting that he was refused life insurance again "until I pick up" (HS-FP, 1 Nov. 1901 PMA). He also postponed vacations again to concentrate on work at the Museum (HS-FB, 24 June 1901 AMNH). Staff focused on working up the results of the Expedition although the cost of publishing the memoirs was beginning to become a serious problem because of the sheer bulk of material (AR 1901 AMNH SC).

By 1902 Smith began making negative comments about his position at the Museum, and indicated a desire for more responsibility (HS-FB, 8 Feb. 1902 PMA). The kind of responsibility he wanted is unclear, as he was given credit in Annual Report of that year for arranging the North American archaeology collection and preparing the labels, maps and drawings as well as additional information (AR 1902 AMNH SC). However, he did note that he refused a job from Dorsey that would pay more than his current salary, saying that his "present work, methods and friendship" were more important (HS-FB, 8 Feb. 1902 PMA). He went so far as to state: "When I am denying myself and family what the difference in salary would buy I think I should not be further cut down in expeditions, publishing and help in the museum which three matters to me are more than salary and largely what I live for" (ibid).

His desire to get away for fieldwork culminated in his offer to contribute \$50 towards a project (HS-FP, 8 May 1902 PMA). Smith took an extended vacation that year, possibly due to health problems. In letters from Michigan he stated that he is "not as

⁶⁸ Not coincidentally, this is the length of time that Putnam had been in charge of the Division.

nervous as when in New York" (HS-FWP, 31 May 1902 PMA) and that he "[dreaded] to return to noise and dark of flat" (HS-FWP, 18 June 1902 PMA). He noted that he did not feel rested but upon returning to New York "will be able to take hold" (HS-FB, 19 June 1902 AMNH).

Regarding exhibitions, Smith wrote popular guides for some of the archaeology displays. He planned to write popular guides for all the cases, to be used by the general public and schoolteachers since the memoirs were available for the "scientific" visitor (HS-FB, 22 Aug. 1902 AMNH).

Correspondence and notes are slim for the next few years but it appears that heavy work continued on labeling collections and mounting exhibits. Work on the Expedition Memoirs was a great priority and Smith completed his *Archaeology of the Gulf of Georgia and Puget Sound* (1907). He did some fieldwork in Washington in 1903 where he became, at one point, so run-down he could barely stand up (HS-FB, 1 July 1903 AMNH). Part of the problem seems to have been that he was unsure of what to collect, stating that when he "must satisfy unknown desires [he] cannot rest a moment on the whole trip" (HS-FB, 2 Aug. 1903 AMNH). He did other work on and off while home in Michigan and conducted more formal fieldwork in Wyoming in 1907 and 1908.

By 1909, Smith was back in B.C., and noticed huge differences from the Jesup Expedition years. He noted that poles were virtually gone from most communities, many Aboriginal people were working in canneries, and the modernization of many towns that he had visited before (HS-CW,⁶⁹ 6 Aug. 1909 AMNH). He continued to take photographs to document his travels, of people, communities, etc. but had little luck collecting objects. He regretted "that the old days [were] gone for the Indian" (ibid).

⁶⁹ Clark Wissler.

In 1910, Smith's position expanded to include Curator of Anthropology. Throughout 1910 and 1911, instead of going out to B.C. himself, Smith enlisted the help of Alfred Adams, a Haida chief from Masset, to collect and purchase specimens for him. There are dozens of letters throughout these years (AMNH) concerning the specifics of collecting. Although Smith still requested the more dramatic objects, such as house posts and totem poles, he also requested that Adams collect samples of tools and food because "that is just what has not been collected for us by other people" (HS- AA, 24 Feb. 1911 AMNH). The collaboration with Adams continued until Smith finally left the AMNH for Ottawa.

Why Sapir decided to pursue Harlan Smith for the position of Dominion Archaeologist of the Anthropology Division, or who recommended him to Sapir is unclear. Correspondence between the two regarding the position began early in 1911. One of the earliest letters in this correspondence has Smith mulling over Sapir's offer, saying that he is interested, "partly because I have been humiliated for so long here that a change of scene might be of great benefit in restoring me to my activities of say fifteen years ago" (HS-ES, 2 Feb. 1911 CMC). While he made clear that he would rather not make the decision without Boas' input (HS-ES, 2 Feb. 1911 CMC; HS-ES, 16 Feb. 1911 CMC) he pointed out that the impending reorganization at the AMNH might make his present situation worse, as much as he was reluctant to leave (HS-ES, 16 Feb. 1911 CMC). He debated whether to accept the position in several more letters⁷⁰ and finally decided to leave his position at the AMNH on July 1, 1911 (HS-ES, 11 May 1911 CMC).

⁷⁰ See HS-ES, 2 Feb. 1911; 16 Feb. 1911; 2 Mar. 1911; 15 Mar. 1911; 22 Mar. 1911; 4 Apr. 1911; 20 Apr. 1911; 25 Apr. 1911; 11 May 1911 CMC.

The years of work in the United States reveal some important points to be considered during Smith's time in Canada. He was clearly learning on the job and had developed some valuable experience under his superiors. Not having the same training as his colleagues seemed to put him at a disadvantage in the field and office. However, his fieldwork experiences seemed to improve his confidence over the years and his results certainly indicate that he was making progress both in the work he was doing at the museum as well as in the discipline. His continued requests for advice, both personal and professional, indicate a lack of security about his position and his capabilities. Whether that was reinforced through his interactions with his colleagues is unknown. His health concerns, noted by himself and by several others, are constant. They may have been a manifestation of his environment or an undiagnosed medical or psychological condition (although this is simply conjecture). What is known, through his correspondence, is that health concerns played a great part, along with pressures from family situations, in his early career.

Several parts of his career are developed during this time. He gained a lot of fieldwork experience, building on early guidance from Putnam and later from Boas. Controversies in the field and the increasing resistance of Aboriginal people to collectors forced him to develop additional methods, like negotiation. Outside of traditional archaeological and ethnological work he began to hone his photographic skills and we see the beginnings of his brand of exhibition techniques. Exhibits at the AMNH that he developed included contextual information and guides to help the general public appreciate the subject matter. These are the aspects of his career that developed alongside

his archaeological and ethnological work in Canada and evolved into a distinct and unique contribution.

Plate 3 Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (55792)
Photograph credited to H.I. Smith, August 14, 1922.

"Harlan I. Smith carrying plaster of Paris casts of petroglyphs in paper pack carrier made for the purpose. The casts are from west side of canon [sic], one mile south up creek from Bella Coola river, at a point about 4 miles above its mouth. The picture is taken about half a mile below the petroglyphs where the trail out for the purpose came out to the creek gravel bars." Caption by H.I. Smith.

Chapter 4

The Geological Survey of Canada and the National Museum

The Formation of an Anthropology Department

Edward Sapir took up his post as the head of the Anthropology department of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1910. His move to Canada was due entirely to Boas, upon whose recommendation the offer of employment was made. R.W. Brock, director of the GSC at the time, wrote to Boas asking for his suggestions for an enthusiastic and "scientifically trained leader" who would appreciate the opportunity to do original work and guide others who pursue anthropology for "recreation" (RWB-FB, 9 May 1910 CMC). Boas replied, saying that there was no one in Canada that was properly trained to do the work. He stressed that an amateur should not be hired because those working in Canada (Hill-Tout, Newcombe, Montgomery) were limited in their scope and scientific ability (FB-RWB, 14 May 1910 CMC). He argued that the incumbent must have knowledge and some training in, or at least an understanding of, ethnology, linguistics, biometrics (physical anthropology), and archaeology. He offered a review of several anthropologists in the United States and outlined, rather ruthlessly, their strengths and weaknesses⁷¹ before recommending Edward Sapir (University of Pennsylvania), "without a doubt the most brilliant among the younger anthropologists" (ibid). With that, Sapir

⁷¹ The men that Boas suggested were not up to the job were: A.L. Kroeber (University of California), Roland B. Dixon (Harvard University), John R. Swanton (BAE), Alfred M. Tozzer (Harvard University), Robert H. Lowie (AMNH), Pliny E. Goddard (AMNH), Frank G. Speck (University of Pennsylvania), A. Hrdlicka (U.S. National Museum), Alexander F. Chamberlain (Clark University), Edgar L. Hewett (School of Archaeology, Sante Fe), A. Stefansson (AMNH), George Grant McCurdy (Yale University), Albert E. Jenks (University of Minnesota), Herbert J. Spinden (AMNH), and Webster Hutton (University of Nebraska). Chamberlain was the only Canadian mentioned but Boas considered him too much of a "book man" and reluctant to do fieldwork (FB-RWB, 14 May 1910 CMC).

was offered and accepted the position and the four-branch system of Boasian anthropology was established in Canada. Although euphoric about the position (Darnell 1990: 44) Sapir felt "cast-off" from Boas by his placement in Ottawa (Handler 1983: 213). It may have been a sort of exile, a way for Boas to keep his brilliant student at a comfortable distance (Preston 1980: 367). Sapir envisioned the Anthropology division being much like the BAE in the United States, the utmost authority for work with Aboriginal people and history, and funded by the government (Sapir 1911: 789-90). Sapir began work September 1, 1910. He hired Marius Barbeau as assistant anthropologist in January 1911 and Smith as archaeologist in June of the same year. Sapir's plans for the department included adding a physical anthropologist, and systematically gaining information and knowledge on Aboriginal people of the country. He noted that many areas had been neglected and that all ethnological inquiries should incorporate linguistic study (ibid: 791). He stressed that the value of an archaeological survey of the country would be great and the only way to truly understand how the culture of Aboriginal Canadians had been influenced by outside factors (ibid: 792). He argued for research, publication and the formation of a representative museum collection and congratulated the Canadian government for recognizing the need to record and understand Aboriginal culture before it disappeared (ibid: 793).

Sapir also commended the efforts of G.M. Dawson and other Survey staff for the material culture they collected during their explorations but noted that it was not "systematic anthropological research" (Sapir 1913: 60). He wanted the department to have a combination of the BAE's research standards and the exhibition capabilities of the National Museum in Washington, and clearly hoped that more funding would allow for

the hiring of permanent staff necessary for a large-scale survey. To compensate, men were hired on contract for specific research projects⁷² (1913: 61). Sapir envisioned an academic department, prioritizing research and publication over exhibition. He argued that only by addressing all aspects of anthropology - archaeology, ethnology, physical anthropology and especially linguistics, could the various cultures of Canada and their history, be understood (1913: 62-3). Regarding material culture, he stated that objects would not be collected for their aesthetic value, but collections should be made that fairly represent the culture "where the crude awl skin scraper is deemed as worthy of attention as the richly ornamented basket or Chilcat blanket" (1913: 64). Also fundamental to the museum side of work was the accumulation of intangibles like songs, beliefs, design, etc. (1913: 64). He pointed out that although they did not yet have the capabilities to offer public lectures, talks in conjunction with universities and societies were being undertaken. A series of lantern slides were being developed for that purpose (1913: 64).

Although Sapir stressed the importance of Canadian universities in developing anthropology departments and turning out well-trained scientific Canadians (1913: 67-69), he was adamant about government anthropology being separate from provincial or university anthropology. He believed that government intervention was needed for complete studies. He insisted that government anthropologists have a university degree and training (Darnell 1990: 54) yet he hired Smith who had very little.⁷³ It certainly was not on Boas' advice, who wrote to Sapir and argued that Sapir should get an archaeologist

⁷² For example, A.A. Goldenweiser (Columbia University) and F.W. Waugh worked on different aspects of Iroquoian culture, W.H. Mechling (University of Pennsylvania) on Algonkian, C. MacMillan (McGill) on Mi'kmaq, V. Stefansson (AMNH) on Inuit, P. Radin (Columbia University) on Ojibwa, J.A. Teit on Dene, and F.H.S. Knowles worked on anthropometric data from the Iroquois (Sapir 1913: 65-7).

⁷³ It may be that it was difficult to find a well-trained available archaeologist, who was willing to come to Canada. Smith had many difficulties trying to find a man to work under him on contract archaeology before hiring Wintenberg.

"who understands the ethnological problem and who has enough knowledge of surface geology to make his work in that direction useful" (FB-ES, 19 June 1911 CMC). He noted that "Smith is a very enthusiastic fieldworker, but has no general point of view." He and Gerald Fowke⁷⁴ have probably the best experience in handy work of their sort, but none of them have good point of view" (FB-ES, 19 June 1911 CMC). However, not everyone shared Boas' opinion. W.H. Holmes, of the U.S. National Museum, Smithsonian, wrote to Smith not long after he arrived in Canada.

I am greatly pleased to know that you have taken charge of the work in Ottawa. I had the pleasure of giving them a strong letter in your favor and sincerely hope that you will find the place not only agreeable, but profitable to you scientifically and otherwise (WHH-HS, 21 July 1911 CMC).

By the time the department was established, American and European museums had been collecting in Canada, especially on the Northwest Coast, for years. After the collecting rush of the late 19th century, there was the realization that perhaps the Aboriginal populations were not dying out; however, there was concern that their material culture was being strongly influenced by European settlers. Both private and museum collectors began to search out the 'authentic' Aboriginal artifacts. In addition, the assimilation and 'civilization' initiatives of Indian Affairs included laws (such as the anti-potlatch law⁷⁵) that prohibited certain cultural practices. Many Indian agents and missionaries discouraged 'traditional culture,' believing it to be for the betterment of the

⁷⁴ Fowke worked with Smith and Boas on the Jesup Expedition.

⁷⁵ Potlatching was made an offense in 1885. While not consistently strictly enforced, a crackdown in the 1920s resulted in the arrest of 34 Kwak'waka'wakw people (Cole and Chaikin 1990: 118) who were given the choice of giving up their potlatch regalia, or going to jail. More arrests followed and over 450 items were eventually surrendered (Cole and Chaikin 1990: 122). With the exception of some objects sold to George Heye by the local Indian Agent, the objects remained the property of Indian Affairs. They were stored in a variety of locations, including the GSC Anthropology museum, the Royal Ontario Museum and in the office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The majority of these objects were repatriated to Alert Bay and Cape Mudge in the 1970s and 80s.

community. It was during this time that the Anthropology department began to build up a national collection, contending with an already significant loss of material culture in some parts of the country, Aboriginal communities that were suspicious of government, competition from non-Canadian collectors, and the obligation to help prevent the loss of culture that was so intrinsic to the spirit and lives of the Aboriginal communities they were working with.⁷⁶

Overview of Work 1911-1937

The early years of the Anthropology division were spent setting up the division but work got underway very quickly. In 1911 the move to a newly constructed building (Victoria Memorial Museum Building - VMMB) was complete and the collections made by the GSC surveyors were unpacked, organized and re-numbered according to Sapir's classification scheme. Smith, during this first year, identified two types of work for the archaeology section: diffusing archaeological knowledge through exhibits, guidebooks, and lectures, and increasing knowledge through research, fieldwork and systemization (SR⁷⁷ 1911: 391). Smith also began his 'popular guides' for archaeological collections from various parts of the country and started to compile lantern slides for archaeological lectures (SR 1911: 391). His first year in Canada appears to have been filled with excitement and optimism. In September, he wrote: "I feel much encouraged + have a lot of air castles, bees + plans in under my hat. I am very anxious to get back and to get at all the work I plan" (HS-ES, 18 Sept. 1911 CMC).

⁷⁶ While some may argue that museum collecting at that time added to the loss of culture in Aboriginal communities, I am referring here to the museum's role as broker between the federal government and Aboriginal communities. This will be demonstrated in some of Harlan Smith's projects, which follow.

⁷⁷ Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines.

Throughout his years in Ottawa, and reflected through the annual reports of the GSC and later, National Museum of Canada (NMC), major projects and continuing interest in certain areas, can be identified. These are discussed in depth, later. Smith had other archaeologists and contractors working under him that impacted his own work but most often it was separate from his own. He did not often do consistent, intensive archaeological explorations but he did countrywide archaeological reconnaissance, identifying significant sites of interest and sometimes, completed extensive excavations. During archaeological trips he would also collect ethnological artifacts, photographs and later, motion pictures.

In 1911 and 1912 Smith visited archaeological sites in Ontario. Although little mention was made of his health in his first year in Ottawa, it became a concern again very quickly. Although he reported that he "can't believe that I am other than well and nervous" he visited a doctor where he was assured that he had "no disease" but "was in a very much run down condition" (HS-ES, 17 June 1912 CMC). In addition to this, as well as severe pain in his legs, he found the bureaucracy of government work a little perplexing, noting that he did not "get the run of all the red tape up here" (HS-ES, 2 June 1912 CMC).

In 1913 he visited Banff, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick "to determine the most promising localities for intensive work" (SR 1913: 8) as well as supervised the work of other archaeological staff. He investigated sites in Merigomish and other NS possibilities the following year.⁷⁸ There he was content to have gotten some results and thought the fieldwork went well, yet again, he was not well.

⁷⁸ Wintemberg claimed that "the most important sites excavated by [Smith]" were these sites around Merigomish (1940: 63).

I begin to be blue that my miserable carcass [sic] has not gotten back to as good shape as it was when I first came to Ottawa...perhaps I am only getting old...I sometimes think that it has made me irritable and say things on the spur of the moment that I would not be so mean as to say if I felt well (HS-ES, 15 Aug. 1914 CMC).

The war also affected him. He wrote:

How about war. Is it not a terrible thing -- all our boasted [?] civilization -- Christianity etc. Rats -- + here we have the Germans the finest scientists and most lovable people killing the British the greatest colonizers + lovers of fair play + freedom. No matter which side one is on he must kill his dearest friends. It has made me realize that I am not in U.S.A. but have become a Canadian in home + loyalty to home + neighbors (HS-ES, 15 Aug. 1914 CMC).

Smith took a three-week vacation in Banff that year, helping to re-organize the Rocky Mountains Park Museum and enjoyed it "better than any previous three weeks of my life" (HS-ES, 6 Nov. 1913 CMC). He enjoyed being away from bureaucracy and being able to accomplish something every day. He noted that he felt fine but upon returning to Ottawa, previous pain in his hands and legs came back immediately (HS-ES, 6 Nov. 1913 CMC). This is one of the few times that Smith mentioned the West being anything other than soothing for him. He explained that "the steam heat, electric lights, etc. of the West make me sad. I can't find any frontier, and I always want a frontier to look forward to as an air castle, as you know" (HS-ES, 6 Nov. 1913 CMC).

In 1915 he went once again to western Canada to do reconnaissance work in the Skeena and Bulkley Valleys as well as worked in Ontario and Manitoba. By 1916 there was very little activity in fieldwork and acquisitions because of economic restrictions imposed by WWI and consequent government budget tightening. Smith reported spending most of his time making maps of minerals needed in the war (HS-FH,⁷⁹ 20 Nov. 1918 CMC). Despite the decrease in funds, Smith still spent a little time in B.C. During the

⁷⁹ Frederick Houghton, Principal of Public School, Buffalo, NY and a correspondent of Smith.

last year of the war Smith worked around Clinton B.C. Boas wrote to suggest that he investigate a particular type of pottery. "Boas says it is very important. How strange these times to think pots important when every mail brings the death notice of one or more friends" (HS-ES, 13 Sept. 1918 CMC). External factors, like the war, seemed to affect Smith significantly, but Sapir seemed to believe that Smith felt better when working in the field. He wrote to Smith the following year while the latter was in the Queen Charlotte Islands saying: "I was morally certain that your nervous apprehension would disappear as soon as you had buckled down to actual digging" (HS-ES, 18 July 1919 CMC).

Activities within the Museum stalled again in 1916 when the VMMB was chosen as the interim replacement for the government after a fire destroyed the Parliament buildings. By 1920, Parliament had vacated the Museum and fieldwork was back up to the usual level. Smith began the first of several years of work with the Bella Coola⁸⁰ people, doing both archaeological and ethnographic work with the aim of studying "the whole material culture of the area from ancient to recent times" (SR 1922: 26).

By 1926, Sapir left the Museum and was replaced by Diamond Jenness. Smith was in the midst of a major totem pole restoration project which allowed him more time in B.C. for ethnobotany work, photography, filming and collecting. In 1930, fulfilling part of the role of the National Museum as a leader of Canadian museums, Smith spent the summer back in Banff for the National Parks Branch, Department of the Interior, to reorganize the museum there (AR⁸¹ 1930: 10).

⁸⁰ Now known as the Nuxalk, I will refer to them as the Bella Coola in the context of Smith's work.

⁸¹ Annual Reports of the National Museum of Canada (AR) began in 1926 due to lack of appropriate space in the Department of Mines Summary Reports. In 1926, there was a report published from both branches dealing with the Anthropology department and the National Museum.

By 1930, fieldwork and acquisitions were suspended again because of the economic depression. While this was somewhat lessened by 1934, Smith's fieldwork, until his retirement in 1937, was more local and primarily focused on areas around Ottawa and within Ontario.

In February 1937, Smith retired. The summary comments in the Annual Report of that year were as follows:

Mr. Smith, in addition to carrying on his archaeological research and maintaining complete records, was ardent in promoting the educational work of the museum and it is due to his enthusiasm that the autumn and winter lecture series for children and adults have become established functions of the museum (AR 1936-37: 4).

Smith's major projects during his career in Ottawa are outlined below.

Public Lecture Series

In Smith's first summary report he identified two streams of work for his department. One dealt with research and fieldwork while the other was public education - exhibition, guidebooks and lectures. Much of his work throughout his career was geared to educating the general public, something he did with great skill and success. Smith insisted that the collections be made accessible to the public, both physically and intellectually. He wrote about alternative forms of museum education, such as his proposed "museum of sounds" where music from around the world, an oratory, sounds of nature, or modern music, would be played free of charge.⁸² He wrote many "popular guides" to particular collections (by geographic area, usually) for educational purposes and insisted that staff were available for classes, visitors, or for informal talks (SR 1912: 497).

⁸² See "Museum of Sounds" in *Science* Vol. 40: 273-4 (1914).

However, the museum lecture series became his greatest success in public education and community programming. Smith inaugurated the lecture series in 1912 and was chair of the lecture committee when it was established in 1921 (AR 1926: 2). A lecture series for children became especially popular. When these lectures first began, in 1912, they were held whenever it was convenient and the children sat on planks supported by boxes (AR 1916: 2). By 1915, the lectures had grown in number and a space was set aside particularly for them. The adult lecture series began that same year. Topics and speakers ranged across all GSC departments but Smith gave more (and more varied) lectures than any other lecturer in the early years, with wide ranging lecture topics like *Ranching on the Plains* and *Irrigation* (SR 1915: 9). When Parliament took over the VMMB in 1916, lectures were still given, but outside the Museum (SR 1915: 9).

In 1920, when the Museum was reclaimed the auditorium was refitted to be better suited for lectures. Although on the same topic, more “scientific” talks were given on Wednesday evenings for adults while the children’s series was held Saturday mornings. The latter was so popular that lectures were often repeated two and three times to ensure that all children in attendance could take part (SR 1921: 18). Lantern slides were often used and in 1922 the lectures began being accompanied by motion pictures and stereopticon (SR 1922: 21).

By 1926 the lectures were being given by a wide range of government department staff and attendance was booming. In 1925/26 12,350 children and 2,303 adults attended lectures (AR 1926: 3). The purpose of the lectures was to “extend the educational influence of the Museum among children, to widen their knowledge, and arouse an interest in scientific subjects” (AR 1928: 2). Lectures were “among the most important

activities of the National Museum” and it was hoped that they would inspire children to choose work in or support science and the arts in Canada when they were older (AR 1935: 5). By 1932 the attendance numbers had jumped to 14,520 children and 7,740 adults. The local Boy Scouts served as ushers at the talks, which “[enabled] the children to feel that they [had] a share in the program” and to “[foster] in them a spirit of responsibility.” In addition, children were invited to display their talents through singing or playing instruments, before the lectures (AR 1932: 6).

The importance and success of the lecture series is discussed in virtually all the annual/summary reports. Lectures were advertised through printed programs, newspapers, advertisements, and editorials, through programs sent to principals and teachers, and local organizations (i.e. Ottawa Field Naturalists Club and the Woman’s Canadian Club) were also sent information (AR 1930: 5). The lecture series that Smith called “The Children’s University” (The Gazette, 20 Feb. 1937 CMC) continued, with growing success, even after his retirement (Leechman 1940: 114).

Archaeology Data Files

Throughout all of his years as archaeologist, Smith’s main focus may well have been the archaeology data files that he developed and added to on an ongoing basis. The sheer volume of information he compiled is impressive. After only two years on the job he reported that the card catalogue system he was using had already become quite large. His intent was that if he “should die or disappear any day, [his] successor could take up the work the next morning” (HS-CHT,⁸³ 10 Feb. 1912 CMC). One file cabinet held information filed by province and country while the other system held the same

⁸³ Charles Hill-Tout.

information arranged by subject matter (SR 1913: 381). The files contained descriptions of archaeological sites, finds, possible sites of interest, petroglyphs, pictographs, human remains and surface finds. From the number of letters he received with information for the archaeology file, Smith had obviously enlisted the help of people across the country. In 1914, in an attempt to get more, he sent letters to over 140 collectors of archaeological material "requesting their cooperation in securing data and gifts of specimens" (SR 1914: 177). Smith also added information from his own and his staff's research. He also visited museums across Canada to locate references to archaeological data. These too, were added to the file. He explained the purpose of the files as follows:

I will...be able to put my finger on any bit of information regarding Canadian archaeology which has ever come our way, whether in published form, letter, photograph, or by word of mouth, and anyone wishing to know what has been found at a certain place could find it in our files whether we were in the office or not (HS-FH,⁸⁴ 1 Oct. 1917 CMC).

By 1930 Smith reported that he had ten systems of filing. Each piece of information was copied ten times "so as to file each item in its appropriate folder in which case we can find it in relation to any one of the ten subjects without having to go through matter of other localities only relating to any of the other subjects" (HS-GWP,⁸⁵ 13 June, 1932 CMC).

In addition to being a comprehensive guide to Canadian archeological sites, Smith used his file system for other purposes, such as his interest in conservation. In 1926 he compiled a list of all petroglyphs and pictographs in B.C. for use by the Legislative Assembly of B.C. when a conservation law affecting them was passed (SR 1926: 42).

⁸⁴ Frederick Houghton.

⁸⁵ George W. Pocatera.

By reviewing the Smith archives at the CMC, it is clear that people responded to his requests for information. There are over 30 boxes filled with information from the card catalogue system arranged as 'working copies' of manuscripts. They consist of thousands of strips of paper, each with information about a particular site, object, collection, etc. grouped and glued together. Most contain a bibliography of publications that relate to the particular area or subject and many have an introduction by Smith. Some 'manuscripts' are bibliographies (i.e. *Archaeology Bibliography, B.C. Coast*⁸⁶) and others are guides to the collections. For instance, his *Guide to Archaeological Collections from Coast of Southern B.C. in the Victoria Memorial Museum*, 1911,⁸⁷ was written as a popular guide for the general public. He described sites he found or excavated with the Jesup Expedition and provided a description of past and present cultural traditions, resources, food, hunting implements, etc., concluding that prehistoric Aboriginal people were very similar to present-day inhabitants. He pointed to some of his published articles for those wanting further information.

A large number of the files are regional and deal with the archaeology of particular areas. They include descriptions and photographs of sites, objects found at potential sites, drawings, newspaper articles relating to finds or areas, journals and relevant information, bibliographies, copies of letters and geological maps. Descriptions of potential sites, either noted by Smith or someone in the area responding to Smith's request for information, are very specific. The source of the information and often the date sent or discovered, is included. For example, in the working manuscript of *Archaeological Sites*

⁸⁶ CMC Archives, Harlan Smith Box 1, File 5.

⁸⁷ CMC Archives, Harlan Smith Box 1, File 4.

near Prince Rupert, B.C., Vol. III, Port Simpson - Prince Rupert Area the following description is one of many entries:

About four miles below the head of Rivers Inlet, B.C., on the north side about 20 feet above high tide, immediately back of the Kildea Cannery, which is on a flat, is a rock shelter containing boxes, bones, etc. Perhaps 10 or 12 graves (Credited to Mr. T. Levelton, Bella Coola, B.C., 4 Sept., 1920).⁸⁸

The descriptions were provided by people living in the area, other collectors and anthropologists, as well as by Smith and his colleagues, from their own explorations. Smith frequently received reports from several people about the same site but was careful to differentiate between reported sites and those he had seen, himself. He outlined his intent in the working copy of *Archaeological Sites, Yale - Hope Area, B.C.*:

It seems desirable to place this list on record to facilitate intensive archaeological excavation of the sites of the area, the location of other sites, the making of archaeological collections, and the direction of tourists who may be interested in archaeological subjects. Sites that seem most likely to repay excavation are marked with an asterisk.⁸⁹

Other files include compilations of information pertaining to a particular object type or geographical area; for instance, *Basket Designs of the Thompson River*,⁹⁰ *Remarkable Stone Sculptures from Yale, B.C.*,⁹¹ or to provide information on collections outside the Museum - *Catalogue of Indian Stone Implements, Ornaments, etc. in the Collection of Robb Sutherland, Vancouver, B.C.*⁹² These archives represent the accumulation of vast amounts of information relating to archaeology in Canada and the

⁸⁸ CMC Archives, Harlan Smith Box 3, File 8.

⁸⁹ CMC Archives, Harlan Smith, Box 12, File 5.

⁹⁰ CMC Archives, Harlan Smith, Box 11, File 4.

⁹¹ CMC Archives, Harlan Smith, Box 12, File 7.

⁹² CMC Archives, Harlan Smith, Box 11, File 1.

attempt by Smith to organize this data into usable, and useful form. None of the working copies have been published.

Commercial Designs

Another of Smith's long-standing projects was his compilation of Aboriginal motifs and designs. Stemming from the economic restrictions imposed by WWI, and determined to do something to help the Canadian economy, Smith put together a book with examples of Aboriginal designs taken from archaeological and ethnological collections, that would be suitable for Canadian manufacturers (Smith 1917a). A similar project had already been completed in the United States. As a result of the difficulty in obtaining designs from Europe because of the war, objects from the AMNH collections were chosen and used as designs for textiles (Smith 1917a: 729). Smith wanted to build on this idea, not using motifs just for textiles, but for many types of items that would become identifiable as Canadian, much like, as he suggested, Dutch painted tiles or Japanese vases (Smith 1917a: 732). He compiled four hundred samples of potential designs from the Anthropology department's collections which included designs of/from animals, fossils, plants, artifacts, etc., hoping to find one that would be identified as Canadian and could be used to represent Canada, all over the world (Smith 1917a: 730). He sent letters to 800 firms making them aware of the designs and their possible uses (SR 1917a: 9) and the many respondents represented a variety of industries: clay, cotton printing, cotton fabric, rug, silverware, jewelry, stencil, bookbinding, printing, etc. (Smith 1917a: 729). Smith's aim was to help increase trade and make Canada better able to compete with other countries when the war ended (Smith 1917a: 729). He also had more

lofty ideals, and claimed that "the world's decorative art will be permanently increased by the inspirational wealth of prehistoric Canadian motives" (1917a: 732).

By 1921 he requested more exhibit space "especially to make available to commercial designers and manufacturers material which they now express a keen desire to use in producing distinctively Canadian manufactures, to take the place of manufactures involving European decorative designs" (SR 1921: 21). In 1923, *An Album of Prehistoric Art* was published⁹³ and photocopies were sent to the Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior, the department that oversaw the effort to develop Canadian souvenirs and other items (SR 1923: 33). The publication contained 389 examples of Aboriginal design. It included items like arrowheads and pestles, which do not generally fall under the definition of art but have "beautiful forms capable of inspiring useful shapes, designs, and trademarks for manufactures" (Smith 1923: 2). Smith suggested that the designs, because they were all made by hand, were free from the mechanical, mathematical conformity of other types of designs and that they might be used not only as designs on fabric, etc. but for umbrella handles, paper cutters, spoons, etc. (Smith 1923: 5). He also pointed out that the benefits of using materials from the Museum's collections as inspiration for design had already been proven in American museums (Smith 1923: 1). Although the book was published after the war ended, the topic remained an interest throughout Smith's career. In 1928 he sent a memo to a variety of Museum staff asking, "what can be done to have industry use best examples [emphasis Smith's] of Indian art and not lose Indian character? What can be done to have such material made in Canada

⁹³ Oddly enough, it seems that Smith neglected to inform his director of the work and the publication. Sapir instead found out by reading an article about it in *Science* and from other members of the GSC (ES-HS, 26 July 1917 CMC).

rather than imported?"⁹⁴ Smith's determination to boost Canadian business and profile through museum designs, never waned.

Museum Administration

From early in his Canadian career, Smith seemed to realize the potential of museum education and planned on "making a specialty of museum administration" (HS-WBN,⁹⁵ 16 Oct. 1912 CMC). He even suggested the establishment of a division called "museum extension, educational extension, public education, or public instruction" which would consist of lectures, slides, etc. All employees would accumulate photographs and useful items for this purpose while conducting their work.⁹⁶ In 1914 he wrote that his work to date had been

endeavoring to improve museum conditions throughout Canada, and especially in the Rocky Mountains Park Museum, which endeavor not only interests me more than mere anthropology, but is I believe, something I can do better and in which I can accomplish more good (HS-AH,⁹⁷ 16 June 1914 CMC).

The role of the National Museum in regard to museums across Canada was outlined in 1915:

The Museum being a national institution, it becomes a duty of those more directly connected with its work and also of the Geological Survey staff in general, to offer such aid as lies in their power to any public museums in Canada requesting services that may legitimately be granted (SR 1915: 9).

Under this direction, Smith went to the Rocky Mountains Park Museum at Banff in 1914 to reorganize the exhibits. That same year, he completed a guidebook of the exhibits there and arranged labels and descriptive text. The guidebook was intended to allow for

⁹⁴ Memo to Dr. Collins, D. Jenness, Mr. Bolton and Mr. Leechman. See Box 657, File 51.

⁹⁵ W.B. Nickerson did archaeological work under Smith.

⁹⁶ Undated rough copy of memo to museum committee from H. Smith. See Box 216, File 155.

⁹⁷ Ales Hrdlicka of the United States National Museum.

replication and use as signage and labels in the Museum. The cover of the book represented the Museum's outdoor panel, the chapter headings were labels for exhibition divisions, sub-headings in each chapter were case or group labels, the text was labels for classes of objects and there were labels for individual specimens (Smith 1914: 3). Some of the labels he provided were already in the Museum's displays but the Museum in general would be "modeled after present and future handbooks by securing the necessary specimens and using the handbook matter for labels" (Smith 1914: 3). Smith noted that the "book serves as a reference handbook to the natural history objects and phenomena of the region with some popular explanatory matter." It could be used as a handbook not only for the Museum, but for the whole geographical region. The book could be cut up and used for labels for displays in a variety of museums (Smith 1914: 4). General labels were written, vetted by experts and thirty duplicates of them made for the National Museum to send out to other Canadian museums for their use. Reported in 1915, 17 Canadian institutions had requested copies. The guidebooks were considered a means of providing economical and accurate information for exhibits across the country. So far as Smith was concerned, well-written labels made all in the difference in public education and made exhibits far more educational. In fact, "useful labels [were] more rare and more valuable than exhibits" (Smith 1918: 603).

Smith returned to Banff for the National Parks Branch in 1930 to reorganize the Museum, and label some of the nature walks in Banff National Park (AR 1930: 10). He seemed to enjoy being there, writing that his plans for the Museum "should interest and instruct the public greatly [emphasis Smith's] (HS-DJ, 1 Sept. 1930 CMC). By then, Ottawa must have lost some of its initial charm, because when asked about his return, he

replied that "I dread going to Ottawa... + then having to endure the evil, air, and noise" (HS-DJ, 1 Sept. 1930 CMC).

Smith was a proponent of branch museums, that is, having provincial museums associated with the National Museum so that work on the national level could be funneled down to and seen by people all over the country (HS-GL,⁹⁸ 23 Jan. 1912 CMC). His efforts to improve the museums of Canada resulted in an offer of his services to other museums, intending it to be much like his work in Banff. He offered free service to the McGill University Museum, and planned to work during his vacation so as not to interrupt his own work schedule. He explained the offer:

My reason for making this offer is that my great ambition in life is to be the means of making not one museum in Canada but all the museums in Canada progress until the museums are taken seriously, or thronged by people who wish to use them, and until museums in Canada as educational institutions of equal value to the people with the library, the schoolhouse and the laboratory" (HS-WP,⁹⁹ 14 Oct. 1914 CMC).

For unknown reasons, his offer was not accepted but that did not discourage him from asking to re-organize the museum in the public library in Vancouver (HS-CFN,¹⁰⁰ 18 Sept. 1915 CMC). It does not appear that his offer was accepted there, either.

Smith was involved with other aspects of museum administration as well. As head of Archaeology, he organized and reported on the work of that department and sought out and hired men to do contract work. He was also on the executive of the museum committee, formed in 1912 "for the purpose of considering matters connected to the museum" (SR 1912: 8). This involved monitoring and making suggestions for all aspects of the VMMB – office space, cleanliness, exhibits and cases, visitor flow, lectures, loans,

⁹⁸ George Laidlaw.

⁹⁹ William Peterson, Principal, McGill University.

¹⁰⁰ C.F. Newcombe.

salaries, etc.¹⁰¹ Work on archaeological exhibits was continuous. In the early years he had to collect, catalogue objects, design and implement the exhibit plans and work on labels and popular guides. Then, after Parliament vacated the premises and as new objects were collected, exhibits were changed. Although he had been placed in charge of temporary exhibits in the past, (SR 1921: 18), in 1926 he was placed in charge of the exhibition halls (SR 1926: 33).

Photography and Motion Pictures

Smith had already demonstrated his skill and adeptness at photography while at the AMNH, accumulating a large collection, but it became a whole new enterprise in Ottawa. From his first year on staff he was committed to building up a stock of lantern slides for archaeological lectures (SR 1911: 391). A wide variety of slides were accumulated and made available for loan to schools and other outside interested parties (AR 1929: 4). As he did in the U.S., on all his trips, Smith took photographs. He would often take hundreds of pictures each field season.¹⁰² The subjects of his photographs are wide-ranging. He took photos of pictographs, archaeological sites or potential sites, as well as of the people he met and Aboriginal communities he visited. He documented his trips with photographs and carefully documented his photographs. He wrote detailed captions with an abundant amount of information about the subject of the photograph. He continued to take photographs of people front-on and in profile, but he also took many candid shots and ethnographic pictures. Continuing his practice from the U.S., Smith sent photographs back to his subjects in the communities. Any insecurity he may have

¹⁰¹ For additional information relating to the museum committee, see CMC Box 217, File 151-157.

¹⁰² For example, he reported taking about 300 photographs in the summer of 1923 (SR 1923: 30) and over 600 in the field season of 1926 (SR 1926: 37).

Plate 4 Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (65450)
Photograph credited to H.I. Smith, 1925.

"Harlan I. Smith photographing totem pole No. 11 at Kitwanga, BC, August 10, 1925.
View looking southeast." Caption by H.I. Smith.

felt in other aspects of his work is not evident in his photography. The images that Smith took of these people are often distinct from other photographers of the time. Although many portraits were posed, Smith's photographs were not contrived. They are not like the famous Edward S. Curtis photographs depicting costumed stereotypes of Indians, but instead they look more like family photo albums, everyday people wearing their own regular clothes and performing ordinary tasks (Thomas 2001: np).

In addition, a significant motion picture library was built up, with Smith playing a pivotal role in it. Leechman (1942: 114) believed Smith was the first Museum staff member and one of the first in North America, to make ethnographic motion pictures. Actually, film activity in the Museum began with the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1916) and footage of Inuit villages (Zimmerly 1974: 1). However, Jenness claimed that Smith's "compilation of appropriate movies were [sic] one of the most valuable enterprises the museum could undertake" (DJ-HS, 6 May 1927 CMC). Regarding the motion pictures about Aboriginal people of Canada, the Annual Report of 1929 states that

they illustrate the customs, the ceremonials, the home life, the industries, and the art of the Indians. They depict the intimate lives of people in such a way that they can be obtained only by one who through fair treatment and a sympathetic understanding of the Indians' character can win their confidence and enlist their support (AR 1929: 7).

Smith put together and titled film footage from Kootenay, Coast Salish, Tsimshian, Shuswap, Okanagan, Kwakwaka'wakw, and Nuuchah-nulth communities, among others. By 1928, Smith had accumulated over 4500 feet of film in his attempt to document "authentic" Aboriginal culture before it was too much altered by non-Native influence. In 1929 alone, he shot 6000 feet of film on Vancouver Island (AR 1929: 7). Most of his

films were ten to fifteen minutes long and intended for use in the lecture series or to be lent to schools (Zimmerly 1974: 5).

In 1934-5, Smith and Jenness collaborated on what would be Smith's last motion picture, at Golden and Rice Lakes, Ontario. At Rice Lake, Smith filmed the harvesting of wild rice and at Golden Lake, he filmed family life and canoe making. Smith did the on-site filming while Jenness acted as director, viewing the film footage and offering suggestions (i.e. for appropriate material culture).¹⁰³ The result was a forty-five minute film titled *Cheenama the Trailmaker: An Indian Idyll of Old Ontario* (Zimmerly 1974: 5). The Golden Lake canoe makers inspired Smith's proclivity for Canadian manufactures. In a memo to F.C.C. Lynch (Bureau of Economic Geology) Smith argued that the Museum "might make known to other museums and to people...that birch bark canoes could still be obtained in Canada" and would make good souvenirs of Canada. He suggested that the Museum act as a link between interested parties and canoe makers (5 Sept. 1935 CMC). To this, Smith put notices in several journals, including *Science*, *Museums Journal*, *Farm Journal*, *The Camera*, etc. letting people know how they could purchase canoes. Letters came pouring in to Smith with requests for them. Smith received a letter of inquiry approximately every two days (HS-GW,¹⁰⁴ 11 Oct. 1935 CMC). Although the majority of inquiries were received from the U.S., one request came from as far as New Zealand. Despite the apparent success of the endeavour, Smith expressed disappointment with the caliber of the people making inquiries. He also thought the prices charged by Matthew Bernard, the canoe-maker to whom he directed inquires, were too low for the canoes to

¹⁰³ For example, see DJ-HS, 25 July, 1935 CMC.

¹⁰⁴ Gregory Wiggins, responding to canoe notice.

leave the country (HS-ABL,¹⁰⁵ 21 Nov. 1935 CMC). He clearly hoped that the canoes would be purchased by other museums. He explained his intention to Mr. Bernard:

My chief interest was to help, in my very small way, keep alive any useful Indian handicrafts, and to bring money from foreign countries into Canada, to throw business into the hands of Canadian Indians, to give pleasure to those who bought the canoes, and I hoped some museums might buy them, so that the public might learn of Canada and become interested in Canadian Indian handicrafts and in the work of mankind (HS-MB, 29 Oct. 1935 CMC).

His goals in filmmaking were no less lofty. Early in his film practices, he claimed: "I have determined...some day in future to make a movie that will be to the eye what grand opera is to the ear" (HS-ES, 30 June 1924 CMC). Unfortunately, some of Smith's film footage was lost in a fire while stored with the National Film Board (Zimmerly 1974: 2). Despite that, Zimmerly (1974: 19) argues that the existing films "form probably the most complete collection of documentary films on the early life of Canadian Plains and Northwest Coast Indians."¹⁰⁶

Bella Coola

From 1920 to 1923 Smith worked with the people in Bella Coola and, to a lesser degree, the Carrier from surrounding areas. While some superficial archaeology was undertaken, mostly identifying locations for possible excavation, the majority of the work involved studying and collecting the material culture of the Bella Coola people (SR 1922: 23). To accomplish this, Smith took a large number of photographs,¹⁰⁷ collected a variety of ethnological objects, took molds and photographs of petroglyphs and pictographs, and

¹⁰⁵ Miss Arno B. Lockhardt, of Chicago, interested in purchasing a canoe.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix B for a list of Smith's films.

¹⁰⁷ See *Bella Coola Valley: Harlan I. Smith's Fieldwork Photographs 1920-1924* (Tepper 1991) for examples.

recorded traditional knowledge. He filmed footage for two motion pictures, one on the Bella Coola people and one on the Carrier, for which he completed the titling and arranging in 1927 (AR 1927: 9).

A large-scale ethnographic project was a change for Smith, although he did a little archaeological work that year as well. He noted the difference in the method of obtaining knowledge. "My! but you can get a lot more from an Indian than by archaeological work. I never realized it so much before" (HS-ES, 19 June 1920 CMC). When Smith informed Sapir that there were no English speakers in the community, Sapir was concerned. "It rather frightens me to think of doing non-material ethnology without an English speaking interpreter" (ES-HS, 6 July 1920 CMC). Smith explained that he was working with a Chinook speaker. The Chinook he learned in 1897 was augmented with some English, drawings and motions, to make himself understood (HS-ES, 24 July 1920 CMC). Again, he made the point that he felt better there. "The fish canning, lumbering + farming are the kinds of life I understand + thrive on better than office stagnation + city life" (HS-ES, 24 July 1920 CMC). Doing the Bella Coola work was Sapir's suggestion and he was satisfied with the reports coming in. However, he tried to give Smith some subtle direction. "I was sure that you would make a success of the ethnological part of your work and I hope that by the time this reaches you you will have begun work on other lines of material culture than just plants and animals alone" (ES-HS, 11 Aug. 1920 CMC). Smith, apparently not entirely clear on what the ethnological enterprise entailed, wrote back to ask

if I could get all about plants + animals as I have tried what else would there be except the little about minerals? I am not aware of any other materials in the world but I am sure the Indians have not yet told me all (HS-ES, 23 Aug. 1920 CMC).

Smith relied on information from two main informants -- Joshua Moody, whom Smith describes as a "scientist" (Smith 1925b: 117 and Smith 1929: 47) and Captain Schooner. Neither spoke English so they provided information in Chinook jargon, which Smith interpreted and organized (Smith 1925b: 117 and Smith 1929: 47). Over the years he accumulated a large amount of information, which he attempted to work into a manuscript titled *Material Culture of the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia*. The project was organized by subject matter and divided into sections on geography, archaeological sites, animal and European resources, the collection and preparation of food, clothing, war, art, etc. He prepared a working chapter for virtually every aspect of Bella Coola culture. The manuscript was never published and really only consists of notes, handwritten reminders, lists, etc. as well as reports and information from Moody or Schooner in the field.¹⁰⁸ He prepared a similar working copy of information titled *Material Culture of the Carrier Indians of British Columbia*.¹⁰⁹ Smith accumulated a large amount of data on both groups relating to their traditional knowledge about "all the plants, animals, and minerals of the area, a complete knowledge of which would, of course, embrace that of their entire material culture" (SR 1921: 22). From this information he published a few papers. In his *Entomology Among the Bellacoola and Carrier Indians* (1925a) he discussed a few insects, the names and uses in both cultures

¹⁰⁸ See CMC Boxes 79 F.1-5, 80 F.1-4, 81 F.1-4, 82 F.1-4, 83 F.1-4, 84 F.1-9, 85 F.1-2, 86 F.1-2.

¹⁰⁹ See CMC Boxes 86 F.3, 87 F.1-10, 88 F.1-5, 89 F.1.

Plate 5 Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (50234)

Photograph credited to H.I. Smith, August 1, 1920.

"An atlas like carved human form with a hat and long arms, with which he appears to hold up the roof beams facing the door in interior of a house of intermediate age, of Captain Schooner and Co., in Bellacoola Indian village of Komkotes, above bridge on south side of Bellakoola river, near Bellakoola, BC, from north. This specimen was collected from Mr. Alec Davis, who may have owned all or part of the house, for \$50.00, for the Museum of the Geological Survey, Canada, by Harlan I. Smith, August 16, 1920 (catalogue number VII-D-105). This was an old Tshi house where long ago many potlatches were held, and Indians from Kimsquit, Bella Bella, and Rivers inlet met. Schooner said there were good times not had now."

Caption by H.I. Smith.

(1925a: 447-430). While hardly a definitive guide to entomology in the region, it is a good attempt by Smith to include Aboriginal names for items despite the difficulty he had in understanding the languages (1925a: 437). As well, in his paper *Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella Coola*, Smith stated that despite taking down the information in Chinook jargon, he tried to "interpret and arrange in logical order" and "render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression" (1925b: 117). He took this one step further in his paper *Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia* (1929) by comparing the medicinal uses of many plants across several cultures -- Bella Coola, Gitksan, Carrier, and Sekani. While not analytical, he provided the Latin and common names for a wide variety of plants and what they were used for, according to his sources in four communities (1929: 47).

In 1922, Smith was joined by T.F. McIlwraith, a young Canadian trained at McGill and Cambridge who was hired on contract by Edward Sapir to work with the Bella Coola (Barker and Cole 2003: 5-6). So as not to overlap with Smith's work on material culture, McIlwraith was to investigate "the social organization, religion, and allied topics of the Bella Coola Indians" (SR 1923: 22). He worked from March to July in the first year and from September to March for the 1923/24 season. He relied a great deal on the same people that Smith did, based in part on Smith's suggestions of knowledgeable informants (Barker and Cole 2003: 180). He collected information relating to systems of rank, marriage and death, religious practices and rituals, ceremonies, and myths. For the GSC he prepared a manuscript with copies of all his field notes (SR 1923: 29) but it was not until 1948 that he published his two-volume work, *The Bella Coola Indians*.

McIlwraith's field letters are valuable not only for the information on Nuxalk communities in the early part of the twentieth century, but they also provide more information about Smith's time there. McIlwraith found that his situation was more pleasant when Smith arrived at Bella Coola and because Smith was working on material culture, their work overlapped somewhat (TFM-ACF, ¹¹⁰ 7 June 1922 in Barker and Cole 2003: 50). They spent a fair amount of time together, often meeting for lunch and at the end of the day to compare notes (TFM-family, 17 June 1922 in Barker and Cole 2003: 53). Smith too, seemed pleased that McIlwraith was there. McIlwraith thought that he could use some of Smith's results from the previous year, which pleased Smith. "It gave me some satisfaction as so seldom am I asked for anything except to accept my pay" (HS-ES, 1 July 1922 CMC).

About a month later, McIlwraith writes to his family about his colleague:

Smith is a queer bird, a thoroughly decent fellow, and all right if given his own time to do his own job. Unfortunately, he has no trust in his own judgment, which, combined with an utter inability to see anyone else's point of view, and a desire to talk, makes him a somewhat difficult person to get along with (TFM-family, 28 July, 1922 in Barker and Cole 2003: 58).

He described Smith again, referring to a time when meeting Smith at a camp, as pre-arranged, he arrived to find Smith aggravated.

The real trouble was that the combined effects of the mountains and Wilfred¹¹¹ had got on Smith's nerves, and he was in a hopeless state. I had to walk and talk it out of him, and I guess we would have gone on all night if we had not thought we had seen a bear in front of us and diplomatically retired (TFM-family, 28 July 1922 in Barker and Cole 2003: 58).

¹¹⁰ Alfred Cort Haddon, prominent British anthropologist working out of Cambridge University.

¹¹¹ An 11 year-old homesick boy that Smith hired to be his cook on a short expedition.

However, the next month he writes to Haddon stating that he found Smith to be "a most agreeable man with whom to work, patient, painstaking, and the most unselfish colleague possible" (TFM-ACH, 29 Aug. 1922 in Barker and Cole 2003: 70).

Overall, things seemed to go well for Smith while in Bella Coola, however, several years later, a problem reminiscent of his early career cropped up. Samuel King, Chief of the Bella Coola, wrote to Smith about an article in a Vancouver newspaper.¹¹² In it, he said, Smith described what the thought of the Bella Coola people, including that they were not true Christians. "All the story...is very bad now, all my people see the pictures and some read the words, they are not right and we all feel sorry." He wanted Smith to return to the community to explain "so as to make us all know good of you again" (SK-HS, 10 Feb. 1926 CMC). Smith replied, assuring him that nothing improper was said and explained, "newspapers often tell things about me that are not true" (HS-SK, 27 Feb 1926 CMC).

Totem Pole Restoration Project

Totem poles on the Pacific coast were disappearing, for a variety of reasons, by the 1920s (Cole 1985: 271). In 1919, while working in Masset and seeing so many decaying poles, Smith lamented, "how I hate to see such art lost" (HS-ES, 4 Aug. 1919 CMC). In 1920 he argued that totem poles should be saved by museums. He noted that some had been collected while others had fallen or were neglected. He called for the "safe-keeping" of this "unique art" by museums and suggested that examples of totem poles should be in "each large city of the continent" (Smith 1920: 87). However, he later stated that there should be laws or rules requiring customs officials to report all totem

¹¹² I have been unable to locate the original article.

poles leaving the country and that poles should be prevented from leaving the country without government permission (HS-ES, 16 June 1923 CMC).

While the collecting of Aboriginal Canadian art and artifacts had been a concern for some time, the removal of several poles from Alert Bay in the early 1920s was a turning point (Cole 1985: 271). Foreign and domestic collectors, along with the Christianizing influence of missionaries had caused many poles to be removed, or fall into disrepair. Various public and federal agencies were concerned about the rapid removal of the poles and in 1924 a committee was established to consider the issue (Cole 1985: 270-71). The Totem Pole Preservation Committee was formed, consisting of Duncan Campbell Scott (Superintendent of Indian Affairs), Charles Camsell (Deputy Minister of Mines), J.B. Harkin (Commissioner of Canadian National Parks), and E. Sapir and C.M. Barbeau of the National Museum. While some members were concerned about the loss of tangible parts of Aboriginal culture, others regretted the loss to tourism (Cole 1985: 277). The Canadian National Railway (CNR) had just completed the rail line from Edmonton to Fort Rupert during the war, making a tourist attraction a good investment (Cole 1985: 270). Smith later reported that at least 33 of 35 poles were visible from the train. Sixteen were located at Kitwanga, where the train would stop to let tourists explore the village.¹¹³

The committee sent Barbeau (who was familiar with the area through other work) to make an inventory of the poles around the Skeena River area and make suggestions for their restoration (Cole 1985: 272). He identified 71 poles in the areas of Kispiox, Hazelton, Hagwilget, Gitsegukla, and Kitwanga (Cole 1985: 272). Smith was chosen to head up the project for the Museum. Indian Affairs covered the major costs of the project and the CNR covered the costs of the materials and transportation, and provided an

¹¹³ See CMC Box 90, File 2.

engineer, T.M. Cambell, to aid in the work (Smith 1926: 81). Before leaving, it was made clear to Smith that he would report directly to Scott for all matters relating to the project, Scott would provide the funds for the project and that the CNR engineer would be under Smith's control (ES-HS, 11 May 1925 CMC).

The first step was to get the approval and permission for the restoration from Aboriginal people in the communities and owners of the poles. Smith reports that it "was not easy, for they were unfavorably disposed towards the white men in general, and particularly toward Government officials...a few years ago, they had prohibited the erection of totem poles; why did they now wish to preserve them?" (Smith 1926: 81). However, many owners acquiesced and work began. The poles, most of which were deteriorated at the base, were cut down and re-erected in cement. The new parts were covered with creosote and the old portions treated with linseed oil. The poles were repainted by the owners, or by those who remembered the original colours. Although an attempt was made to lighten the paint, the poles "were extremely gaudy." However, it was expected that they would fade very quickly to become more pleasing (Smith 1926: 82).

The first season was spent in Kitwanga and seven poles were restored. Smith attempted to hire Aboriginal people to work on the poles, especially those whose families owned the poles and who permitted the work to be done.¹¹⁴ The project seemed to go well through the summer. Smith encouraged the community to "police" the poles to ensure they were not cut down. He was concerned that they would be sold after their restoration and suggested that the owners should be encouraged to only sell to the

¹¹⁴ See caption for photograph titled *The Preservation Gang at Kitwanga, B.C.* where Smith discusses this (CMC Box 417 File 4).

Dominion or province (HS-ES, 15 June 1925 CMC). At that time, Smith so enjoyed his work that he reported that he wanted to restore all 71 of the poles in the report "even if it takes 7 years" (HS-ES, 22 July 1925 CMC).

As part of his activities, Smith tried to make the village more appealing as a tourist stop. He attempted to keep the village clean for the benefit of the tourists that visited twice daily from the CNR route. The tops of the trees by the railway were removed so that the poles would be visible from the train but proper signage was still needed. He thought that the community should make souvenirs, like good quality model totem poles, to sell to the tourists (HS-ES, 22 July 1925 CMC).

Nine more poles were completed the following summer, leaving only two poles in Kitwanga, for which the owner would not grant permission, untouched (Smith 1926: 82). It became known as the 'Out-of Doors Totem Pole Museum' and drew many visitors. Buoyed by the tourists, a local Gitksan man opened a small museum of Gitksan objects, music, etc. When the owner died a year later, another museum was opened by his son (Smith 1926: 82).

By 1927 the restoration at Kitwanga was complete and the crew had set up in Gitsegukla. Unfortunately for Smith, he was given a petition stating that the Chiefs "protest to commence working on the totem poles...we wish you to remove all your outfit and material by tomorrow morning" (8 May 1927¹¹⁵ CMC) and because the totem poles were so important to their ancestors, they wanted nothing changed (7 May 1927¹¹⁶ CMC). Permission for the restoration was not granted. Smith, unsure of the real reason for the sudden refusal (when all previous indications had been that the community was willing to

¹¹⁵ Box 657 File 50.

¹¹⁶ Box 657 File 50.

permit it) left for Kitselas, where he thought he might have more luck. Although Kitselas was not on Barbeau's proposed list of totem pole sites Smith thought it might be a useful location to work because of the 15 poles there which could be seen from the passing train (Cole 1985: 275-76).

By the end of the summer, there were conflicts over funding from Indian Affairs and confusion over who had authority over the project - Smith or Campbell.¹¹⁷ Although Smith wanted to continue the project, the funds were depleted. He was clearly frustrated, and wrote to Jenness, the new head of department: "Never again will we get permissions + let anyone know we have them or where we are going. We will go + do a job before any one [sic] knows where we are" (HS-DJ, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC). Smith sent several telegrams and letters regarding financial status and continuation of the project to D.C. Scott, with no reply.¹¹⁸ This tended to make Smith more anxious, although "not as nervous as when in Ottawa, and not as angry perhaps because I am more determined and have made up my mind in some matters" (HS-DJ, 7 Sept. 1927 CMC). He felt that he was being attacked but did not know by whom. "If I find out who is doing all this I will know whom to fight and I depend on you to help me...Canada gets more value from my publicity alone than we spend on my field-work" (HS-DJ, 7 Sept. 1927 CMC). Jenness was concerned and asked Dr. Camsell for a reorganization of the Totem Pole Committee so that Smith "will have the fullest possible backing" which "is going to be the solution of all the difficulties" (DJ-HS, 9 Sept. 1927 CMC). Although Smith was grateful for the support, he believed that he was being pushed out by members of the Committee and decided to withdraw from the project because he felt a lack of control. "I do not care what

¹¹⁷ See Memo to Dr. Camsell from H.I. Smith, 5 Dec. 1927, CMC.

¹¹⁸ See Box 657 File 50 CMC.

they call me, but I want to do a job and I want to be judged by the job, and that only" (HS-DJ, 16 Sept. 1927 CMC). Concerned that he would be blamed for preventing future work, he suggested that the Indians could vouch for him (HS-DJ, 26 Sept. 1927 CMC) and that he would continue the work only if forced to do so by his superiors (HS-DJ, 7 Oct. 1927 CMC).¹¹⁹

Despite a letter of thanks for Smith's work and conduct on the project from D.C. Scott (DCS-HS, 8 Feb. 1928 CMC), the difficulties with the totem pole project affected Smith greatly, with him making references to a breakdown over the winter.¹²⁰ It seemed to take some time for Smith to recover. Jenness even questioned Smith's ability to write up his work the following winter because of his health (JD-HS, 4 Aug. 1928). Throughout the summer Smith had not yet recuperated, citing driving in cars and walking in the city amongst them "not restful to [his] nerves" (HS-DJ, 16 July 1928 CMC).

The situation with Indian Affairs so bothered Smith that he did not even want his name on information relating to the totem pole project. He wanted it only on Bella Coola items "because that is my special pet + life play thing" (HS-DJ, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC). Despite this, Smith prepared a working copy of a manuscript titled *Guidebook to the Totem Poles of Kitwanga, British Columbia*. It consisted of his descriptions of Aboriginal people on the Pacific coast, descriptions and analysis of totem poles and grave posts in

¹¹⁹In reply to Smith's distress, Jenness makes several suggestions which would appease Smith and provide him something to look forward to. He asked him to do some work for him the following winter which included arranging and titling film footage. A job, Jenness suggested, that "requires much patience, time and knowledge." He also argued that a properly arranged film is worth just as much as a scientific report and referred to Smith's ongoing interest in exhibition planning and case design. He offered him the following work in a manner which Smith would likely have been appreciative of: "Mr. Leechman will be under his orders and at his disposal for considerable part of the time and the Chief of the Division will be glad to help in any way that he can, but the Museum would like Mr. Harlan I. Smith to arrange the new Exhibition Hall, when the cases are provided, and believe that he can make a magnificent job of it" (CMC DJ-HS, 9 Sept. 1927 CMC).

¹²⁰See HS-A.L. Pickford, 25 Apr. 1928 and Basil G. Hamilton-HS, 6 Apr. 1928 CMC.

general, the restoration project, and stories for twenty of the poles that were worked on.¹²¹

This was not published.

Despite disassociating himself from the totem pole project, Smith's desire for their preservation did not wane. Two years after he left the project, he claimed - "I am doing everything I can to get poles preserved in situ, and in Museums, giving preference to British Columbia and Canadian Museums" (HS-E.A.W,¹²² 27 Dec. 1929 CMC). Poles should be preserved in situ where they could be of economic advantage to tourist industries. If however, they would not be seen, or if they were particularly unique, they should be sold to museums to ensure their survival (HS-CFN,¹²³ 6 Dec. 1929 CMC). If that was the case, he suggested a way of encouraging pole owners to sell - - "tell the Indians how they are going to be preserved for their children and their children's children, and give them the enclosed postcards [of the National Museum]"¹²⁴ (HS-E.A.W).

Nearly a decade after working on the restoration project, aspects of it still cropped up. He wrote to the Publicity Department at the CNR for an update and informed them that he worked on preserving the poles "for the benefit of science, art, and tourist attraction for the CNR." He demanded to know if it was true that Aboriginal people had cut down the poles to prevent them from being washed away in a flood. He also requested that signs be put back up so that tourists know where to see the poles and rock paintings. "The large amount of money spent under my direction for the benefit of tourist

¹²¹ See CMC Box 90 File 2.

¹²² E.A. Winkworth was a contact in B.C. that would arrange the purchase of items for Smith. In this particular instance, he was attempting to arrange the purchase of a totem pole from Cape Mudge.

¹²³ C.F. Newcombe.

¹²⁴ Like he did in the U.S. at the AMNH, Smith gave people postcards or images of the Museum to show them where their objects would be preserved.

attraction to the railroad will not give the railroad its full returns if these signs are not maintained" (2 Nov. 1936 CMC).

Smith, Sapir and Jenness

As discussed in the previous chapter, part of the problem at the American Museum seemed to be that Smith felt at odds in the department. His Canadian position seemed to make him more optimistic. Initially he wrote to F.W. Hodge, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, that he had "bitten off more than I can chew up here in Canada and I must conserve both my time and strength" (HS-FWH, 15 Dec. 1913 CMC). However, he wrote to Hodge about Ottawa again a few years later. "I do not know that I have ever told you how perfectly delighted I am with both my work and play up here, and how much better it is here for Mrs. Smith and the children" (HS-FWH, 23 Jan. 1916 CMC).

After being in Ottawa for six years, he summed up the difference between it and New York as follows:

I look back on New York much as a criminal might look back on having been in the penitentiary... We have some fine men on the Survey. They are real human beings. They seldom get in the limelight and do not make much noise, and they don't try to look as wise as some people I have known, but among them you will find some of the most wonderful explorers in the world -- men who think nothing of walking from the Arctic across to Winnipeg and of canoeing from Edmonton to Mackenzie river [sic] delta" (HS-FH,¹²⁵ 1 Oct. 1917 CMC).

He noted that the director was reliable and that the staff was "treated with the utmost courtesy and kindness." The opportunities were great and resources were adequate.

However he was not completely satisfied:

I must confess that I sometimes would like to get away from here, but that would be true probably of any large institution, and probably only because

¹²⁵ Frederick Houghton.

the west has always beckoned to me. I like the frontier, and I have always wanted to run an entire museum on my own way to see what I could do, as I have never seen one run just as I would like to try it, but make no mistake, this is one of the pleasantest places to be that I have ever seen so far as your superior officers kindly treatment is concerned (HS-SWG,¹²⁶ 12 Dec. 1919 CMC).

Sapir was his superior for the first fifteen years, followed by Jenness.¹²⁷ Besides their working relationship, Smith and Sapir's family were close. Both Smith and Barbeau were common visitors to the Sapir home (Darnell 1990: 46). Smith was keen to have a strong friendship with Sapir and tended to miss Sapir's company and conversation when the latter was out of town (HS-ES, 2 June 1912 CMC). Smith did not think the feelings to be mutual. Sapir, "who quickly became impatient with the personality foibles and inconsistent thinking he saw in others" and for whom it was "[annoying] to explain the obvious" (Darnell 1990: 49), probably found Smith trying, at times. Despite this, Smith may have been the closest friend Sapir had in Ottawa, for when Sapir's first wife died while the couple was in the United States, it was Smith who took care of all Sapir's personal matters in Ottawa - checking in on his mother, clearing out the family apartment, dealing with insurance, etc. (HS-ES, 24 Apr. 1924 CMC).

Both Sapir and Jenness were much younger and better educated than Smith, possibly making Smith a little resentful. When Sapir informed Smith that he would be leaving the Museum and has accepted a job at the University of Chicago, Smith responded by saying: "I am needless to say somewhat touched by your letter. I am glad you state that you will miss me for I have sometimes felt that I annoyed you with my love

¹²⁶ S.W. Gidley, National Museum.

¹²⁷ Jenness took over for Sapir until, at his request, he reverted back to his position as ethnologist in 1931 (AR 1930: 8). No other directors were listed for the Anthropology department until Jenness resumed the position in the 1936-7 fiscal year (AR 1936-37: 6).

of the crude." He noted that he had often thought that Barbeau would replace Sapir when he left, and explained:

He is Canadian and gets on with social matters. I am an old man and a 'has been' in anthropology and I am not strong nervously when in the city. I feel fine out here.¹²⁸ For this reason I have felt like giving up everything + coming out here for my last years in country I love...I admit that I felt that I was in line but I also felt that my methods would not be acceptable in Ottawa either to the bureau, or to the rest of the anthropological staff although they might (probably would) be to Bolton, Camsell + the Minister...I am somewhat surprised that you feel that you would prefer me in charge to men whom both of us I believe consider much better educated (HS-ES, 29 June 1925 CMC).

He claimed that he would like to be in charge of a museum, like Banff or Vancouver but without the red tape and criticism that would go with it (HS-ES, 29 June 1925 CMC). He insisted that he would be glad to be in charge of the division at GSC but would rely on Sapir for advice both professional and personal (HS-ES, 29 June 1925 CMC). He added, "I shall miss you more than you will believe. I feel that we have all along been growing more + more together rather than apart. I have regretted that my tastes and nature were not more to your liking and have been pleased when anything did please you" (HS-ES, 29 June 1925 CMC).

Smith was not chosen to replace Sapir, and the position was given to Jenness. Jenness' letters seem much more accommodating and reassuring of Smith than Sapir's did. Whether this was in part to soften Smith's possible disappointment regarding the position is unknown but Smith reacted well to Jenness' leadership. Despite his assertions of close friendship with Sapir, he revealed to Jenness that it "used to grieve [him] that Sapir so seldom called either at office or home" (DJ-HS, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC). Jenness was the

¹²⁸ Smith was doing fieldwork in B.C.

director when Smith began to have trouble with the totem pole project. Smith explained his reaction to the problems:

Last winter or rather spring made me mad as ---. It was all I could do to stay but I tried to be sensible or was it foolish. Camsell told me it would better if I told what I thought. I feel somewhat embarrassed when you repeatedly speak of my friendship for you being so valuable. I confess I am pleased however. Perhaps I don't say all I should. In the first place when I saw you first day I liked you + have had no occasion to change. I confess I do not always think as you do. I know I am old. You think ease in a chair good for me. I know hard physical work what I need. Would go crazy if had to stay in all the time. Some kinds of country get my goat. Before 1909 I never saw or remember lightening can't stand it now. I fear the big ocean. Love the water. Fear rows with supposed friends love a fight with enemies. In the second place I hope I may never be so weak + bad as to not try to do my duty by my department museum, + the country that feeds me + my family. You want me to come back with a bay window while I want to be a thin steel wire with no surplus baggage, I do want to be well + strong (HS-DJ, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC).

Jenness continued his support for Smith throughout the remainder of his career.

The summer before Smith retired, he was ill again for several months and spent some time recuperating in PEI. Smith found it difficult to be idle and requested permission to do some work with the Mi'kmaq on the Island. "It would make me feel that I was some use here...I have been so useless these past years although I can't see it was my fault. But this is worse then [sic] last year to be absent" (HS-DJ, 13 July 1936 CMC).

There are many letters that chronicle Smith's health and attempts to get well that summer¹²⁹ and Jenness wrote often, attempting to buoy Smith's confidence.

I have just been informed that the government is greatly indebted to you for your efforts to stimulate the tourist industries in Prince Edward Island out of your own private pocket. It is being recorded in the annals of the department as one of the outstanding achievements in your career....While the faces of the Anthropology division are in gloom during your absence, we rejoice that your health is improving, that your beard no longer requires

¹²⁹ See HS-DJ, 2 Aug. 1936; HS- Miss Kenny (of Anthropology department), 17 July 1936; HS-DJ, 6 Aug. 1936 CMC.

trimming, and that you are free to do and to say whatever you please without committing it to a dozen scraps of paper (DJ-HS, 15 July 1936 CMC).

Smith continued to find B.C. the place where he felt most settled. Near the end of his career he expressed hopes of living on Hornby Island where he "can be quiet" but thought perhaps he and his wife were too old to be away from doctors, stores, and their grandchildren. He thought that perhaps even Hornby Island was "too settled" and would prefer somewhere wilder (HS-TP,¹³⁰ 13 Aug. 1935 CMC).

Smith retired on March 1, 1937 and was presented with a motion picture camera by his colleagues (The Gazette, 20 Feb. 1937 CMC) . Unfortunately, he died not long after, on January 28, 1940 in Ottawa. He was survived by his wife Helena and their daughters Elizabeth and Marjorie. He was remembered by his colleagues for his "kindliness" (Wintemberg 1940: 64) and his boundless enthusiasm for work (Leechman 1942: 114).

¹³⁰ Theed Pearse.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

What was learned about Harlan Smith and the history of anthropology through this research? First, Smith's contributions to archaeology (archaeology data files, site mapping, etc.) and ethnology (material culture collections and associated information), and other anthropological endeavors (ethnographic film and photographs) were clarified. Second, as for the history of anthropology, tracing Smith's career allowed for a tracing of the evolution of the discipline. Smith began his career as an amateur archaeologist, shortly after the heyday of amateur anthropology in the U.S. That the shift to professionalism had not completely occurred is precisely the reason that Smith was able to enter the discipline without formal university training. Throughout his time in the U.S., Smith gained experience and connections, which furthered his career. The timing of his move to Ottawa was fortuitous. Professional anthropology had just been established with the foundation of the GSC Anthropology department and the position of Dominion archaeologist was clearly a professional position. By fulfilling the responsibilities it entailed and building on experience from the U.S., the position offered Smith great opportunities.

F.W. Putnam allowed Smith to gain experience in anthropology. Putnam favoured amateurs and was trained in a time when they did most of the archaeological work. He offered Smith various positions in key institutions and projects. Boas supported him despite the doubts he had about Smith's ability (although he did not recommend him for

the Canadian position), probably because of concern over Smith's welfare and their relationship.

This might be the key to Smith's success in securing work as well as his difficulty in the discipline. The consensus seemed to be that Smith was well-intentioned and hardworking. People seemed to respond to that and tried to support him. However, he was constantly ill and often shaky in confidence. This was linked to feelings of insecurity about his education and capabilities compared to his colleagues. His inability to publish the vast amounts of material he accumulated is probably related to all these issues. That in turn, is part of the reason he is not as notable as Barbeau or Jenness, or even Teit. His publication list is long, but even by his own admissions, it is, for the most part, aimed at a popular audience.

In his own time, Smith was very well known, writing articles for newspapers and journals and giving popular lectures in both Canada and the U.S. His desire to be a museum administrator was an appropriate one because he did it well. His ability for public education was impressive, and extended to his popular publications.

Smith published many papers throughout his career, mostly published in journals and primarily aimed at the general public. Part of the reason for the number of publications was that he often wrote several papers on the same topic that contained much of the same information. For instance, three of the articles he wrote about the fire in Parliament¹³¹ and its connection to the Museum, say virtually the same thing. Some portions are word for word. His writing was primarily descriptive, not analytical and as he himself pointed out on many occasions, was for the promotion of the Museum or

¹³¹ "The Fire and the Museum at Ottawa", *Science* (1916), "A Museum becomes the seat of government", undated newspaper article, CMC, and "The Fire and the Museum at Ottawa, *Ottawa Naturalist* (1916).

department. Whether Smith was capable or comfortable writing for an academic audience is unknown. However it is known that he valued museum education, and tried endlessly to promote the institution. He explained that he was "better at promotion + discovery than on remembering [his] notes" (HS-DJ, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC). Regarding this promotion, he wrote:

I feel if I can let folks know we have a National Museum + get them (big business) to support the museum then several young + better educated men than I can do scientific work - what does it matter what people think of me so long as our work can ahead" (HS-DJ, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC).

He believed that he was "more fitted to do missionary work in science" (HS-AH,¹³² 16 June 1914 CMC). "I don't care a (ray?) to see my name in print or to speak. I simply enjoy activity. Limelight is only useful when one needs to get lecture, sell articles or secure a job" (HS-ES, 30 June 1924 CMC).

Regarding *The Archaeological Collection from the southern Interior of British Columbia*,¹³³ Smith wrote that it "contained nothing new to science, but was an attempt to share with the tax payers in words that they could understand the results of scientific work so that they might be more interested in science and more enthusiastic to support it" (HS-AH, 16 June, 1914 CMC). He also described it as a "Sunday newspaper style of treatment of the material" (HS-RIM,¹³⁴ 18 Nov. 1935 CMC). In fact, it was modeled after the exhibit on the same topic at the VMMB. It was organized like the exhibit with breakdowns by group, sub-group, etc., much like the handbook for the Rocky Mountain Museum.

¹³² Ales Hrdlicka.

¹³³ Publication No. 1290, Museum of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1913.

¹³⁴ Ronald I. McPhee of Lillooet, writing to Smith for advice on getting into anthropology.

Perhaps Smith's most revealing explanation was in a letter written to W.T. Hornaday, Director of the New York Zoological Park, in reply to Hornaday's diatribe on scientific inquiry and "quackery" where he insisted that scientists were lauded for their incomprehensible writing. Smith agreed, writing:

All I can do is bark and laugh and run away as I did from the great Natural History Museums in New York. I really think that we are not the only men fighting this same battle, and we must not turn against science if science is the truth as I believe it is, but must try to tell the truth in the language of the people to who we are telling it. Some day I hope to be the czar of a museum, and then perhaps I can put some of these ideas in force (HS-WTH, 11 Nov. 1914 CMC).

Smith rarely wrote comprehensive, analytical papers. The CMC Archives is full of working copies of manuscripts, many of which contain several copies of the same information. The intent to publish seems to be there, yet the "manuscripts" (as well as the archaeology data files) seem to demonstrate a desperation to accumulate, organize (and reorganize) data, as well as the inability to synthesize and produce a large body of work. Most of Smith's manuscripts remain unpublished. His work on Gitksan ethnobotany¹³⁵ was published in 1997 with additions and explanations from three editors.¹³⁶ It could be that the explanation was his health -- perhaps the intent to finalize the material near the end of his career was thwarted by another bout of illness. Maybe it was his insecurity that made him wary of publishing more "scientific" works. Despite his assertions that he preferred to write popular pieces for a general audience rather than an academic one, he was, at least in part, influenced by the intimidation that he alluded to in letters to Sapir and Jenness, among others. That being said, there is something to Smith's assertion that popular writing was important. His career-long drive for innovative and good public

¹³⁵ See CMC Box 90 File 1 and 4 for working copy of manuscript.

¹³⁶ The editors of the volume are Brian D. Compton, Bruce Rigsby, and Marie-Lucie Tarpent.

education is commendable. He is most often remembered as an archaeologist although did just as much, if not more ethnological work. He is not as often remembered for those things in which was truly an innovator -- photography, ethnographic film making, and a leader in public education.

The accumulation of Smith's correspondence and the formation of a mini-archive was a long but worthwhile process. Looking at a man's career through his letters is a revealing exercise, especially when he is as verbose and personal in his correspondence as Smith. Unlike some other anthropologists, Boas and McIlwraith, for example, no private letters to his family are available. What is remarkable is the amount of information, both personal and professional, that was provided through his correspondence with colleagues and superiors. Smith often used his letters as fieldnotes. On several occasions he specifically asked that his letters be kept as fieldnotes for reports (HS-DJ, 21 May 1927 CMC, HS-DJ, 31 Aug. 1927 CMC, HS-FB, 6 July 1898 AMNH). They were full of information about his collecting and offered a glimpse at his interactions with the Aboriginal people with whom he worked and met. If we consider the correspondence as fieldnotes and look at the discourse around the meaning of fieldnotes, another understanding of Smith emerges.

Fieldwork may be considered a right of passage (Wengle 1988: 4) with psychological effects on an anthropologist, especially in the early stages of a career. Part of the process is the individual's loss of sense of self. "The individual needs to feel himself as an autonomous and independent entity, and yet at the same time also needs to feel himself dependent, a part of something larger, more powerful and more enduring than himself (Wengle 1988: 7). Writing and receiving letters are a means of maintaining a

sense of identity (Wengle 1988: 24). Whether the anthropologist recovers from this "identity fragmentation" "depends on the extent to which [he] experiences feelings of self-dissolution and self-fragmentation" (Wengle 1988: 37). Admittedly, Wengle is describing the experiences of younger or student anthropologists, noting that more experienced anthropologists do not necessarily go through this. In Smith's case, I believe it is applicable. Smith was young and inexperienced in his early years with the Jesup Expedition. The many letters he wrote may have helped him feel connected as well as alleviate some of the pressure to be successful in the expedition. The need for connection and stability (in part stemming from his father's situation), to have some confidence in the unfamiliar field situation, may have been a contributing factor in Smith's haste to marry after his first field season.

A lot of attention was paid to Smith's health issues throughout this research. I did this for two reasons. First, Smith and his colleagues discussed it often. It was a recurring theme in his correspondence throughout his career. To ignore it would have meant ignoring a very persistent issue. Secondly, I think that his illness, whether it was a form of extreme anxiety or something more, is intrinsically connected to why his career turned out as it did.

While he likely had a diagnosable physical illness, he probably was prone to depression. The attacks of being 'blue' as he often described it, most regularly occurred when there was discord in the department and when he was in the city. He obviously suffered from anxiety, with crowds and stress exacerbating the situation. It might be that this anxiety, combined with the sense of educational inequality with his peers, hampered

him in his career and prevented him from confidently completing things on which he might be judged.

In 1935, a young, untrained man wrote to Smith about employment in anthropology. He replied that "forty years ago young enthusiasts were taken on in U.S. museums, now in anthropology they usually require a PhD" (HS-RM,¹³⁷ 9 Dec. 1935 CMC). Whether contemporary anthropologists agree that the professionalization of anthropology began with the BAE, or Smithsonian or with Putnam, Boas or Sapir, is not necessarily important. What is notable is that the whole discipline was undergoing a shift, in different places and at different times. In fact, Darnell has stated that "neither professionalization nor Boasian hegemony over the discipline were unassailably in place until some years after the end of the First World War" (Darnell 2001: 10). However, we can be sure that the process was well underway before that and that anthropology was a radically changed pursuit at the end. So too perhaps, was Harlan Smith.

Anthropology in Canada was established with the hiring of Edward Sapir as the director of the GSC Anthropology department. His approach, with emphasis on sub-fields of anthropology, on research and publication and his background and training led to a focused department. The hiring of Smith as Dominion Archaeologist represented a shift for Smith, as well. Although he had some of the same difficulties in Canada that he had in the U.S., he also made greater strides here. He had more control over his own position and work, he had long-term staff working under him, and he had the opportunity to choose projects and see them through to the end. Professional anthropology was recognized in Canada by association with the National Museum. Smith's position was certainly a 'professional' one and I think that he came into his own during his Canadian

¹³⁷ Ronald McPhee.

years. Although he continued working in archaeology and ethnology, it was in ethnographic photography, filmmaking and public education that he excelled.

In the foreword to the publication of McIlwraith's field letters, Hereditary Chief Nuximlaye (Lawrence Pootlass) of the Nuxalk Nations writes that "alongside the oral histories passed to us by our ancestors, the works of McIlwraith in book form will aid us in the revival of cultural, spiritual, and historical aspects of our lives today" (Barker and Cole 2003: xi). The same may be said of the archive of Smith's material. Besides providing information and photographs of the people that he worked with at the time, and perhaps more importantly, it informs the collections that he made. The more that is known and understood about Smith, his career and his personal matters, the more his collections make sense. It allows for a better understanding of his relationship with Aboriginal people at the time, his place in anthropology and serves as a base for discussing his museum collections with Aboriginal people today.

McFeat (1980: 13) argued that

a history of anthropology should be written the way anthropology is itself written, as an ethnography and ethnohistory, and should be based on fieldwork, discussion, documentation, in short on data coming from every corner of available information.

I hope that, for the purposes of discussing Smith's career as a small part of the history of anthropology, this was accomplished. A great attempt was made to pull together all available parts of Smith's life and career and to piece together some sort of history that would inform his collections as well as a particular period in anthropological history.

"The non-existence of Canada as an institutional base for the development of anthropology is a myth, perpetuated by the fact that we have neglected to write our own

history" (Ames and Preston: 1975: 243). This work on H.I. Smith is intended as a small contribution to that history.

Plate 5 Courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (56871)
Photograph credited to H.I. Smith, June 25, 1922.

"Bellacoola Indian woman holding a copper. This is Eliza, Mrs. Samuel Moody, daughter of Mrs. Willie Mack. She is wearing bracelets, some of which at least are of gold engraved with her story. The bracelets are made by a Haida Indian who visits Bella Bella." Caption by H.I. Smith.

Appendix A

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¹⁴⁰ This *Science* article is actually titled "The Fire and the Museum at Ottawa."

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Appendix B

Films by Harlan I. Smith¹⁴¹

1. The Tsimshian (Gitksan) Indians of British Columbia
2. Lower Skeena Valley (The Tsimshian Proper)
3. Totem Pole Villages of the Skeena (Gitksan)
4. The Carrier Indians of British Columbia
5. The Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia
6. In Canada's Fjords (or the Norway of Canada)
7. Bella Coola Valley
8. Flood at Bella Coola
9. Archaeology of Bella Coola area
10. Mackenzie Park
11. The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia
12. The Nootka Indians of British Columbia
13. The Coast Salish Indians of British Columbia
14. The Shuswap Indians of British Columbia
15. The Okanagan Indians of British Columbia
16. The Kootenay Indians of British Columbia
17. The Blackfoot Indians of Alberta
18. The Stoney Indians of Alberta
19. Archaeology, near Courtney and Campbell River, and Bella Coola, British Columbia
20. The Archaeology of Southern Interior of British Columbia
21. Dances and Ceremonies of the Indians of British Columbia
22. Indian Handicrafts or Arts and Crafts of the Coast Indians of British Columbia
23. The Power of Water (taken from Bella Coola pictures)
24. Members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science
25. Lillooet Indians of British Columbia
26. Anthropological and Museum Work of the National Museums of Canada
27. The Forbidden Plateau
28. Canada, Senario
29. Cheenma the Trail Maker: An Indian Idyll of Old Ontario

¹⁴¹ Taken from Zimmerly 1974: 21.

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File: 1897-27

1898-41

1899-3, 41

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AMNH SC American Museum of Natural History, Special Collections

APS American Philosophical Society, Boas Professional Papers

CMC Canadian Museum of Civilization Archives

Edward Sapir Correspondence

Harlan I. Smith fonds, correspondence

SR Summary Reports of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines

AR Annual Reports of the National Museum of Canada

HUA Harvard University Archives

Frederic Ward Putnam Papers, General Correspondence 1851-1947

PMA Peabody Museum Archives

Harlan I. Smith Accession notes, Correspondence