NATIVE INDIAN CULTURAL CENTRES:
A PLANNING ANALYSIS

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April 30, 1987
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Abstract:

Native Indian Cultural Centres have grown out of the on-going struggle for native self-determination and are rapidly becoming a focus for native cultural revitalization.

This thesis investigates the evolution of two Northwest Coast native Indian cultural centres—the 'Ksan Village and the Makah Cultural and Research Centre (MCRC)—through each stage of development, outlining the historical, cultural, economic and social context, the form and function of conceptual development and the planned and unplanned processes involved in building and operating each centre.

Analysis has indicated that 'Ksan and the MCRC have evolved as a response to local cultural and economic pressures and opportunities and have been funded primarily on the basis of economic rather than cultural viability. Six factors were found to be collectively sufficient to promote the successful development of each cultural centre: local cultural knowledge, social mobilization, local project relevance, native Indian control, access to resources and common motivational ground.

The relationship between native Indians and non-native specialists is changing. Native people are no longer allowing non-native specialists to define their culture and interpret their heritage and 'Ksan and the MCRC have positively re-inforced that change. The development of native Indian cultural centres has provided an important step in the on-going native struggle for self-determination.
by providing a focus and/or forum for native cultural identity and is likely to continue in the future.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the role of cultural centres in the social and cultural re-development of native peoples and to identify the factors which contribute to the success of that re-development. Native Indian cultural centres may be defined as facilities which provide a cultural focus for a native Indian community. Cultural centres may involve native Indian museums and/or facilities housing organized programmes which focus on traditional and contemporary native cultural activities. Two cases are studied in this thesis— the 'Ksan Village in Hazelton British Columbia and the Makah Cultural and Research Centre in Neah Bay, Washington. This thesis describes the cultural pressures on the Gitksan and the Makah people and their responses to these pressures and the form of development involved in that response. Case studies have been chosen to understand clearly the variables leading to the development of the cultural centres themselves. The thesis identifies and compares six factors and processes involved in the development and implementation of the centres— local cultural knowledge, social mobilization, local project relevance, native Indian control, access to resources, and common motivational ground.

1.2 Thesis Rationale

Native cultural centres have grown out of the on-going struggle for native self-determination and are rapidly
becoming a focus for native cultural revitalization. Despite this fact, little appears to have been written on such centres in the planning and anthropological literature. Results of research on cultural centres, such as reported in this thesis, may aid in the planning and implementation of future native cultural facilities.

1.3 Thesis Focus

This thesis poses the following questions regarding each of the two cultural centres studied:

a) What is the developmental context within which the cultural centres have evolved?
b) What were the forces which created the cultural centres? Why did they evolve into their respective facilities?
c) What were the stated goals of the cultural centres?
d) What needs or functions have the cultural centres actually fulfilled? What were the negative consequences?
e) What were the planned and unplanned processes involved in the development and implementation of the cultural centres?
f) What lessons can be drawn from the case studies?

1.4 Thesis Approach and Research Methods

In order to show the developmental context for each centre, a regional development history is included for each case study. In depth regional historical description provides a basis for understanding the goals and objectives involved in the development of the cultural centres. The case study approach has been chosen to provide in depth rather than cursory analysis.

The following methods of investigation were used to gather information on the planning and operation of the cultural centres: a) intensive, personal, on site, interviews with individuals directly associated with the cultural centres under analysis, b) extensive telephone
interviews and lengthy correspondence and c) analysis of private and public documents, published and unpublished manuscripts related to native museums and cultural centres.

Certain information, given to me by native individuals, is considered confidential and will not appear in this text.

1.5 Study Area

Within North America, 11 broad aboriginal culture areas exist: Southwest, Southeast, Northeast, Prairie, California, Basin, Plains, Plateau, Sub-arctic, Arctic and Northwest Coast (figure 1, page 5) (Price 1978:37). Within each division, several sub-divisions exist. The Northwest Coast division, for example, can be sub-divided into 7 major ethno-linguistic groups—Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwagiutl, Salish and West Coast (figure 2, page 6). Most groups contain several languages and many different dialects.

The Northwest Coast culture area has been chosen for this study because it is accessible and familiar to the author. Within this division only 8, medium or large scale, native cultural centres are known to exist. They are the Nuumbalees Society Kwagiutl Museum (Kwagiutl) in Cape Mudge; the Skidegate Museum (Haida) on the Queen Charlotte Islands; the 'Ksan Village in Hazelton (Tsimshian); the Coqualeetza Native Education Centre in Chilliwack (Salish); the Secwepemc Cultural Education Centre in the Kootenays (Interior Salish); the Makah Cultural and Research Centre in
Neah Bay Washington (Westcoast); the U'mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay (Kwagiutl); and the Vancouver Indian Education Centre (Pan-Indian).

Table 1 outlines the major functions of each of the 6 centres (Table 1, page 7). The 2 centres involving the largest number of functions have been chosen for case study analysis.

1.6 **Organization of Thesis**

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the role of cultural centres in the social and cultural re-development of native peoples. This chapter is included to clearly establish the link between the theory of cultural revitalization and the practice of the two Northwest Coast native Indian cultural centres. Following this review, each case study is divided into 2 chapters. Chapters 3 and 5 outline the regional histories of the two Northwest Coast culture groups while chapters 4 and 6 depict the facilities planning processes involved in the development of each centre. Chapter 7 provides historical and facilities comparison, conclusions and implications for future developments.
FIGURE 1
NORTH AMERICAN ABORIGINAL DIVISIONS

adapted from Price 1964
FIGURE 2
NORTHWEST COAST CULTURE GROUPS

adapted from Duff 1965:14
Table 1: Case Study Selection

<table>
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<th>Cape Mdg.</th>
<th>Skid.</th>
<th>'Ksan</th>
<th>Cog.</th>
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<th>MCRC</th>
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Table

No activity (0)  Limited activity (1)  Moderate activity (2)  Major activity (3)

Abbreviations

Cape Mdg. Cape Mudge  Skid. Skidegate  Cog. Coqualeetza  Sec. Secwepemc  U'm U'mista  VNIEC Vancouver Native Indian Education Centre
Chapter 2: The Role of Cultural Centres in the Social and Cultural Re-Development of Native Peoples

2.1 The Evolution of Native Cultural Organizations

Native people in North America were formally recognized as indigenous peoples when they became wards of the state, subject to special provisions under the governments of what are now Canada and the United States. Paternalism gradually changed to assimilation when ruling non-native governments promoted the abandonment of traditional native activities which were seen to complicate European settlement of frontier lands (Dyck 1985:9). Canadian assimilation policies continued through the 1950's, existing today in a somewhat milder form. American assimilation policies, in contrast, continued until 1934 when it was changed to a limited form of native self-government.

Government efforts to administer and assimilate aboriginal populations produced active and direct opposition from native populations but with few substantive results (Dyck 1985:10). The 1960's, 1970's and 1980's, however, have seen a rapid increase in native political and cultural activity in Canada and the United States.

In 1969, the Canadian government published a white paper on the status of native Indian people in Canada. As a direct response, a number of native organizations began to assume leadership roles in cross-cultural relations. They adopted new strategies as opposed to old defensive ones.
and focussed on the values and beliefs central to the pan-Indian movement (Frideres 1983:255-259).

Increasingly violent protests by militant Indian groups, especially in the United States, and increased public sympathy toward native Indian causes made it politically expedient for the Canadian and American governments to make conciliatory gestures toward more moderate native alliances. In Canada, the National Indian Brotherhood, founded in opposition to the government's White Paper, used concern over native violence to demand concessions. In 1970, the Liberal government organized a joint discussion involving Native Indians and provided funds to native groups for the establishment of native cultural or educational centres, libraries and publications (Doxtater 1985:24).

Evidence of the evolving re-definition of the relationship between aboriginal people and the Canadian government is the new Constitution Act which entrenched aboriginal and treaty rights and defined aboriginal people in Canada as "Indian, Inuit and Metis". In 1972, the Penner Committee of the House of Commons recommended acceptance of a new federal relationship called "Indian First Nations", which includes the concept of native self-government (Marshall and Koulas 1985:1).

The principal objectives of the indigenous peoples of Canada and the United States have been to achieve a greater degree of control over native communities and to
redefine native status and rights, politically and legally.
The first aim reflects the degree to which local communities
comprise political units as well as centres of cultural
identity and economic opportunity. The second objective
arises out of the difficulty in translating local native
concern to national or international ones. These include
existing channels of representation on the Canadian
political scene and innovative methods of pursuing national
and international court decisions (Dyck 1985:16).

Nation states are still asserting the principle of
unilateral citizenship and tend to dismiss land claims as
one sided and opportunistic. Historical relationships are
sometimes viewed as regrettable but irrelevent to current
socio-economic conditions. North American governments
proudly defend the principles of human rights, remaining
reluctant to entertain the notion of aboriginal title (Dyck
1985:11-13).

The political and economic problems encompassing
indigenous peoples and the nation state has received
increasing attention in the international arena. North and
South American Indians, Australian Aborigines, Scandinavian
Saami and other aboriginal groups are struggling to retain
traditional lands, to deal with governmental administration
of their affairs and to survive as culturally distinct
populations within nation states. These groups are,
weak economically marginal and culturally stigmatized
members of traditional societies.
Together they comprise what has come to be known as the "Fourth World" (Graburn 1981:68, Dyck 1985:1, Berger 1985:176).

Noel Dyck in his article "Aboriginal People and the Nation-state", defines the 'Fourth World' as a group of minority populations who have no hope of ever prevailing within their respective national societies; who are recognized as being ethnically different from the balance of the national population by virtue of their aboriginal status; and are socio-economically distinct from the immigrant/settler populations. Aboriginal peoples within contemporary nation states tend to suffer from a lack of political and economic power as well as social and cultural stigmatization. The loss of traditional subsistence activities, as well as other reasons, has left aboriginal populations at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In the face of cultural and economic demise, aboriginal people claim special rights to their cultural and economic heritage (Dyck 1985:236).

Appeals made to international bodies such as the United Nations and to other international audiences, represent an extension of the political tension developed within liberal democratic societies. Supranational activity, such as this, offers indigenous peoples an additional forum in which to operate and may in turn generate international pressure against the nation state (Dyck 1985:19).

The United Nations, to which Canada and the United
State belong, officially affirms the policy of self-determination of indigenous peoples. In 1966, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Cultural Rights both asserting the right to self-determination (Berger 1985:179). In 1971, the UN authorized a study to investigate the discrimination of aboriginal peoples explicitly separating the issues of racial discrimination from that of aboriginal peoples. In 1975 this principle was reaffirmed in Article VIII of the Helsinki Accords. In 1984, Pope John Paul II addressed Canadian native people by stating that native Indians were entitled to a just and equitable measure of self-determination and adequate resources for a viable economy (Berger 1985:176).

2.2 The Meaning of Culture and Cultural Preservation and their Roles in Native Social Development

"We humans are social animals. We define ourselves by knowing our own people, our language, our customs, our traditions. Culture is a comprehensive summary of standards, values, patterns of behaviour, common attitudes, ways of life. Culture must have a material basis" (Berger 1985:176).

According to Barth (1969:10-11) the term cultural or ethnic group is generally understood, in anthropological literature, as a population which is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values and has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as distinguishable. Isajiw (1979:25) concurs by
defining ethnicity as an "involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendents of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group". Ethnic identity, according to Isajiw (1975:129) encompasses internal observable behavioural patterns and external images, ideas and attitudes. To Isajiw, ethnic identity is characterized by the sharing of common values, behavioural patterns and symbols which are not characterized, in the same manner, by society as a whole (1981:2-3). Abner Cohen (1974:iix), in contrast, defines ethnicity as a function of minority groups striving for economic and political power. Anthony P. Cohen (1985) argues that 'multiplicity' or pluralism within society motivates ethnic groups to reaffirm their cultural differences through symbolic means enhanced in ceremonies or rituals.

Epstein (1978) suggests that history becomes an important component in the maintenance of cultural or ethnic energy and provides for the group a perception of its past and identification with ancestors or elders. Traditional values are transferred to contemporary situations where a new social significance is developed (1978:39). Epstein views the maintenance of ethnicity as the foundation for individual and group identity.

2.3 Focus of Native Cultural Preservation

In a multi-ethnic nation problems of political development are largely defined by the nature and extent of
political development within an individual group. The development of an ethnic group, however, differs somewhat from the development of a nation state. For example, the ethnic or cultural group is defined by its cultural attributes to a greater extent than is the nation. Ethnic groups are bonded by cultural similarities and political appeals and goals are consequently concerned with matters of language, spirituality and social mores (Enloe 1973:159-160).

Therefore, as native Indian political, economic, social and cultural alienation evolved over the past centuries in North America, the evolution of ethnic rediscovery also became more dominant. Ethnic symbols became important in the re-establishment of cultural and individual identity (Miller 1986:47). Isajiw (1981:85) found that with each consecutive generation within an ethnic group, ethnicity or cultural identity depended more on the family group rather than the ethnic community as a whole. Consumption of ethnic food, possession of ethnic art language skills and ceremonial festivities were among the symbols necessary to support ethnic identity in successive generations (Isajiw 1981:42).

2.4 The Evolution of Native Cultural Centres

Since the 1700's, native Indian objects have been collected by traders, missionaries and settlers as objects of curiosity. By the late 19th Century, assimilationist policies had taken their toll and cultural objects were
collected in an attempt to record a 'dying' cultural tradition. At this time, the revival of native culture and society was not considered possible or possibly not considered. Twentieth century museum exhibits depicted native culture as static collections of traditional images and objects.

From 1900 to the 1960's, some non-native museums and other cultural institutions were so concerned with the loss of traditional native culture that some activity promoted a revival of traditional Indian technologies. In 1938 the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences established an art programme among the Seneca Iroquois to aid the revitalization of traditional native art. In the 1950's the UBC Museum of Anthropology, British Columbia Provincial Museum and the Burke Museum in Washington State were instrumental in the revival of traditional native carving by employing master carvers to replicate old poles and create new ones. By doing so, some of the knowledge of traditional artistic forms was retained. As a result of these processes, however, anthropologists became the arbitrators and interpreters of native Indian culture and society (Ames 1981:13, Doxtater 1985:22-23).

Anthropologists have benefitted greatly from research into native Indian cultures. Native Indians, as well, have benefitted from the volume of data compiled and made accessible (Ames 1985:3). But the relationship between Anthropologists and native peoples is changing. No longer
are native Indians willing to allow non-native specialist to define their Indianness and interpret their culture (Ames 1985:3). Native people are demanding the right to define, as Berger has said, their own comprehensive summary of standards, values, patterns of behaviour, common attitudes and ways of life (1985:176). The relationship between anthropologists and their native employers is becoming more balanced. More specifically, anthropologists have become more active as consultants in the on-going battle for native self-determination. The Ethnology Division of the British Columbia Provincial Museum (BCPM) devotes considerable resources to the documentation of contemporary native ceremonial activities which is available to native Indian families at no cost. The BCPM also loans contemporary ceremonial objects to native groups for special events such as potlatches and the UBC Museum of Anthropology has recently collaborated with native curators in the production of museum exhibitions (Ames 1985:5).

Meanwhile native communities have begun to establish their own museum ideologies and interpretations of their culture. Museums have received notification from various native groups requesting the return of objects and the removal of insensitive museum displays (Ames 1981:13, Doxtater 1985:21). Public confrontations over the removal of spiritual objects or the re-interment of burial items were important conflicts in the establishment of the native
Indian museum (Hanson 1980:49, Doxtater 1985:24-25).

Another important factor in the rise of native run native museums has been the wave of public sympathy toward their cause. According to Doxtater, in her article "The Idea of the Indian and the Development of the Iroquoian Museums", the concept of native museums was forwarded in the early 20th Century. It was not, therefore, that native Indian museums were not ready to develop but that governments and public opinion were not ready to accept them (Doxtater 1985:24-25).

A number of native Indian museums have evolved, however, such as the Osage Tribal Museum in Oklahoma which developed through internally generated revenue. In 1978, 20 native Indian museum directors met at the Smithsonian and formed the North American Native Indian Association (NANIA). Fifty native museums were represented at the first NANIA annual meeting in 1979 and the organization is now presenting professional information to the museum community at large (Hanson 1980:50).

By 1980, 125 native Indian museums were established by native American tribes and urban groups. Feasibility studies on native American museums in the 1960's and 1970's returned impressively optimistic reports on the tourism potential of native cultural facilities. Most museums, however, have not achieved financial independence. Many tribal museums, having avoided financial difficulties, have begun to explicitly develop internal revenue sources
to support their cultural centres on a long term basis. Others have consciously embraced the non-native community as advisory and financial support groups (Hanson 1980:45-47).

Native Canadian museums are beginning to establish in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario and, and with their American counterparts, have contributed to the strengthening of intra-cultural and extra-cultural understanding.

2.5 Cultural Centre Activities

Cultural centres have often been defined as "places were things happen" as opposed to traditional museums where galleries exhibit objects from lost or ancient cultures. Many cultural centres, however, are incorporating contemporary museum philosophies and are obtaining cultural objects through repatriation, archaeological excavation or donation.

Museums involved in native Indian cultural centres are often seen, by native individuals, as an opportunity for the native group to gather, protect and interpret their own local collections. In addition to museological functions, cultural centres often include language training centres, research and archival resources, educational and curriculum programmes and visual and performing arts.

2.6 The Role of Cultural Centres in the Re-development of Native Indian Society

According to Hanson (1980:47) cultural centres and
their programmes provide a sense of stability and security. Cultural programmes in schools, on and off reserves, have increased the sense of self worth in native individuals provides a sense of stability and security. John C. Ewers, ethnologist with the Smithsonian Institution and former director of the Museum of the Plains Indian on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana and the National Museum of History and Technology wrote that

"Like the Englishman, the Frenchman or the Italian who visits an historical museum in his own country, the Indian emerges from his museum with greater respect for the courage, skill and ingenuity of his ancestors, a greater admiration for their craftsmanship and a sense of beauty, and a greater pride in his own membership among the descendants of these people" (from Hanson 1980: 51).

Thus native Indian cultural centres are likely to continue providing a focus for native Indian ethnicity as well as broaden contemporary social, political and economic development.
Chapter 3: Tsimshian Cultural Disintegration

This chapter will outline the processes involved in the disintegration of Tsimshian culture and society in order to provide a basis for the need for cultural revitalization in the region. Chapter three will continue by indicating the motivation or incentive involved in the realization of these perceived needs.

Chapter two has been divided into the following sections: 1) Government Intervention: Stage I, Paternalism; 2) Christian Intervention: Stage I, Spiritual Paternalism; 3) Government Intervention: Stage II, Assimilation; 4) Native Indian Resistance: Stage I, Non-institutional; 5) Christian Intervention: Stage II, Spiritual Assimilation; 6) Government Assimilation: Stage III, Canadian Sovereignty; 7) Native Indian Resistance: Stage II, Institutional.

3.1 Context

The Tsimshian of the Northwest Coast traditionally occupied the territories of the Nass and Skeena Rivers, their tributaries and estuaries and the rivers and Islands of Douglas Channel (Figure 3, page 21), (Sequin 1984:ix). The Tsimshian language, commonly known as Penutian, is comprised of 3 major linguistic sub-divisions—-the Nishga, in the Nass River area; the Gitksan, on the Upper Skeena; and the Tsimshian proper or Coast Tsimshian, on the lower reaches of the Skeena and adjacent coast (Garfield and Wingert 1951:6) (Table II, page 23). The 3 Tsimshian dialects are similar in grammatical and semantic structure
FIGURE 3
TRADITIONAL MAJOR TSHIMSIAN VILLAGES

adapted from Duff 1965
and a large part of their vocabulary is identical. Tsimshian territory was bounded on the north by the Tlingit and Athapaskan groups, the Carrier to the East, the Northern Kwagiutl and Haida to the West and the Coast and Interior Salish to the South (Figure 2, page 6) (Sequin 1984:x).

3.2 Government Intervention: Stage I, Paternalism

In 1670, the British Parliament enacted its first legislation concerning native Indians. This legislation established a policy of paternalism and sought to promote native conversion to Christianity (Frideres 1983:21). In 1755 the English government designed a policy of isolating native persons on reservations. Indian agents were appointed to formally establish Canada's policy of native Indians as wards of the state (Frideres 1983:17). At the time of European contact, no important resources in the Tsimshian economy lay unclaimed by native groups (Garfield and Wingert 1951:14). By 1793 British traders had reached the Mackenzie overland and established trading posts in the region (officially through the Hudson's Bay Company and unofficially through its rival, the North West Company) (Kehoe 1971:430). Established trading trails followed interior valleys (Figure 4, page 24). The major north-south trail ran north from the Skeena to the Nass, past Meziaden Lake to the Stikine, where cross trails linked Fort Wrangel (established 1825) and Lake Atlin and the Yukon River. The trail heads south from the Skeena to Kitimat, thus joining 2 eulachon fishing grounds with the middle Skeena (McDonald
### Table II
Tsimshian Tribes and Bands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture Group</th>
<th>Tribes and Bands (1850)</th>
<th>Reserve Name (1916)</th>
<th>Present Name (1963)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coast Tsimshian</td>
<td>Kitasoo</td>
<td>Kitasoo (or China Hat)</td>
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<td>Kitkiata</td>
<td>Kitahta</td>
<td>Hartley Bay</td>
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<td>Kitkatla</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gitzaklath</td>
<td>Port Simpson</td>
<td>Port Simpson</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gitsee</td>
<td>Metlakatla</td>
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<td>Ginakangeek</td>
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<td>Ginadoiks</td>
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<td>Gispakloats</td>
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<td>Gilutsau</td>
<td>Lakelse</td>
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<td>Kitsumkalum</td>
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<td>Kisgegas</td>
<td>Kisgegas</td>
<td>(joined Hazelton &quot;&quot;)</td>
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<td>Kuldoe</td>
<td>Kuldoe</td>
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<td>Nishga</td>
<td>Gikateen</td>
<td>Nass</td>
<td>Kincolith</td>
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<td>Gitgigenik</td>
<td>Kincolith &amp; Lachkaltsap</td>
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<td>Aiyansh</td>
<td>Gitlakdamix</td>
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Adapted from Duff 1964:18-20
adapted from Macdonald 1933
During this period the Tsimshian economy was based largely on fishing, hunting, and domestic and trade production. With the establishment of Fort Simpson in 1832, Legaic and other Tsimshian chiefs quickly expanded their trading privileges to include the European market (Garfield 1939:183). Through large monopolies, the Legaic League could control trade, and to some extent, regulate fur prices (Fisher 1977:30). During this period, disease, especially smallpox, decimated the Indian population. Hudson's Bay Company (HCB) men had access to smallpox inoculations although HCB reports mention distributing the medicine to 'friendly chiefs' only (McDonald 1984:42). As the chiefs' monopolies expanded, additional Indian bands were incorporated into the network. The Gitksan, for example, were already trading at inland markets with the Coast Tsimshian for European commodities when the HCB's traders arrived from the east in 1826 (McDonald 1984:42).

Specialization of production occurred at the village level. The Nisga'a and Coast Tsimshian from Metlakatla produced most of the eulachon oil. The Nisga'a traded surplus oil across the Grease Trail to the interior as far as the upper Skeena, while the Coast Tsimshian traded oil to Kitkatla and as far west as the Queen Charlotte Islands. Both groups traded with the Tlingit who came to the Nass estuary (Garfield and Wingert 1951:16), (Figure 4, page 24).

The highly structured world of the Tsimshian was
radically transformed by the Euro-Canadian population. Early contacts with explorers and traders did not severely affect traditional socio-economic patterns as goods acquired in trade were incorporated into the traditional culture and were useful in terms of technology or prestige, but when the first permanent trading post in Tsimshian territory was established at the traditional trading centre at the mouth of the Nass in 1831 (moved in 1834 to Port Simpson), trade shifted from sea otter furs to that of land animals. Massive wealth entered the native economy from the traders and a ready supply of iron tools permitted greater productivity among carvers. Traditional established relationships of rank were destabilized as new villages of people formed around trading posts. Staggering mortality rates ensued from increased exposure to Old World disease (Sequin 1984:xv). In addition to venereal disease and smallpox, measles and respiratory diseases were prevalent (Fisher 1977:45). Competition for scarce furs led traders to supply firearms and alcohol to the Tsimshian further complicating social relationships (Sequin 1984:xv).

Due to the record deaths to be memorialized, persons with rank converted their money into blankets, to be given away at massive potlatches, to validate their lineage rank (Kehoe 1981:433). As long as trade routes remained open and a competitive market stimulated prices, the Indians of the interior could maintain a degree of independence from the forts in the territory (Fisher 1977:33). Meanwhile, the
Crown Lands Protection Act was passed in 1839 to ensure Crown control of Indian lands (Frideres 1983:22). Before 1849, and the arrival of colonists, there had been no need for government measure to re-arrange Indian society. During the fur trading period it had been necessary to develop policies designed to avoid hostilities between Indians and non-Indians. Douglas wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1849 requesting that arrangement be made for the purchase of Indian land. Shortly after, Douglas signed 11 treaties with the Indians of the Fort Victoria area and 2 with Indians from Fort Rupert (Fisher 1977:66). By 1850, an act was passed disallowing the sale of Indian land without Crown consent. Eighteen fifty-seven saw an Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in Canada passed. The act provided inducements for Indians to leave tribal societies and become enfranchized (Frideres 1983:22). In 1857 the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company had recommended that the Company's rule on Vancouver Island should come to an end. Douglas was offered the governorship of the new colony, but on the condition that he sever his ties with the Hudson's Bay Company.

3.3 Christian Intervention: Stage I, Spiritual Paternalism

Other influences complicated the situation. The first mission to reach the Gitksan was established at Fort Babine in 1847 (Garfield and Wingert 1951:9). In 1857 Reverend William Duncan came to the Fort Simpson area to preach
Christianity to the Tsimshian. In the summer of 1858 he began to build a school which became an important element of acculturation (Fisher 1977:129). During the time Duncan worked at Fort Simpson his mission had met with considerable success. He claimed to detect a quickening interest in the teachings of Christianity (Fisher 1977:129). He was able eventually to convert many of the Tsimshian and build a new community called New Metlakatla. New Metlakatla proved successful (in his view) and nearby groups demanded their own missionaries (Seguin 1984:xv).

3.4 Governmental Intervention: Stage II, Assimilation

The influx of miners and settlers, in 1858, rendered critical the question of Indian land (Kehoe 1981:432). As a result of the disruption caused by the rapid influx of miners, New Caledonia was renamed British Columbia. Had the mining areas returned to their original condition after the influx of miners the situation may have been only transitory (Fisher 1977:96). By the 1860's the primacy of the Hudson's Bay Company as the economic representative of Europe was ending and a new industrial regime was taking over, accompanied by colonial society and government (McDonald 1984:44). In 1865, the Western Union Telegraph, on its way to England via Siberia, entered the region (Large 1957:24 from McDonald 1984:44) bringing wage labour to the Gitksan and a lucrative river freighting industry dominated by the Coast Tsimshian. When the Fraser river trading route was abandoned in favour of the Skeena waterway, Hazelton was
established as a major supply depot (McDonald 1984:44).

Wage labour became increasingly important during the second half of the nineteenth century. Local Tsimshian individuals were found in freighting, fishing, cannery work, logging, mill work, sealing, mining, steamer crews, domestic service, longshoring, packing, railroad construction and other forms of wage labour (McDonald 1984:46). Fort Simpson provided one source of employment but was, for the most part, designed to service the HBC (Fisher 1977:30).

During this time there had been no thought to giving the Indian population the vote. In fact, in 1872-1873 legislation was passed to specifically excluded Indian persons from gaining the vote (Fisher 1977:178). In 1873, a Board of Commissioners was established to administer Indian Affairs in Manitoba, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories. The following year, Georgetown Mills opened operations, hiring Tsimshian labour for logging, sawmill industry related employment (Knight 1978:115). In 1873 Ottawa suggested that Indian reserves be allocated on the basis of 80 acres per family but British Columbia favoured 10. An investigative committee was assigned to look into the problem and recommended the province take steps necessary to redress grievances of Indians. In 1875 the committee published the Papers Connected with the Indian Land Question, 1850-1875 which constituted an indictment of British Columbia's Indian land policy (Fisher 1977:181). The first comprehensive Indian Act was designed in 1876 to
consolidate the disparate laws already existing on the statute books (Frideres 1983:23). By 1876 the province came to a decision on the land question. The dominion government had given up the idea of extinguishing Indian land title, largely due to its enormous expense (Fisher 1977:188). With the establishment of the first cannery on the Skeena in 1877, a great influx of wage labour was developed. Initially, the Tsimshian fisherman had an advantage as their labour was necessary. He could, in addition, enlist the help of his wife if she preferred not to work in the unpleasant conditions of the local cannery (McDonald 1984:47).

In an effort to maximize profit, fishing companies increased the productivity of their operations by continual innovations in fishing techniques. As well, they began to fish further and further away from the crowded river mouths and controlled rival and Indian fishing licences, requiring the use of company gear. Government regulations were drafted in the 1890's to strengthen the company position. Non-native men were encouraged to fish, thereby increasing competition and weakening the Tsimshian position in the fisheries (McDonald 1984:47). Tsimshian women dominated the packing process in the ethnically segregated canneries. Due to poor working conditions within the canneries, companies found it difficult to maintain a steady flow of workers. This situation was quickly remedied, however, when the number of women pullers on boats were reduced and native
fishermen were hired to ensure that their wives would work in the canneries (McDonald 1984:47).

3.5 Christian Intervention: Stage II, Spiritual Assimilation

Despite the pressure from Missionaries and the government to end potlatching, winter ceremonial feasts continued with great force. However, by the 1880's large multi-family lineage houses were kept only for feasts and Indian life was economically assimilating to that of the Euro-Canadian settler (Kehoe 1981:434-435). By 1884, missionaries induced Canadian officials to amend the 1880 Indian Act to include a ban on the native potlatching. The missionaries misunderstood the meaning of the (man-eating) Hamatsa dance, which "was (and is) a allegory of human development, an unforgettable enactment of the importance of bringing physical power under the dominion of the social group" (Kehoe 1981:433). The skillfully staged performances in which an actor appeared to actually tear at the flesh of the performers, planted in the audience, persuaded missionaries that Northwest Coast Indians were indeed cannibals (Kehoe 1981:433). Although the potlatch law was virtually unenforceable in the 1880's it stood as a blatant example of the settlers belief in acculturation. With the passing of the anti-potlatch law, many Indian protested vigorously while others quietly disobeyed the law (Fisher 1977:207-208).

3.6 Native Indian Resistance: Stage I, Non-institutional

By 1862, the pace of change had outstripped the Indians
ability to cope with it. Traditional and European cures proved ineffective against smallpox and any form of social organization were inadequate to deal with the mortality crisis. The British North America Act was passed in 1867 incorporating the administration of Indian Affairs under the Enfranchisement Act (Large 1957:32). The development of canneries coupled with the encroachment on Tsimshian fishing grounds, created unrest in the late 1870's and early 1880's, when chiefs at Kitkatla confiscated nets of a company felt to have been abusing the village fisheries (Fisher 1977:200). In 1879 a gunboat, purchased by the Canadian government to control potential conflict in the region, made its first round of duty at Port Simpson when Tsimshian residents had organized a "Volunteer Company of Rifles" (Department of the Interior 1879:112). The northern Tsimshian were also becoming bitter. A government agent had laid out reserves for the coastal Tsimshian and the Nishga during the 1880's without much consideration of native culture and society (Fisher 1977:204-205). Hostility toward dominion and provincial governments continued to grow, and the villages of Metlakatla and Port Simpson refused to accept the agent assigned to the North West Agency (DIA 1884:117 from Fisher 1977). An agent did successfully established himself in 1888 under great protest from the people of Port Simpson and Greenville (DIA 1889:xci from Fisher 1977). Also in 1884, the Gitksan threatened to close the Skeena River once again. In the same year, the Port
Essington people, angered by the process of land appropriation, stopped surveyors from carrying out their tasks (DIA 1884:282 from Fisher 1977). In 1885, at the height of the controversy the Metlakatla people forcefully occupied the Christian Missionary Society building. As a result the HMS Comorant arrived on the scene to keep the peace (DIA 1886:xi-xii from Fisher 1977).

3.7 Government Intervention: Stage III, Canadian Sovereignty

By the late 19th century, Tsimshian Indians were no longer treated by the British Columbia government as a people of a sovereign nation. When British Columbia entered confederation, small reserves of land were allocated to each village and without native consent the Tsimshian groups came under the aegis of the Indian Act (Sequin 1984:xv). None of the groups had abandoned its aboriginal title and the Nisg̱a'a pressed their claim to various levels of government (Sequin 1984:xv). The band system grew out of the atomistic nature of the native political system as the Canadian government could find no effective group to work with other than bands or tribes. To the Canadian government, Indians were registered members of one of the 189 bands in British Columbia. Lands, funds, administration and community projects were all matters to be handled at the band level (Duff 1964:106).

Tsimshian commercial interests drove freighting prices up--prices only grudgingly accepted by the Hudson's Bay
Company. At the same time the Company was revolutionizing its transportation system and heavily capitalizing its transportation to undercut the labour intensive native operations (McDonald 1984:45). The Tsimshian also owned and operated many stores in the Aiyansh, Kincolith, Hartley Bay, Lakalsap, and Hazelton areas (Knight 1978:60-61). Additional commercial ventures included the manufacture and marketing of oil, canoes, fish boats, nets, houses, and craft items (McDonald 1984:45-46). When white forestry operations began, independent logging crews from Port Simpson organized to supply the mills (Knight 1978:115).

The first successful steamer passage to Hazelton was achieved by the Hudson's Bay Company steamer in 1891. As a result the Tsimshian lost control over Skeena River transportation (DIA 1891:165). Politically the power loss hindered Tsimshian chiefs but increased local dependency on Tsimshian migrant workers who provided boats, owned by the foreign and colonial industrialists, to transport workers and their families to the job at the start of the season and back to their homes at the end (McDonald 1984:45).

3.8 Native Indian Resistance: Stage II, Institutional

By 1906, amendments to the Indian Act had made it virtually impossible to administer and a new consolidated Indian Act was introduced (Frideres 1983:25).

Over the decade there had been a growing resistance to the appropriation of land and other resources by foreign sources. Resistance included land claims, agitation for the
recognition of resource and human rights and at times militant trade union activity. These issues were in response to traditional and commercial values (often simultaneously) as well as the result of wage labour employment. The Tsimshian employed a variety of methods in an attempt to maintain control over territorial resources, such as newspapers, petitions, delegations, strikes, blockades, occupations and threats of violence (McDonald 1984:51).

An effective organization, the Alaska Native Brotherhood, was established in 1912. A parallel organization, the Alaska Native Sisterhood, was formed soon after to enable women to work toward their goals (Kehoe 1981:436). Although these organizations were formed for members of the Tlingit culture group, they became an undeniable example of a new form of native organization; an example noted by native groups in British Columbia. The Nisgha land Committee was formed in 1913 and the Allied Tribes of British Columbia in 1916.

The Senate-House Committee declared the question of aboriginal title to land closed in 1927. As a result the Allied Tribes of British Columbia dissolved (Duff 1964:106). However, new native organization soon began to appear. The first of these was the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia (NBBC). In 1931, spurred by the Alaska Native the appropriation of land and other resources by foreign sources. Resistance included land claims, agitation for the
Brotherhood, Tsimshian chiefs organized to develop a similar inter-tribal organization for British Columbia. The NBBC continued to meet yearly through the 1930's (Duff 1964:106). In 1936, the Gitksan Native Brotherhood (GNB) and Gitksan Native Sisterhood (GNS) were formed in response to regional economic and cultural hardship.

By 1954 the Tsimshian population had climbed to 4,802 (Ashwell 1977:27) and in 1955 the Nishga Tribal Council (NTC) was formed. The NTC had branches in Kincolith, Greenville, Canyon City and Aiyansh and replaced the former Nishga Land Committee. Its purpose was to work for general Indian welfare and press for the settlement of the land question (Duff 1964:107).

3.9 Chapter Summary

Although European exploration and trade began in the 16th century, significant development of government intervention did not begin until the late 1600's. Unknown to the Tsimhian, on the interior Northwest Coast, government intervention began in 1670 with the first British enactment of legislation regarding native Indians. Paternalism was considered essential, by the British government, due to their vested interest in the Northwest coast fur trade. British paternalism affected the Tsimshian less than their Canadian neighbours to the south and the south west as the Skeena River area was seen by European traders as secondary in economic importance.

Government paternalism changed to assimilation by 1858.
nen the influx of settlers and miners changed the political and economic climate. Government assimilation proved to be far more debilitating than the earlier paternalistic policies despite the relative isolation of the Tsimshian.

Assimilation policies increased as British Columbia entered confederation and has continued relatively consistently to 1951. Although the anti-potlatch law was repealed in this year, self-government—even in a limited form—has not yet been achieved.

Wedged between the stages of government intervention were the periods of spiritual paternalism and assimilation. Spiritual paternalism began in 1847 with the introduction of Reverend William Duncan to the Fort Babine area and evolved into assimilation in 1884 when missionary pressures forced the government to institute the devastating anti-potlatch law. Spiritual assimilation continued until 1951 when the anti-potlatch law was repealed. A strong Christian influence remains in the region.

Although early native Indian resistance was sporadically recorded in the Skeena River region, major informal resistance seems to have begun in 1872 when Gitksan residents protested the destruction of local properties by external non-native persons. Non-institutional resistance continued until 1912 when native political organizations began to form. Native institutional resistance has evolved over the years taking on a variety of forms including the development of cultural centres and the forwarding of land
It is clear, from the preceding chapter, that a protracted disintegration of traditional native culture and society has taken place. Culture, or in Berger's words, "...the comprehensive summary of standards, values, patterns of behaviour, common attitudes and ways of life" has been eroded to the point where cultural or ethnic identity can no longer be easily achieved.

Native Indian political activity brought with it an awareness of the potential role of cultural objects in the realization of native culture and society. Increased interest in cultural objects, ceremonies and other symbols of ethnic heritage were further sparked by the ideas of a persuasive individual and eventually found its expression in such projects as Skeena totem pole restoration and the initial development of 'Ksan.

The link between cultural erosion and cultural development will be discussed in the following chapter.
### Table III

Tsimshian Regional History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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Table:
- G.I. Government Intervention
- C.I. Christian Intervention
- N.R. Native Indian Resistance
Table III continued

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Chapter 4: Gitksan Cultural Revitalization and the Planning and Development of the 'Ksan Village

The previous chapter has outlined the protracted disintegration of Gitksan culture and society. The following chapter will outline the processes of cultural revitalization and the resultant development of the 'Ksan Village projects. This section has been divided into: 1. Ethnographic Development; and 2. Developmental and Operational Planning.

4.1 Ethnographic Development

In 1920, the Victoria Memorial Museum (now the National Museum of Civilization) sent ethnographer Marius Barbeau on an extensive field expedition to the Skeena River region to study the social organization of the Gitksan people. The 5 tribes under study were those of the Skeena—a distance of approximately 200 miles. Two of these tribes, Qualo and Anlagasemdek, have now amalgamated with the villages of Kispiox, Glen Vowell (a modern settlement) and Hazelton (Kitanmax), (Table II, page 23). The Kitsegas tribe, situated near the junction of the Babine and Skeena Rivers, was also dwindling in numbers. The headquarters of the Gitksan, at this time, appeared to be in Kitanmax (Department of Mines 1920:20).

Between 1923 and 1925 the Victoria Memorial Museum sent Diamond Jenness, Harlan Smith and Marius Barbeau to Westcoast British Columbia to continue ethnographic research. Marius Barbeau continued the research previously
undertaken in 1920, among Tsimshian of northern British Columbia. Research was conducted at Kitselas, Kitsemgalem, Kitwancool, Kitwanga and Kitsegyukla. The social organization and mythology of the tribes were studied intensively. Sixty Gitksan songs were recorded and linguistic notes were taken. Over 400 photographs were added to the Museums existing collections. Investigations were later extended to Kispiox, Kitanmax and Hagwelget with a view to the preparation of a detailed report for the conservation of totem poles and graves. The establishment of an Indian National Park had been contemplated at this time (Department of Mines, 1920). Ethnographic research and the restoration of poles was considered, by the government, to be important as the demise of native culture and society was thought to be imminent. Due to historical circumstances, however, the government's pole restoration project was met with a great deal of suspicion and confusion by the local Gitksan people. Friction between the government and local native persons ultimately subsided, and in 1925 the Victorial Memorial Museum, with the cooperation of the Canadian National Railway and the Department of Indian Affairs, began the restoration of 16 Gitksan poles. The Department of Mines annual report for 1927 indicates that:

The awakening interest of the public in the unique totem pole art of British Columbia was reflected in the activities of two members of the division, Mr. Smith and Mr. Barbeau....In 1925 Mr. Smith, acting under the instructions from the inter-departmental committee repres-
enting the Department of Indian Affairs, the Parks Branch of the Department of the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Mines, and with the Canadian National Railway, supervised the restoration of totem poles at Kitwanga....In 1926...he restored 9 poles in the same village" (1927:33).

Before the inception of the pole restoration programme, many native and non-native individuals seemed resigned to the continuing loss of native culture and society. Native persons were increasingly donating or selling their ceremonial regalia to established curio shops. At the same time, however, a local native person, John Laknitz (Laranitz), opened his house to the public as a museum for traditional Gitksan ceremonial regalia (Department of Mines 1926:81).

In 1936 a disasterous flood resulted in the displacement or destruction of many of the poles located in the region (Dawn 1981:50). Harlan Smith, having retired one year earlier, launched an appeal to Ottawa requesting the development of a second pole restoration programme. This attempt, coupled with the energy behind the development of the Gitksan Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood sparked local native interest in native controlled pole restoration and carving (Dawn 1981:51). The revitalization of traditional Gitksan culture continued from 1936 to 1939 with notably increasing intensity. Between 1930 and 1952, 11 old poles were restored and 17 new poles carved (Dawn 1981:55). Wilson Duff, a noted anthropological scholar and researcher in this region, reported that poles were re-erected with a
similar notion of re-affirming traditional hereditary rights, names, crests, status and prestige as in previous centuries (1952). Small scale traditional festivities planned within 'acceptable' legal bounds were replaced by larger, more overt ceremonial gatherings. Large scale ceremonies in 1939 and 1942 caught the attention of the regional RCMP and ceremonial paraphernalia was confiscated at the 1942 event (Dawn 1981:64).

At approximately the same time Virgil Farrell, supervisor of Native Arts and Crafts for the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska, issued an influential report on a successful government sponsored native art and craft training and marketing programme. The report indicated that:

With the increased interest on the part of the natives in their craft work we early recognized the need to find markets for their output. One of our first steps in this direction was to set up at Juneau a central clearing house for native craft products selling on a wholesale basis only....The craftsmen voluntarily sent their craft work on a consignment basis to the center and as the goods sold they were in turn paid. In the first year of its operation a total of $32,747 [US] had increased to $200,490 or an increase in seven years of 612%....In order to keep step with growth of the Clearing House it was necessary to develop markets. Our first step was to contact already existing outlets, namely museums, gift shops, curio shops, etc..... In order to further stimulate the markets, two illustrated craft catalogues and wholesale price lists were published in 1939 (Hawthorn et al 1955:535).

In 1948 the British Columbia Arts and Welfare Society (BCAWS) was set up under the aegis of the British Columbia
Provincial Museum in Victoria. The society focussed on the issues of native arts and culture through conferences, exhibitions, scholarships, demonstrations, publications and other media (Dawn 1982:64). In the same year, the BCAWS sponsored a conference on native Indian Affairs at the University of British Columbia. An important report given by Dr. Henry Hawthorn, Director of the UBC Department of Anthropology and Audrey Hawthorn, Honorary Curator of the UBC Museum of Anthropology, outlined the problems and potential of the native craft revival in British Columbia. Recommendations were made, to a large degree, based on the Farrell Report of the previous decade. Included in these recommendations were the proposals to establish school or regional workshops to train native students in the traditional arts as well as preparation for the expression of contemporary ones. The 1948 Hawthorn Report formed the basis for a study requested by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences in 1951 (Hawthorn et al 1955:515).

Efforts to enforce the potlatch law lessened at the end of the 1940's and in 1951 the law was repealed (Kehoe 1981:434). By 1954, a further pole restoration committee was formed through the efforts of interested individuals, at the University of British Columbia and the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

The staff of the Department of Anthropology and President N.M. Mackenzie of the University of
British Columbia, as well as the Provincial Museum staff, were all concerned with the possible collection and preservation of the remaining poles still standing—and decaying—in deserted villages. H.R. MacMillan was determined that these should be assessed, and where possible, saved. He instigated the Totem Pole Conservation [sic] Committee, chaired by Henry Hawthorn.... (BCPM 1973: B21-B22 from Hawthorn 1955).

Michael Ames, in his article "Anthropologists and the Art of Acculturation in British Columbia," states that museum anthropologists have influenced Indian art and craft industries through the reconstruction of the meaning of Northwest Coast art, by promoting and legitimating Northwest Coast art and artists, and by inverting the relationship between anthropologists and Indians (Ames 1981:4).


In 1959, Henry and Audrey Hawthorn commissioned Kwagiutl artist Mungo Martin to carve replicas of 2
Northwest Coast memorial posts (Kehoe 1981:443). From 1957 to 1962, Haida artists, Bill Reid and Kwagiutl artist Douglas Cramner were commissioned to design and construct the Haida houses and poles for the Museum of Anthropology.

In the same year, BC Provincial Museum anthropologist Wilson Duff prepared plans for a full scale pole restoration programme in the Queen Charlotte Islands, Vancouver Island and the Skeena River region. In August 1962, Duff noted the intense desire of local Skeena individuals to continue pole restoration and conservation. At this time, he compiled a site by site inventory of the poles remaining in this area (Duff 1962:1). In March 1963 a group of local individuals from the Skeena River region gathered to prepare a more detailed local inventory of village poles. Within two days the group of volunteers visited the towns of Kitsequcla, Kispiox, Kitwanga, Kitwancool, and Hazelton. Sketches, photographs diagrams and data were recorded on 110 poles and the opinions of hereditary chiefs and village councillors were canvassed (Dawn 1981:116).

Additional field research, involving local native elders, was carried out and a 57 page report, outlining the restoration proposal, was submitted to Victoria for funding. In 1964 Dudley Little, MLA for the Skeena River riding, made an official appeal to the provincial legislature for the immediate funding of the project. Within days of the request a $20,000 grant, requiring matching funds, was made available for the pole restoration
project. The Skeena Totem Pole Restoration Project was officially incorporated as a society and began work in 1964.

Various committees were formed to coordinate the activities of the society, including conservation, finance and administration (Sargent 1964:1-10). By 1965, initial reconstruction began in Kispiox with other work beginning in Kitwancool in 1967 (Dawn 1981:123-124). Interest in cultural development continued within the region and this interest developed gradually into the conception and development of the initial projects of 'Ksan.

4.2 Developmental and Operational Planning

The conception, development and operation of the 'Ksan Village appears to have evolved from the processes involved in the planning and implementation of six major local projects. These projects include the Skeena Treasure House, 'Ksan Houses, Gitksan Dancers, Kitanmax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art, Book Builders and the Northwest National Exhibition Centre. Each project will be discussed in turn.

4.2.1 The Skeena Treasure House

Although interest in the development of a local native museum was evident as early as 1919, plans to develop the Skeena Treasure House (STH) did not emerge until the 1950's. In 1952 members of the Amalgamated School (native and non-native students) in Hazelton, announced its intention to assist in the development of a native Indian art museum (Dawn 1981:89). The initial step in the
development of such a proposal, was the acceptance and support of the regional Gitksan (Carrier) Band Councils. Ceremonial regalia would only be loaned to the museum on the condition that repossession for ceremonial purposes would be available and that a small rental fee would be given for the items being loaned (‘Ksan 1974:9). The town of Hazelton officially incorporated in 1956 and elected Margaret (Polly) Sargent to the Hazelton Village Commission. At this time the Hazelton Library Association reported an interest in the development of a library/museum project. During the same year, the BC Centennial Committee was established by the provincial government, for the purpose of coordinating and financing the construction of historical, cultural, tourist and industrial development (Dawn 1981). The town of Hazelton successfully applied for Centennial project funding (a total of $.40 per capita) subject to the approval of the local Gitksan community (‘Ksan 1974:9). Under special project provisions the Hazelton library/museum qualified for an additional $.60 per capita, granted on a matched (community-provincial) funding basis (Dawn 1981:92). Together these grants totalled approximately $600.00 (Sargent, personal communication: 1987). Between 1956 and 1959 the Hazelton Centennial Committee (HCC) was involved in a variety of fund-raising activities and collected $5,658.24 by 1959 (BC Centennial Committee 1959:296 from Dawn 1981).  

Mrs. Sargent's stated objectives in the development of
the STH project were: 1. to safeguard and highlight remaining local native cultural objects, 2. develop the economic potential of the region through native cultural recognition and 3. to promote the cohesion of the local native and non-native communities (Sargent, personal communication: 1987).

During this period British Columbia was promoted as 'totem land' and many Committee projects chosen for funding reflected that image (Dawn 1981). In 1959 the HCC was dissolved and a new Hazelton Centennial Board was established. In 1960 the Board was again replaced, this time by the Skeena Treasure House Association (STHA). The ceremonial opening of the Skeena Treasure House (a museum of Gitksan culture) in 1960, not only reaffirmed the cultural traditions of the Gitksan people, but officially incorporated museum exhibition as a forum for Gitksan cultural expression. Native art sales, associated with the museum, increased dramatically over this period, due largely to media attention gained through the opening and growing awareness of the value of Northwest Coast art elsewhere in the province.

4.2.2 The 'Ksan Houses

In 1953, Victoria Mayor Claude Harrison announced plans to construct a Haida style building for the BC Provincial Museum collections housed in the Parliament Buildings. Although the project did not come to pass, many of the concepts revealed in the plan were, coincidentally,
reflected in the eventual design of 'Ksan. A more concrete influencing factor in the design of 'Ksan was the funding of a development of an outdoor museum at Barkerville. In February 1966, Dudley Little, having previously supported the Skeena Pole Restoration project, appealed once again to the provincial legislature in an attempt to raise funding for 'Ksan (Dawn 1981:137). Largely as a result, the 'Ksan Houses project became Agricultural and Rural Development Act project no. 39002.

Within the Skeena Bulkley Rural Development area it is proposed to have developed with Indian labor a historic Indian Village as a tourist attraction. Associated with this will be facilities for making and selling Indian handicrafts thus providing income and job opportunities for underemployed persons mainly Indians. Also related to this phase will be the development and maintenance of a campground by native Indians on Indian land in accordance with Provincial Park standards (ARDA 1967).

In 1967 a committee of volunteers was formed to coordinate the 'Ksan Houses project. A report by Philip Ward, Chief Conservator of the BC Provincial Museum and advisor to the group of volunteers, indicated that information relevant to 'Ksan was gained through the implementation of the Skeena Treasure House. He states that during the 6 years of the STH they had learned that:

(a) the Museum is not big enough to truly depict Indian life as it was in the old days; (b) there is a great demand for genuine Indian handicraft, which the Museum sells; (c) there is a great tourist interest in ancient Indian lore....(d) the demand for handicrafts and the resulting sales has made the Museum completely self-supporting (ARDA 1967).
The initial cost estimates for the construction of the houses was $220,000. One hundred thousand federal dollars was designated for the construction of a 30 unit campground adjacent to the museum facilities. Upon completion, full responsibility for the campsite was to be transferred to the local Gitksan band council and did not become part of 'Ksan although it was designed to service 'Ksan visitors. The village of Hazelton received $60,000 from the federal government, $30,000 from the provincial government and $30,000 from the Hazelton municipal government (Dawn 1981:144-145). The town of Hazelton offered, as its share of the cost, the Skeena Treasure House building and part of its collections and a $15,000 grant ('Ksan 1974:12). The land upon which the 'Ksan Houses are built was, and is, leased on a yearly basis from the Gitksan Band Council. The 'Ksan Association, formed in the early 60's was officially registered as a society in May 1968.

The 'Ksan Houses are divided into 4 separate houses— the Frog House of the Distant Past, the Wolf House of Our Grandfathers (Feast House), the Fireweed House of Treasures (Skeena Treasure House), and the Today House of Sales.

The 'Ksan Houses officially opened to the public on August 12, 1970 ('Ksan 1974:17). As in the opening festivities of the Skeena Treasure House, the opening of the 'Ksan Houses re-affirmed traditional pole raising ceremonies. W.A.C. Bennett officiated the ceremony and gave
'Ksan funds for the building of a carving house to commemorate the occasion. The Carving House was completed in October 1970 and became the new home for the Kitanmax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art.

4.2.2.1 The Frog House of the Distant Past

The Frog House of the Distant Past represents Gitksan life before the advent of European exploration and settlement. The roof beams are constructed of 60 foot log supported on each end by traditionally carved posts representing crests of the Frog phratry or clan. Split cedar planks, somewhat different in style from the traditional Gitksan architecture, form the roof. On the inside, an 8 foot wide wooden platform has been devised to display various pre-contact household articles as well as 12 life size figures portraying traditional Gitksan activities. These activities include weaving and drying wild goat wool in preparation for weaving; a Shaman or Halayt, a helper and a patient; a chief and his wife; a small group of gamblers playing a traditional stick game; and a slave. The figures are clad in reconstructed traditional clothing and are surrounded by bent boxes, food dishes ladles and furs.

4.2.2.2 The Wolf House of our Grandfathers

The second house, the Wolf House of the Grandfathers, focusses on the period immediately following the fur trade. A wide platform around the inside walls has been formed and a stage, housing a massive painted screen, has been built to
provide a structure for ceremonial performances held in the house. Two figures are draped in ceremonial regalia (made especially for the exhibit) although, unlike the other figures in the Frog House, these people are clothed in the button blankets.

4.2.2.3 The Fireweed House of Treasures

The third house, the Fireweed House of Treasures houses relatively contemporary Gitksan artifacts from the most modern period. It is interesting to note that all three periods depicted in the houses of 'Ksan have been taken directly from academic categories outlined in ethnological or historical literature.

4.2.2.4 The Today House of Sales

The Today House of Sales offers high quality contemporary interpretations of traditional Gitksan and non-Gitksan art made in the Hazelton area. The sales house also houses the administrative office of the Director of the 'Ksan Association.

4.2.3 The Gitksan or 'Ksan Dancers

The Gitksan Dancers evolved gradually from a trust relationship between local native elders and Mrs. Polly Sargent. Traditional songs and dances were eventually recorded and now total over 400. The Gitksan Dancers have travelled nationally and internationally and have most recently performed at Vancouver's Expo '86. The Dancers have recently begun to interpret traditional native Indian songs and dances in contemporary forms.
4.2.4 The Kitanmax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art

Funding for the development of the Kitanmax School of Northwest Coast Art (KSNA) was established under the terms of the 1967 ARDA agreement which provided $30,000 for a 2 year programme in leadership training.

...in order that the quality of genuine Indian handicrafts can be maintained in sufficient volume to meet anticipated demand, it is considered necessary to conduct a program of training for potential Indian artisans and for improving the handicraft skills and techniques of those who have demonstrated ability (ARDA 1970).

Initial lessons at the Kitanmax School centered on carving, painting and metal engraving. In June 1968, Philip Ward, Chief Conservator at the BC Provincial Museum, visited the School and expressed his concern regarding the melding of artistic styles. In a 1968 report, Ward states that non-Gitksan art instructors:

are very prone, when working in the style of another tribe, to impose their own irrepressible personality on either the work or the man...In the situation which exists at 'Ksan, the danger will be extreme whatever the origins of the instructors.... The difficulty arises because the teachers cannot possibly teach techniques without demonstrating their own styles, which are quite different from the styles of the Gitksan...it is likely that the new generation of artists produced by 'Ksan will work naturally only in the Kwakiutl [sic] style of Tony Hunt, the Haida style of Bob Davidson, the Tlingit style of Bill Holm or more probably a formless mixture of them all (Ward 1968:7-8).

Gitksan art did, in fact, initially suffer from the effects of pan-Indian influences, although it is important to note that with artistic maturity the artists ability to
create rather than copy increased.

In 1969, the Kitanmax School received additional funds from the newly established First Citizen's Fund. Thirty-eight thousand dollars was allotted to 'Ksan and, of that, $3,000 was set aside for the carving of poles by apprentice carvers (Dawn 1981:178). Philip Ward returned to the School in 1969 and reported that:

The non-Indian instructors had been by far more successful and they, alone, have risen to the challenge of learning and at the same time, teaching the Gitksan style. The work of Bill Holm and Duane Pasco was immediately impressive in this respect and it became quite obvious that they had by far the greatest impact upon their pupils (1969:2).

During the winter of 1969-70, courses were formalized and ARDA funding extended. In the spring of 1970, applications were made to have Kitanmax School officially accredited under the provincial Trade School Act. The Kitanmax School was officially opened as a registered vocational school in 1970 and had qualified for additional support for the Department of Manpower (Dawn 1981:180). Instruction continued to formalize over the following year and in 1971, under ARDA agreement 89031, a publicity project was incorporated to maximize the economic effects of the previous 2 ARDA agreements. The publicity project involved 3 major components—a catalogue, a publication and a film about 'Ksan. Of the $16,600 (shared expenditure) allotted to the project, $3,500 was directed toward the
catalogue (Dawn 1981:183). The catalogue was designed to promote the sale of art pieces produced as a result of the ARDA Training Project. The catalogue was designed to distribute to a selected group of art dealers, museums and outlets top quality art both nationally and internationally. The catalogue was also made available to architects using cultural motifs in interior design (Dawn 1981:1985). The film was released in 1973 and won a variety of awards. In the following year, a magazine was published, with the assistance of the Beautiful British Columbia Magazine. Another $2,500 was set aside for publication of North American articles on 'Ksan (Dawn 1981:185).

In the same decade, the 'Ksan Publicity Project was supplemented by a major Ottawa exhibition on the work of Kitanmax artists which coincided with the performance of the 'Ksan Dancers at the National Art Centre. The exhibition and accompanying book, entitled "'Ksan: Breath of our Grandfathers," was produced by the National Museum of Man. Several larger Commissions followed, including ones for the Royal Bank of Canada and the UBC Museum of Anthropology.

4.2.5. The Book Builders

The Book Builders were established in 1970 to research and write local knowledge as well as publish books and articles. At present, 5 titles have been published.

4.2.6. The Northwestern National Exhibition Centre

In 1973 an application from the 'Ksan Association was
submitted, to the National Museums of Canada, for funding to build a museum of Gitksan objects currently not housed in the other 'Ksan Houses. These objects were not well protected from loss through fire or theft (Hope, personal communication: 1985). In 1976 the STH changed locations from the library/museum building in central Hazelton (and later a temporary holding facility) to the NNEC at 'Ksan. After discussions with provincial museums advisor John Kyte, and correspondence with the Consultative Committee on Museum Policy, $75,000 was granted for capital costs toward the construction of the Exhibition Centre (Heath 1980:4). In accepting the funding, the 'Ksan Association agreed to fulfil the goals of the National Museums Corporation. The total cost of the Centre was $251,000--$121,000 paid by the National Museums Corporation and the remainder paid by provincial and private sources (Heath 1980:4). Although the NNEC had some seed money for the construction of the building the remaining money for the physical and operational requirements was not adequately planned for. The construction of the NNEC almost bankrupt 'Ksan but, in time, managed to return to financially solid footing. According to Terrance Heath in his 1980 consultant's report on the problems associated with the NNEC, the provisions for operations administration and funding had not been spelled out. On February 17, 1976 a meeting of the Northwestern National Exhibition Centre Society was called. In 1976-77, $20,000 of operating funds were made available to the
Exhibition Centre. The new society became immediately involved in the complex problem of payment of rent to the 'Ksan Association and the band council who owned the land 'Ksan was located on. These problems remained unresolved but the Northwestern National Exhibition Centre (NNEC) officially opened in October 1976 (Heath 1980:5). On January 4, 1977 a joint meeting of the 'Ksan Association and the NNEC was held and two motions passed.

1. That 'Ksan take over the financial management of the Exhibition Centre building, and 2. That the Exhibition Centre operate the exhibition room and the receiving room under a budget established between 'Ksan and the Exhibition Centre Group. The NNES was disbanded at this time (NNES minutes:1977).

The purpose of the Exhibition Centre, as expressed by then Acting Director Eve Hope, was to show the many facets of Canadian cultural life and a wide variety of art forms to northern British Columbians in a lively and imaginative manner (Heath 1980:7).

The National Exhibition Centre is a two storey cement building covered in cedar and occupies 1,600 square feet of the main floor of that building. The 'Ksan Treasure House is located in a separate 576 square foot area which is also on the main floor. The remainder of the building is
comprised of a 2,041 square foot storage area and a 1,148 square foot workshop space. This space, located at the rear of the main floor is used by the Exhibition Centre, Museum and the 'Ksan Dancers. A 1,456 square foot lecture/meeting room is located on the second floor (Heath 1980:6).

The NNEC is administered by a 9 member executive committee of the 'Ksan Association. The director of the Centre is a non-voting member of the executive and 2 other member act as informal advisors to the Centre. The Museum/Education Centre is not a society separate from the 'Ksan Association (Heath 1980:8). The objective of the NNEC, as outlined by the Centre's Director is:

1. to present a number of good quality local, regional and international exhibitions, 2. to include a variety of subject matters such as history, science and art and 3. to present interpretive programming related to the exhibitions (Hope, personal communication, 1985).

In 1980 Terrance Heath concluded that two changes had to be made to maintain the viability of the NNEC. These changes were:

1. The re-organization and re-budgeting of the Centre as a National Exhibition Centre or
2. The transformation of the facility solely into a museum.
Although funding was obtained for the NNEC, based on the budgetary power of the 'Ksan Association, the Association had not seen themselves as financially responsible for the NNEC and only later explicitly took on the financial responsibility for the NNEC. Nothing, however, has been done to implement the recommendations of the Heath Report and NNEC funds continue to draw heavily on 'Ksan.

4.3 Chapter Summary

Prior to the Farrell Report in 1942, it was widely believed in government and academic circles that the demise of native culture and society was inevitable. Significant efforts were made, by non-native groups, to record anthropological data and collect ceremonial regalia.

This not only produced a body of cultural literature but evoked a series of local reactions—both positive and negative—regarding cultural development within the region. This reaction, coupled with the growing political sophistication within the region and a strident economic and cultural need for development, provided an appropriate backdrop for the initial projects 'Ksan.

The development of the 'Ksan Village has evolved incrementally, over time, through the implementation of a variety of economic and cultural projects. All the projects developed at 'Ksan have been created through the local native and non-native perception or interpretation of native Indian culture. Most of the projects have required government seed money but have maintained a level of
self-sufficiency within the 'Ksan Village as a whole.

The six projects of the 'Ksan Village fall into three separate categories. These are:

a) Internal—local incentive, local knowledge and local actors involved in the developmental process (Skeena Treasure House, 'Ksan Dancers and Book Builders);

b) Internal Plus—local incentive, local and non-local knowledge and local actors in the development process (Northwestern National Exhibition Centre, 'Ksan Houses) and

c) Internal and External—local incentive, local and non-local knowledge and local and non-local actors involved in the development process (Kitanmax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art).

The nature and degree to which these projects have developed varies markedly between classifications. The Skeena Treasure House, 'Ksan Dancers and Book Builders have evolved completely internally without access to external resources other than funding. The NNEC, in contrast, has developed with an interesting and effective combination of museological thought and local cultural knowledge. The 'Ksan Houses, however, have adopted contemporary anthropological thought concerning pre and post contact native cultures, without strong reference to local native history and prehistory. The museum component of the NNEC is a state of the art exhibit of native Indian cultural objects displayed in the context of local native interpretation. The art gallery component of the NNEC is a complementary,
yet distinctive element of 'Ksan. The Kitanmax School has managed to use technical knowledge on Northwest Coast artistic technique and eventually evolve their own interpretation of Gitksan style.

According to the various native and non-native persons interviewed, the projects of 'Ksan have provided the local populations with a cultural and economic focus which has provided, in turn, cultural and artistic recognition, economic development and personal satisfaction and identity.
Table IV

The Six Projects of 'Ksan

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<td>NNEC</td>
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1958: Skeena Treasure House
1959: 'Ksan Houses
1960: Gitksan Dancers
1961: Kitannax School
1962: Book Builders
1963: NNEC
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1984: NNEC
1985: NNEC
1986: NNEC
1987: NNEC
Chapter 5: Westcoast Cultural Disintegration

The Makah people of the Northwest Coast are members of the West Coast culture group and the Wakashan linguistic group. Although geographically closer to the Clallam and the Quileute of Washington State, the Makahs are socially and linguistically similar to the Nitinat of Vancouver Island (Figure 6, page 68).

The territories of the West Coast tribes range approximately 300 kilometers along the western portion of Vancouver Island and the Olympic Peninsula—in a northwest-southeast direction from Cape Cook to Ozette in Washington State (Arima 1983:1). Within this area, three distinct languages were spoken:

1) Nootka proper (northern)—from Cape Cook to the Eastern shore of Barkley Sound, 2) Nitinat (central)—encompassing the Pachena and Nitinat people and 3) Makah (southern)—spoken by the people of Cape Flattery.

FIGURE 6
WESTCOAST TRIBAL DIVISIONS

adapted from Duff 1965
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Adapted from Duff, Vol. 1, 1964:24 and Drucker 1951:22
adapted from unpublished more manuscript
5.1 Government Intervention, Stage I: Paternalism and the Fur Trade

In 1821, an act was passed in the British parliament to establish civil and criminal jurisdiction within certain parts of North America. Shortly after, the King made a grant of exclusive trade with the Indians of North America to the Hudson's Bay Company. At this time the Northwest Company and the Hudson Bay Company merged to form the new Hudson's Bay Company (Swan 1972a:378). In 1827 the earlier convention between the United States and Britain, concerning joint occupancy in the Pacific Northwest, was renewed (Hoonan 1964:15).

With increased trading activity the Makahs and other tribes began to adapt significantly to the new found wealth. The traditional practice of taking slaves as a result of tribal conflicts escalated and evolved into the practice of taking slaves as objects of wealth. Warfare between Puget Sound and Canadian tribes increased tremendously (Deloria Jr. 1977:38). A few pioneers began to filter in to what later became Washington territory. By 1882 the trickle had become a flood and the boundary slogan "Fifty-four, Forty or Fight" became a political focus. In 1846, after lengthy negotiations, the Canadian-US border was set at the 49th parallel (Hoonan 1964:15).

By 1849, the American Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from the Department of War to the Department of the Interior (Taylor 1983:73). By 1850, 500 American
settlers had taken up land in the northwest. In the same year, the Indian Treaty Act was passed, by the American Congress, requiring the United States to get formal agreements to land cessions by the tribes of the northwest (Deloria Jr. 1977:50-53). From the 1850's on the history of the northwest coast is one of increasing non-native influence over native land. While most of the west coast was not occupied by settlers due to the general unsuitability for farming, the development of towns and cities in other areas of the west had an increasing affect on the West Coast people (Arima 1983: 140). Increased demand for native products stimulated trade and employment in the white economy. The production and sale of dogfish oil developed into a major West Coast activity in the 1850's. The oil was principally used to lubricate machinery which was helping to meet the demand for lumber for construction (Swan 1870:32).

5.2 Government Intervention, Stage II: Treaties and Assimilation

The tribes of the Puget Sound area were becoming more concerned about settlers to the area when word arrived from the south of wholesale massacres of Indian villages by miners. The situation grew more intense and, in an attempt to abate the confusion, Congress declared the northwest a territory and appointed a governor to bring calm to the region (Deloria Jr. 1977:53). Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens was directed to sign treaties with the tribes of
the new territory and to survey a new route for a transcontinental railroad across the northern section of the United States. In 1854 treaty negotiations began and on December 26, 1854 the first treaty was signed (Deloria Jr. 1977:55-57). On January 31, 1855, Governor Stevens, chief interpreter Colonel Shaw, territorial agent Mike Simmons and 12 additional men met with Se-Kowthl, a Makah chief, and an agreement was signed (Hoonan 1964:19). In this treaty the total area given to the Makah was the area at the mouth of the Hoko River, on the Straits of Fuca; west to Cape Flattery; east along the land occupied by the Quileute tribe to the summits of the Coast Range mountains; north along the land ceded to the United States by the Clallam tribe (Bureau of American Ethnology, 1899:800), (Figure 8, page 74) Governor Stevens and the Makah felt that this treaty would protect traditional rights. Article 4, of the treaty, securing fishing rights, states that the Makah have the right to fish at the accustomed 'grounds' or 'stations'. What the American government didn't understand, however, was that the Makah definition of 'stations' included patches of ocean owned by lineage groups (Deloria Jr. 1977:63).

The treaty also began to promote a new form of political organization leading to the coalescence of the 5 villages into one body. Governor Stevens appointed head chiefs over the entire group, with village chiefs under them. With the establishment of the Indian agency, all
FIGURE 8
MAKAH RESERVATION

Tatoosh Island
Warmhouse
Waadah Island
Waa-otch
Neha Bay
Ba-aada
Tsoo-yes
Makah Reservation

Olympic Peninsula
Washington State

adapted from Mauger 1978:13
villages were placed under one jurisdiction. The traditional village and lineage claims to land were replaced by common ownership on the reserve (Colson 1953:76).

After the Treaty of Neah Bay, the political situation seemed to deteriorate rapidly. Land in the southwestern region of Washington State was never formally ceded to the United States. In 1856 a war broke out between native and non-native persons near Seattle. Subsequent conflicts between the government and the native people have stemmed from the failure of the United States to fulfill its treaty commitments. The Treaty of Neah Bay was officially ratified in 1857 (Deloria Jr 1977:57).

Swan prepared a census indicating that 654 Makah men, women and children lived in the Cape Flattery area. Shortly after he was appointed superintendent of the first Indian school at Neah Bay. The successive Indian agent, however, tended to rigidly adhere to regulations governing the assimilation of the native people. The Kloqually dances, potlatching and other ceremonial and social events were officially abolished by federal order. For some time these ceremonies were kept alive by secret meetings in remote areas of the reserve, but constant social pressure prevailed and traditional customs began to die away quietly (Hoonan 1964:23).

A board of Indian commissioners was appointed by the President in 1869 to control native affairs jointly with the Department of the Interior (Taylor 1983:65).
In 1872, the first Bureau of Indian Affairs residential school was opened in Neah Bay. English was the only language permitted in the classrooms or dormitories and students were taught American standards of dress, cleanliness and manners. Students were exposed to Christianity through mandatory attendance in church and daily prayer. Teachers, often qualified missionaries, attempted to wean their pupils from traditional native customs. Attendance at the school was compulsory and parents who refused to send their children were often imprisoned until they relented (Colson 1953:20).

Many of the Europeans settling in the Puget Sound area in the 1880's were of Scandinavian decent--many one generation removed from their homeland. The Scandinavians brought with them their knowledge of fishing and canning and by the late 1880's serious conflict had developed between Indian and Scandinavian fishermen (Deloria Jr. 1977:102). The cessation of treaty-making with Indians in 1871, the confinement of Indians to reservations, the passage of the Allotment Act in 1887 and the inability of traditional hunting groups to support themselves adequately resulted in the assumption of many aspects of tribal government by Indian Agents. An increased number of government officials were dispatched to the reservations to administer the assignment of allotments of land, disbursement of rations, maintenance of law and order and other duties related to the governing of Indian communities (Taylor 1983:66). Indian
agents recognized the natural formation of informal councils and promoted the councils as a regular feature of reserve life. By the mid 1880's all reservations had their own councils, police force and a system of tribal courts which heard cases and were subject to the appeal of Indian agents. Thus it was possible for the various groups to evolve some form of government (Deloria Jr. 1977: 97-98).

In 1889 a Makah fisherman purchased a whaling vessel and went sealing in Alaskan waters under the provision of the Neah Bay treaty. The ship was captured and impounded for violating an act prohibiting the killing of fur seals within the waters previously ceded to the United States by Russia (Deloria Jr. 1977:105).

Citizenship for native Indians had been conferred by treaty as early as 1817. The Allotment Act of 1887 provided that Indians receiving allotments of land would become American citizens but these terms were amended to provide that citizenship would accrue on termination of BIA's trust responsibility for the land (Taylor 1983:66).

The traditional nature of native Indian life was being suppressed on all fronts. Activities of a ceremonial or ritual nature were either discouraged or completely prohibited. Agents sometimes inspected the housekeeping of women and one made it a practice of giving women who failed to reach his standards of cleanliness a few days imprisonment in the local jail (Arima 1983:144).

In the winter of 1888 a whooping cough and measles
epidemic swept through the government schools in the Puget Sound area, severely hitting pupils on the Olympic Peninsula. Indians of all ages perished and by the following spring the population of the area was drastically reduced (Deloria Jr. 1977:95).

When Washington was recognized as a state in 1889, questions began to arise concerning jurisdiction over the interpretation of Indian treaties. In February 1890, a commissioner of fisheries was created and shortly after a Department of Fisheries was established (Deloria Jr. 1977:101-105).

In 1893 an executive order of President Grover Cleveland set aside 700 acres of Ozette land as reservation separate from that of the Makah. Most of the land not under the jurisdiction of the two reservations went into the hands of the timber companies and eventually came under the National Park Service administration as part of the Olympic National Park (Daugherty 1976:73). A decision by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1893 required all school age Ozette to attend a Bureau run school in Neah Bay. By the early 1920's Ozette had ceased to be used as a permanent village site.

Jurisdiction continued to be an issue in the 1890's and in 1892 a case came before Judge Hanford, a federal judge, concerning Makah treaty rights. After reviewing the Treaty of Neah Bay, Judge Hanford decided the Treaty of Neah Bay secured only an equality of rights and privileges--in
fishing, whaling and sealing—in common with all citizens of the United States and did not support a claim for superior rights or privileges (Deloria Jr. 1977:106). Within the next 5 years, Hanford's decisions were to affect the Makah Lummi, Yakima and other tribes of the northwest who saw the abrogation of their treaties. The Yakima case was appealed to the Supreme Court and in 1905 a strong decision was brought down in favour of the Indian band. In 1906 the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to send an investigating committee to Oregon and Washington to determine the number of persons still living in traditional home lands. A considerable number were found and Congress passed a special appropriation to compensate them for the failure of the United States to ratify their treaties (Deloria Jr. 1977:151).

As fur sealing ended in the first decade of the twentieth century, many men turned to commercial fishing as their livelihood. As fish stocks declined, non-native companies consolidated and equipment became more elaborate and expensive (Arima 1983:144).

During the first quarter of the 20th century, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was the primary agency involved in native Indian matters. In 1921, the Snyder Act indicated that the BIA was to provide general support and 'civilization' of the Indians through education, welfare, medical, industrial assistance and the management and improvement of land. The Bureau, then, was a composite
of federal, state and local governments for reservation Indians as well as trustees for Indian land and resources (Taylor 1983:66).

In 1923, the Association on American Indian Affairs (AAIA) was formed to assist American Indians and Alaska native communities in efforts to achieve full economic, social and civil equality, and to defend their rights by mobilizing federal, state and local resources (Taylor 1983:140-141).

As a result of native participation in World War I, the American Congress conferred citizenship on all native individuals, not already citizens, having been born within the territorial boundaries of the United States (Taylor 1983:66). Two years later, on August 26, 1926, the Makah people celebrated their American citizenship with the first of a continuing Makah Days celebration formally ending 7 decades as wards of the state (Hoonan 1964:23). Neah Bay was isolated from the mainstream of the population until 1931 when the first paved highway from Port Angeles to the village was completed. Prior to that time, all contact was made by boat.

5.3 Government Intervention, Stage III: Limited Self-determination

Although the depression of the 1930's brought hardship, government programmes created as part of the New Deal offered employment on the reservation. During
this time a notable reversal of Indian policy took place. Until then official government policy had been to teach the native Indians agriculture and ensure their eventual assimilation into local non-native society. After the turn of the century, a reduction of government funds and government employees, meant a loss of ability to administer reservation affairs. In 1934, President Roosevelt and Indian Commissioner John Collier formulated a new policy allowing Indian tribes to organize their reservations as federal corporations and govern themselves. The law behind this policy was the Indian Reorganization Act, sometimes known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. The most notable section of the act was the provision that the Secretary of the Interior could purchase lands and return them to Indian tribes having lost land during previous decades of Indian policy (Deloria Jr. 1977:151-153). Inherent in the Act was the recognition that each tribe had the right to exercise all inherent powers—to adopt a constitution; adopt its own government; determine tribal membership; regulate domestic relations; and administer law and order under tribal jurisdiction (Colson 1953:21). The Indian Reorganization Act reversed the trend to assimilate native populations and emphasized the concept of tribal government.

Due to an impending court case over fishing rights the Makah Tribal Council held a meeting to determine a
formal list of all landmarks claimed by the Makah in pre-treaty days. In this document, the Council claimed that Makah territory previously extended from Cape Johnson on the Pacific to Eagle Point on the Straits. The decision, however, brought down in 1942 ruled against the Makah (Colson 1953:24-25).

During World War I, Neah Bay had assumed a strategic military importance as a supply centre and a geographic location. At this time, fortifications had begun to be built on the reservation. During World War II, the US Army stationed a radar unit at Sooos Point and concrete gun emplacements were installed. By 1942, rumours had arisen that the government intended to take Neah Bay and to evict all civilians for the duration of the war. At the same time, the Makah leased the right to quarry rock from Makah land to a company building a breakwater in Neah Bay. Makah people were employed in the project and the money earned from the lease was placed in the Tribal Trust Fund (Hoonan 1964:25, Colson 1953:124).

World War II virtually devasted Indian programmes across the United States. Native men were encouraged to participate in the war effort and a skeleton force of government workers were kept on to sell lands and arrange timber leases (Deloria Jr. 1977:115). In 1943 and 1951 Commissioners John Collier and Dillon Myer reaffirmed the objective of step by step transfer of BIA
functions to native and other governments. Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Orme Lewis, echoed that statement and a House Concurrent Resolution, in 1953, declared that native Indians should be subject to the same laws as are applicable to other citizens (Taylor 1983:106). By the 1950's, education, social services, transportation and law and order were transferred from BIA to states and counties.

5.4 Native Resistance, Stage I: Non-institutional

Eligibility for veteran's benefits enabled many native persons to purchase deepwater boats which could compete with the catches of non-indian fishermen. Catches during the 1950's, however, began to decline rapidly. There were few realistic measures for controlling the fishing industry and new techniques for fishing meant that fewer and fewer fish were reaching the spawning grounds. With the increasing number of native fishermen using traditional fishing sites, fish and game officials became determined to gain jurisdiction over Indian fishing. They complained that native fishing was ruining government conservation programmes by fishing without supervision. The state of Washington made a concentrated effort to force Indians to purchase state fishing licences and arrests were made of Indians without such licences (Deloria Jr. 1977:157). Tension increased rapidly as native resentment grew over fish and game officials' tactics.
resistance grew, state power became more oppressive. In October 1963, Washington State obtained an injunction to prevent native persons from fishing at Green River, and in January 1964, the Pierce County Superior Court issued an injunction against the Nisqually--closing the river below the Nisqually reservation--where most of the Indians had moved following the confiscation of their reservation during World War I. Modeling their tactic on other civil rights movements, the Indians had a 'fish-in' early in 1964 to protest the action of the state. In February 1965, a group of Nisqually and Puyallup people sent a 'petition for action' to the US Attorney General requesting assistance in cases before the courts. The Justice Department refused to assist the Indians stating that previous assistance had not helped. The following October saw the most violent confrontation in years.

5.5 Native Resistance, Stage II: Institutional

By 1967 the smaller tribes of the Puget Sound area organized a group called Small Tribes of Western Washington (STOWW) and by the fall of 1969, Washington State had drifted away from their strict policies and the Department of Fisheries allowed the off-reservation Nisqually fishery to exist (Deloria Jr. 1977:163-196).

The 1960's brought many changes to American society including social legislation such as concerns for education, civil rights, poverty, housing, workers
training and economic development (Taylor 1983:69).

Meanwhile, the controversy between native and non-native fishing continued with deepening distrust and animosity on both sides. Tension had increased by provocative and sometimes illegal activities on both sides of the dispute. In 1974, a decision on the suit United States v. Washington was decided by District Court Judge George Boldt. Judge Boldt held that native persons were free to fish on their own reservations, and could fish off-reservation at traditional sites for religious and subsistence purposes. He also ruled that native persons were entitled to 50 percent of the remainder of the fish for commercial purposes, leaving another 50 percent for non-native fishermen. Judge Boldt ruled that native fishing rights were based on previous treaties and could not be qualified by the state, except were police powers were considered reasonable and necessary for off-reservation fishing (Taylor 1983:45-47).

After the Boldt decision was brought down the Citizens United for Resource Emergencies (CURE) gathered a 156,000 signature petitioning the states' Congressional delegation to correct the perceived inequalities in the Boldt decision. The US Supreme Court, however, reaffirmed the Boldt decision in 1979 although modifying the decision to provide for subsistence and ceremonial needs. As a result of the
Boldt decision the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission was established, funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Columbia River Basin Fisheries Alliance was also formed with representatives from treated tribes, commercial fishermen, packers and guides with the overriding aim of preserving the fishery resource (Taylor 1983:120). The Indian Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 and the 1977 report of the Indian Policy Review Commission endorsed the philosophy behind the Indian Re-organization Act. The Indian Policy Review Commission was established by Congress and charged with the responsibility of reviewing the historical relationship between the native people and the Federal government (Taylor 1983: 161).

5.6 Chapter Summary

In Washington State, the government's policy of paternalism began in 1821 with the passage of the British act regulating the fur trade and designating civil and criminal jurisdiction to the government of the Pacific Northwest. Government policy changed from paternalism to assimilation in 1854 when colonial settlement provided interest in treaty negotiation. Assimilation policies continued until 1934 when the Indian Reorganization Act was passed allowing federally recognized tribes to organize and govern themselves. This limited autonomy continues to the present day.

Although Christian influence in Washington State
seems to be significant, it appears to follow the ebb and flow of government intervention. Although it does not constitute a separate time category it should be seen as equally debilitating as the spiritual intervention of the Tsimshian people.

Cohesive native non-institutional resistance began, in a notable way, in Washington State in the 1950's when jurisdictional disputes concerning native treaty rights heightened. Native resistance during this period was noticeably more violent than in Canada. By 1969 native organizations began to form providing native groups, throughout the state, with increased political and institutional leverage. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the growing political awareness of the native Indians of Washington State have brought an increased awareness of the negative impact of Westcoast cultural disintegration. Increased awareness of the impact of cultural disintegration has brought, in turn, increased incentive for cultural revitalization within the region. Native institutional resistance continues to evolve as a response to legal and political disputes.

Academic research along the Olympic Penninsula provided information and a focus for cultural revitalization. The following chapter will outline the processes involved in the cultural revitalization of the Makah people and within this context the planning and
development of the Makah Cultural and Research Centre.
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Chapter 6: Makah Cultural Revitalization and the Planning and Development of the MCRC

The development of the MCRC may be divided into 3 distinct components. These are: 1. Ethnographic Development; 2. Developmental Planning and 3. Operational Development.

6.1 Ethnographic Development

In the late 1960's Richard Daugherty, Roald Frywell, Carl Gustafson, Harvey Rice and a team of 30 excavators began work at Ozette—a site previously surveyed by Richard Daugherty in 1947 (Daugherty, personal communication: 1986). Initial investigation indicated the presence of extensive cultural deposits ranging from the historic to the pre-historic period. Several catastrophic clayslides had covered Ozette, virtually freezing the cultural and natural materials in time. Well preserved organic materials found in conjunction with culturally modified stone, bone and shell provided a rare opportunity for in-situ reconstruction of traditional Makah culture (Gleeson 1980:9).

Although the Makah people had relinquished official title to the land, they remained convinced that it rightly belonged to them. In 1968 the Bureau of Indian Affairs requested evidence from the Makah people that Ozette once belonged to them. Although the Treaty of Neah Bay explicitly bore the signature of the Chief of
the Ozettes, the Makah Tribal Council (MTC) established, for the BIA, the Makah claim to the Ozette land. The MTC regained official title to the Ozette site on October 21, 1970 by way of Congressional Bill (Hughes 1978:8).

By 1970, the MTC received reports of vandalism at the Ozette site. A quick investigation of the site revealed that high winter storms had deeply eroded the bank, undercutting the midden and exposing the cultural materials formerly hidden below. These unprotected artifacts had been further eroded by unauthorized digging (pothunting) at the site (Gleeson 1980:10). At the request of the MTC, Richard Daugherty returned to the site in an attempt to prevent further destruction of cultural materials. Rescue excavation began in 1970 and continued until late into 1978. A temporary shelter was built to protect the crew and provide laboratory space. Throughout the excavation period Makah students actively took part in the excavation and Makah elders visited the more permanent laboratory in Neah Bay.

Preservation of artifacts proved remarkable as the heavy wet clay covering the surface of the site helped prevent the decay of the cultural and natural materials. Powerful waterhoses were used to flush away the sterile surface clay and smaller, less powerful, hoses were used to excavate the cultural layers. Articles removed from the deposits were quickly washed
and placed in a solution of polyethylene glycol. The artifacts were then flown to the main laboratory in Neah Bay for final conservation, analysis and storage (Daugherty 1976:74).

The Coast Guard and Marine Air Reserves aided the project by flying supplies and materials to the site by helicopter. The archaeological project was funded by the US Congress on a yearly basis and was administered by the National Parks Service (for which they received 10 percent of the operating budget). Both the archaeologists and the MTC were responsible for the yearly grant application as well as congressional committee reports. The excavation ended in 1978 when the MTC and archaeologists jointly decided that further excavation would yield little new information and might unnecessarily damage the site. Over 50,000 artifacts of 220 types, up to 2,000 years old, were found within an eight year period at Ozette. The remains of at least eight houses were discovered and three had been fully excavated. A complex series of drainage features had also been found. Research done at the site revealed constant reoccupation of Ozette over time (Gleeson 1980:15).

The excavation at Ozette can be seen as one of the most important archaeological discoveries in the history of the Northwest Coast. The techniques of excavation and preservation developed at the site have been a major
contribution to Northwest Coast culture in general, and Makah history and pre-history, in particular.

6.2 Developmental Planning

The developmental component of the MCRC can be divided into initial planning—detailed concept development—and secondary planning—physical and administrative planning.

6.2.1 Initial Development

The initial process of planning the MCRC began in 1970 with the preliminary proposals for funding and the secondary proposal for training.

As the Ozette excavation progressed it became evident to all involved that additional storage and laboratory space would be required. Tourists, school groups, researchers and academics came to Neah Bay to see the impressive yet fragile collection. The Makah people and the archaeologists felt jointly responsible for the care and maintenance of the cultural collection. They also felt that the collection should remain in the Neah Bay area rather than at a distant urban museum. All discussions pointed to the establishment of a small native museum somewhere on the reservation (Arnold, personal communication: 1986).

Discussions involved the potential positive and negative effects of the establishment of such a museum in Neah Bay. After some time, a decision was made, by the MTC, to support a proposal for a carefully planned local
In 1970, Dr. Daugherty and the Tribal Council sent a preliminary museum funding proposal to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Bureau responded by submitting, to the MTC, an architectural plan for the proposed museum facility. Although the plan did not meet with Tribal Council approval, it was included with museum funding applications (Hughes 1978:17). BIA, unable to fund the project at this time, advised the Tribal Council to seek funding from the Economic Development Administration (EDA). In 1971, Joseph Lawrence, chairman of the MTC, applied to EDA for funding. EDA was favourably impressed with the application and directed the National Parks Service to assist the MTC in the development of alternate architectural plans. Assistance to the museum project was halted, however, when EDA funds were impounded for hurricane relief. Dr. Richard Daugherty then testified before the Federal House of Appropriations Committee in the hope of receiving museum project funding (Hughes 1978:19).

In the spring of 1973, Dr. Daugherty approached George Quimby, Director of the Thomas Burke Memorial Museum, regarding the possibility of establishing a Makah T'Pee-ararg Programme (MTP) at the Burke Museum. The Burke Museum, the only museology training centre in Washington State, was located on the University of Washington campus and was relatively close
to Neah Bay. Professor Quimby met later with the BIA and selected members of the MTC to discuss the details of the proposed museology programme. The meeting resulted in a system of matching funds—BIA, MTC and the Burke Museum—for the implementation of a 3 year Makah student training programme leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree (Hughes 1978:21-23).

In 1974, EDA was again prepared to consider Makah museum funding. EDA's mandate was to fund economically depressed areas with economically viable projects. With this in mind the MTC renamed the Makah Museum Project the Makah Cultural and Research Centre (MCRC) (Arnold: personal communication, 1985). Shortly after, EDA stipulated that it would be willing to fund $800,000 of the $1.25 million project on the condition that the MTC secure letters of intent for the remaining portion of the budget. These letters of intent were due within 3 months at the end of EDA's fiscal year. With the aid of the MTC programme planner, Norm Downs, the Makah Tribal Council aggressively investigated funding. Federal and state agencies were solicited along with private funds and foundations. At the end of the 3 month period, EDA extended the period of time the MTC had to secure the letters. Shortly after the MTC secured the additional funding required and EDA provided the necessary preliminary funding.

Shortly after, 5 students—Lance Wilkie, Scott
Tyler, Joseph McGimpsey, Coralee Arnold and Greig Arnold—were chosen for the Makah student training programme. Each student submitted applications to the BIA, and received funding for tuition and living expenses. The programme was designed as a 4 year bachelor of arts degree to be completed in 3 years. Professor Quimby had long been interested in the traditional construction of Northwest Coast canoes and a summer credit programme was devised to teach the students traditional canoe carving techniques from a workshop in Neah Bay. Steve Brown, a protégé of the renowned Northwest Coast art specialist, Bill Holm, was retained as the instructor for the summer training project. Canoe construction continued for a second summer and 2 medium sized sealing canoes were completed. Hesitation to return to school in September, coupled with the desire to help in the designing of the MCRC, formed the basis for an at home credit course in exhibit design.

6.2.2 Secondary Development

In 1974 Dr. James Nason, of the Burke Museum, prepared a preliminary proposal for the administrative framework of the MCRC facility. Nason suggested that the Museum be headed by the Tribal Council within which specific positions such as executive secretary, programme planner and business officer would be held. An MCRC Board of Trustees would answer directly to the
Tribal Council and would be composed of tribal officers, museum and technical specialists and native community leaders. An executive committee of the Board of Trustees would be developed to handle specific situations when necessary. Dr. Nason also suggested that an advisory board of professionals and academics be developed for specialized information concerning specific aspects of the MCRC. The director of the MCRC is responsible for the staff, volunteers and projects within the Museum and is ultimately responsible to the Tribal Council.

Two staffing plans were outlined in the 1974 administrative proposal. The first plan, preferred by Dr. Nason, proposed 6 positions—director, registrar, curator, educator, preparator, and maintenance personnel. The second plan proposed 12 positions—director, registrar, curator, educator/archivist, exhibit designer, preparator, maintenance (2) and engineer, shop clerks (2) and security personnel. The proposed administrative budget was divided into 9 categories, with funding according to priority and nature of department (Nason 1975).

In December 1974, EDA, MTC and the Burke Museum gathered to discuss the necessary physical requirements of the MCRC facility. Necessary divisions within the Museum were determined to be office space, fumigation
area, exhibition hall, laboratory space, storage and archival areas, shop section and a mechanical shop. Before architectural plans could be drawn up, however, site selection had to be arranged. The MTC designated a Sites Advisory Committee (SAC) made up of the tribal chairman, project planner, project archaeologist, architectural consultant and the Makah Training Programme students. Eleven possible sites were considered and five sites—Yatata triangle, BIA hill, Koitlah Point, Bahdbohosh, and Tribal Centre region—were considered to be the best sites (Greg Arnold, personal communication:1986). The Yatata Triangle was eventually chosen as the site for the MCRC.

A meeting was held between Burke Museum officials, project architects and a firm dealing with mechanical considerations, to determine the system necessary to control the Museum's interior environment. Temperature, humidity, and air conditioning were all important considerations. The meeting was unsuccessful, however, as exhibit plans were not in place and the engineers could not determine the space capacity required.

In June of 1975, the MTC designated an exhibit design committee consisting of a cross section of other committee or members. A meeting took place but ended in failure when the various interests involved in the project failed to communicate. After the meeting, committee members set out to contract a professional
Table VIII
Potential MCRC Sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Potential MCRC Sites</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* 1.</td>
<td>B.I.A. Hill</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tribal Centre Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>YaTaTa Triangle</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bayfish Dock (original site)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Village Creek Hill</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Koitlah Point</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Waatch Point</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hobuck Lake overlooking Waatch</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Hobuck Lake Road overlooking beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Bahdohosh Point overlooking the mouth of Tsooes</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Tatoos Island</td>
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Shortlist for MCRC Sites

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shortlist for MCRC Sites</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Yatata Triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>B.I.A. Hill (Neah Bay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Koitlah Point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Tribal Centre Area (Neah Bay)</td>
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</table>
Jean Andre felt strongly that to build a museum from the exhibit area out was a rare and excellent opportunity. Therefore eight exhibit designs were formulated and aspects from each design were melded into the final design.

The emphasis or theme of the design was on the interrelatedness of the various aspects of Makah culture and society (Arnold, personal communication: 1985).

Although the Museum was planned in its entirety, the construction of the project was to be realized in stages. The first stage of construction began in March 1977 and ended in June 1979. The developmental planning stage of the MCRC totalled $2,500,000 of which the MTC contributed $500,000 (Hughes 1978).

6.3 Operational Planning

The operational stage of the MCRC planning process can be divided into 3 main components—Administration, Museum Display and Programmes and Services. Each component will be discussed below.

6.3.1 Administration

The Makah Tribal Council appoints 10-12 members to
the MCRC Board of Trustees each year. The Board is currently composed of 12 members representing a cross section of tribal members. The Board functions as a advisory body and is ultimately responsible to the MTC. The MCRC director is responsible for the day to day administration of the Museum. MCRC positions are permanent, subject to MTC and international Museums Association (IMA) funding. This administrative structure has remained constant for the 7 years of MCRC operations (Table 9, page 101).

The goals and objectives of the Makah Cultural and Research Centre as defined by MCRC Director Greig Arnold are: 1. To provide safe and adequate housing for the Ozette Collections; and 2. to provide a focus or a forum for Makah cultural identity both internally and externally.

The MCRC is a 23,000 square foot building situated on a 4 acre parcel of land. Exterior facilities include a 50 car/4 bus parking lot, and a 1 acre landscaped picnic area. All exterior facilities and entrances are wheelchair accessible (Renker n.d.).

Interior facilities include 10,000 square feet of permanent exhibit area, 350 square feet of archival space and an additional facility, not adjacent to the Museum, is the 4,200 square foot laboratory space (Arnold, personal communication:1985).
Table IX

MCRC Administrative Organization

Tribal Council

Tribal Officers
- Executive Secretary
- Programme Planner
- Business Officer

MCRC Board of Directors
- Tribal Council
- Tribal Officers
- Museum and Technical Assistance
- Community Leaders

MCRC Board of Directors—Executive Committee
- Tribal Council Chairman
- Additional Tribal Council Member
- Executive Secretary or Tribal Officer
- Museum Specialist
- Technical or General Community Person

Board of Technical Advisors
Variable membership appointed by Executive for specific tasks

MCRC Director
MCRC Staff

Adapted from Nason 1974
Primary, non-federal funding for the MCRC is in the form of Museum admission and craft shop sales. Revenue generated from average yearly paid attendance equals approximately $24,500. An additional $3,000 is generated annually from tours, contributions and memberships. Art sales average approximately $38,900 per annum and is expected to rise in the future. This new export policy is expected to increase sales significantly (Arnold 1985:40). The MCRC regularly capitalizes on free publicity offered by reputable writers and journalists in order to expand public awareness of the MCRC collections and facilities. MCRC Trustees take part in the Clallam County Economic Development Association in an attempt to increase the breadth of financial support.

The MCRC has incurred a yearly deficit since its opening in 1979. These deficits are covered by Makah Tribal Council funds. The MCRC underwent an A-1 audit required by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At this time, all but one area of financial management was considered to be strong. Accountants assigned to the audit recommended modification of MCRC cash handling procedures (Arnold 1985:43). MCRC accounts are prepared quarterly by Baker, Overby and Moore and monthly spreadsheets for Museum administration are made available to the Director (Arnold 1985:44).
Twelve permanent positions exist within the MCRC—director, maintenance, secretary/archivist, Ozette Rangers (2), pre-school language instructor, elementary language instructor and general resource personnel (5)—all held by well qualified Makah tribal members. Summer Youth Corp student employees supplement the permanent staff positions. Community members lend additional support for tours, carving instruction, performances and other community or public functions.

The MCRC adopted a 5 year development plan in 1984. The plan encompasses 13 categories, reduced to a series of steps, which when taken ensure the desired results. The plan is designed to accommodate fluctuations in the economy and in funding sources. The 5 year plan will be evaluated in 1989 by the director of the MCRC and its staff.

6.3.2 Museum Display

One percent of the archaeological collection is on permanent display in the MCRC exhibit gallery. The remainder of the collection is housed in the laboratory and is readily available to researchers by prior arrangement with the MCRC director. Due to the vast number of objects collected in archaeological excavations, only the most dramatic materials are on display. Loans of archaeological collections are made to institutions and 95 percent of all archival materials are available to the public. Only 15 percent of the
ethnographic collection is on display.

6.3.3 Programmes and Services

Education programmes at the MCRC are developed according to the needs of 2 groups—the Makah community and visitors from outside the area. Over the past 2 years the MCRC has provided 2 programmes for the Makah community—the Makah woodworking class and the Makah language classes for pre-school, elementary and secondary school students. Programmes and services for the visitor include guided tours, research library, archives, and exhibits and the festivities of Makah Days held each summer.

Anne Renker, linguist at the Makah Cultural and Research Centre, described the MCRC as the "tribal organization which oversees and coordinates programmes which affect the culture and the cultural education of the Makah people" (n.d.). The Museum's permanent and ongoing projects are designed with this goal in mind. The centre's permanent collections include: the Ozette and other Makah archaeological collections; the Makah archives—containing books, articles, tapes, documents and photographs depicting Makah culture and society; and the ethnographic collections of baskets, sculptures, vessels and tools (Arnold, personal communication: 1985).

Visitors to the MCRC are generally seen to be within 4 major population groups--interested public,
school groups, researchers and Makah tribal members. The largest group, general visitors from outside the reservation comprise approximately 85 percent of total Museum visitation. Elementary, secondary, college and university groups total another 10 percent. Researchers, including graduate students, professionals and academics, are included in this group and are usually the time consuming group. Greig Arnold, estimates that approximately 20 percent of his time is spent with researchers and that 5 percent of these researchers visit the MCRC personally. The third and final group, Makah residents, make up only 5 percent of the total visitor population but tend to use the Museum in a wider range of ways (Arnold, personal communication: 1986).

The MCRC is open throughout the year, but hours of operation vary according to the time of year. From June 1-September 15, the Museum is open 7 days per week from 10:00 am to 5:00 pm. From September 16-May 31 the Museum is open from Wednesday-Sunday, from 10:00 to 5:00 pm.

6.4 Chapter Summary

The most significant aspect of the development of the MCRC is the overwhelming cultural and social impact regional academic communities. The nature and extent of
the Ozette excavation and collections coupled with the growing sophistication in the handling of white political techniques has set the groundwork for the conceptual development of the MCRC.

The detailed conceptual and physical development of the MCRC was aided to a large degree by academic and technical advisors. Funding for the capital development of the MCRC was granted primarily on the basis of economic rather than cultural viability.

From conceptual to operational development, the focus of the MCRC has been on the display component of the facility rather than on research or cultural programming. The MCRC is a state of the art museum involving a effective combination of local native interpretation--shown in the text of the displays--and contemporary museological thought--seen in the exhibition of the objects themselves.

The planning, development and operation of the MCRC has contributed culturally, socially, politically and economically to the people of Neah Bay. Cultural contributions include the development of a facility dedicated to the revitalization of native culture and society. Positive cultural identification, in turn, provides a basis for the on-going native struggle for self-determination. The MCRC has increased community
pride and sense of accomplishment. Economic benefits have also accrued through increased tourism to the area.
### Table X

**MCRC Planning Stages:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnographic Development</th>
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| 1855 | Treaty of Neah Bay signed  
1893 | Executive Order of President Grover Cleveland  
1920 | Families move from Ozette to Neah Bay  
1947 | Archaeological survey of Washington coast  
1966 | Preliminary archaeological excavation at Ozette  
1968 | BIA request for evidence of Makah link to Ozette  
1970 | MTC reports vandalism at Ozette; rescue excavation begins  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Developmental Planning</th>
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</table>
| 1974 | Preliminary proposal for the MCRC administrative framework  
      | Physical plans considered  
      | Site selection made  
1975 | Exhibit design began  
1977 | Construction began  
1979 | Construction completed  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operational Development</th>
<th></th>
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</table>
| 1979 | MCRC officially opened  
1982 | MCRC exhibit labels mounted  
1983 | Language programme devised  |
adapted from Hart-Crowser and Associates 1975
FIGURE 10
NEAH BAY SITE PLAN II

adapted from Hart-Crowser and Associates 1975
FIGURE II
THE MCRC FLOOR PLAN I

adapted from Fred Bassetti and Company 1978
FIGURE 12

THE MCRC FLOOR PLAN II

adapted from Fred Bassetti and Company 1978
Chapter 7: Case Study Comparison, Conclusions, Implications

Before overall conclusions may be drawn, a brief comparison of the data found in the case studies should be undertaken. The comparison will include the regional historical contexts of the Tsimshian and the Westcoast peoples as well as the facilities development of 'Ksan and the MCRC.

7.1 Regional Historical Comparison:

Although Tsimshian and Westcoast peoples are both members of the Northwest Coast culture area, their histories are notably different. While both cultures have experienced government and religious intervention in the form of paternalism and assimilation—with the resultant evolution of native institutional resistance—they have done so in markedly different ways.

Both the Tsimshian people of the Skeena River area and the Westcoast people of Washington State were relatively isolated from the centres of European trade. Both groups, however, lost considerable social, economic and cultural control during the period of assimilation. Tsimshian and Westcoast people have responded with the gradual development of native political organizations to deal with non-native institutions and individuals. Increased political identity has contributed to the development of cultural facilities which, in turn, have increased contemporary Gitksan and Makah cultural identity.

Although the Gitksan have not relinquished aboriginal
rights to lands and resources, the Government of Canada does not recognize aboriginal title. The Makah, in contrast, have reinforced certain aboriginal claims, while limiting others, through the Treaty of Neah Bay and contemporary litigation.

As native culture and society was viewed as dying in the late 19th to mid 20th centuries, much non-native effort was expended on the recording of anthropological data. Since the Farrell Report of 1942, cultural revitalization movements have gained momentum. So much so, in fact, that non-native museum holding native anthropological collections have been challenged to re-evaluate their contemporary institutional roles. This has resulted in a change in relationship between native Indians and non-native specialists.

7.2 Facilities Comparison

While the 'Ksan Village has evolved incrementally as a series of individual projects with somewhat related goals and objectives, the MCRC has focussed its efforts on the singular development of a native museum which provides a moderate amount of cultural programming.

The stated objectives of 'Ksan were to a) safeguard and highlight remaining local native ethnological collections; b) to develop the economic potential of the region through native cultural recognition; and c) to promote the cooperation between local native and non-native communities. As 'Ksan grew, its new projects developed
goals and objectives of their own. The Gitksan Dancers evolved as an effort to record and perform traditional native songs and dances and are now attempting contemporary native interpretations. The Kitanmax School developed as an attempt to revitalize and market Northwest Coast Indian art and is now active in the evolution of Northwest Coast artistic style. The Book Builders have been successful in recording local Gitksan information and the NNEC has provided a state of the art facility for permanent and temporary collections.

The goals and objectives of the MCRC, in contrast, were a) to provide safe and adequate housing for the Ozette archaeological collection; and b) to provide a public and community focus for Makah culture and society. 'Ksan was developed without an explicit development plan while the Makah Tribal Council oversaw the preparation of a consultant's development plan. Both centres, however, evolved significantly throught the process of development—as needs were perceived, funding became available and volunteers were recruited. Practical skills, confidence, empirical knowledge and a stronger sense of cultural identity evolved with the development of the cultural centre itself.

Although negative outcomes were limited in both of the cases studied, developmental problems at 'Ksan arose when capital funds were granted with no thought given to operational funding. At the MCRC negative outcomes are not
reported although funds now used to support the operation of the MCRC are no longer available for land claims and other related litigation.

It is interesting to note that while the 'Ksan Village was not originally planned to comprise its contemporary form, the MCRC maintained its museum goal from conception to completion, although on a larger scale than originally imagined. Museum archives, research and language programming have been developed as the community need for their development was perceived.

The most significant comparison to be drawn from the case study analysis is that certain factors exist which, taken together, have been instrumental in the successful development of 'Ksan and the MCRC. These factors include: a) local cultural knowledge; b) social mobilization; c) local project relevance; d) native Indian control; e) access to resources; and f) common motivational ground. Each factor will be addressed in turn.

7.2.1 Local Cultural Knowledge

As indicated in the case studies, a certain degree of fundamental Tsimshian culture has been retained in the Skeena River. This factor coupled with a) the effective development of native political organizations (and thus the gradual re-development of native cultural identity) and b) on-going academic research in the region, set the stage for the development of the projects of 'Ksan. With the introduction of Mrs. Sargent to the area, the initial
projects of 'Ksan were conceptualized.

The people of Neah Bay, in contrast, maintained a general sense of cultural awareness rather than a substantial knowledge about their culture. This sense of cultural awareness was intensified by the development of native political movements, and was further intensified by the rare collection of material culture excavated at Ozette.

It is important to note, however, that despite a certain retention of cultural knowledge or awareness, many Gitksan and Makah individuals were adopting non-native lifestyles at the expense of traditional native activities. In addition, the retention of cultural knowledge or awareness was not generally seen as significant or extensive (by local native and non-native persons) during the late 1940's and 1950's. The degree to which latent cultural knowledge and awareness did exist and could be retrieved, is one of the single most significant factors in the development of the 'Ksan Village and the MCRC.

7.2.2 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization may be defined as the process which provides the incentive to cross from the perceived need or desire for development to the actual process of development. This may involve the leadership of a charismatic individual, the significant impact of a particular event or a combination of both.

As indicated, the development of the 'Ksan Village
evolved over a relatively long period of time. Polly Sargent, a non-native from Alberta, moved to Hazelton in the 1940's, and developed a trust relationship with the native and non-native populations of the area. Mrs. Sargent was instrumental in the development of the Skeena Pole Restoration Project (for which she was awarded the Order of Canada) and the Skeena Treasure House project. It is Polly Sargent's keen ability to draw on the skills and knowledge of the native and non-native communities which aided in the success of these projects.

In Neah Bay, it is clear that the general cultural awareness coupled with the nature and extent of the collection found at Ozette motivated the community to develop the Makah Cultural and Research Centre. It is also clear that the positive relationship between Dr. Richard Daugherty and the Makah Tribal Council contributed greatly to the development of the excavation and the MCRC itself. For the Makah people, the collections found at Ozette provided the concrete material evidence needed to complement their general sense of cultural heritage and challenged their community to evolved culturally.

In comparing 'Ksan and the MCRC it becomes evident that two very different forms of social mobilization have taken place. 'Ksan has developed through a constant nurturing of knowledge and skills resulting in the unravelling of individual projects with related goals and objectives. The MCRC, in contrast, has developed from profound cultural
findings which provided the impetus for the conceptual development of the MCRC.

7.2.3 Local Project Relevance

Each of the major projects of 'Ksan has grown from the nature of the local economic and socio-cultural situation in Hazelton itself. Local projects were created primarily through the realization of local native and non-native need, and secondarily, the adaptation of external project ideas to local community needs. All of 'Ksan projects were locally initiated with funding sometimes sought externally.

The Makah people, in contrast, have long felt that local native cultural objects should remain in local native hands. It was not, however, until the nature and extent of the Ozette collection was discovered that this feeling took on a stunning new reality. Without this degree of local cultural identification or relevance, the prolonged processes involved in the development of the MCRC would have been difficult to sustain. The degree to which residents of Hazelton and Neah Bay could identify, in terms of their day to day existence, with the proposed projects was deeply rooted in the economic and cultural potential of the projects. That is to say that practical rather than theoretical considerations were analysed.

7.2.4 Native Indian Control

Although the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council or the Gitimax Band Council do not administer the 'Ksan Association
there is a strong sense of native control at 'Ksan. The Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en Tribal Council was a fledgling organization when the Skeena Treasure House was proposed and is currently forwarding aboriginal claims to the British Columbia Supreme Court. The 'Ksan Association which administers the various projects of 'Ksan, has majority native representation from a broad regional area.

Conversely, the Makah Cultural and Research Centre has native financial and administrative control. As shown in Table IX, page 101, the Makah Cultural and Research centre is administered by the Makah Tribal Council (MTC). The MTC, on behalf of the MCRC, has accepted seed money from a variety of state and federal institutions and now financially controls the MCRC. The MTC is currently decreasing its financial support for the MCRC in order to provide additional funds for legal disputes involving aboriginal treaty rights.

Native Indian control in both institutions is clearly reinforced through information control and relative financial self-sufficiency. Native control is not only symbolically important, but appears to directly affect the degree to which the 'Ksan Association and the MTC is willing to become involved with external resources.

7.2.5 Access to Resources

'Ksan has utilized external resources not only in the acquisition of seed monies and knowledge but through the hiring of non-native staff. The directors of the Kitanmax
School of Art and the NNEC are both members of the local non-native community. 'Ksan has not, however, used non-local individuals to any great extent. 'Ksan's projects have been funded largely by local fundraising activities and only secondarily by the provincial government.

The MCRC has also utilized certain non-local individuals as advisors to the museum development process. As well, seed money for the development of the MCRC was obtained largely from the Economic Development Administration (EDA) of the United States government. EDA's mandate was to provide funding for financially depressed areas with economically viable projects. Acquisition of EDA funds was dependent on the successful acquisition of additional funding.

During the development of 'Ksan and the MCRC the political and economic climate was one of fiscal restraint. While the concept plans for 'Ksan and the MCRC were economically and culturally relevant, both centres were funded primarily on the basis of economic rather than cultural viability.

7.2.6 Common Motivational Ground

The motivation of the various agencies and individuals in the conceptualization, development and operation of cultural centres may vary substantially. It is important for a common objective or motivational thread to exist between these varying actors in order to ensure a general understanding of the overall goals and objectives of the
project. Without this common bond, the development of the project may be at risk.

7.3 Conclusions

As previously indicated, the development of native Indian cultural centres has become a logical step in the on-going struggle for native self-determination. Native political identity, coupled with intensified anthropological research in the region and increased local cultural awareness has provided a foundation for the development of native Indian cultural centres. According to native Indian leaders, these centres provide a focus for native cultural revitalization by fostering pride, positive self-image, and inter-cultural and extra-cultural understanding. Cultural centres appear to provide stability and security in the preservation of cultural objects, symbols and customs.

The 'Ksan Village and the MCRC evolved as a response to regional cultural and economic opportunities and pressures. It is the nature of regional or local cultural and economic conditions which determine, to a large extent, the nature of the cultural development itself. Both centres were funded primarily on the basis of economic rather than cultural viability and have evolved from the existence of six factors which appear to have secured their success.

7.4 Implications

Northwest Coast native Indian cultural centres are likely to continue their focus on the revitalization of
contemporary native culture and society. Although the traditional nature of native social, cultural and economic systems has been lost, significant pockets of cultural knowledge have been retained. As the development of native political organizations have been an important step in the evolution of native political consciousness, so too should native cultural facilities provide an important focus for native cultural re-development.

Potential native Indian cultural centres should be assessed in terms of the six factors outlined in this thesis. These six factors may be collectively sufficient, if not essential, in the successful development of future native cultural centres.

Of these factors access to resources is extremely important. Capital and operational development of the centre should be carefully considered. The economic aspect of cultural centre development is likely to be more easily funded by government and private agencies even when cultural components are more important to the community. When cultural centres are funded by tribal or band organizations, however, these restriction do not necessarily apply.

In a broader context, the growing sophistication with which Indian groups deal with non-native agencies and individuals and the conceptual and institutional development of native Indian cultural centres has provided a significant change in native Indian communities. In part, through cultural centres, community members have demanded and
achieved, to a limited extent, the right to define their own "comprehensive standards, values, patterns of behaviour, common attitudes and ways of life" (Berger 1985:176). This demand not only encompasses the right to own and manage native cultural resources but also involves the power and ability to interpret these resources. By developing these centres, the Gitksan and the Makah have reinforced the changing roles between native Indians and non-native specialists.

While Canada and the United States are still asserting the principle of unilateral citizenship and tend to dismiss native self-determination as opportunistic and unrealistic, the development and operation of native Indian cultural centres have provided a foundation upon which native self-determination may eventually be realized.

Cultural centres should continue to play an important role in the revitalization of native culture and society through: a) the reinforcement of the changing role between native and non-native actors in the development of native Indian projects, b) the re-development of positive cultural identity, and c) the continuing economic control brought about by the successful development of native Indian projects, which provide a positive basis for the ongoing struggle for native self-determination.
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Appendix 1

Gitksan History 1870-1920

1670 British Parliament enacted first legislation concerning Indians.
1755 Indian agents formally appointed.
1793 MacKenzie trail across Canada to Pacific charted.
1831 First permanent trading post in Tsimshian area.
1830 Continental explorers reach Tsimshian area.
1832 Legaic League organized.
1836 Hudson's Bay Company post established at lake Babine.
1839 Crown Lands Protection Act passed.
1847 First mission to reach Gitksan (Fort Babine).
1857 Act for Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes passed.
William Duncan settled in Port Simpson.
1858 Gold discovered along Fraser.
1860 First HBC contracts awarded to Indians.
1862 Second smallpox outbreak.
1865 Western Union Telegraph established in Tsimshian area.
1867 The British North America Act passed.
1869 Enfranchisement Act passed.
1872 Gitksan villagers closed Skeena in protest.
1873 Board of Commissioners established to administer Indian Affairs in Manitoba, British Columbia and Northwest Territories.
1874 Georgetown Mills open hiring Tsimshian labour.
1876 Indian Act passed (consolidated and revised previous legislation).
1877 First cannery on Skeena opened.
1880 Separate Department of Indian Affairs formed.
1884 Potlatch officially banned.
Gitksan protest over land appropriation by government.
1885 Metlakatla people occupied Church Missionary Society building in protest.
Duncan and his supporters establish New Metlakatla.
1890 Government regulations strengthen non-native control over fishing.
Port Essington people continue to hinder government surveyors.
1891 First successful passage to Hazelton (HBC steamer).
1906 Consolidated Indian Act introduced.
Band system flourishing.
1912 Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia appointed.
Growing resistance of Tsimshian to colonization of land.
1913 Nishga Land Committee established.
1916 Report of Royal Commission on Indian Affairs
1920 Regulation governing Indian enfranchisement passed. Victoria Memorial Museum (VMM) send Marius Barbeau to Skeena River region to conduct ethnographic research.

1923-25 VMM send Diamond Jenness, Harlan Smith and Marius Barbeau to Skeena River region to continue research.

1925 Pole Restoration project begun.

1925 Disasterous flood in region.

1942 Ceremonial regalia confiscated from potlatch by RCMP.

1948 Hawthorn Report issued.

1954 Pole Restoration Committee formed.

1956-70 Seven major Northwest Coast exhibits.

1963 Skeena Totem Pole Inventory begun.

1965 Initial pole reconstruction begins at Kispiox.

1966 Dudley Little appeals for provincial funding of 'Ksan.


1967 Pole reconstruction begins in Kitwancool. 2 year training programme established for Kitanmax School of Northwest Coast Indian Art. Committee of volunteers formed to coordinate 'Ksan Village Project.

1968 'Ksan construction begins. 'Ksan Association officially registered as a society.


1969-70 Art school courses formalized; ARDA funding granted.

1970 'Ksan officially opened to the public. 'Ksan School of Northwest Coast Indian Art officially registered as a trade school.

1971 Funding for 'Ksan publicity project granted.

1972 Major Ottawa exhibition of work of Kitanmax artists.

1973 'Ksan film released.

1974 'Ksan catalogue published.

1976-77 Operating funds for Northwestern National Exhibition Centre (NNEC) granted.

Appendix II

Makah History 1790-1984

1790 First recorded contact with Europeans.
1771 Additional Spanish ships visit Neah Bay.
1792 Spanish fort erected at Neah Bay and abandoned the same year.
1853 Washington territory was created by the US Congress.
1855 The Treaty of Neah Bay signed, January 31
1857 Treaty of Neah Bay ratified by Congress.
1861 Governor James Swan conducted first census on the Makah reservation.
1863 First Indian Agent appointed to Neah Bay.
1865 The BIA day school at Neah Bay opened (young Makah boys attend).
1874 Day school in Neah Bay turned into hospital BIA boarding school constructed.
1877 Coast Guard erected a lifeboat station at Neah Bay and was abandoned 3 years later.
1895 Neah Bay boarding school closed and mandatory day school opened.
1902 W. Washburn opened a trading post at Neah Bay.
1913 The last Makah whale hunt took place.
1924 Makah's became American citizens as a result of a Congressional bill on June 26.
1926 Logging began on the Makah reservation. The first Makah Days celebration was held to celebrate American citizenship.
1931 A paved road linking Neah Bay to the rest of the Olympic Penninsula was completed.
1934 The Indian Re-organization Act was passed by Congress giving Indian groups a degree of self-determination. The Johnson-O'Malley Act was also passed giving the BIA authority to centralize contracts with Indian groups.
1936 The Makah Tribe accepted the Indian Re-organization Act and a tribal constitution was approved.
1937 The Makah Tribal Charter was accepted.
1942 The breakwater sheltering Neah Bay was completed.
1950 The Makah Air Force Station was established.
1970 The Ozette archaeological excavation began.
1974 The Boldt decision established the tribal supremacy over fishing rights.
1979 The Makah Cultural and Research Centre opened.

1981 The Ozette excavation closed after discovering 55,000 artifact. The Makah fish hatchery project opened in August.

1984 Tu.tu.ts (Tatoosh) and Wa?ad?a (Wah-da) Islands are returned to the Makah tribe by the U.S. Congress.
Appendix III

Summary of MCRC Budget and Grant Cost Estimates

I. Annual Budget Estimate:
   i. Salaries (Staff I Plan) $56,000.00
   ii. Supplies and expendable equipment 8,000.00
   iii. Miscellaneous operation costs 4,000.00
   $68,000.00

II. Initial Equipment Costs:
   i. Office equipment 8,000.00
   ii. Library and archival equipment 2,000.00
   iii. Storage and research equipment 17,000.00
   iv. Photographic equipment 650.00
   v. Shop equipment 3,000.00
   vi. Exhibition equipment and misc. 1,000.00
   (plus tax and inflation) (I&II) $35,200.00

III. Initial Display Costs:
   i. Display cases $66,500.00
   ii. Display supports 1,700.00
   iii. Display graphics 3,800.00
   $72,000.00

(II and III total costs $107,200.00
plus inflationary and unanticipated costs) 36,800.00
$143,000.00

IV. Consulting Costs (for storage, graphics $90,000.00
   exhibits, carving, lighting and acoustics)

TOTAL INITIAL COSTS, ITEMS II, III AND IV $233,000.00

Adapted from Nason 1974
Appendix III

Summary of Income Sources:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Admission Fees</td>
<td>$15,745.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>$10,695.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>$4,400.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Income:</strong></td>
<td><strong>$30,880.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This represents income equivalent to slightly more than 44% of the projected annual budget of $70,000.00.

In the absence of other income, the Tribal Government would be responsible for the remaining 56%, or $39,120.00.

Adapted from Nason 1974