

IMAGING THE METLAKATLAS:

Shifting Representations of a Northwest Coast Mission Community

by

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ABSTRACT

Metlakatla, British Columbia, an 'isolated' missionary village, was established in 1862 by William Duncan, an Anglican missionary, and a group of Tsimshian on the Northern Northwest Coast. The village was widely praised for its success in 'civilizing' its group of Northwest Coast Native people, but, by 1880, was plagued by turmoil between Duncan and Church and government authorities. The turmoil in Metlakatla, B.C. led to an unprecedented move when, in 1887, Duncan and the majority of the villagers relocated to Annette Island in Southern Alaska. Along with this move to United States jurisdiction came shifts in the construction and representation of the colonial project at Metlakatla.

Metlakatla, B.C., represented as a model village of equal and subordinate workers, was full of internal fractures which could be viewed through disjunctures among the various representations of the site. With the move to Alaska, the representations of Metlakatla, once constructed in the vein of homogeneous worker's housing promoted in England during the era of Evangelical reform, shifted to present a middle class, American village which participated in capitalism and leisure activities.

This thesis attempts to link the shifting representations of the colonial project of Metlakatla to both local and broader political movements. The shifts correspond to changing views toward the Indian and assimilation, shifts from a Canadian/British terrain to an American one, changing notions of the worker and emerging fears of communism, and shifts in the technology used to capture photographic representations of the site. In addition to these broad trends, the shifting constructions of the community of Metlakatla may have corresponded to the navigation of a very specific Alaskan political terrain and to changing dynamics within the community.

Thus, through an examination of the visual representations of Metlakatla, B.C. and Metlakatla, Alaska, this thesis attempts to complicate the understanding of this well known colonial project on the Northern Northwest Coast. In addition, by relating these images to the broader political climate with which the site was engaged, the paper shows fractures within the community and possible explanations for the dramatic transition in the representation of Metlakatla in its second setting in the United States.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1862, William Duncan, an Anglican missionary working under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (or C.M.S.) left Fort Simpson, a center for the fur trade on the Northern Northwest Coast, with a group of Tsimshian followers to establish a new settlement, isolated from the frontier environment of the fort. This 'frontier environment' was associated with the social disorder believed to occur at the edges of Euramerican settled territories and particularly at sites of colonial encounter in North America. The move to isolate a native group from the influences of alcohol and other vices associated with the frontier was reminiscent of similar attempts at isolation on the part of some Catholic missionary groups, most notably the Jesuits with their reduction system. The new village, named Metlakatla, was located at an old Tsimshian winter village site, and, eventually, became widely known in North America and Great Britain as a utopian, model community.

The Coast Tsimshian, a group whose territory in northwestern British Columbia ranged between the Skeena and Nass rivers and on the inlets and islands between the two, had moved in large numbers to the Hudson's Bay outpost of Fort Simpson after its founding in 1834. This move was viewed as a way to secure access to the fur trade and its accompanying economic benefits (Halpin and Seguin 1990: 267). In addition to creating a change in Tsimshian economic activities, the Fort and its settlers brought other social influences to this group. The social 'vices' brought by European settlers were particularly troubling to missionaries who arrived with the increasing Euramerican presence on the Northern Coast. The missionaries sought to counteract the bad influences

of the frontier as well as the 'heathen' practices which preceded European intrusion into the region. Metlakatla, the isolated community founded by William Duncan, inspired a number of offshoot villages including Hartley Bay, Kincolith, and Hazelton which also sought to maintain some level of distance between their Native residents and the frontier settlements.

Despite its isolated, utopian representation, Metlakatla was plagued by years of turmoil, largely resulting from factionalism in the Anglican church and subsequent struggles with the provincial and national governments. Duncan was linked to the Evangelical faction of the Anglican church which was aligned with a teaching-oriented approach to Christianity. He came into increasing conflict with the British Columbia church leadership which was more strongly aligned with the Tractarian (or ritualist) faction of the church. These tensions resulted in Duncan's split from the Church Missionary Society in 1882. Subsequent difficulty in relations with Canada and British Columbia concerning land claims led Duncan and the majority of the villagers to move 70 miles north to Annette Island, Alaska where New Metlakatla was established in 1887.

The series of events which eventually led to Duncan's move North to Alaska was set into motion by the Anglican Church's creation of the diocese of Caledonia in 1879, headed by Bishop William Ridley. Ridley was committed to the ritualist practices of the High Church party and, as Duncan's new superior, came instantly into conflict with the practices at Metlakatla. After 20 years without direct supervision by the C.M.S. or the Church, Duncan was unwilling to accept the imposition of this new authority intent on changing his approach to church services and the conversion of the Tsimshian. Duncan began to argue for the independence of Metlakatla from the C.M.S. in 1881, and was dismissed from service in late 1882 by Ridley who had been directed by officials in London to terminate Duncan's service if the disputes continued. This was a conflicted

moment both within the village and the C.M.S. as Duncan was well known and had been widely praised for his successful mission project with the Tsimshian.

Duncan chose to remain at Metlakatla despite his dismissal from the C.M.S. As the conflict between Ridley and Duncan escalated, members of the Metlakatla community were pulled between the two men. This created division and turmoil within the village as distinct allegiances were formed. Unrest in Metlakatla, originally stemming from conflicts concerning church doctrine, religious practice, and authority, became increasingly centered around claims to property and land ownership (Usher 1974: 120). At Duncan's request, five miles of land surrounding Metlakatla had been set aside in 1864 as a reserve for the use of the Tsimshian. At the same time, two miles within the village, known as Mission Point, were reserved for the C.M.S. (Ibid.). The Mission Point land and buildings, reserved for the C.M.S. at Duncan's request, became the major point of conflict with both Duncan and Ridley claiming possession. In addition to these problems concerning property within the village, Duncan was also fighting against the classification of the Metlakatlans under the Indian Act of 1880. This legislation, which treated 'Indians' as wards of the state, was particularly problematic for Duncan because it also placed authority in the hands of the hereditary chiefs, almost all of whom were in support of Ridley (Ibid. 125). Due to his support of certain land claims and the right to aboriginal title (likely more a result of his own self interest than a desire to place authority in the hands of Native peoples) Duncan was charged, indirectly, with the creation of a great deal of unrest throughout the province (Ibid. 126).¹

¹This early support of aboriginal title has been frequently cited in texts discussing Duncan. Duncan is a problematic figure as he is both held up as an early advocate of Native rights, but is also tied to the forces of acculturation associated with much early missionary activity. By 1875, Duncan was recommending large reserves to be divided by language groups. Tennant suggests that this proposal would have allowed a level of tribal strength inhibited by the Indian Act's focus on bands (Tennant 1990: 45-6). Later, in 1885, Duncan accompanied three Tsimshian chiefs to Ottawa to meet with Prime Minister MacDonald and "to tell them our troubles about our land"

Little action was ultimately taken to resolve the conflicts at Metlakatla by either British Columbian or Canadian authorities, both of whom were extensively petitioned by Duncan and his followers. As a result, Duncan became increasingly pessimistic concerning the future of Metlakatlan claims to their land. Eventually, in late 1886, he decided to look for an alternative solution to the problems at Metlakatla. This resulted in the petition to the United States' government for admission to Alaska, and, eventually, the move to Annette Island by Duncan and the majority of the villagers.

While the details of the construction of Old Metlakatla, the subsequent turmoil within the community, and the eventual move to Alaska and under United States jurisdiction are important elements in any attempt to discuss these sites and their resonance, the retelling of this 'history' is not my goal. Instead, my aim in this project is to open the various representations of Metlakatla to a reading which originates in the local context, but extends into a wider discursive field.

This project is particularly focused on the visual and textual representations of Metlakatla which were circulated leading up to and following the move to the United States. I will argue that Old Metlakatla, already a highly constructed community, played into significant political ideologies in the United States and the newly acquired region of Alaska, thus facilitating the unusual, sanctioned relocation of a Native community across the border. In turn, I believe that central aspects of the particular political moment in the United States, that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, significantly impacted the way that Metlakatla was reinvented in its new context.

(quoted in Ibid. 55). While it is clear that Duncan did assert a position which promoted at least a limited claim to aboriginal title, it is unlikely that he was committed to aboriginal autonomy. Instead, I believe that the majority of his positions supported his particular group of converts and were less concerned with broader implications.

In order to clarify my argument, it is first helpful to establish some of the theoretical positions on which my work draws. My aim in this study, influenced by the work of Nicholas Thomas and Henri Lefebvre, is to disrupt the view of this particular colonial project as a coherent, unified, and singular site of encounter. Too often, colonial situations are presented as part of a large and uniform colonial agenda and thus stripped of the potential for moments of individual empowerment, compromise, or inconsistency. Thomas, in a direct challenge to a reductive, generalized view of colonialism, asserts that, "Colonialism is not a unitary project, but a fractured one, riddled with contradictions and exhausted as much by its own internal debates as by the resistance of the colonized (Thomas 1994: 51)." In this thesis, I am attempting to view some of the contradictions, internal debates, and possible sites of resistance which may have occurred in the Metlakatla project, particularly as the project took on dramatically different form between locations and across time.

Working with concepts of spatial practice and the production of space, the work of Henri Lefebvre is also useful when attempting to disrupt the homogeneous view often taken toward a site of social relations. As Lefebvre notes:

Just as white light, though uniform in appearance, may be broken down into a spectrum, space likewise decomposes when subject to analysis; in the case of space, however, knowledge to be derived from analysis extends to the recognition of conflicts internal to what on the surface appears homogeneous and coherent (Lefebvre 1991: 352).

In addition to breaking up any notion of a homogeneous view of a site of social relations, Lefebvre views space as a production which is constantly being reworked and is, therefore, neither static nor stable. This interest in the implications of the construction and representation of a site of social relations is particularly relevant due to the conceived nature of the villages of Metlakatla.

Through the use of Thomas' approach to 'colonialism' as a project full of contradictions and Lefebvre's discussion of space and the breakdown of a homogeneous view of a particular site, I am attempting to both complicate and disrupt previous views of Duncan's colonial project with the Tsimshian at the Metlakatla. As this thesis will discuss, there are countless fractures in Metlakatla which can be seen in Duncan's relationship with the community and the organizations with which he was affiliated, as well as within the larger North American colonizing project during the period under consideration, roughly 1880-1910. These fractures and negotiations in each location become most notable in the shifts between the representation of the community in a British Columbia setting and the later representation in its second location on Annette Island, Alaska.

The concept of a colonial project, a useful term in addressing the complex history of Metlakatla, is a further notion to which I was exposed through Nicholas Thomas' work. As he states:

...[the term 'project'] draws attention not towards a totality such as culture, nor to a period that can be defined independently of people's perceptions and strategies, but rather to a socially transformative endeavor that is localized, politicized and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them (Thomas 1994: 105).

Thus, it is necessary to view Metlakatla both as a local event, specific to its location on the Northern Northwest Coast, but also in relation to the wider conditions and historical perspectives which impacted on representations of this community.

Finally, rather than viewing the Metlakatla project and its representation as a mere product of its particular local and historical environments, I hope to view the site more actively. As Thomas states:

Neither colonial social relations nor their representational codes can be seen as structures that are simply reproduced; rather, their persistence depends upon performance...(Thomas 1994: 60).

The nature of this performance is somewhat difficult to access due to the historical nature of this project and the use of staged photographs. It is, nevertheless, important to note the level of exchange which must occur in an on-going colonial project and its production of representation. Further, in an examination of the images which were produced to represent the community, it is essential to consider them as producers as well as products. Steven Greenblatt (among numerous others) notes the power of reproduction held by images in Marvelous Possessions, a text focused on the initial period of 'New World' encounter. Greenblatt asserts that representations are stockpiled and later called on to generate new representations. He continues this notion with the statement that:

...representation is not only the reflection or product of social relations but..it is itself a social relation, linked to group understandings, status hierarchies, resistances, and conflicts that exist in other spheres of the culture in which it circulates. This means that representations are not only products but producers, capable of decisively altering the very forces that brought them into being (Greenblatt 1988: 6).

By turning to images and texts from the community, this thesis is attempting to view some of the spectrum which I believe is betrayed through the visual representations of Metlakatla, even as these images seem to have been aimed at reinforcing a homogeneous vision of the community. Through the addition of the element of time (along with its accompanying shifts in viewing) to the analysis of the visual constructions of this site over a period of 30 years, I believe that it is possible to unearth some of the complexity of this colonial project. This complexity, viewed through the visual, is a result of the relationship between Metlakatla and the broad history of the period as well as

particular manipulations and constructions which were generated within the local context.

The fractures, contradictions, and negotiations which are addressed in this thesis are only those which I feel are illuminating in terms of the changing representations of this community as it underwent numerous shifts between a British Columbian and Alaskan political field and across a span of time. My discussion is in no way exhaustive and it must be assumed that there were other 'fractures', both obvious and more hidden, at play in the dynamics of this complex colonial project.

By removing the story of Metlakatla from the isolated history to which it has often been relegated, I hope to open the visual and textual images representing this site to a more complex reading which is linked to the conflictual nature of the colonial project as well as to broad trends in public opinion. These conflicts and opinions would have both affected and been affected by representations of this small Northwest Coast community. Further, I suggest that this site of apparent assimilation be viewed as a specific adaptation to the stress, turmoil, and, at times, devastation of the colonial encounter in North America.

Chapter One
SPACE AS WHITE LIGHT:
Breaking Down a Uniform View of the Site

This study and my argument concerning the shifting representations of the two villages named Metlakatla draws on Henri Lefebvre's clarification that space is a social product which is marked out through conceived space, perceived space and lived space. This view of social space as a multi-layered production is useful in the attempt to rethink the colonial project at the two sites of Metlakatla as complex, fractured and multi-dimensional. Lefebvre's discussion of space allows an avenue through which to examine the two sites as spaces which had multiple readings and were produced in a variety of ways across time and through different viewpoints. This study will necessarily focus most closely on the space as it was planned or conceived, but will also attempt to disrupt that image through a consideration of the site as it may have been perceived by people within the village as well as by outsiders. In addition to these two avenues for reading images and texts from the sites, it is important to acknowledge that the lived experience of the community, while difficult to access, would have been different from the perceived and conceived views of this space and would have also varied among the residents. Thus, while it is not possible to directly observe the social relations which produced the space of Metlakatla, it is possible to view the site both as it may have been planned and as it was represented to, and received by, an outside public.

My approach to the project at Metlakatla treats it as a site which involved layers of representation, the representations of space conveyed through the

planned architecture of the town as well as the images and texts which represented the community to a wider public. In addition, there are some glimpses of social relations, conveyed by texts from the period, which may have been contradictory to the facade presented by this site. As Lefebvre states,

...space may be said to embrace a multitude of intersections, each with its assigned location. As for representations of the relations of production, which subsume power relations, these too occur in space: space contains them in the form of buildings, monuments, and works of art. Such frontal expressions of these relations do not completely crowd out their more clandestine or underground aspects...(Lefebvre 1991: 33).

I am, therefore, suggesting that representation in Metlakatla must be viewed on multiple levels which include the function of the construction of the town itself, the framed representations of the town as imaged in drawings and photographs which would have reached an outside audience and, finally, a consideration of the possible disjunctures among these constructions and between the outside views of the sites and their lived experiences. While the space behind the facade of the two Metlakatlas is difficult to fully assess, it is necessary to recognize the constructed nature of these sites and of the documents through which they were represented.

METLAKATLA, B.C.

Duncan proposed a plan for a "model village" at Metlakatla following a trip to England in 1871, where it is likely that he would have encountered many of the model villages and housing projects of the Victorian period (Murray 1985: 108). Eugene Stock quoted an excerpt from a report written by Duncan for the Government of Canada in 1875 which makes reference to this new 'model village'. Duncan stated:

It was hardly to be expected that the plan of our village and the first houses erected at Metlakahtla would prove satisfactory to us as we advanced in civilization. The people were then in a transition state, and I had to be content to see houses go up only a little improvement upon their old style of building;...I then succeeded in persuading them to cease putting up fresh buildings until we should all agree upon the right model for a dwelling house and a better plan of townsite...The Old village is to be pulled down and a new town built up...(quoted in Stock 1880: 68-69)²

Thus, when looking at the images of Metlakatla from the late nineteenth century, a viewer is faced with photographic representations of a site which was itself a constructed facade. This facade was meant to represent particular notions to both the people living within the village and people viewing the site from outside. Two photographs of Metlakatla which were taken around 1880, shortly after the implementation of Duncan's model plan for the community, present the viewer with an image in which the power relations within the village are displayed in a powerful, overt manner. These views of Metlakatla are framed to present two wings of uniform houses which extend on either side of a large church (figures 1 & 2). This church, deemed the largest church west of Chicago and North of San Francisco, claimed a capacity of 1200 people (Veillette and White 1977: 57) (figure 3). Clearly, a statement of power and strength was being made through this grandiose building.

Prior to the implementation of the model town plan for Metlakatla, B.C. seen in the photographs, the same powerful message of the church as center was conveyed in a visitor's account from the site. The account described the success

²This quote is full of implications which extend far beyond its use in demonstrating the idea of a model village. First, Duncan's terminology contains a clear implication of progress from the savage state to the more civilized which was so prevalent at the time of this project. Second, the Stock text in which this was quoted was intended for the C.M.S. audience, and there is a clear plea for more funds to support this continuing advancement toward civilization. Aside from promoting a sense of change in the community, this reinvention of the village maintained the economic needs of the community (which otherwise might be forgotten once the success of the project had been established) and therefore, provided a basis on which to continue to solicit donations.

of Metlakatla, and stated, "It is a picturesque scene to see on a Sunday the whole village turning out in their best attire and converging in two lines to the common centre, the church (Cridge 1868: 8)." Although written prior to the implementation of the physical plan for the site, this textual account portrays the image of two sides converging on a common, powerful center, a representation which is eventually reinforced through the physical construction of the planned village of Metlakatla, B.C. Lefebvre's discussion of the ideology which lies behind physical spatial organization is applicable to this case. As Lefebvre states:

what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space (Lefebvre 1991: 44).

Here, a visitor's account which predates the construction of the model village betrays the same type of ideological position as the later physical plan of the site.

In stark contrast to the overall physical dominance of the church, stood the domestic spaces of the members of the community. The facades of the dwellings in Metlakatla, B.C. communicated an image of homogeneity, equality among members of the community, and order. This facade can be easily placed in relation to Church Missionary Society practices and the model communities promoted during the mid-nineteenth century. In England, several organizations intent on the improvement of living conditions for the laboring classes through the promotion of philanthropic housing projects were organized in the 1840's as a result of commissions which studied the cholera outbreaks of the 1830's (Curl 1990: 149). These commissions, including the Poor Law Board and the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns, produced reports which made recommendations to improve the sanitation, hygiene, and general living conditions of the laboring classes in order to avoid further outbreaks of contagious diseases (Curl 1983: 4-5). These reports spurred the Evangelical

Conscience of the period (a term used to describe the climate of religious revival and moral earnestness promoted by those associated with the Evangelical members of the Anglican Church³) to form a number of Associations dedicated to philanthropic, model housing (Ibid. 8-9). The model houses promoted by these organizations were published in sheets to be distributed around the world. In addition to these sheets, a highly publicized set of Model houses for families, designed by Henry Roberts for Prince Albert, was erected in London at the Great Exhibition of 1851 (Ibid. 10).

In conjunction with this move to provide good housing for the laboring classes within the cities, there were also a number of model villages and planned industrial villages built in the context of this reform activity. These villages included small groups of model houses, often linked to large estates, and larger projects like Saltaire in Yorkshire, Port Sunlight, and numerous others which were frequently built around a central factory.⁴ While Duncan's level of direct contact with either the model housing or the planned villages is not clear, it seems likely that he would have encountered some of these projects, particularly in light of his association with Evangelicalism, a central force in the model housing movement.

In an extensive book on Duncan, Jean Usher states that Metlakatla:

was not the product of a brilliant original mind, but was the application to a particular aboriginal group of the ideas and the theories inherent in much of Victorian reform and particularly in the policies of the Church Missionary Society (Usher 1974: 65).

³This section of the Anglican church is also referred to as the Low church party and is tied to the Protestant approach within the Church of England.

⁴These model villages were not a new creation of the Victorian reform movement. Rather, they had precedents dating back to the Norman conquest (Gaskell 1987: 3). These village projects were often associated with utopian ideals, but executed in an attainable way (Ibid. 4). These included villages built for laborers by the gentry as a part of their estates as well as those of the Moravians, Herdsmen, and numerous other groups (Darling 1976).

Thus, Metlakatla was not an isolated experiment, as it was frequently constructed in its public representation. Rather, this village was a project which coincided with those undertaken by many people with similar Evangelical views. Usher goes on to assert that the model town plan for Metlakatla executed after Duncan's 1871 visit to England was designed to manifest progress to the outside world (Ibid. 68). This plan was characterized by order and regularity, essential elements in the progressive, reform mind of the Victorian era, and was purportedly meant to convey the idea of equality before Christ (Ibid.). While the model town plan at Metlakatla, B.C. included slightly more elaborate and overtly European style houses than those initially built in the village, in each case, the idea of equality among the villagers was maintained through the basic and regularized accommodations. This was a persistent message in the British Columbia site which, as will be shown, would later be thrown into disarray in the building of the village of New Metlakatla on Annette Island, Alaska.

Many of the significant visual aspects of the community of Metlakatla, B.C., as constructed following Duncan's visit to England, can be viewed in terms of his particular affiliation within the Anglican church. The first foundation stone for the enormous church which dominated the village was laid in 1873, coinciding with the new village plan. The austere, yet imposing church, called St. Paul's, was completed by Christmas of 1874 (figure 3). It has been reported that Duncan designed the church himself after repeated dissatisfaction with architects' plans which he deemed to be too grand (Murray 1985: 110).

Any exterior embellishment seems to have reinforced a sense of strength and solidity in the church while denying some of the more ornate aesthetic qualities of the Victorian era. The sparse interior, devoid of elaborate decoration, conveyed a sense of sternness as well as dominance (figure 4). Within the church

interior, the pulpit dominated the altar which, as suggested in a book on early wooden church architecture in British Columbia, privileged the role of teaching (or the sermon) over that of ritual (Veillette and White 1977: 59). St. Paul's church at Metlakatla was not the first building from which Duncan had conducted services and his tendency to avoid all ritualistic elements of the Anglican order was also discussed in relation to the initial church used at Metlakatla by Bishop Hills who visited in 1863, shortly after the move to the site. Hills stated, "There were no external aids ...to produce or increase the solemnity of the scene.....Thus, there was nothing to impress the sense, no colour, or ornament, or church decoration, or music (quoted in Murray 1985: 80)."

The textual and visual representations of Old Metlakatla's austere, teaching-oriented churches highlight Duncan's ongoing opposition to the ritualist Tractarian section of the Anglican church.⁵ The uncompromising position taken by Duncan, essentially that ritual disguised the true meaning of Christianity and obscured the lessons to the Native peoples, led to his refusal to become ordained and his eventual schism with the Church Missionary Society. In contrast to Duncan's position, the Tractarians had a society, formed in 1839, which sought to carry their aims into architecture by reviving ritual in church design (Curl 1983: 6). Clearly, the revival of ritual was not central in the design of St. Paul's church and its spare interior.

Despite the break from the High Church and its interest in grandeur and ritual, it is clear that the church built at the village of Metlakatla, B.C. expressed specific power relations and a specific ideology. The sheer size of the building, with a capacity greater than the number of people in the village, conveyed both a high level of authority and an interest in expansion. In addition, the economic

⁵The Tractarian faction of the Anglican church were also known as the High Church Party or Ritualists. They were more closely linked to Catholicism and were sometimes referred to as 'papists' by the Evangelical faction.

expenditure required to construct the building privileged the church above other structures in the community. Along with this privilege, a strong statement was made about the aims and interests of the village. The size, expense, solidity, and somber nature of the building, along with its central location in the community, all asserted the dominant nature of church authority in this small British Columbia village. This is particularly apparent in relation to the uniformity of the dwellings of the villagers. Although the dominance of the village by a church was a common sight in Great Britain, this was a departure from the Tsimshian village structure. While a line of houses was common to each location, the Tsimshian village lacked the imposition of a single authoritative structure and was instead marked by varying statements of hierarchy signified by the housefronts and their crest designs. The image of the authority and strength of the church was probably intended for people within the village, but also affected visitors to the site and those who would only experience descriptions of the town through other visitors. In many early photographs, the massive church building with its flanking rows of uniform houses is the only clearly visible hierarchy communicated by the site of Metlakatla, B.C.

An examination of the contradictions between the rigid exterior, public images of Old Metlakatla and its seemingly more dynamic interior relations illuminates the production of the utopic, model image of this site. While the row of building facades lining the street of Metlakatla appeared to correspond to the single family worker's houses, in fact each pair was linked by a common room in the center with an open fire, reminiscent of the Northwest Coast longhouse and its multi-family habitation. The housing arrangement was described in an account from a visitor in 1879:

Two houses, each having an upper storey are erected side by side with an interval of some thirty feet between. Each of these houses receives its particular family, the interval between them being built over one storey in height thus connecting the intermediate building, into which a door opens, and from both houses as well as from the front, forms a common room or hall of entrance, to which both families have access, and in which a large open fire is jointly maintained for the common benefit. (A.C. Anderson, quoted in Usher 1974: 68)

This system allowed more than one family to dwell together while still sleeping in separate quarters. In 1888, Horace Briggs, another visitor to the site described the shared dwellings which he felt satisfied both the Christian idea of family privacy and the native view of social privileges (Briggs 1889: 64-65). This hybrid building style, however, was totally concealed by the exterior facade of the dwellings, particularly as they could be viewed in the photographs representing the village to an outside audience. Thus, while the back spaces of the dwellings seem to have allowed some Native practice to persist, the image conveyed by the facade or front spaces of the village concealed this link to a Tsimshian past. This type of insight again hints at the spectrum of practice and understanding which may have existed behind the clean surface of this colonial project.

In addition to the masking of dynamic and hybrid interior social relations, there seems to have been a similarly selective representation of the public buildings of Metlakatla in images intended for a viewing audience which was unable to physically travel to the site. Despite the stark and dominant European visual emphasis presented by the enormous church which was constructed in 1874 and frequently depicted in images, the interior of the initial chapel, with its totem-like decorations, seems to have held greater reference to past traditions of the Tsimshian people and, therefore, would have bestowed some level of empowerment (figure 5). Again, a look at the back spaces of this community, or those hidden behind the facade, reveals a more dynamic interaction in which native practice was allowed to persist in particular ways. Duncan, in fact, was

not opposed to traditional art and in a letter to the C.M.S. wrote, "I am encouraging the Indians to keep their ancient carving and our village Hall (now being erected) is to be almost entirely Indian in style (quoted in MacDonald 1990: 203)."⁶ In light of this persistence of Native-influenced structures within the village, it is noteworthy that images depicting structures with a link to previous native practice were absent from the publicized representations of Metlakatla. This exclusion of images with references to a non-Christian past indicates the selective nature of the public representations of the site and highlights the disjuncture which existed between the experience of the colonial project from within and the production of the colonial project for an outside audience.

Beyond the lack of publication of the images of the chapel interior and village hall which may have shown overt references to pre-existing Tsimshian social structure, there were other public buildings which remained absent from the majority of images of Metlakatla, B.C. While the overwhelming emphasis placed on the imposing church communicated the dominance of religious principle in the life of the community, this village was also intricately tied to economic ventures. In the words of one writer, rather than promoting agricultural pursuits in an unsuitable environment, "[Duncan] undertook to tutor his Indian followers in the Industrial Revolution (Doig 1974: 44)." Business enterprises at Metlakatla included stores, sawmills, factories, markethouses, and freighting (McDonald 1984: 45). In a book focused on Native labor in British Columbia, Rolf Knight proposed that Metlakatla established the most extensive

⁶This apparent flexibility is not as extraordinary as it may initially appear as Duncan's promotion of 'traditional arts' was a largely economic concern. Curios were an important source of income for the village in both sites. There is also evidence of some level of collecting on Duncan's part. This was relatively common for missionaries. (See MacDonald 1990) The most unusual aspect of Duncan's attitude was the encouragement of further production of art objects. This is however, much less surprising in light of his heavy emphasis on financial and economic success in the village.

program of cottage industry attempted in any British Columbia mission (Knight 1996: 96). Knight went on to assert that:

the original mission system of cottage industries was not merely an economic venture but was part of a social strategy to build closed Indian communities in which local authorities and people would not be dependent upon outside economic forces or social processes (Ibid. 152).

In other words, these economic activities were crucial to the isolation of this community. Despite the centrality of economic ventures in this community, economic sites were rarely viewed in the early images of Metlakatla, B.C. Instead, as has been noted, the typical publicized image of the community was that of the church (figure 3). This focus on the church rather than economic sites is particularly telling in light of the major criticism leveled at Duncan (aside from his refusal to comply with Anglican ritual) that he was involved in financial affairs to a level unfitting of a member of the church.

Indeed, it becomes clear in an examination of Duncan's papers that finance and the business of the community were extremely important to him.⁷ The site included a cannery, sawmill, sash factory, blacksmith shop, bakery, and a weaving house. In addition to these industries, a central element of the Metlakatla project was its store or trading post which directly and successfully competed with the Hudson's Bay Company interests in the region. This 'trading post' was mentioned in an account of Governor-General Dufferin's 1876 visit to the village. The account written by Molyneux St. John asserted that Metlakatla was not only a mission, but a trading post and that, "its business is carried on by the Indians, with the Indians and for the Indians. The trade is done on the cooperative principle (St. John 1877: 298)."

⁷The William Duncan papers, on microfiche in the UBC library, are full of financial ledgers and reports. In addition, many of the letters sent by Duncan concern financial issues such as the fur trade and fair pricing.

The economic activity of the trading post was the principal reason that two large buildings were constructed to house Native visitors to the site. This construction occurred in order to maintain a level of separation between the people of Metlakatla and those who were not a direct part of this civilizing project. The separate guest houses were also used to promote life in the village to Native visitors who could see the way the people in the Metlakatla community lived without 'contaminating' the civilizing work. These visitors, housed in separate buildings, provided an additional audience for the site. The guest houses and trading post point to an interesting issue in Metlakatla which claimed separation from corrupting influences, but also relied on those outside influences for its economic success. The relationship of this community to the frontier environment (from which it claimed separation, while simultaneously maintaining an economic dependence) exposes an instance of contradiction within the Metlakatla project.

The absence of reference to economic activity in early views of the site may be partially related to the timing of many of the images, the majority of which were taken while Duncan was still involved with the C.M.S. Images intended to promote the site within this context would have necessarily focused on the church and its strength in the mission village. This emphasis changed in later images, and particularly in the new village site in Alaska. Again, the changing visual emphasis on the church and commercial buildings along with the existence of these two major agendas (ecclesiastical and financial) within the Metlakatla project points to the complex and conflictual nature of this colonial project.

In addition to commercial sites, Metlakatla's rarely represented buildings included secular structures like the jail and city hall, again sites which involved native agency in their management and represented a more dynamic social

structure within the community from that indicated by views of the church with flanking rows of uniform houses. Thus, it seems that while the dominant representations of the town pointed to the authority and strength of the church as conveyed through its enormous structure and the leveled relations among the native members of the community, there also was room (primarily *within* the community) for representation that allowed a more dynamic vision of the lived experience of the town. This more dynamic aspect, however, was not visible in the early representations of Metlakatla which would have been intended for an external audience. Instead, the early images were largely focused on the church facade, its imposing presence, and the assimilated appearance of the site.

The few glimpses of a somewhat dynamic interaction within the community may in fact have been more accurate than the more widely publicized, static representations of the village. While the images of Old Metlakatla and the construction of the dwellings invoked a sense of uniformity and equality among the community members, the system established to govern the town included a highly ranked social organization. The men of the village were divided into ten companies, each of which eventually included a chief, two native teachers, two constables, three councilmen, two musicians, and ten volunteer firemen with a captain (Usher 1974: 78). The women were also organized into ten groups with a responsible woman appointed to look after each group. This social organization, partially a reflection of the C.M.S. interest in promoting native self-government, seemingly satisfied Duncan's concern with order while still allowing the chiefs (the only non-elected members of these companies) the necessary rank and status for the project to secure their crucial support. The Church Missionary Society, under the direction of Henry Venn, encouraged the formation of "Christian Companies" which would provide structure within the new environment of the mission setting (Ibid.). Under this

system, Duncan viewed chiefly rank as an attribute which could be utilized to serve his goals for Metlakatla (Ibid. 79).

Usher's extensive discussion of the establishment of the community in British Columbia suggests that this chiefly rank and status within the village grew in strength as the mission project took firmer hold among its converts. Initially, the relationship seems to have been one of consultation, but eventually the position of the chiefs was formalized, and they became the only non-elected members of the village council (Ibid.). Duncan's deference to the ranking members of Tsimshian society with which he was working seems to have extended beyond the chiefs to include their families. In response to a complaint by the wife of an assistant missionary that Duncan refused to allow the girls living in the Mission house to work for her, Duncan reportedly indicated that since some of the girls were the daughters of chiefs, they could not be expected to do menial work (Ibid. 76). Despite this evidence of the recognition of rank within the community, accounts and images from Metlakatla, B.C. seemed intent on denying the persistence of Native hierarchy. The construction of a community without internal hierarchy among its members is seen in St. John's 1877 publication: "He strives to make industry and merit the standards by which the men of the village are measured,...there was no apparent priority or distinction amongst them (St. John 1877: 316)."⁸ The uniform image promoted by the construction and images of the village was thus paired with proclamations that rank and the old system were being dismantled in this missionary work. This representation of the site seems to have been contradicted by the social relations within the town.

⁸This seeming deference on the part of Duncan with respect to chiefly rank and status is also worth keeping in mind as my later discussion of the construction of identity in the community notes the representation of one chief, Legaic, in texts which focus on Metlakatla. This later representation, which is most prevalent around the time of the move to the United States, is directly in opposition to the apparent level of respect that Duncan exhibited toward the chiefs.

This disjuncture between the publicized view of Metlakatla and social relations within the village indicates a point of fracture within this colonial project. In this case, it seems that there was a contradiction between the represented social relations of the village and the established system of government, in addition to a contradiction within Duncan's policy itself. The mission project at Metlakatla claimed to be intent upon dismantling pre-existing systems of rank while simultaneously capitalizing on the established rank within the Tsimshian social structure as an asset used to promote order and recruit crucial supporters. In addition to these contradictions within the Metlakatla project under Duncan's leadership, it must not be forgotten that with Bishop Ridley's arrival there was the establishment of yet another site of friction in this community which was often represented as a successful, unconflicted utopia. The multi-layered policy taken toward rank within the village serves to highlight the contradictory attitudes within a single colonial project, even under the direction of an individual. Thus, it is worth noting the eruptions which occur not only between types of experiences, but also within the colonial policies of a single man and between members of a single organization.

In addition to the points at which the social structure of the village and the physical, visible facade were in disagreement, there were reports from visitors which indicated that there was a further persistence of links to prior Native practice. The report from the visit of Governor-General Dufferin and his wife in 1876 allows a view of events which may indicate another site of fracture, both in the colonial project and within Duncan's control. It is reported that the Natives gave the vice-regal visitors a mask and a woven cedar hat with segmented portions, both items which Duncan had never seen (MacDonald 1990: 202). In addition to the presence of these objects within the village, St. John reported a telling encounter between the visitors and the residents of Metlakatla:

The Governor-General expressed a great desire to hear the men sing one of their national melodies, but they begged to be excused on the ground that they would be ashamed to sing it before him on shore as they were, but that they would follow the ship and sing it in their canoes, which they did on his return from Fort Simpson (St. John 1877: 315-6).

St. John viewed this event as an instance of Duncan's dominance and total control prevailing in the community, but I propose that it be read in a different way. While the members of the community were unwilling to express aspects of their past within the village, the fact that they did eventually sing for Dufferin indicates that they had not disavowed their prior practices entirely. Therefore, Duncan's control was not nearly as pervasive as it has typically been constructed. In addition, the fact that Dufferin requested a 'national' melody despite the representation of the site as a village free from links to previous practice, indicates an instance in which two members of the colonizing project had different interests and may have sent mixed messages to the Tsimshian with whom they were interacting.

The focus on rank within the village along with this existence of a somewhat subversive attachment to Tsimshian practice indicates, once again, that the regimented and total control conveyed by the representations of space, through the structure of the village and photographs of that structure, was not a complete picture of life in the village of Metlakatla, B.C. Instead, these images presented a selective view with the intention of promoting Duncan's successful mission project as unconflicted and characterized by the total acquiescence and assimilation of the group of Tsimshian who had chosen to follow him.

Despite the controlled, peaceful, and unified image often used to portray Duncan's project with the Tsimshian in the Northern Northwest Coast, the colonial project at Metlakatla, B.C. was riddled with internal debate and

contradiction. An examination of several incidents as well as images from the site has revealed numerous fractures through which it is possible to see the disjunctures which often occurred between the space as it was conceived, the perceptions of that space, and the possible lived experience of the project. Metlakatla seems to have been a more dynamic community than portrayed in the majority of its early representations and one in which native agency was asserted through negotiation and a persistent, though often veiled, connection to native institutions. Despite this level of negotiation for which I am arguing, the publicized representations of the site presented an image of rigid and complete transformation from earlier social structures, guided by the patriarchal control of William Duncan.

MOVING TO AMERICA

As has been discussed, the regimented facade of Metlakatla, B.C. was initially invoked as a means of promoting the success of the C.M.S. project in British Columbia. Later, as the community prepared for and moved to Alaska, this same facade seems to have been increasingly taken up in a different way. As Americans began to write about the community, Old Metlakatla was held up as a model which set a standard possible to attain in other missions to the 'Indian'. The representation of the village of Metlakatla, B.C. began, increasingly, to be discussed in terms of a notion of American life. This site, initially represented as an attempt to distance the converts from the frontier, and later as a model worker's village like those being promoted in Great Britain in the mid to late-nineteenth century, was gradually taken up and heavily promoted as a 'New England village'.⁹ Along with this changing context, a significant shift in

⁹This reference is made in numerous documents surrounding the move to Alaska including: White, 1887: 267-8; Wellcome, 1887; Sessions, 1890.

representation was apparent in the physical construction of the site following its move to the United States. Indeed, the new community took on a drastically different, though equally contrived, appearance. Again, it is possible to see the complication and multiplicity involved in this colonial project which seems to have taken on a dramatically different appearance and overall character as it shifted to engage new political and social terrain. The move to the United States brought both a new field of interaction as well as a changing era of attitudes toward Native peoples of North America.

METLAKATLA, ALASKA

Given the obvious resonance of the representations of Old Metlakatla in relation to issues concerning assimilation and the 'Indian', it is necessary to examine the dramatic shift in representational strategy which took place in the new location. New Metlakatla sent a very different message of assimilated life from that conveyed and admired in Old Metlakatla. This new village, arranged on a grid plan, was full of Euramerican style houses which exhibited a greater degree of individuality and decoration than the lines of equal, plain houses in the British Columbia village. Here, rather than emphasizing the piety of the villagers and their modest dwellings, accounts praised the fine quality of the Metlakatlan's homes. One book, written by G.B. Davis in 1904, said of Metlakatla, AK:

The houses are on the average considerably finer than those in an American village of 800 inhabitants. They are mainly two stories, plentifully supplied with windows and usually have a verandah. The village sidewalks are wide and well-built (Davis 1904: 119).

Far beyond the simple Victorian standard of the village in British Columbia, this was a town with capitalist, consumerist tendencies conveyed through

architecture. In other words, New Metlakatla was built and described as a middle class American community of the turn-of-the-century, industrial period.

New Metlakatla was again dominated by a church building, but the town plan (along with the new church structure) exhibited what appears to have been a very different set of concerns from that seen in the British Columbia village which was conceptualized 15 years before the move North. The new village was arranged on a grid pattern which was divided into four lots per block, reportedly so that each house could be built on a corner lot (Arctander 1909: 300). Again, there was an attempt to promote a level of equality among the members of the community, but this was manifest in a very different pattern from the one in place in the British Columbia site. The new town arrangement can be seen in an early bird's eye view photograph (figure 6). It is difficult to determine the exact time frame for the planning of the new village, but it seems to have been at some time prior to 1890 due to a presentation of Duncan's plan for the village to Alaskan governor, Lyman E. Knapp (Murray 1985: 219). The construction of the majority of the public buildings was completed within the first decade at the new location, with the church opened on the first Sunday of 1897 (Ibid. 242-43).

The town was divided into 140 lots for families (Ibid. 220). The division of the town into corner lots, while attempting a level of equality, left a problem in place. Traditional Northwest Coast villages were built along the shore. This shoreline construction, while somewhat modified, was echoed in the rigid line of houses facing the shore at Metlakatla, B.C. As stated by one writer in 1909, "Lots facing the beach...were the best and handiest for a population which spent half of its life in the Canoe or boat (Arctander 1909: 300)." As the grid plan implemented at Annette Island did not allow all of the homes to be along the water, a level of hierarchy was established within families with the eldest brother having first choice of lots (Ibid.). In addition, homes were to be built on alternate

corners of the lots so that each had an unobstructed view of the shore (Murray 1985: 220). The main street was to run parallel to the shore with the beach front remaining public. This layout suggests that there was an emerging visual hierarchy among members of the community in the new site. This is not to say that hierarchy did not exist in the first village site. Rather, I am attempting to point to the dramatic shift in the level of openness of the hierarchy as manifested through the visible status attached to individual houses and locations in the village's Alaskan setting.

In addition to the dramatic shift in the spatial layout of the new community, the houses in New Metlakatla were dramatically different from the uniform, unembellished, and simple 'workers' houses' which were built in British Columbia. The Alaskan houses, particularly as discussed in the 1904 account from the site and as displayed in an image from the 1909 book about the town, were individual and indicative of differing economic (and perhaps social) status (figures 7 & 8). Arctander discussed the homes in the village in 1909, stating:

Even among the houses built of late years the square, two storey building style seems to be the predominating. But a few of the more recently built homes would, in style and arrangement, do honour to any little New England village of its size (Arctander 1909:303).

He went on to list several specific examples and their color choices which included Tom Hanbury's dark green house with white trim built in 1902, Alex Guthrie's pink bungalow with white trim and a dark red shingled roof built in 1903, and Benjamin Haldane's orange house with white trim and a dark green shingled roof built in 1906 (Ibid.). This open display of status and individuality is, I believe, indicative of dramatic shifts in the aims of the public representation of the community. These shifts may point to changing views toward the 'civilized Indian', different intended audiences for the images representing the site, and changing goals within the village itself.

Benjamin Haldane's house also was described as having a monument in front to honour his deceased father, although he was laid to rest in a cemetery (Arctander 1909: 303). I believe this to be the sign of another point of hybridity and negotiation within the Metlakatla community. While the father is buried in a cemetery, the monument is reminiscent of the totem poles erected in honour of deceased relatives (Halpin and Seguin 1990: 273). Similar examples of the erection of mortuary poles in front of European style homes could be seen among the Tlingit and Haida, neighboring groups to the Tsimshian (figure 9). It is also particularly noteworthy that this mention of a strong reference to past practices was included in the Arctander book from 1909, a text which I argue is more strongly tied to romantic notions of a native past than the majority of publications concerning the Metlakatla project. In addition to a growing sense of individuality and status among the members of the community as manifest through differing treatment of the individual dwellings, there were some significant changes in the presentation of church authority and power as displayed by the new church at Metlakatla, AK. Early photographs of the site serve to highlight the different position of the church in this new village (figure 10). As in Old Metlakatla, the church structure dominated the village skyline, but rather than standing literally at the center of the community, this church was set outside and above the village. The new church building displayed a different type of dominance which was powerful and, at the same time, set apart from the daily life of the community. One visitor's impression of this new building follows: "The church stands on an eminence just at the back of the village and is far the most handsome and pretentious building in the town (Davis 1904: 119)." Arctander also described the appearance of the town and the church:

What first attracts the eye are the public buildings on Mission street, and especially, the magnificent church, all in glorious white coats. Below the

buildings, and nearer to the beach, are strewn around in the luxurious verdure of the gardens, the houses of the natives, painted in all colours; pink, green,...(Arctander 1909: 336)¹⁰

The church building, while not unusual in relation to other church architecture of the period, seems to depart significantly from the austere, unembellished, yet powerful church at the site in British Columbia (figure 11). The new church was slightly smaller than St. Paul's, but was said to be the largest in Alaska (Davis 1904: 119). The facade, while still relatively plain, seems to have had a greater interest in aesthetics, much like the shifting attitude toward the houses within the community. The interior of the church, however, displayed the most dramatic departure as it had a painting on the back wall portraying 'Angels over Bethlehem' and seems to have been somewhat opulent (figure 12). In addition, there was a pipe organ, reportedly the only portion of the building not built by the Metlakatians themselves (Ibid.). Despite the growing tendency toward decoration, however, the pulpit once again overpowered the altar, showing that Duncan persisted in his rejection of ritual and his domination of the church building. Part of the shift in style can be attributed to Duncan's split from specific church affiliation and the waning necessity to assert his position within the larger organizations of the C.M.S. and the Anglican church.

While his position in relation to the C.M.S. and other governing church bodies was no longer an issue, the new site was not without internal conflict. Duncan was challenged by a young member of the Metlakatla community, Edward Marsden, who was strongly influenced by Sheldon Jackson, Alaskan Agent of Education, and his Presbyterianism. Marsden went against Duncan and attended college in Ohio under the benefactorship of Jackson. Eventually,

¹⁰While the gardens were not unique to the Alaska site of Metlakatla, the description as luxurious was. Previously, gardens had been constructed as a sign of civilization and order. This description places them in the realm of luxury and leisure, a very different use of the image of the garden.

Marsden returned to Alaska to run a Presbyterian church only twelve miles from Metlakatla, at a site just off Annette Island. This story and the resulting split within the community plagued the village during the later years of Duncan's control, and by some reports continues to divide the community.¹¹ It has been suggested that the division of the community into factions supporting either Marsden or Duncan was a continuation, in institutionalized form, of the factionalism of Tsimshian society (Dunn & Booth 1990: 295; Beynon 1941: 84). In addition, the feud between Marsden and Duncan can be viewed as evidence that the villagers were in growing positions of power in relation to Duncan and, therefore, may have had some influence on the implementation of the town plan in this new location. The existence of strong opposition to Duncan's policy within the village also helps to highlight Duncan's need to secure the support of important and influential members of the community, thus increasing their status and power within the social relations of the village.

In light of the town plan employed in New Metlakatla and its increased emphasis on individuality, one is left to question the level of negotiation which occurred in the new village. The rigid facade constructed at Old Metlakatla seems to have masked much more dynamic and hybrid social relations which differed somewhat from the rigid assimilation promoted in the representation of the community. It is more difficult to determine the level of hybridity in the new community. While, I am tempted to read the new site in terms of growing agency in the hands of the people living in Metlakatla, it is important to question whether this new facade serves to mask the same dictatorial power relations in a more democratic guise. In his discussion of transparency and opacity of different representations and their strategies, Lefebvre discusses the illusion of transparency. This illusion is where "space appears as luminous, as intelligible,

¹¹Sources which discuss this division include Beynon, 1941; Dunn & Booth, 1990; Murray, 1985.

as giving action free rein." He goes on to state that, "The illusion of transparency goes hand in hand with a view of space as innocent, as free of traps or secret places (Lefebvre 1991: 28)."

The view of New Metlakatla as a site in which there is a greater level of freedom in place must, therefore, be interpreted as suspiciously as the vision of paternalistic control which I argue masked more dynamic relationships at Old Metlakatla. Perhaps the new vision of American town life was simply a more insidious mask for dominant relations on the part of Duncan through his church-related and economic ventures. Indeed, the new village was again plagued by power struggles and eventually, at a later period than the representations on which I am focusing, members of the village turned to the United States government for support in their opposition to an increasingly tyrannical (and perhaps even senile) Duncan (Murray 1985). In the initial village site, the rigidity allowed one to question this complete transition and to look behind the walls where there was a somewhat different message. In the new site, there doesn't seem to have been the same dominance conveyed through the village construction. One is left to wonder, therefore, whether different forms of coercion had taken over (i.e. economic or status based) or whether there was truly a stronger voice on the part of individual members of the community.¹² This community was dealing with a shift to the political terrain of the United States in which a democratic image may have resonated more powerfully than in the British Columbia site.

The dramatic shifts viewed in the construction and representation of the site of Metlakatla, AK seem even more significant and curious in light of the positive public response which met the representations of Metlakatla, B.C. The

¹²Again, this increasingly influential role of community members is demonstrated by the later power in the hands of Marsden who stood in direct opposition to Duncan.

British Columbia village was widely known and constructed as a highly successful 'experiment' in the goals of assimilation, education, and, ultimately, control of the Native people of North America. The placement of this site in relation to the wider political discourse taking place in the United States, the new home of Metlakatla, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helps to illuminate possible reasons for the dramatic transition between locations and highlights the historically contingent nature of this colonial project.

Chapter 2

INSCRIBED IDENTITIES:

Shifting Images of the Metlakatians

Although the first section of this paper examined the representational strategies employed in the planning and presentation of the two sites of Metlakatla as a way of viewing the social relations within the villages, it is an incomplete picture to focus on only the structures of this community. The differing aims and ideologies of the Metlakatla projects were also inscribed through the individuals who populated the village, along with their images and descriptions. In other words, without the people who inhabited Metlakatla, there would have been no need to construct a particular image of the social relations within the community. In addition, at the same time that the representation of the town shifted to engage with a different discursive field, the constructed identity of the people living in the community also underwent a shift. It is my aim in this chapter to demonstrate that these shifts paralleled one another and were intertwined.

A VILLAGE OF MODEL WORKERS

Early photographs taken of people from Metlakatla, B.C. tended to focus on static lines of figures. In addition to the static, staged nature of these views, there was a tendency to inscribe the symbols of work and class on the bodies of the Metlakatians. This working class construction is plainly evident in an image of women with spinning wheels, taken by Edward Dossetter in 1881 during the I.W. Powell Survey, the same visit during which early views of the lines of

houses from Metlakatla, B.C. were produced (figure 13). Much like the houses, identifiable with Victorian model housing for workers, the images of these women conveyed a sense of homogeneity and equality. The spinning wheels placed next to each woman functioned on different levels: on one level, they placed a symbol of European civilization and domestic pursuits in relation to the body of the Native woman; on a second level, they inscribed these women with the potential for production and labor. Thus, this image conveyed both successful and complete assimilation and the potential for economic production on the part of these female members of the Metlakatla community.

The images of the men in the community preceding the move to Alaska tended, again, to inscribe an element of class, but also a level of status or hierarchy. Frequently, images of members of the community focused on the men of particular organizations. There are numerous images of members of the corps of constables and of the band members who dressed in cast-off United States army uniforms (figures 14, 15). These images of the men of the community in particular regalia seem to have communicated a slightly different message from the image of the women with spinning wheels. Again, the bodies are indicative of a highly regimented social organization. But, through the indication of rank and social roles, the images also conveyed a level of native agency which, while possibly unintentional, placed at least a minimal amount of power in the hands of particular individuals.

Another significant way that the people of the village were viewed in early (before 1887) images of Metlakatla, B.C. was as a community, assembled along with Duncan on the steps of the imposing church (figures 16, 17). Here it is possible to see the implications of the size of the church structure and its powerful presence, particularly in relation to the people living in the community. As discussed previously, the majority of images which accompanied stories of

Metlakatla and its success were drawings taken from the numerous photographs of the powerful church facade, both with and without people (figures 3, 17). The view of the church with the Metlakatlans assembled on its steps conveyed power, dominance, and subservient, diminished community members, and was the most frequently portrayed emblem of the success of this civilizing project.

It is important to view the types of illustrations and photographs produced to promote the project at Metlakatla in the context of other images of missions and missionary success from various locations around the world. Although the images with the Metlakatla community assembled in the foreground of the church were unquestionably communicating a dominant church power, they are somewhat different from the many images which constructed a civilized missionary flanked by subservient (and often subhuman) converts. Images of Duncan's community members, while diminished in relation to church authority, betrayed a dynamism which was frequently absent from images representing missionary encounter.

FLOATING BETWEEN SITES: IDENTITY DURING THE MOVE

The strategy for communicating the identity of Metlakatla's community members to an outside audience shifted during the period following Duncan's split from the C.M.S. and during his petition for admission to the United States. This split would have resulted in the need for support from a different audience in order to maintain the Metlakatla project. Thus, one division in types of imagery seems to correspond roughly to a shift in targeted audience from C.M.S. donors to American legislators, philanthropists, and tourists. The earliest images conveying the construction viewed in this new 'American' context are seen in a book published in 1880 by Sheldon Jackson, an important figure in American policy in the Northern Northwest Coast and the first Alaskan Agent of

Education. Jackson's book addressed the potential of Alaska and the Northwest Coast, both in terms of resources and Native conversion. Several of the images from Jackson's text were later used by Henry Wellcome in his book promoting the Metlakatians' move to Alaska (figures 18, 19, 24).

Evidence of the different approach to representation of the identity of the Metlakatians, likely necessitated by a shifting audience, can be viewed most clearly in the extensive illustrations from Henry Wellcome's, The Story of Metlakahtla of 1887. This book, written as a promotion of the Metlakatla project in order to secure support for the move to the United States, included numerous drawings of members of the community and several images of "savage" native practice which portrayed the native body as vile and unruly (figures 19, 24). The views of "savagery" stood in sharp contrast to the illustrations which depicted members of the community of Metlakatla as clean, well dressed figures with benign labels including, 'a native belle', 'a drummer of the Metlakahtla brass-band', 'a native violet', and 'a native hopeful' (figures 20, 21, 22, 23). The various figures which represented the Metlakatians and their identity were shown to be civilized, but were not quite European individuals as they were rarely given a personal name (the exceptions being David Leask, a close ally of Duncan, and Legaic, an important individual in the promotion of the success of the site (figures 25, 26)). Instead, the Metlakatians were depicted as civilized and Europeanized, yet still anonymous Native people.

An examination of the book's use and representation of Legaic is instructive in the placement of its images within the American discourse surrounding the 'Indian'. The founding and success of Metlakatla was frequently demonstrated through the conversion of this single, key figure. Legaic was a high ranking Tsimshian chief who had increased his status through success in the economic activities surrounding Fort Simpson and was later an active member of

the Metlakatla community. The emblematic image presented by the story of Legaic, an example of a successful shift in identity from a suspicious, even hostile, chief to a common, humble member of the community, was clearly highly constructed, and was repeatedly included in texts promoting Duncan's successful mission work.

The constructed nature of this emblematic story can be brought to light through an examination of the disjuncture between the history of Metlakatla and the representations of Legaic, a figure who was used as a symbol of the mission's success and the triumph of European civilization over native savagery. While Legaic seems to have been a crucial figure in the initial success of Duncan's move away from Fort Simpson, he was also one of the more outspoken chiefs within the community. Texts of the time stated that Legaic died before the move to Alaska, but other sources suggest that he was among the disgruntled members of the community, primarily chiefs, who elected to remain in British Columbia rather than follow Duncan to the new site of Metlakatla. In an example of the disjunctures which occur in the telling of history, it is interesting to note that one source which stands in disagreement with the early constructions of Legaic as a totally transformed and humble member of the community is written by a First Nations historian, Olive Dickason. In her text entitled Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times, Dickason discusses the story of Metlakatla and focuses on Duncan's relationship with Legaic who, according to her discussion, died in 1894, several years after the move to Alaska. Of the project at Metlakatla, Dickason states: "Government was by a council of chiefs (including Duncan) and ten elected councilors; public order was maintained by Native constables selected from the ranks of house chiefs and headed by Legaic (Dickason 1992: 246)." In her discussion of the move to Alaska, Dickason asserts:

Duncan left for Annette Island, Alaska, where he re-established his village with 600 followers. Legaic stayed behind in the original Metlakatla and also maintained a residence at Fort Simpson to be near his daughter, who had married an HBC official (Ibid.).

Thus, it is striking that this source which directly acknowledges the persistence of rank in the community comes from a First Nations writer.

Evidence exists to reinforce Dickason's discussion of rank in the community and her claims concerning the persistence of chiefly prestige in Metlakatla. According to Duncan himself, the leaders of the opposition group who did not accompany the community to Alaska and elected, instead, to remain with the C.M.S., were "three or four Indians who had been chiefs under the old tribal arrangement, but who had lost their prestige by the progress of civilization (quoted in Usher 1974: 119)."¹³ Regardless, of the specific members involved in this dissatisfaction, it seems clear that the representation of the site as a community populated by equal members was intended to promote a particular ideology rather than convey the social organization of the village. In addition, whatever the eventual decision of Legaic, his construction as a 'simple citizen' was clearly not an accurate one (as demonstrated by a photograph from Metlakatla, B.C. in which Legaic is the dominant individual (figure 28)). The chiefs maintained a level of power in the community which was occasionally acknowledged publicly, but generally down-played in favor of an image of a more homogenous identity among the Metlakatlans. It was in line with the projection of a homogenous identity for the people of the site that Legaic was represented, particularly in texts, as a formerly savage chief who was converted into a simple, civilized citizen.

¹³It has been suggested that the dissatisfied chiefs were among the leaders of a group who had been reprimanded following a Nativist movement in the community in 1877 (from J.D. Darling in Usher 1974; Rettig 1980). Thus, while Duncan acknowledged the persistence of ties to chiefly status in his statement, he did not reveal the specific circumstances nor the fact that this rank was never totally abolished under his system.

The contrasting 'before and after' images of Legaic included in The Story of Metlakatla hold a resemblance to the images used during the same period as propaganda to promote the project at the Carlisle Residential School in Pennsylvania, overseen by Richard Pratt (figures 24, 25). The Carlisle Residential school was run with the aim of total assimilation and, in order to promote the project, publicity images demonstrating the success and progress of this assimilation were published (figure 27). These photographs, in this case the individual is Tom Torlino, showed a nineteenth century viewer the image of completely tamed savagery. In visual terms, the images dramatically illustrated the idea that external appearance affected internal identity. The depiction of the people of Metlakatla as civilized savages would have resonated and played into the Pratt model, a familiar device for the representation of successful assimilation of the 'Indian' during the late nineteenth century in the United States. At the same time, there was an aspect of the Metlakatla project which was significantly different from that taken up at the Carlisle Residential School and similar institutions.

Pratt was adamantly against any project of separation or isolation and instead promoted total assimilation into society. The project at Metlakatla had an aim which shared Pratt's focus on assimilation, but was also committed to the maintenance of a strong sense of community achieved through physical isolation. Wellcome's book, with its isolated figures depicting different aspects of society, is somewhat difficult to read in these terms. I believe that it is possible that this depiction of isolated individuals would have diminished any sense of threat posed by a *community* of assimilated individuals. Aside from one image of the church (without the community assembled upon its steps), Wellcome's book excludes any images of the community or depictions of the residents of Metlakatla in a group setting. Thus, although his book is promoting the

community project of Metlakatla, Wellcome's images allow the viewer to imagine Metlakatla's members as singular examples rather than part of a thriving village. This absence of the group images which had dominated representation produced under the C.M.S. would have been important in the context of a public spirit dedicated to the notion of the 'Vanishing Indian' and heavily influenced by Pratt and his work.

This specific placement of Wellcome's text in its role as a public relations document can help to further illuminate the types of static, isolated images that it employed. This book was intended to elicit sympathy and public support for the injustice suffered by the Metlakatlans at the hands of the British and Canadian governments as well as the Anglican church and the C.M.S. following the fall-out with Duncan. The images, then, may have been meant to minimize any relationship between the Metlakatlans and public opinion concerning the 'savage Indian'. Although Duncan's project was vastly different from those undertaken by Pratt (due to its basis in community), Wellcome's book was probably intended as a conciliatory document, minimizing and downplaying any points of difference from widely held notions regarding the civilization of the 'Indian'. Thus, while the tales in the text may have told the story of Metlakatla as a community, the images presented docile, neutralized, de-contextualized, and, most importantly, non-threatening individuals who represented the community in a manner which would have made few waves among the American philanthropic public.

In addition to creating distance from a sense of community and from notions of the 'savage Native', I argue that these images were creating another division. Beginning with the emblematic image of Legaic, and followed by the other images of members of the Metlakatla community, it is possible to view the establishment of a level of distance between the civilized Natives at Metlakatla

and Euro-american society. The visual suspension of these figures in space and their designation as types placed them at a distance from white society and notions of the individual. Thus, while they may have been Europeanized, they were not quite European. What is most noteworthy in these terms is the fact that this sense of distance (or the maintenance of a space between colonizer and colonized) was conveyed most forcefully through the *visual* images of the members of the community . While the text promoted the Metlakatla project as a 'New England Village', the images were used to secure a comfortable sense of distance between a reader on the East Coast of the United States and these assimilated Natives in need of financial and legislated support.

In addition to this careful representation of the Metlakatlans through their visual portrayal, there were other constructions which surrounded the move to Alaska. Wellcome, a crucial and extremely influential supporter of the Metlakatla project, organized a tour on the East Coast of the United States for Duncan to raise support for the move. In addition, he counseled Duncan and the community on issues which, when examined, showcase an awareness of the public construction of a very particular identity for the people of Metlakatla. Wellcome suggested that the members of the community not be referred to as Indians, but instead as Metlakatlans, Tsimshian, aborigines, or natives. This would keep them from falling under the rules of the U.S. Indian Acts. I believe that this avoidance of designation as 'Indians' would also have established a level of distance between the members of this community petitioning for admission to the United States and the Native groups associated with savagery in the public consciousness. The strategy of distancing suggested by this careful use of labels for the Metlakatlans is linked to the illustrations for The Story of Metlakahtla, Europeanized images which floated outside of space and time, effectively reinforcing the distance being established through language. Wellcome even

complained to a paper which described the move to Metlakatla as a "tribal exodus", stating that the Metlakatlans had given up their tribal bonds (Murray 1985: 192). Again, this careful representation of the people of Metlakatla points to a highly constructed image which was conscious of the debates with which the community must engage.

In light of these careful constructions, it seems clear that the identity of the members of this community was a crucial focus for the public relations battle being waged in favor of the Metlakatlan request for admission to the United States. In addition, it is possible to see the complex and multiple nature of the colonial project during this period, even within its public constructions. I am arguing that the images used to promote the Metlakatlan move to the United States were forced to navigate an extremely narrow 'in between space' in public opinion. These individuals were neither represented as white (a representation which would have posed a threat through its closeness to European society) nor as 'Indians' (who could be linked to the groups involved in the Indian Wars and viewed as a problem). Instead, they seemed to present a more ambivalent image which was always close to European society, but never quite attained equal status with it.¹⁴

Increasingly, leading up to and following the move to the United States, the Metlakatlans were also discussed as a group of people willing to give up their homes and ancestral lands for the sake of religious conviction and to avoid ongoing persecution. In a text from 1889, Sheldon Jackson stated that the Metlakatlans "sacrificed their property, abandoned their homes and went out empty handed to a new land for conscience sake" (Jackson 1889: 409). Through this emphasis on the Pilgrim status of the Metlakatlans and the references to

¹⁴The idea of an ambivalent image for the colonized which can never attain equal status is influenced by two articles written by Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question" and "Of Mimicry and Man".

Metlakatla as a New England community, an American national origin myth was invoked to arouse empathy and identification in an American audience. In his discussion of the myth of the frontier, Richard Slotkin discusses myths as historical stories which, through their retelling, have acquired a symbolic function and become conventionalized until "they are reduced to a set of powerfully evocative and resonant 'icons'." He goes on to state that, "In the end myths become part of the language, as a deeply encoded set of metaphors that may contain all of the lessons we have learned from our history and all of the essential elements of our worldview (Slotkin 1985: 16)." The construction of the move of the Metlakatlans as a flight from religious persecution, while it was also intricately tied to land struggles, seems to have been designed to play into this national myth of the arrival of the Pilgrims and to downplay any relationship to Native affairs in the United States. This Pilgrim analogy is perhaps the most striking point of agreement in American texts following the move to Alaska. The arrival at Annette Island is frequently related to the Pilgrims landing at Plymouth Rock, and the analogy is repeated in varying degrees in texts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁵ There is an ironic truth to this Pilgrim analogy as the Metlakatlans did also travel to a previously occupied area, yet denied any prior claim to the land. The Tlingit history at the site of New Metlakatla is absent from texts, but clearly represented in an image which shows the remaining Tlingit poles standing in front of the initial houses built on the Alaska site (figure 29). The photograph, indicative of some of the absences from the texts surrounding Metlakatla, was not included in any of the early literature. There is an irony in this omission and the history of interaction which this image betrays. This was a case in which the encroachment of new settlers on

¹⁵The association between the Metlakatlans and Pilgrims can be seen in numerous texts which included: Briggs, 1889; Davis, 1904; Arctander, 1909; Jackson, 1889.

'frontier' land was executed by a Native group, rather than the more commonly discussed White settler.¹⁶

During the period of the move to Alaska, the construction of the Metlakatians in the guise of the American founding myth of the Pilgrims was accompanied by the visual representation used in The Story of Metlakahtla. Each of these strategies was employed to construct a palatable identity for members of this mission community. In addition, the floating and isolated image of identity constructed for members of the community by the Wellcome book, published in 1887, seems to have acted as a transition between the assimilated, but regimented images from Old Metlakatla and the images of the community and its members which emerged from the site of New Metlakatla.

ALASKA AND A NEW IDENTITY

The discussion of later constructions of identity for the people of Metlakatla, Alaska will particularly focus on the photographs printed in two extensively illustrated books from the first decade of the twentieth century, Davis' Metlakahtla: A True Narrative of the Red Man from 1904, and Arctander's, The Apostle of Alaska, from 1909. In a manner similar to that viewed in the transition of the physical construction of the town, the images of community members and life within the village underwent a significant shift following the move to Alaska. Rather than the lines of static figures seen in images from Metlakatla, B.C., the images from New Metlakatla, which included a garden party, a skating party, and outdoor celebrations, frequently depicted

¹⁶This was not, however, the only case in which one Native group encroached on the space of another in the United States. The dramatic change brought by European settlement had caused a domino-like effect across the continent with tribes constantly being encroached upon and then moving into the territory of others. In particular, the period of removal had precipitated this situation in numerous instances, occasionally leading to violence between different tribal groups. In addition, the reservation system frequently forced tribes to coexist on a single piece of land and establish new ties and alliances based upon U.S. policy.

active assemblies and leisurely moments. Images of a baseball team and a community bandstand, important elements in American town life, are also indicative of the increasing Americanization of this community. Partially influenced by the advent of new camera technology which allowed more candid photos, these images from an American context imprinted the stamp of the middle class on the bodies of the people of Metlakatla. This new middle class impression was fostered through the homes as discussed in the preceding chapter, but also through the activities in which the community was engaged, the dress of people in the published images, and the institutional structures represented by various aspects of life in this new American village.

The community Bandstand, photographed with a band playing and people spread about the base, was built at the water's edge (figure 30). The bandstand was a perfect emblem for Metlakatla which was already well known for its uniformed brass band.¹⁷ During the period following the Civil War in the United States, bandstands were built in many towns throughout America (Starr 1987: 10). According to one recent discussion of the bandstand phenomenon:

To relax on the grass in a park, the local brass band seated on a picturesque bandstand and preparing to strike up an air--this was the quintessence of summer bliss in the United States for three generations...bandstands served as symbols of local identity, civic pride and a community's cultural commitment (Ibid.).

In addition to the American significance of the bandstand in New Metlakatla, its specific placement along the water was also noteworthy. There was a convention of placing bandstands near piers in order to serenade arriving and departing tourists (Ibid. 16). This would have been a useful as well as iconic placement, linking Metlakatla to small towns throughout the United States, asserting its position as a part of that tradition, and welcoming tourists, a major source of

¹⁷The Metlakatla brass band was frequently discussed in texts from both sites including: Stock, 1880; Briggs, 1888; Begg, 1901; Davis, 1904; Arctander, 1909.

funding for the village, with the prominent and widely heralded Indian band performing in their abandoned U.S. army uniforms. In addition, the event which led to the construction of the bandstand, the felling of an enormous tree creating a stump that provided the base for the structure, seems to have given Metlakatla a founding myth, perhaps similar to that signified by the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock. The story of the bandstand, related in Duncan's account of a day in Metlakatla, was printed in a text entitled From Yellowstone Park to Alaska in 1890:

A little pleasant excitement was caused in the village this morning by two men--employed by our musicians--setting to work to fell a huge and noble-looking pine...The men performed their work admirably, and were so elated with their success that they nailed a pole on the top of the stump with four small American flags attached to it. The twenty-four feet of the trunk left standing is to form the base for a stand on which the Brass Band will be mounted to greet our friends, or any Government officials when they come to see us (quoted in Sessions 1890: Appendix II).

The bandstand, the first structure encountered upon arrival in Metlakatla, Alaska, was thus linked to the land as well as to American conventions of the period. This single element, depicted in a photograph in the Arctander book from 1909, functioned in a number of ways, promoting an economic aspect of life in the community (tourism) as well as establishing a link to American small town life and its notion of 'community'.

Several other images display a similar link to American town life. The baseball team, symbolic of America's national game, established a strong link to the new American setting of this community (figure 31). This was an image of life in New Metlakatla which probably built on pre-existing activities in the community as Duncan had also promoted sports activities at the site in British Columbia. In the previous location, English football was reportedly encouraged as a means of promoting structured activity in place of the seasonal activities in

which the Tsimshian had previously participated (Usher 1974: 83). The sporting group, garden party, and skating photographs, while not directly linked to a specifically American experience, do call up notions of middle class leisure activity, again placing the Metlakatla in the context of their new middle class identity, a dramatic and clear departure from the images of regimented, working-class life produced in Old Metlakatla (figures 32, 33, 34).

Thus, it is important to view Metlakatla and its shifting representation in terms of the impact of this representation on the people of the community. The identity of the members of the community was depicted in varying ways. Initially, the identity was as a Christianized, Tsimshian, mission community. Leading up to the move to the United States, this community was increasingly represented in terms of the assimilationist views of the time. In addition to the assimilationist discourse, national origin myths of the United States were called up in the representation of the people of Metlakatla as victims of religious persecution at the hands of the British.

With the move to the United States, the identity of the group began to shift away from specific religious affiliation and tribal bonds. There seems to have been a pointed effort to distinguish the people of Metlakatla from any association with other 'Indian' groups. In addition, the inscription of labor and regimented uniformity among the community members was replaced first by images of dispossessed individuals who were emblems of specific types (as seen in the Wellcome text), and later overwhelmingly by images of middle class, small town American life. Images of leisure activities, nuclear family groups, and noteworthy community members replaced the lines of equal workers. This shift in imagery is particularly noteworthy as there seems to have been a much less drastic shift in the economic life of the village which was still dominated by Duncan, the cannery, and labor in support of the community. Thus, along with

the shifting structural facade of the community, the representations of the identity of the individuals, the bodies which populated this missionary village, were shifting to engage with differing concerns.

Chapter 3

A NEW SPHERE OF POLITICS:

Reform, Class Anxiety, and the Disappearing Frontier

This study has attempted to trace the shifts, fractures, and contradictions which occurred in the two Metlakatlas, particularly focusing on the move to Alaska and the visual representations and shifting strategies employed in the two sites. The powerful imagery which extended beyond the boundaries of the site of Metlakatla was conveyed through photographs and drawings of the community as well as textual accounts which privileged the visuality of the project as the ultimate symbol of its success. Even in un-illustrated texts, there was frequent emphasis placed upon the way the people, the homes, and life within the town *appeared*. One example of this textual emphasis on the visual appeared in Davis' book from 1904 which stated, "...the sight of the happy people and the quiet village, with the sea and mountains for a background, made one of the most beautiful pictures I have ever seen (Davis 1904: 124)." This visual record from the two sites highlights the dramatic shifts which took place in the project between locations and across a span of time. The shift in strategy is particularly noteworthy due to the widely heralded success of the initial project.

With the striking nature of the changing visions and constructions of Metlakatla in mind, I propose that it is not sufficient to merely assert that the two sites were subject to shifting representational strategies. Instead, it is necessary to place these shifts in relation to the broader concerns of the period, particularly in the context of European-Native relations occurring in North America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I believe that through an

examination of the political moment in the United States, it is possible to view the shifts in representation and the changing community as signs of adaptation to a difficult, often hostile, political environment. This shifting representation was linked to changing concerns which would have resulted from the navigation of a new political terrain by members of the community (along with its supporters) following the relocation across the border.

This brings my argument to the extraordinary move to the United States. The petition of the Metlakatlangs for entry was initially denied by both the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Congress who felt that the Metlakatlangs were likely to become a burden on the government in the future despite their claims to be self-supporting (Murray 1985: 191). At a moment when the United States was desperately trying to solve its problems with the 'Indian', this initial response seems to have been predictable. The change in attitude which allowed the Metlakatlangs not only to move into Alaska, but to be welcomed and eventually given a reservation, is more puzzling. This decision can be better understood through an examination of the early representations of Metlakatla as a fully assimilated community which, I believe, resonated powerfully within the political debates in the United States in the 1880's.

THE DAWES ACT

I am arguing that the early images of Metlakatla fit perfectly into a discourse in which a policy was being debated concerning future legislation with respect to the 'Indian'. The Dawes or Allotment in Severalty Act was passed in 1887, the year of the Metlakatlan move to Alaska, and was viewed as the final legislation necessary to deal with the 'Indian problem'. In the words of one writer: "The passage of Senator Dawes 'Severalty Bill' gives hope of a new era in the treatment of the Indians in the United States (Sessions 1890: 182)." This Act

allowed for the allotment of reservation lands to tribal members with the title of the land to be held in trust by the government for 25 years. As Brian Dippie states, the Dawes Act, "stands as a pure product of the reformer mind of the age-- hostile to every vestige of tribalism, coercive, well-meaning, certain that the Great Father knew what was best for his red children (Dippie 1982: 175)." One supporter of the Dawes Act, Rep. Bishop W. Perkins of Kansas, summed up the ultimate ends of this legislation when he stated:

In the Judgment of the great mass of American people the time has come when the policy of keeping the Indians together in their tribal organizations and restraining and controlling them by bayonets and shotguns must be abandoned and a new era inaugurated--an era of the allotment of lands to the Indians in severalty, an era of education, an era in which they shall be enabled and required to qualify themselves for the duties of American citizenship, and to support themselves by industry and toil (quoted from Congressional Record 49th Congress, 2nd session, p. 191 in Dippie 1982: 139-40).

Despite its firm grip on the public sentiment of the age, the Dawes Act was not without detractors. Opponents of the bill argued that the expectation of legislated assimilation was unrealistic. John Wesley Powell, head of the Bureau of Ethnography, an institution created to advise Congress on the scientific management of Indian affairs, stated in 1881 that, "Savagery cannot suddenly be transformed by the magic of legal enactments into civilization (quoted in Dippie 1982: 169)."

With this Dawes Act legislation and the specific nature of the argument of its opponents in mind, it is important to look at the 'progress' displayed in the representations of Old Metlakatla. This 'progress' would have effectively reinforced the assimilationist position taken by promoters of this bill. Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, instrumental in the introduction of the Dawes Act, was one of the supporters of the Metlakatlans' plea to the United States. I believe that this village, originally designed to fit within the C.M.S. mission

projects, became a model for the possibility for success in the ultimate United States project of assimilation under paternalistic control. In turn, I believe that the Dawes Act, along with its notion of individual land ownership, may have influenced some of the shifts in village planning between the British Columbian and Alaskan sites. The clearly delineated lots which were to be distributed to heads of families in the Alaska village fit neatly into the notion of dismantling community-owned properties and promoting individual ownership. Thus, one way that the shifts in land planning can be read is through the influence of the U.S. legislation enacted just prior to the Metlakatlan move to Alaska.

ALASKA: Attempting to Tame a New Territory

Further, in an attempt to view the representations of Metlakatla within a context which would have allowed the unusual move to the United States, it is crucial to consider the specific history of Alaska, at this time a recently acquired U.S. possession. Alaska, purchased from Russia in 1867, had been largely under U.S. military control until 1884 when the Organic Act set up a basic government including a governor, a federal district judge, various other court officials and an agent of education, all appointed by the President (Haycox 1996: xxii). Southern Alaska, originally land controlled by the Tlingit people, was thrown into a tumultuous period with the increasing Euramerican presence. Discriminatory practices, including segregation of public businesses (i.e. movie theaters), denial of admittance to restaurants, and segregated church services, were some of the increasing signs of prejudice felt by Native peoples in the Alaska 'frontier' communities (Milburn 1997: 86). This type of social organization stood in contrast to that promoted under Russian control. Due to minimal numbers of settlers, Russian control of Alaska was characterized by a level of dependence on Native populations for elements of survival including food and labor (Gibson

1996: 21). As a result, while the native people of Alaska were faced with a difficult colonial situation under Russian rule, they enjoyed a much greater level of status from that encountered as settlement increased following America's purchase of the territory.¹⁸ As Milburn states:

With the 1867 purchase, Alaskan Natives, previously recognized as citizens of the Russian Empire, assumed they would be granted similar status under the United States. Under the Treaty of Sale, "civilized tribes" were to be accorded the rights of citizens, a condition that was not met and which generated protest from the Native residents of Sitka (Milburn 1997:85).

It seems that technicalities of wording and tribal classification had left the United States government a loophole through which to subordinate the Native population in Alaska. This was not easy, however, in the context of a region which had been granted different privileges under a previous colonial system. Thus, the Alaskan situation was particularly unstable and marked by violence between the United States' military and the Tlingit population.

Accompanying these shifts in government and settler attitudes toward the Alaska Natives following the United States' purchase of the region, the styles of education and missionization underwent a transformation under American control. The Russian Orthodox missions, notably those of Veniaminov, had displayed a very different level of acceptance and negotiation from the strategies employed by the Protestant missionaries.¹⁹ Sheldon Jackson, a Protestant missionary and an admirer of the Metlakatla project, was appointed as Agent of Education under the Organic Acts. He was part of the Progressive, reform mind of the era which viewed the only hope for the Native American as acculturation and full assimilation into society (Dauenhauer 1996: 77). This led to dramatically different attitudes toward the persistence of Native institutions, particularly

¹⁸For more discussion of this shift, see Haycox, 1996; Hinckley 1996; and Milburn 1997.

¹⁹For a comparison of Jackson and Veniaminov, see Dauenhauer 1996. Sergei Kan also has an extensive discussion of the Russian Orthodox missions and Tlingit Response (Kan 1987).

languages, from those of the Russian missionaries. Thus, like the political situation, the Alaskan mission and education efforts were in a state of upheaval following the shift in control.

The Organic Acts, passed in 1884, were an attempt to bring some type of order to the increasingly tumultuous territory of Alaska. Both Alaskan Governor Swineford and Agent of Education, Sheldon Jackson, appointed as a result of this legislation, were major supporters of the Metlakatlan request. During this period in which the United States was attempting to gain control over this region, the ordered village of Old Metlakatla was seen as a model for what could be done in the future with the Tlingit. In his initial text concerning the Northern Northwest Coast, Jackson noted the example to be seen in Duncan's work at Metlakatla with the statement: "The success which has attended the labors of these British missionaries should be a great encouragement to the American church in her work among the neighboring tribes of Alaska (Jackson 1880: 301)." Later, Jackson again acknowledged the direct potential for influence possessed by this community, particularly in relation to the disrupted state of affairs in Alaska. He stated that the village would "make a centre around which the scattered populations can cluster and secure good school facilities" (quoted in Murray 1985: 203).

The favorable impressions of Metlakatla continued after the arrival in the United States. The persistence of the view of Metlakatla as an example to be emulated is indicated by the Annual Report to Congress of 1891 made by Governor Lyman Knapp, successor to Swineford. Knapp declared that while the majority of the Natives of Alaska were not yet "educated up to ideas of our form of government," the Metlakatlans, "are so far civilized that they would be worthy and desirable citizens (quoted in Hinckley 1996: 341-2)." This indicates not only a favorable impression of the Metlakatlans in this new setting, but also a

placement of distance between these villagers and the remaining Alaskan Native population. Perhaps, the goal (for which I argued in the previous chapter) of promoting distance from other 'Indian' groups in the construction of a distinct Metlakatlan identity had been achieved, at least on some level.

NATIONAL RIVALRIES

A final possible reason for United States' support of the Metlakatlans' move to Alaska was as an attempt to redeem its image in relation to issues concerning the 'Indian'. It has been proposed that Americans would have been particularly willing to allow refuge to this group who had been 'mistreated' by the British government, a nation generally critical of the United States' policy toward the American Indian (Murray 1985: 191; Usher 1974: 133). Duncan himself invoked the opposition between governments during a speech given in Washington during his public relations tour to raise support for the move when he stated, "[Canadians] do not believe in helping the Indians. They believe in paying the Indians to keep quiet (quoted in Murray 1985: 191)."

The notion that national antagonism provided a possible impetus for the accommodation of the Metlakatlans is also reinforced by the frequently invoked analogy between this community and the Pilgrims, both constructed as groups fleeing religious persecution by the British. Wellcome, the most overt promoter of the Metlakatlan project, emphasized this construct when he stated, "The King gave the Puritans...a holy cause; just as the Church Missionary Society sustained by the Dominion and Provincial Governments, has given a holy cause to the Metlakatlans (Wellcome 1887: 317)." He went on to reinforce the idea of atrocious treatment of the Metlakatlans at the hands of the British Columbian and Canadian governments when he stated, "Ignoring all precedents in British and American law and custom, the Indians of British Columbia, without conquest,

treaty, or compensation, are declared to have no rights in the land...(Ibid. 337)." This statement condemns the treatment of the British Columbia Native peoples, but also justifies United States' relations with the 'Indian', perhaps in the spirit of not making waves during a public relations campaign focused on gaining American support. This justification can be read in the clause concerning "conquest, treaty, and compensation." According to Wellcome's statement, while U.S.-Native interaction may appear to have denied Native rights to the land, it was in a more legitimate manner than that undertaken in British Columbia.

This construction of an opposition between the United States and Canada/Great Britain in the representation of the Metlakatla affair was apparent in several other texts as well. A newspaper headline, from the December 23, 1886 edition of the New York World, introduced an article about Duncan's public relations tour with the proclamation: "TIRED OF BRITISH RULE. Civilized Chinooks Who Want Uncle Sam to Adopt Them." (from William Duncan Papers scrapbook, reel 14, 12970). Wellcome's vilification of the B.C. government and its treatment of the Indian was also echoed in Sheldon Jackson's writings on British Columbia in 1889 which stated, "British Columbia, unlike other provinces of Canada, does not recognize native ownership of soil. The future of the race in B.C. is darker than any other section with which I am acquainted" (Jackson 1889: 409).

Although opinion in the Canadian press varied in its support of Duncan and its views of the Metlakatla affair, the construction of a tension between nations was clearly recognized. In an article entitled, "The Metlakahtla Matter," The Montreal Herald stated:

A short time ago some influential journals in New York and Boston became quite hysterical on the subject, as a certain class of them usually do when they think an opportunity presents itself of dilating upon British tyranny....(August 10, 1887 in WDP scrapbook, 12898).

Similarly, the Toronto Mail opened a short article on the topic with the statement:

New Yorkers are subscribing for the relief of the Metlakahtla Indians under the impression that these civilized and Christianized Aborigines have been driven from their homes by the Canadian Government (July 6 in WDP, 12893).

Opinion in Canada seems to have been somewhat divided on the topic of Metlakatla and the move to Alaska. The Montreal Herald of August 10, 1887 stated that although the Metlakatla matter was the subject of frequent debate in the Victoria Colonist, it should be easy for the Canadian government to resolve as the Metlakatlans had acquired certain rights to the land (Ibid. 12898). The Ottawa Free Press also discussed the event and its reflection on government officials:

That the Tsimshian [sic] Indians are to be allowed to leave Canada is a scandal and a disgrace to the country. If the federal government cannot find some means of settling the somewhat complicated dispute between Mr. Duncan, the authorities of the Church of England and the government of British Columbia, it is another startling evidence of the incapacity of the men now in office...It ought not to be proclaimed to the world that a tribe of Indians who have embraced Christianity will not be allowed to earn their living and enjoy the fruits of their labor in Canada (August 12, 1887 in WDP, 12898).

In contrast to these papers which seemed to support the Metlakatlans was the Toronto Mail which, in defense of the government position, stated:

The Indians were not disturbed in their property, and Mr. Duncan was not, for he could not be, prevented from preaching to his followers at Metlakahtla as the representative of some other denomination. The whole affair is very deplorable, but there is no politics in it...(September 22, 1887 in WDP, 12912)

Thus, while not overly pressing in the wider sphere of Canadian affairs of the period²⁰, there was recognition and some debate concerning the events which led to the Metlakatlan move to Alaska.

The constructed opposition between the United States and The British Commonwealth is further illustrated through the patriotic banter which became an integral part of the New Metlakatlan image of community. On a scroll hung on the first Founder's Day celebration at New Metlakatla in 1888, the caption stated:

the British lion always told us he was our friend, but we found him a gay deceiver. Every year he brought up his gun-boats and pointed his guns to blow down our village. Now we have found out who our true friend is. It is the king of birds. He has a sharp eye for our worth, and now we bid the British lion farewell (quoted in Murray 1985: 210).²¹

In the same spirit, Duncan wrote a letter (which must be viewed as a description intended for a specific audience) to Dawson, U.S. Commissioner of Education, describing the first Fourth of July celebration held at New Metlakatla in 1888:

In holiday attire they gathered round the flagstaff in the morning. The flag was hoisted and saluted with a small cannon. The brass band played appropriate airs. Children, each with a flag in hand, marched and sang school songs. Canoe races and other games followed...seven stirring speeches were made honouring the day (quoted in Ibid.).

In addition to Duncan's apparent emphasis on nationalistic scenes, visitors' stories from Metlakatla frequently included strong references to patriotism and the new American identity taken up by the Metlakatla community. Arctander described the Metlakatlan arrival at their "new home in the country of the brave and the free" which was marked by the "Stars and

²⁰The Metlakatlan requests and petitioning in Ottawa came at the same time as the Riel Rebellion, a much more pressing concern for Canadian officials.

²¹The irony of this image of the eagle as protector against the gunboats of the British must be noted. In Alaska, the Tlingit faced repeated attacks from U.S. Navy ships prior to the implementation of the Organic Acts.

Stripes hoisted under the boom of a cannon" (Arctander 1909: 290). He also discussed the final public building in Metlakatla, completed in 1905, which housed the Jail, engine house, and library and was "painted in all the national colors" (Ibid. 323). Beyond the 'nationalism' conveyed by texts from the site, the promotion of this patriotic view is clear in overtly displayed American flags which appeared in many images published in the early twentieth century accounts of the village (figures 30, 35, 36).

This patriotism, however, was not only mounted as a statement of opposition to British rule. Rather, the promotion of patriotism and an education in U.S. history and nationalism were integral elements in the reform mind of the era and continued to be central through the first decades of the twentieth century. This strategy of 'Indian reform' was promoted in an 1889 document written by Thomas J. Morgan, the newly appointed commissioner of Indian Affairs, entitled, 'Inculcation of Patriotism in Indian Schools.' This text emphasized the immersion of 'Indian' children in 'American Civilization' and gave instructions for the promotion of allegiance to the United States.

Instructions in the text included the following:

there should be erected a flagstaff, from which should float constantly..the American flag...the "Stars and Stripes" should be a familiar object, and students should be taught to reverence the flag as a symbol of their nation's power and protection....Patriotic songs should be taught to the pupils....National holidays..should be observed with appropriate exercises in all Indian Schools...(Morgan 1889 in Prucha 1973: 257-9).

The text went on to emphasize the importance of a familiarity with the Dawes act, its accompanying opportunities, as well as a general knowledge of United States history. This same type of focus on the promotion of patriotism persisted in later projects. The Wannamaker collecting expeditions, beginning in 1908, aimed to both salvage the heritage of Native groups through photographs and also promote patriotism through the distribution of American flags (Dippie 1982:

211). Thus, it is important to view the nationalism conveyed by the image of New Metlakatla in relation to the relocation from British Columbia and in terms of the wider policy for Indian education during this period in the United States.

A NEW AMERICAN TOWN

With several possible explanations in place for the United States' acceptance of the Metlakatlan petition, it is necessary to explore the implications of these important discourses in relation to the representations and lived experience of the community. Considering the currency carried by the constructions of Metlakatla, B.C. as it was promoted prior to the move to Alaska and through the images conveyed by Henry Wellcome in his influential book, it is even more curious to view the dramatic shifts which seem to have occurred in the representation of the community in its new location. I believe that, despite the successful promotion of the Metlakatla project in the public conscience, there were a number of elements of this representation which may have been increasingly problematic in the minds of the middle and upper classes in the United States. The mind-set on which I am focusing would have been that of reformist philanthropists and legislators, two groups whose support was crucial for the continued success of the Metlakatla project in its new setting. In addition, I believe that it is necessary to view some of the changes in the representation of Metlakatla and its individual members in light of shifting attitudes and relations of power within the community itself.

IMMIGRATION, INDIAN WARS, AND THE DANGEROUS CLASSES

In the context of Metlakatla's interaction with various discourses taking place in North America, I believe that the same elements which allowed the community admission to the United States, may also have stirred up a sense of

anxiety among the middle and upper classes in the late nineteenth century. While one discourse surrounding the Indian was promoting assimilation and rigid education (as espoused by Pratt, an adversary of Duncan despite their apparent similarities), another construct, discussed by Richard Slotkin in The Fatal Environment, was linking the 'Indian' to class struggles.

As the United States moved increasingly toward industrialism, anxiety concerning the working classes also increased. This was particularly apparent following the establishment of the Paris commune in 1871 with its 'war on property', the U.S. National Railroad Strikes of 1877, and the Chicago Haymarket riots of 1886. In a compelling discussion of concepts of the frontier during the period of industrialization, Richard Slotkin argues for the relationship in the public conscience between the labouring classes, communalism, and the North American Indian. The "Last Stand Metaphor," established through a mythologizing of Custer's ill-fated confrontation with the Sioux in 1876, took hold of the nation with "Beleaguered capitalists and besieged bureaucrats ...identified as playing "Custer" to the "savage" bloodthirstiness of the dangerous classes in American society. (Slotkin 1985:14)." Through this construct, two points of anxiety in the United States during the late nineteenth century, the lower classes and the 'Indians', were intertwined.

These 'dangerous classes' seem to have been increasingly vocal as attested by the labor strife of the 1870's and 1880's. In Slotkin's words,

with the advent of the Paris Commune of 1871 in which 'socialistic' parties proclaimed a revolutionary government and began a war on property, ideological malaise was converted into political conviction (Ibid. 302).

The "Red Spectre of the Commune" was viewed as a growing threat which accompanied the heavy immigration of non Anglo-Saxons, viewed as racial others. This influx of new, 'dangerous' classes followed shortly after America's

own violent internal struggle, the Civil War. Along with increased immigration and the violent encounter of the Civil War, the imagery of class was racialized and the "association of class antagonists with "savages," became more marked" (Ibid. 303). Slotkin goes on to assert that, "This reversible analogy between workers and savages is the most significant new term in the language of American mythology after the [Civil] war (Ibid. 311)."

The association between 'Communist Reds' and 'Red Savages' was particularly prevalent in the newspapers which, according to Slotkin, turned the middle classes against the striking workers in the growing conflicts. This manipulation of public opinion in relation to the class wars was achieved through the use of language and other devices which had been established during the 'Indian Wars' (Ibid. 480). The placement of labour and 'Indian' related headlines (which were later overtly linked on the editorial page) side by side was also a prevalent device.²² It seems to have been a device made even more effective by the shared associations of the two 'problem' groups with the term 'Red', frequently used in these constructs. These class conflicts in the United States extended through the 1880's, the formative period of New Metlakatla, and were marked by particularly explosive events including the violent exchange during the Chicago riot of 1886 in Haymarket Square. The growing fear of communism, initially triggered by increased immigration, was commuted to already embedded fears regarding the Indian. In the media and the middle and upper class American mind, class conflict was associated with the Indian wars

²²Slotkin's argument is very detailed and elaborate in his outline of the strategies employed by specific papers, but is discussed only briefly here. It is noteworthy, however, that one of the papers on which his discussion focuses is the New York World, one of the major promoters of the Metlakatlan move to Alaska. As Slotkin states: "The World...systematically (associated) stories of Reconstruction disorder with Indian Outbreaks, Indian Outbreaks with urban crime, and each of these with the breakdown of paternal authority under the regime of Radical Reconstruction(Slotkin 1985: 336)." Clearly, the politics of this paper would have made the promotion of the paternalistic project at Metlakatla attractive.

and the fear of socialism and communal property was easily extended to the tribal organization of the American Indian. I believe that the frequent association between class violence and 'Indian' violence in American society during the late nineteenth century period, particularly as promoted through the newspapers, is crucial in viewing the shifts seen in the construction of the new village of Metlakatla.

Therefore, I argue that the sense of community property and rigid control conveyed in the representation of Old Metlakatla, while effective in the assimilationist discourse of the period, would also have been seen as a threat to middle class values and the idea of private property. The Dawes Act, beyond its emphasis on assimilation, was an attempt to break up tribal bonds and community ties, and, by extension, the Native American "communistic" system of property relations (Trachtenburg 1982: 33). This would have made an individualistic, middle-American community more attractive than the rigid lines of equal houses seen at the "utopia" of Old Metlakatla.

In addition to the influence of these ideas on town planning in the new village, the anxiety in the minds of the ruling classes in the United States, caused by fears of a class revolution (with the accompanying loss of private property), seems to have translated into a remaking/remarking of the identity of the Metlakatlan, previously a Native body inscribed with the potential for production and labour. In place of this labouring class identity seen in the images from British Columbia, the people of Metlakatla, Alaska, were marked out with the attributes of the American middle class.

This transition in the economic and classed representation of Metlakatla is well illustrated through conflicting textual discussions of the economic structures of the two sites. As discussed previously, a British account of the site from 1877 described it as a community in which there was a communal economic

organization where "trade is done on the cooperative principle...(St. John 1877: 298)." In contrast, the Special Agent of Alaskan fisheries' report of 1900, quoted in a text from 1901, stated:

The common impression is that Metlakahtla is a communal organization, with everything in common among its inhabitants. Such is not the facts...(the principle business is almost entirely in the hands of Duncan)...Aside from this corporation all property is held by individual owners, except such as pertains to the community as a whole...Each head of family owns a residence and anyone is free to engage in any business of his pleasure...(quoted in Begg 1901: 28)

Whether these discussions reflected actual shifts in community structure or were merely reflective of shifts in audiences and their expectations, it seems clear that a very different image of economic organization was conveyed at the two sites. The initial village, through images and texts, was constructed as a communal organization while the Alaskan village was constructed in capitalistic, individualistic terms.

Henry Wellcome's, The Story of Metlakahtla, a document which navigated the space between the representations of Metlakatla in a British Columbian context and an Alaskan context, can be viewed as a transitional text which existed between classes and economic sites. In Wellcome's text, the viewer was presented with disenfranchised figures, dressed and labeled in middle class terms, yet outside of any specific context. In a clear departure from earlier representations of the community, the images in this text depicted single residents rather than community or group images. These single individuals were neither part of a communal organization, nor were they depicted as participants in the middle class, leisure activities which would be promoted in the images of the Alaskan village. Instead they seem to have occupied a neutral space, between sites and between classes.

AN ERA OF EXPOSITIONS:

American Indians, the Changing Frontier, and the Kodak Camera

In addition to the anxiety concerning class issues which haunted late nineteenth century America, the period was marked with a changing notion of the frontier. This was highlighted by numerous Expositions and World's Fairs which attempted to assert the identity of the nation. The shifting concerns revealed through these events would, I believe, have been influential in the textual depictions of the Alaska community intended for American audiences.

The new vision of the frontier was marked by the famous speech of Frederick Jackson Turner given at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This speech, which argued that the American frontier experience was a crucial factor in the formation of a distinctive national character, followed the 1890 census which disclosed the absence of a distinct 'frontier line' (Dippie 1982: 202; Trachtenburg 1982: 11). Turner's argument came as an attempt to assert an American identity which was independent from European influence and was meant to counter those who continued to link America to European culture (Dippie 1982: 202). Central in Turner's thesis was the notion that the frontier was a part of the American past, but also crucial to the formation of a distinct American character. As a result came the invention of yet another cultural myth, that of 'the West' (Trachtenburg 1982: 19). This period, in which 'the West' was claimed as a crucial part of an American mythological past, was also marked by a changing national attitude toward the 'Indian', exemplified by the growing notion of the 'Vanishing American'. Instead of a warring enemy within the nation, the 'American Indians' were increasingly seen as a group faced with inevitable extinction in conjunction with the 'disappearing frontier'.

The Expositions of the turn of the century period accompanied these national myths of industrialization and the disappearing frontier, and are

important to briefly explore due to their reflection of public concerns and, therefore, possible contexts for representations of Metlakatla.²³ The first of these Expositions, held in London in 1851, may have provided an influence, through its model workers' housing, for Duncan's formulation of a "model village." This 'Great Exhibition' also contained an ethnographic exhibit which focused on the savagery of the North American Indian through its portrayal of an 'Indian' scalping a white man (Fleming & Luskey 1993: 78). The first major exposition in the United States was the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia which mounted a display of technology, industry, and 'progress'. This exposition also coincided with 'Custer's Last Stand', an event which became emblematic of the battle to claim the frontier from savagery. The Centennial Exposition, held in the midst of the Indian Wars, seems to have held relatively little focus on the American Indian, particularly in relation to similar events staged later in the century.

The World's Columbia Exposition of 1893, the moment of Turner's assertion of the American frontier myth, presented a unified ideological program dedicated to the notions of progress advanced by the government's assimilationist position (Ayotte 1994: 4). Behind this unified front, however, was the emergence of contesting views (Ibid.). This exposition was marked by government supported ethnographic models which focused primarily on peaceful reservation Indians, but also by an emerging cultural relativist/anthropological representation which was intended to counter the rigid position of the government. In turn, the new anthropological displays, put forward by Frederick Ward Putnam (and his assistant, Franz Boas) developed into the Field Columbian Museum (Ibid.).

²³This basic discussion of expositions is taken from several sources, each of which contain discussions of these fairs and expositions. (Dippie, 1982; Milburn, 1997; Fleming & Luskey, 1993; Ayotte, 1994)

The Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898, held at Omaha, Nebraska, was marked by the popular, 'Congress of American Indians,' an 'authentic' Indian camp billed as the "last opportunity to study the red man in his primitive glory" (quoted in Dippie 1982: 206). This departure from the previous policy of 'reform', which promoted only views of assimilated life and 'progress', seems to have evolved from the anthropological views which emerged at the Chicago Fair of 1893. This new trend was repeated at the World's Fair at St. Louis, The Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. This event included exhibits described by the President of the American Anthropological Association as, "'living exhibits'...in evolutionary order with the more advanced aborigines near the Indian school...(quoted in Fleming & Luskey 1993: 85)." The 'advanced aborigines' of the school exhibit, however, failed to attract the attention of the public which was piqued by romantic visions of Native American life exhibited in "villages" located outside the exposition grounds (Milburn 1997: 97). Later expositions, including the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland and the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle, were focused on the possibilities of economic expansion as well as the image of 'progress' in the area of the Northwest Coast (Ibid. 103).

It was this last Exposition for which Arctander reportedly rushed the publication of his book, The Apostle of Alaska, thus forgoing Duncan's comments on the text. Arctander's book was therefore a point of great controversy with Duncan refusing his endorsement (which was apparently unnecessary) and also rejecting the shipment intended for the Metlakatla community. While it is impossible to say what his specific objections to the book may have been or to determine the accuracy of the text, it is interesting that this unsanctioned book seems to most clearly highlight native agency and power

within the Metlakatla community and, in addition, puts forth some of the Preservationist notions of the era.²⁴

Along with the new interest in authenticity and the observation of 'Indian' culture, displayed through the changing ethnographic representations at the numerous Expositions around the turn of the century, another event affected the move to capture an image of the life of 'American Indians'. The Kodak camera was introduced in 1888, opening the race to capture images of a 'Vanishing' way of life to countless amateur photographers (Fleming & Luskey 1993: 81). The increasing trend toward photographing tourist excursions was reflected in the later texts and images from Metlakatla, and could be seen in a book published in 1893 by the Countess of Aberdeen, entitled Through Canada with a Kodak. This type of book, while not including Metlakatla, serves to highlight the new currency of snapshot photographs and the increased interest in documenting travel. The Expositions and the Kodak camera were both elements which reflected the public interests of the period, but also influenced these interests through their growing focus on the preservation of a 'Vanishing' way of life.

While the aim of this thesis is to address the dramatic shifts in the representation of the Metlakatla project from British Columbia to Alaska, it is reductive to assert that there was a singular view from either site. The village of Old Metlakatla, despite ongoing turmoil within the site, did present a fairly consistent public representation. In the early period of Metlakatla history, the images from the site were somewhat constrained and 'official' due to the technical nature of photography and the place of the village within a specific

²⁴These Preservationist ideas seem to have had a somewhat ambiguous relationship to Duncan, Jackson, and their Northwest Coast projects. While apparently at odds with the Protestant reform idea of total assimilation, the notions of Preservation were essential to the trade in Northwest Coast art objects and curios, a trade in which both men were involved.

institution. In contrast, a variety of perspectives is apparent in representations from the Alaskan village, perhaps resulting from the emerging interest in documenting the 'American Indian' as well as shifts in institutional association. With the split from the C.M.S. and the later introduction of the Kodak, the views of the village seem to have become much less regulated and contained. The differing strategies of texts portraying the Alaska village can be viewed in terms of their publication by different organizations and at different moments in the United States. While an analysis of the different concerns conveyed by these texts could evolve into another project and thus must be brief, it is important to view the connection between shifts which occurred in public opinion in the 1890's and 1900's and their manifestation in the somewhat distinct approach to the site taken by John Arctander in his text, The Apostle of Alaska, from 1909.

By the time Arctander's text was published, there seems to have been a shift in representation of the community toward a new, multiple image. The total denial of a Native past (seen in the images from Old Metlakatla), the visions of the past as a vile contrast to the progress of the Metlakatlans (seen in the texts produced to promote the move North), and the depiction of the people of Metlakatla as totally assimilated and indoctrinated into middle class American life (a strategy employed in the Davis text from 1904) had given way to a different vision, influenced by the growing anthropological and Preservationist concerns in American public opinion. In an apparent addition to the strategy viewed in Davis' text, a number of images included in Arctander's book seemed to nod to the Preservationist discourse which constructed the 'American Indian' as a Vanishing, yet noble savage. The Arctander text showed images of assimilation along with noble and romantic images of a lost Tsimshian past, exemplified by the figure of a chief dressed in ceremonial regalia (figure 37). This image was a clear departure from the construction of a Native past presented in

Wellcome's transitional text. Through the use of drawings, the images which made reference to the past in Wellcome's book, were completely removed from any local time or place. In contrast, while the photographs in Arctander's book were rooted in the idea of a romantic, disappearing native past, they were also imbued with the sense of immediacy which is implied through a photographic representation. The romanticism viewed in the photograph of the Tsimshian chief is directly linked to similar trends seen at Expositions and World Fairs, events marked by the growing public interest in 'authentic' views of the past rather than the images of assimilated communities which had been heavily promoted by government agencies.²⁵ While Metlakatla achieved its power through the dramatic display of the concepts of assimilation and Native American potential for reform in the image of the European middle class, Arctander's text, published in 1909 to coincide with the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, seems to also have drawn on the rising demand for an authentic, romantic, and touristic notion of a Native past.

SHIFTING POWER WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

In addition to this integral connection to United States public opinion, its myth of the frontier, and the promotion of private property and capitalism, the shifting strategies in the representation of New Metlakatla also may have corresponded to shifting interaction between Duncan and the other community members. While Duncan was still a major figure in the community, it seems that there was increasing emphasis placed on powerful and important Tsimshian

²⁵It is possible to speculate, as many scholars have, that this growing interest in a Noble Native was made possible as there was a decreasing threat posed by this group which no longer posed any competition for land and resources. Instead, the 'Vanishing American Indian' was a part of the newly emerging myth of the Frontier. This group was increasingly viewed as a part of the American past which formed the nation, but was no longer a reality, following rapid industrial expansion across the continent during the late nineteenth century.

members of the village. The nature of this shift in social dynamics and power relations within the community is somewhat difficult to specify. I believe that it is apparent, however, in several images as well as through some textual discussions of the structure of this new community.

One element of life at Metlakatla which seems to have undergone a slight shift between sites is the set of rules written to govern the community. These rules, adherence to which was the only requirement for residence in the village, seem to have become somewhat more vague in the new setting of the United States, thus allowing a broader level of interpretation.²⁶ It is interesting to view the new set of rules governing the village as a reflection of the shift to a more democratic representation of community. Arctander's references to the two sets of rules help illuminate this shift. The list from the British Columbia community was referred to as a set of rules, while the list from New Metlakatla was described as a constitution (Arctander 1909: 154, 299). This difference in language firmly placed the government of the new Alaskan village in an American frame of reference.

A second change which seems to have taken place in the Alaskan village was the new influence of Sheldon Jackson. Jackson's boarding schools and direct patronage resulted in the education and rise to prominence of a dissenting Metlakatlan, Edward Marsden who eventually ran a Presbyterian mission only 12 miles away, at Saxman. The division between Duncan and Marsden which arose in the late 1890's would continue to prevail in the community through the twentieth century (Beynon 1941: 41; Dunn and Booth 1990: 295). Duncan's role in the community, thus, was publicly challenged not only by European officials (as was the case in British Columbia), but also by members of the community itself. This shift may not have been as drastic as the public representations of the site

²⁶The rules from each community can be found in Appendix 1.

suggest, however, as there was evidence of resistance to Duncan's hegemony on the part of chiefs who lived in the community in British Columbia. Thus, the major noteworthy shift in the Alaska setting was that the resistance was at the hands of a 'successfully assimilated' member of the community.

It seems likely that these growing power stakes may have forced Duncan into an increasing level of reliance on his supporters. Members of the community in positions of power may have enjoyed a more secure status due to the increasingly insecure position held by Duncan. In addition, the representation of the members of the community who were in positions of power seems to have more overtly reflected this hierarchy. This is evident in individual dwellings, marked out in relation to particular families and members of the community, as seen in the Arctander book (figure 7). David Leask, the only named individual aside from Legaic represented in the Wellcome book, was the owner of one of the houses singled out for representation and also was pictured with his family in Arctander's text (figure 38). In addition to this isolation and specification of particular members of the community, there was a textual emphasis on the skills of particular individuals. This was evident in both Davis' and Arctander's books which named several skilled craftsmen including Benjamin Haldane, the village photographer and leader of the band, and Edward Mathers, described as a skilled blacksmith and carver of silver spoons (Davis 1904: 123).

Thus, while it is difficult to specify the exact nature of the changing community dynamics, there is a marked shift in the representation of individual members of the community during the first decade of the twentieth century. This new type of representation seems to have communicated issues of status, skill, and, inevitably, hierarchy. It is possible to place these changes in relation to United States public opinion and the interest in communicating the image of a

middle-class American town. It must also be acknowledged that this new representation would have impacted on the relationships within the town. This was no longer a mission village filled with anonymous Indian converts and a single ruling patriarch, but, instead, was a community which had a more complex hierarchy. While still dominated by Duncan, this newly emerging hierarchy conveyed an image of power in the hands of specific members of Metlakatla. I argue that this image, whether or not it was constructed for an outside audience, would have had an influence on relations within the community. This influence would have led to at least a minimal level of empowerment in the hands of the members who had been imbued with status through the representations of the site.

In addition to the changing dynamics within the community and the new connections to public opinion in the United States, the people of Metlakatla had the specific terrain of the territory of Alaska to navigate. As previously discussed, government/Native relations in Alaska had been particularly tumultuous. According to Milburn, "With the U.S. purchase of Alaska, participation in various Western institutions became essential for Tlingit survival (Milburn 1997: 85)." Under the general policy of Protestant reform, the new class of native workers,

was expected to settle for the injustice of discrimination, segregation, lack of economic opportunity and social disparity. Opportunity for Native American advancement generally did not extend beyond the curio market or labouring class (Ibid. 105).

In light of the relatively new immersion of the Tlingit into the discourse of Protestant reform, it seems likely that Metlakatla would have set a significant example, both for other missionaries and for the Tlingit themselves.

At the same time that this community was taken up among a Euramerican audience as a site of successful assimilation, I believe that Metlakatla may have been viewed in a slightly different way by some First Nations people on the Northern Northwest Coast. The specific Tlingit situation and the possible resonance of Metlakatla for this group should therefore be considered when attempting to reach a greater understanding of the shifting representational strategies of the community of Metlakatla and the possible impact of these strategies. According to Sergei Kan, "In their relationship with non-natives, the Tlingit chose to adapt to the new political and socioeconomic system and tried to benefit from it (Kan 1987: 215)." This tendency toward accommodation in Tlingit dealings with American settlers may have had an impact on their reception of Metlakatla. The village of new Metlakatla, particularly during the period of heavy tourism to the site (eventually usurped by the popularity of nearby Ketchikan), acted as an example of highly successful adaptation to European colonial domination. Within this village, there was evidence of a degree of empowerment and status beyond the subservient level which likely was intended by Duncan and like-minded 'reformers'. Davis mentioned that, while Duncan owned the largest store in the village, there were eight others which were owned and operated by Metlakatlans (Davis 1904: 120). Therefore, it seems likely that New Metlakatla, intended to set an example for the Tlingit, may have set a more ambitious example than that envisioned by its early proponents (including Jackson, Swineford, and Duncan).

In a December 1898 meeting between Alaskan Governor John Brady and a number of Tlingit chiefs concerning Tlingit grievances, New Metlakatla (previously called Port Chester) was mentioned as a possible model by one Tlingit resident of Juneau, Chief Jack Williams. Williams stated:

We sometimes think that the best thing that the government can do for us is to select two places where we could make our homes as the people do at Port Chester...Sometimes I go down to Seattle, and I always feel proud when I stop at Port Chester to see those people away from trouble. The white people does not bother them, and they have nice homes (quoted in Hinckley 1970: 283).

While one must be careful not to read too much into this statement, it does seem that the system at New Metlakatla was seen as one possible solution for the Tlingit who were attempting to maintain a level of autonomy while still benefiting economically from the increasing Euramerican presence in the territory.²⁷

Through the examination of the American public discourse surrounding both the 'Indian' and the concept of the frontier, changing relations within the community of Metlakatla, the complex and tumultuous situation in Alaska, and the tangled web of relations at the two sites (which included those between Duncan, the people of Metlakatla, government agents, the writers of the texts promoting Metlakatla, and members of the outside public, both in Alaska and the United States), numerous and interwoven reasons emerge for the site's reconstruction and reinvention in very different terms in its new setting. The representations of Metlakatla would have been required to engage with public opinions and debates of the period. These images also seem to have been intent on forging a different space for this group of native converts who were attempting to maintain a sense of identity within a violent and dramatic period of European-Native relations. While today it is common to view this type of

²⁷This issue of Tlingit reaction to the Metlaktatlans and their move to Alaska is one which warrants more attention than I have given it. Aside from the quote of Jack Williams, however, I have been unable to find any mention of the Tlingit relationship to the village. In attempts to contact Tlingit scholars (including Sergei Kan and the Dauenhauers) concerning this information, I was unable to find anyone with any knowledge of Tlingit reactions to the Metlaktatlan relocation into Tlingit territory.

adaptation as a betrayal of one's heritage, I propose, instead, that this site be viewed as a creative, adaptable village in which community was maintained despite assaults being waged from a number of directions and political positions.

CONCLUSION

The colonial project at the two Metlakatlas has been widely documented. Typically, studies of this project have focused on William Duncan and the founding of the site. In this thesis, I have drawn on Nicholas Thomas' discussions of 'colonialism' and Henri Lefebvre's notion of space as a social production in an attempt to complexify the discussions of the project at the two Metlakatlas, particularly as accessible through the visual representations of the two communities from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through an examination of various visual and textual images from the two sites, along with a focus on the shifting construction of the community, this thesis has shown that the project, instead of a static, utopian missionary endeavor, was a complicated, multiple, and shifting site of encounter. This site both influenced and was affected by the political discourses which dominated the North American public sphere during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Further, through this multiple view of the colonial project at Metlakatla I have attempted to demonstrate the existence of cracks and fractures within the project, both between differing perspectives (those of members of the community, Duncan, outside audiences, etc.) and among the colonizers themselves. This was a dynamic site in which varied and multiple views were promoted and may have exercised different levels of influence. In contrast to the dynamic community for which I am arguing, the representation of this site was often highly constructed and intended for particular audiences. Thus, while my attempt has been to expose the dynamic nature of this project, the method I have pursued is an

examination of the representations of the two sites, the shifts which occurred in these images, and possible fractures in the facade of the community which they betray.

In this attempt to complicate an understanding of the interaction at Metlakatla, several dominant themes have emerged. The representation of the sites, in line with Thomas' view of a colonial project which must engage a range of political discourses, seems to have shifted dramatically along with changing targeted publics and a changing period of attitudes toward assimilation and the project of civilizing the North American 'Indian'.

The first dominant theme (which was previously discussed in Jean Usher's extensive analysis of Metlakatla, B.C.) was the model workers' village originally conceived by Duncan. This view of uniform, assimilated laborers was seen at the initial village site in British Columbia and was probably the representation intended for the most specific audience, the C.M.S. and its patrons. This view, the most regimented of the representations, also allowed insight into possible cracks and fractures in the community and within Duncan's policy itself. The rigidity of the representation of Metlakatla, B.C. allowed for a sense of its highly constructed nature as there were frequent references which contradicted the uniform and rigid facade created in the visual public promotion of the site.

During the period of the move to the United States, the representations of the village and its inhabitants underwent a significant shift. The focus moved away from community and instead seemed to be aimed at the representation of the assimilated, civilized state of its members. At the same time, the Metlakatlans were placed within an American myth of dispossession, hardship, and the need for a new beginning--the myth of the Pilgrims. This shift, I argue, was reflective of a new political terrain which the community was forced to navigate. Along with this new political territory came a shift in targeted

audience for the representations of the site and a fear of association with the American 'Indian problem' as it was constructed during the era of Native relations in the 1880's.

Thirdly, in the Alaskan village site, the representations underwent another significant shift, moving away from both the laborers' community viewed at Old Metlakatla and away from the image of dispossession which emerged from the transitional state between sites. The new village was imaged as a nationalistic, middle class, middle American community of citizens who engaged in leisure and capitalism. This new image disassociated the village from the popular image of the 'American Indian' as well as from the 'dangerous' working classes. I argue that this representation was strongly affected by United States politics and public opinion but also would have affected attitudes toward this and other Native groups in the local context of the Alaskan frontier.

Later, the image of this group may have undergone another shift which coincided with a growing Preservationist discourse and encouraged the romantic notion of a noble Native past. This past was no longer a threat, but, instead, was in need of preservation. This final construct, glimpses of which were present in Arctander's 1909 text, may have helped promote the community in the newly burgeoning touristic discourse of the early twentieth century.

The placement of the representations of the colonial project at the two Metlakatlas in relation to these broad discourses is not intended to remove it from local maneuverings which surely were central in the creation of community. Rather, it is crucial to consider the pliable nature of this site which shifted to engage with various views, politics, and attitudes. The responsiveness of this community to broader political discourses may have allowed a longevity which would likely have been cut short had it been as static and isolated as it is frequently represented. The project undertaken at the two Metlakatlas showed a

level of adaptability and shifted as it was engaged with different political debates. The representations of these sites, while rooted in the arrogant, paternalistic reform movements of the age, also betrayed the complex and multiple nature of this colonial project.

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APPENDIX 1

Rules for Metlakatla, B.C.

1. To give up their Ahlied or Indian devilry
 2. To cease calling in conjurers when sick
 3. To cease gambling
 4. To cease giving away their property for display
 5. To cease painting their faces
 6. To cease drinking intoxicating drink
 7. To rest on the Sabbath
 8. To attend religious instruction
 9. To send their children to school
 10. To be cleanly
 11. To be industrious
 12. To be peaceful
 13. To be liberal & honest in trade
 14. To build neat houses
 15. To pay the village tax
- from, Zaslow, "The Missionary as Social Reformer"

Declaration of Residents, Metlakatla, Alaska

We, the people of Metlakahtla, Alaska, in order to secure to ourselves and our posterity, the blessings of a Christian home, do severally subscribe to the following Rules for the regulation of our conduct and town affairs:

1. To reverence the Sabbath and to refrain from all unnecessary secular work on that day; to attend Divine Worship; to take the Bible for our rule of faith; to regard all true Christians as our brethren; and to be truthful, honest and industrious.
2. To be faithful and loyal to the government and laws of the United States.
3. To render our votes when called upon for the election of the Town Council, and to promptly obey the By-Laws and orders imposed by the said council.
4. To attend to the education of our children and keep them at school as regularly as possible.
5. To totally abstain from all intoxicants and gambling, and never attend heathen festivities or countenance heathen customs in surrounding villages.
6. To strictly carry out all sanitary regulations necessary for the health of the town.
7. To identify ourselves with the progress of the settlement, and to utilize the land we hold.
8. Never to alienate--give away--or sell our land, or building lots, or any portion thereof, to any person or persons who have not subscribed to these rules.

---from, The Metlakahtlan, March, 1891 in (William Duncan papers, reel 14, 12667-12670)

APPENDIX 2
ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. "Row of Houses at Metlakatla, B.C. looking away from the church." n.d., archives box 74, Print No. 198, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; Donated Materials in the National Archives (WME); National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.

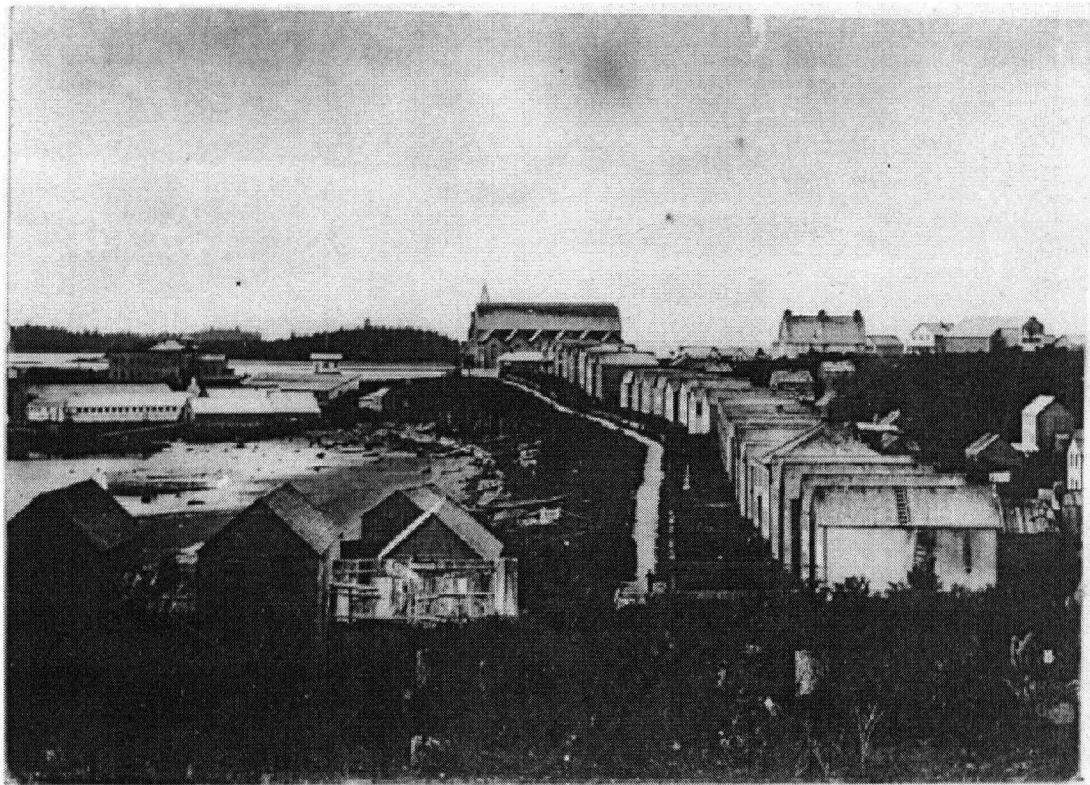


Figure 2. "Metlakatla, B.C. looking toward the church." n.d., Album 1, Print No. 67, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; Donated Materials in the National Archives (WME); National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.

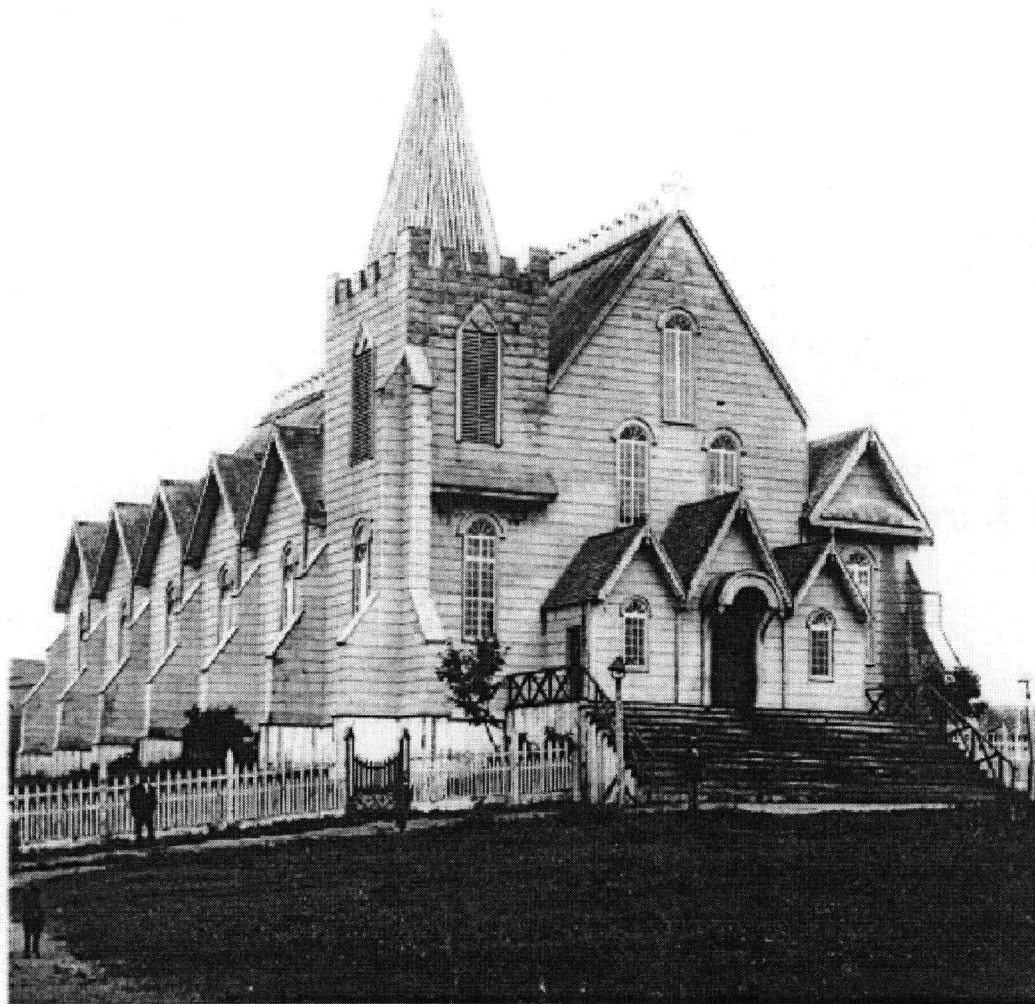


Figure 3. "Metla-Kathla Church. British Columbia. Built Entirely by the Tsimshian Indians." n.d., Album 1, Print No. 46, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; Donated Materials in the National Archives (WME); National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



Figure 4. "Engraving of the Interior of the Church at Metlakatla, B.C." n.d., Album 1, Print No. 50, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; Donated Materials in the National Archives (WME); National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.

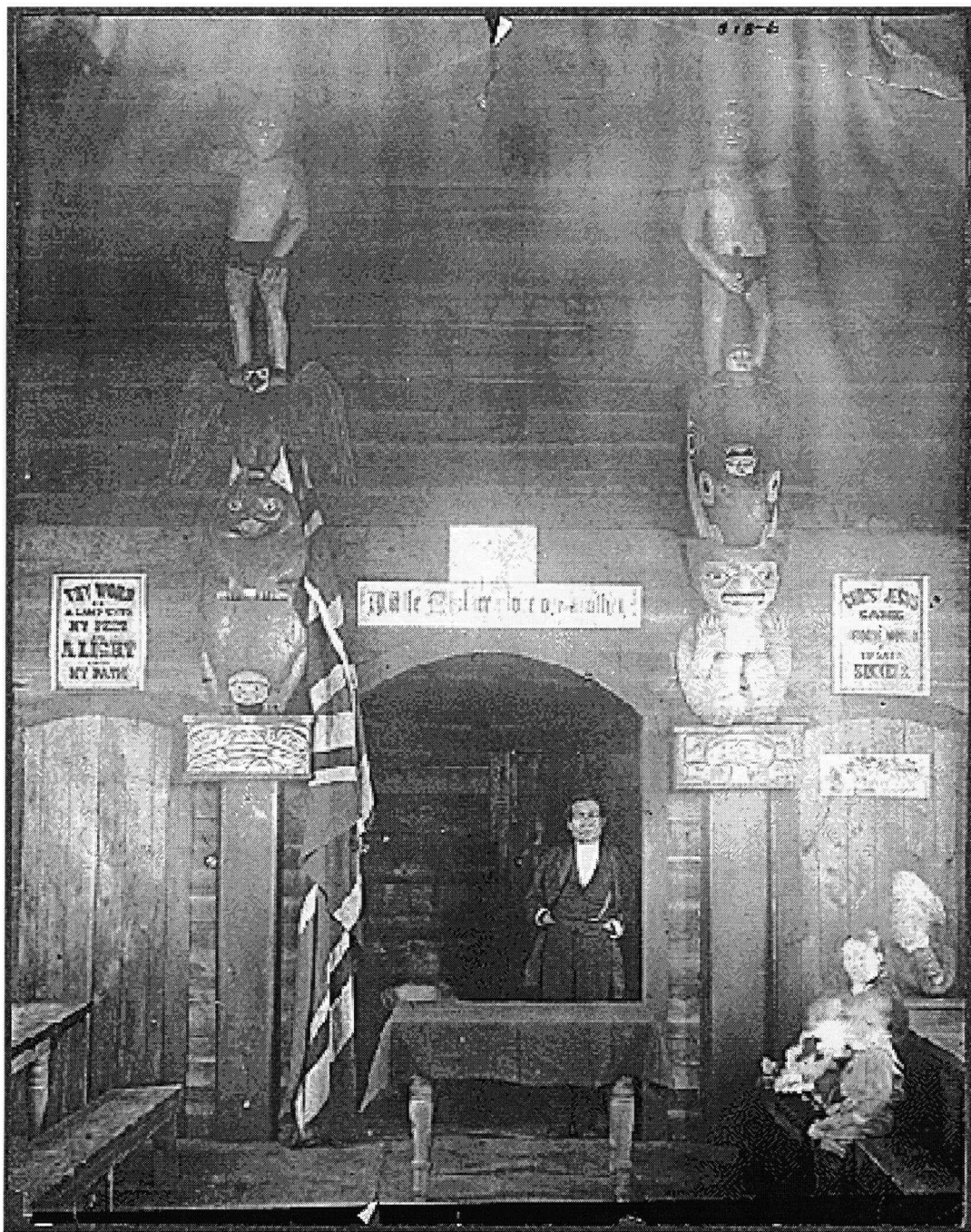
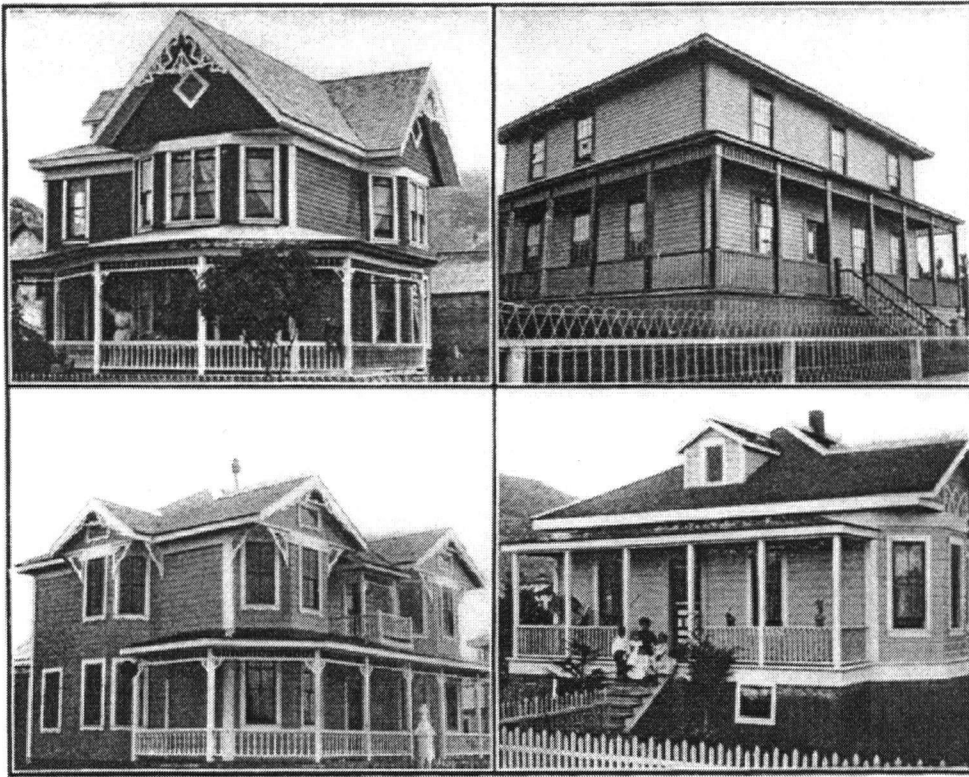


Figure 5. "Interior of Rev. William Duncan's Mission Sunday School, Old Metlakatla. Showing carved poles with crest representations." Before 1883. Smithsonian National Anthropological Archives No. 38583-C in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 7: Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, 296.



Figure 6. "Metlakatla, Alaska town view." n.d., Album 4, Print No. 116, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; Donated Materials in the National Archives (WME); National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



TOM HANBURY'S HOUSE DAVID LEASK'S HOUSE
 BENJAMIN HALDANE'S HOUSE ALEX. GUTHRIE'S BUNGALOW
 INDIAN HOUSES AT METLAKAHTLA

Figure 7. "Indian Houses at Metlakahtla [Alaska]" from *The Apostle of Alaska*, John Arctander, 1909.



Figure 8. "Home of Thomas Hanbury, leading Metlakahtlan citizen." n.d., Print No. 189, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; Donated Materials in the National Archives (WME); National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.

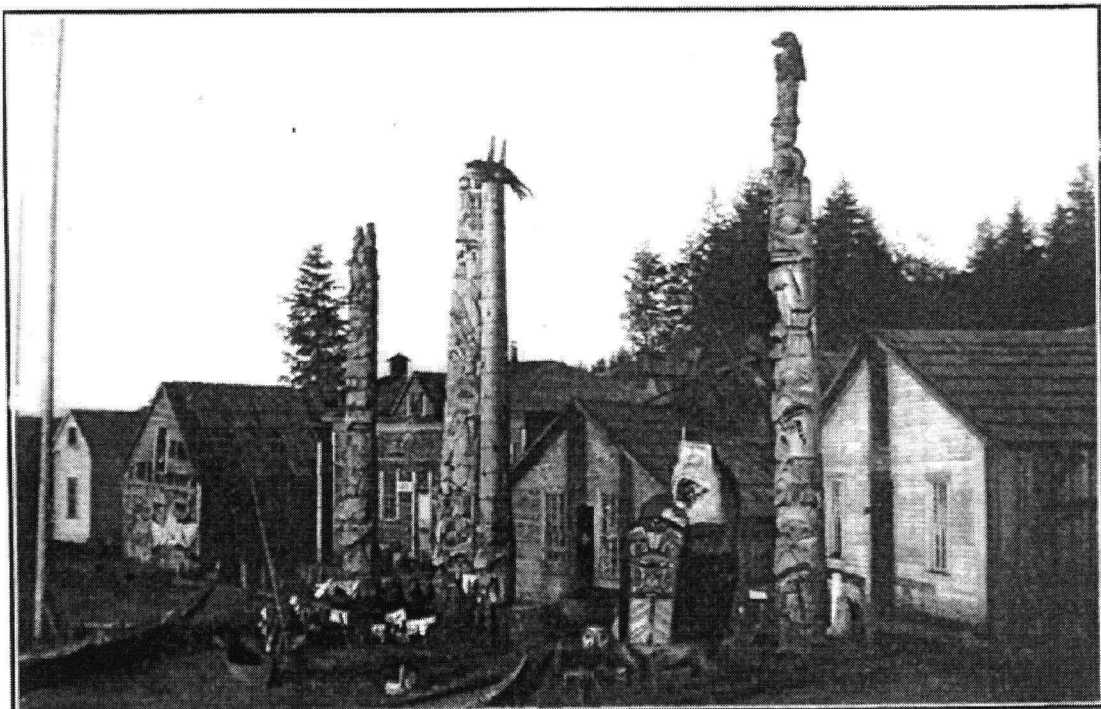


Figure 9. "Totem Poles at Howkan, Alaska." n.d., Print No. 752, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 10. "View of Metlakatla [Alaska] looking down Main Street." Album 5, Print No. 144, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives – Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 11. "Mr. Duncan's "Westminster Abbey" at Metlakahtla [Alaska]." n.d., Print No. 97, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.

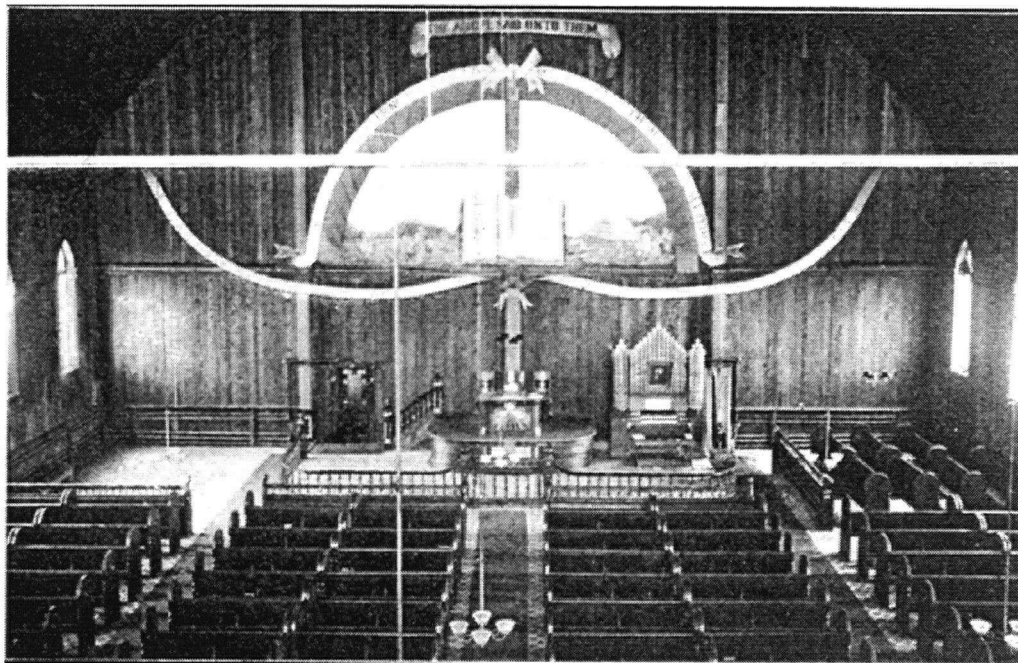
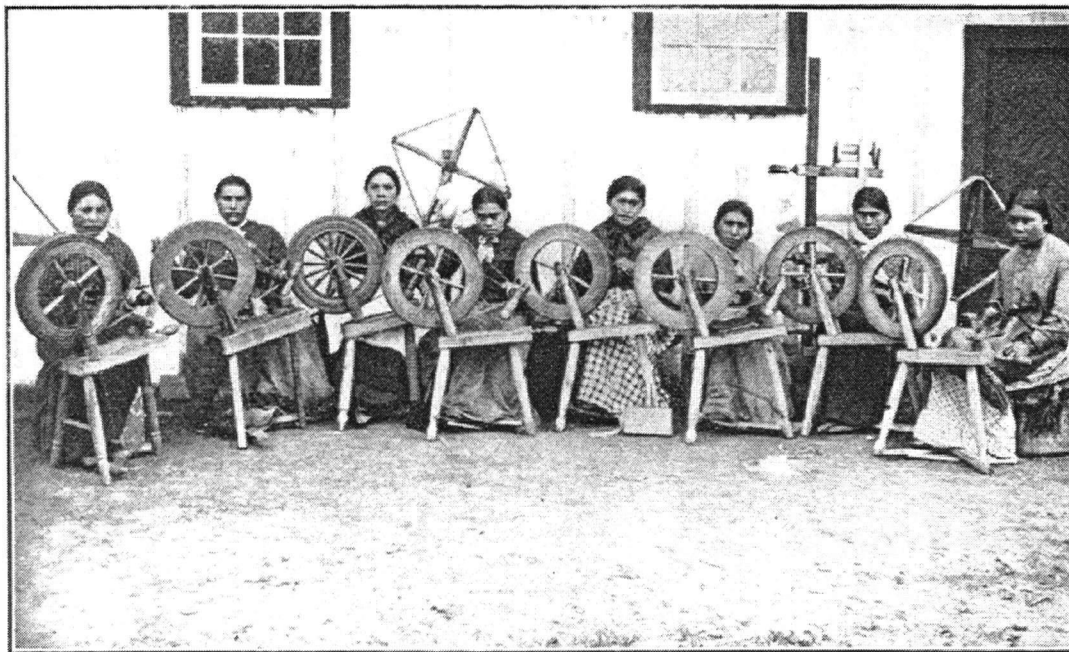


Figure 12. "Interior of the Church at Metlakahtla [Alaska]." n.d., Print No. 112, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



WOMEN SPINNING AT OLD METLAKAHTLA

Figure 13. "Women Spinning at Old Metlakahtla." Edward Dossetter photograph, 1881. In *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 14. "Constables." n.d., Print No. 676, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



Figure 15. "Metlakatla Brass Band...[Metlakatla, B.C.]." n.d., Print No. 666, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.

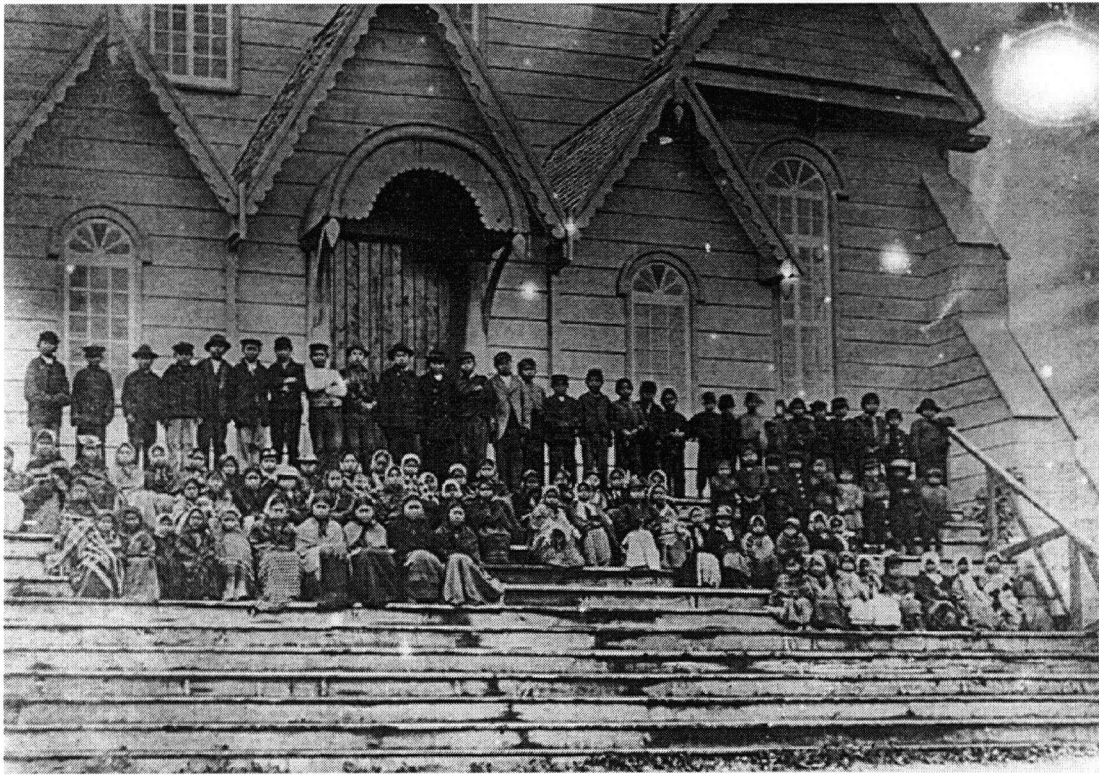
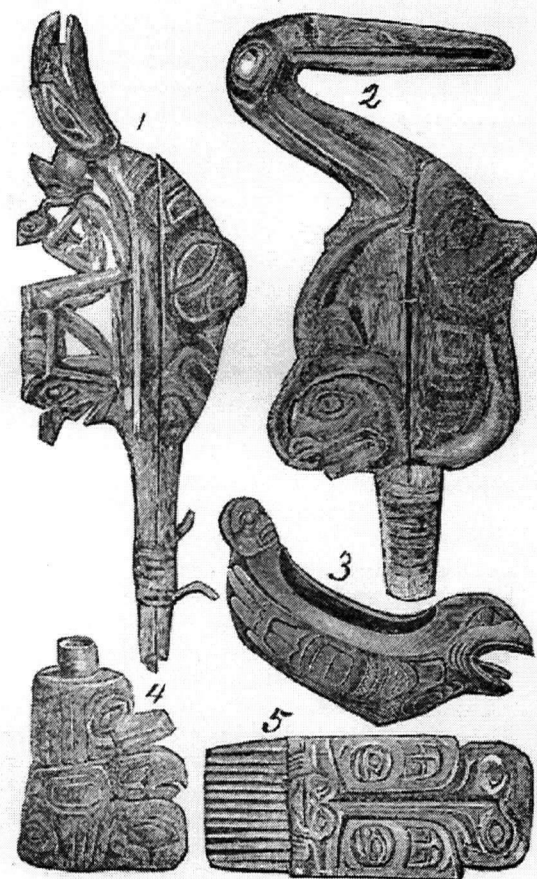


Figure 16. "Indian Children on the steps of the church in Metlakatla, B.C." n.d., Print No. 563, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



Figure 17. "Mr. Duncan's Cathedral at Old Metlakahtla." Album 4, Print No. 112, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives—Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



1 AND 2, CARVED MEDICINE-RATTLES; 3, CARVED CEDAR TRAY;
4, CARVED PIPE; 5, CARVED COMB.

Figure 18. "Carved Medicine-Rattles; Cedar Tray; Carved Pipe; Carved Comb."
In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 178.

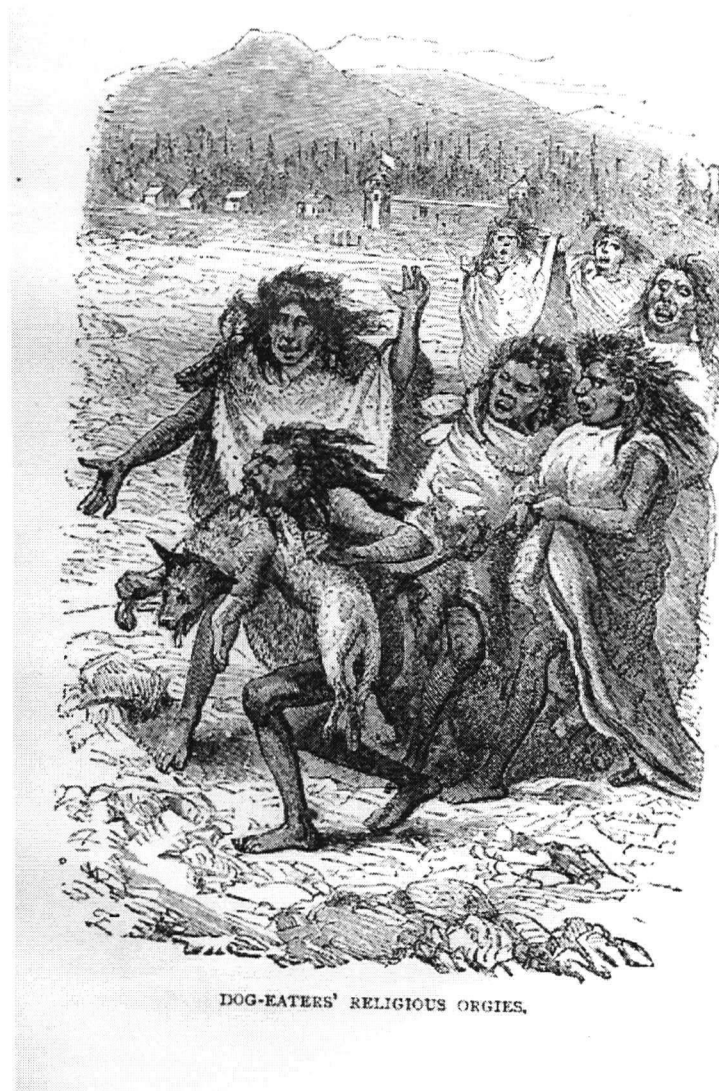


Figure 19. "Dog-Eater's Religious Orgies." In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 6.



Figure 20. "A Native Belle." In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 62.

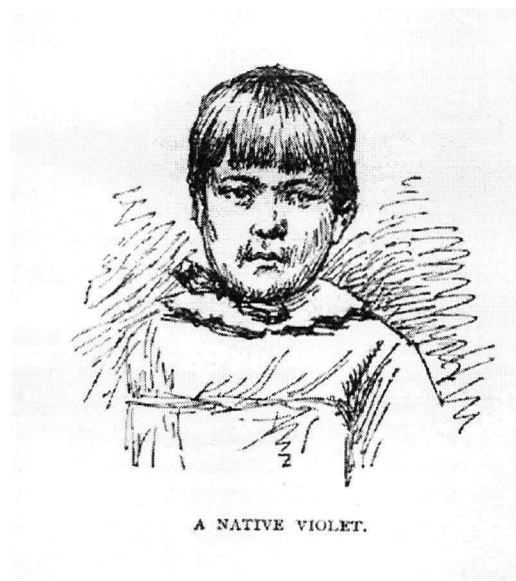


Figure 21. "A Native Violet." In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 224.



Figure 22. "A Native Hopeful." In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 250.



Figure 23. "A Drummer of the Metlakahtla Brass-Band." In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 210.



LEGAIC, CHIEF OF ALL THE TSIMSHEAN CHIEFS, ATTACKING MR. DUNCAN.

Figure 24. "Legaic Chief of all the Tsimshian Chiefs, Attacking Mr. Duncan." In *The Story of Metlakahla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 12.



LEGAIC AS A SIMPLE CITIZEN AND CARPENTER OF METLAKAHTLA.

Figure 25. "Legaic as a Simple Citizen and Carpenter of Metlakahla." In *The Story of Metlakahla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 40.



Figure 26. "David Leask, Secretary of the Native Council of Metlakahtla." In *The Story of Metlakahtla*, Henry S. Wellcome, 1887, p. 362.



Figure 27. "Tom Torlino, Navajo from Arizona, on Arrival at the Indian Training School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania." John Choate photograph, 1885. Princeton Collections of Western Americana. In *Plains Indian Drawings 1865-1935: Pages from a Visual History*, ed. Janet Catherine Berlo, p 44.

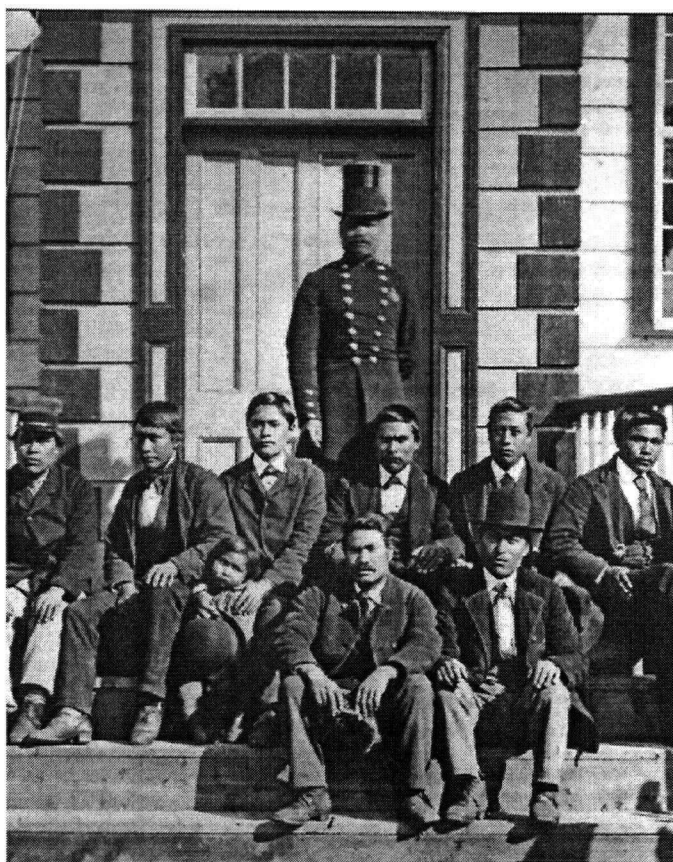


Figure 28. "Group of Tsimshians....[Top row, Paul Legaic]." n.d., Print No. 660, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



Figure 29. "Log cabins and other housing constructed by Metlakatlangs for shelter during first winter at Annette Island. Totem poles erected by former Indian occupants and later removed from Island." n.d., Album 5, Print No. 142, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.

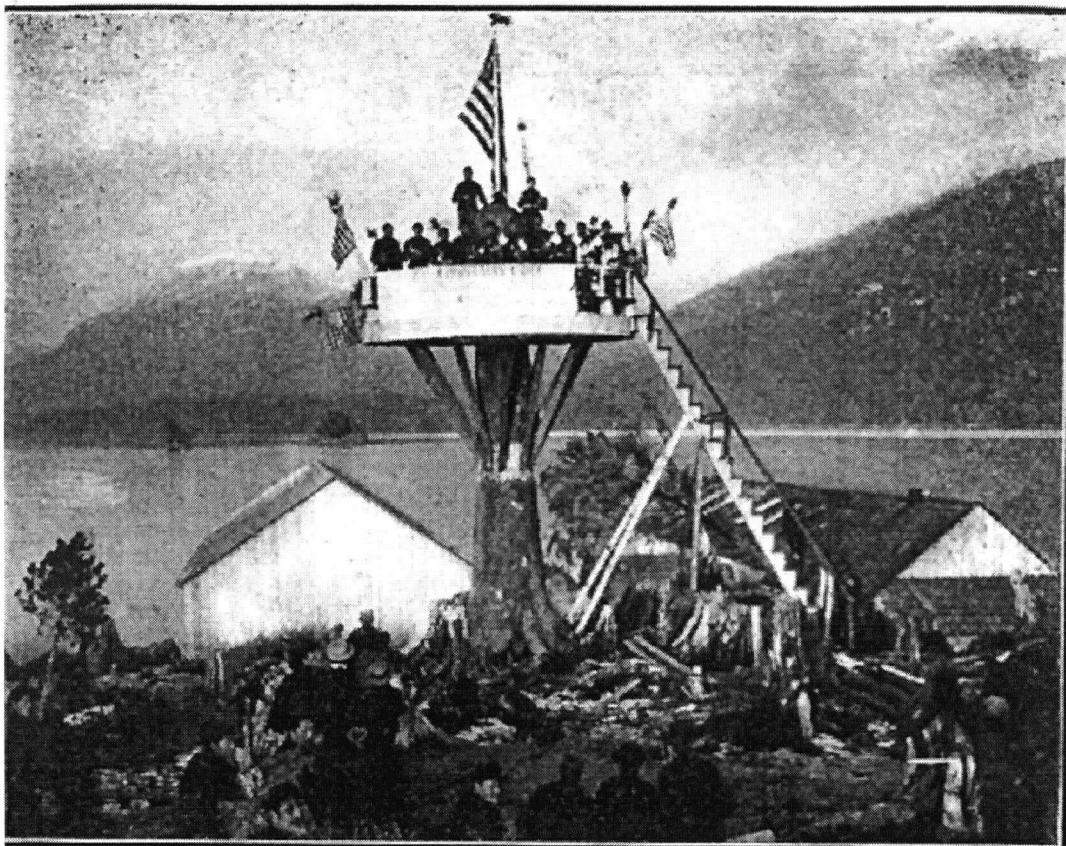


Figure 30. "The Bandstand at Metlakahtla [Alaska]." n.d., Album 3, Print No. 646, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.

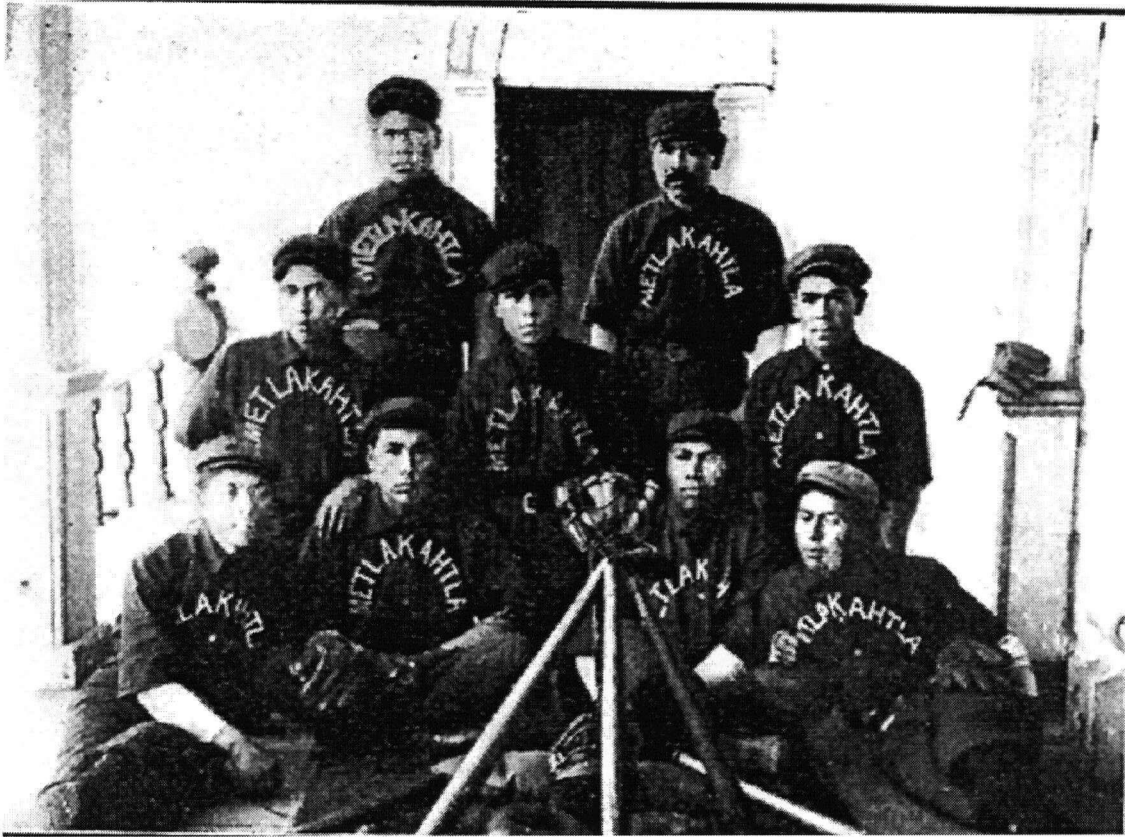


Figure 31. "Metlakahtla Baseball Nine." n.d., Print No. 671, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 32. "Lawn Party in an Indian Garden." n.d., Print No. 652, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 33. "Young Women Ice Skating." n.d., Print no. 642, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



Figure 34. "A Klawack Sporting Group." B.A Haldane photograph, n.d., Print No. 640, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



Figure 35. "Metlakahtla Girls' Zobo Band." n.d., Print No. 663, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 36. "Children in front of the Church at Metlakatla, Alaska." n.d., Album 3, Print No. 649, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK.



REGALIA OF A TSIMSHEAN CHIEF

Figure 37. "Regalia of a Tsimshian Chief." In *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.



Figure 38. "David Leask and Family." n.d., Print No. 569, Photographs, n.d., Sir Henry S. Wellcome Collection, 1856-1936; National Archives--Pacific Alaska Region, Anchorage, AK. Also in *The Apostle of Alaska*, John W. Arctander, 1909.