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Department of  _Anthropology_

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date  _September 28, 1970_
ABSTRACT

The lives and work of two pioneer British Columbia anthropologists (Charles Hill-Tout and James A. Teit) are examined and compared.

This is a study of the multiple forces at work including their personal backgrounds, intellectual backgrounds, differences in temperament which shaped the scientists they were, their concepts, some of the motivations behind their concepts, a description of their methods and field work, personal interaction with others, including correspondence and conflicts.

In short, this is an effort to recreate part of the world of anthropology in British Columbia between 1895 and 1915 -- a world which no longer exists.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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To the people who were willing to give me their time and share their memories with me I owe a great deal. These include: Mr. Thomas Ainsworth, Mrs. Ruth Corbett, Mr. Charles B. Hill-Tout, Mr. Donald A. McGregor, Mrs. Inga Teit Perkins, Mr. Erik Teit, Mr. Sigurd Teit and Dr. M.Y. Williams.

It is impossible to try to single out everyone who contributed to the making of this manuscript. The help, comments and writings of many people, some known and some unknown to the author, are gratefully acknowledged.
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INTRODUCTION

While the imaginative spirit and wide-ranging interests of Charles Hill-Tout may arouse the admiration of the student of anthropology, his work is now seldom consulted for its information but increasingly is becoming of greater antiquarian interest. The steady industry of James A. Teit however, resulted in an output almost entirely empirical in content, which still is consulted as standard reference material by the serious student of Indian life in British Columbia.

The difference in the survival value of their work is puzzling when we consider that they studied adjacent areas (sometimes overlapping) and during approximately the same period of time, from about 1895 to 1915. In addition, when we compare the education of Hill-Tout, who from his earliest years had been exposed to scholarly tradition with the adequate, but ruder background of Teit and see that the work of the first is left to moulder on archival shelves while the other has entered the mainstream of anthropology, our curiosity is aroused.

In the belief that a study of their lives may shed light on this phenomenon I have collected biographical material, much of it personal in nature. It is almost certainly true
that from among the facts which were available there may be some which are nothing more than that, while others may be helpful in making inferences and drawing conclusions. Because I may not have distinguished correctly I have left in all of the history available to me, drawing on that which I thought most useful. However, much of what I deemed irrelevant someone more apt may find pertinent in making other deductions.

In addition to being the unfolding story of two men, the life and work of a third runs through like a contrapuntal theme. Franz Boas provided that interplay of elements -- now complementary, now contrasting -- which added extra dimension and depth to the study at hand. British Columbia figured importantly in his work, serving as a proving ground where he set the patterns for anthropology in North America for decades to come.

The task is undertaken at this time while anthropology still has left at least some hearsay evidence of its own history and of its pioneers.

It is already too late to glean anything but the most meager personal recollections from the few people in British Columbia who remember Charles Hill-Tout, James A. Teit and Franz Boas. The few people remaining who knew these men are now old and their memories are of themselves as
youngsters and the others as older men. No one is now left who from an adult vantage point remembers Hill-Tout, Teit and Boas in their productive prime. And few remain who remember the British Columbia to which these pioneer anthropologists came in the late 1800's.

It is my hope to evoke a feeling for the diverse backgrounds, the intellectual currents of the time, the rivalries and the kind of place that British Columbia was in those days.

I have tried to do this through the use of direct quotations from taped interviews with relatives, friends, old-time newspapermen, and museum curators of former years. In addition I have haunted archives and libraries combing through yellowed newspapers, the brittle pages of ancient manuscripts and long-forgotten letters.

Although I did not realize it when I began, my investigations were to carry me into a strange land. Quite unexpectedly I was doing ethnography. The natives, it is true spoke English, and we seemed to be of a similar tradition. But soon I found our culture and assumptions were different. They tried to convey to me the living presence of two men long gone as well as what life had been like in a Canadian frontier town when Queen Victoria was still on the throne. But how could I know if the words they used to describe their own mental images evoked the same pictures in my mind? We had
our problems in communication.

I remember during a conversation with Mr. Charles B. Hill-Tout of Victoria, his telling me about the difficulties of moving a truck whose wheels became stuck between the wooden planks with which the streets were paved. I commented that surely it could not have been that difficult to move it — after all, trucks have powerful motors. Mr. Hill-Tout looked at me speechless; his eyes showed a dawning comprehension of the chasm between us. Then he exclaimed, "It was a dray! A horsedrawn truck!"

This is primarily an ethnography of two early British Columbia anthropologists and an attempt to view them in terms of their context and also see how well their theories have held up in the light of research by later scholars.

Although Hill-Tout and Teit were born and brought up during the Victorian era in Great Britain, they were raised in regions which were at the geographical extremes of the kingdom and they were thus the products of two widely differing traditions. The early personal tragedy in Hill-Tout's life resulted in an institutional upbringing, while Teit enjoyed the advantages of a normal family life. With such diverse beginnings it is not surprising that they developed distinctive personalities, entirely different perceptions of the world and that the individual course of each man's life as well as his
approach to anthropology varied widely.

I did not undertake this study with any preconceptions or with an hypothesis and in fact, I had no clear idea of what I was doing when I started -- and as the unkind may say, nor when I finished. Like a sculptor working with stone the form seemed inherent in the material itself and after a time seemed to take shape independently. Therefore, it was after the information was assembled that I arrived at these conclusions:

1. Hill-Tout and Teit can only be understood in the context of their widely differing personalities, shaped by their individual histories, their own special circumstances in the British Columbia of those days and the intellectual currents of their time.

2. An antipathy existed between them and they had sharply differing attitudes. This can be inferred from letters, their activities in anthropology as well as from the writings of Boas.

3. The burden of erudition which Hill-Tout brought with him from the Old World hindered his intellectual progress, while Teit's lack of informational baggage gave him the freedom to move with the new currents of thought.

4. The result was that Hill-Tout to a great extent remained a gentleman-amateur, a self made anthropologist; while Teit, with Boas as his teacher, became a trained specialist.

Writing about two men who lived at the turn of the century and are known mainly in British Columbia, and even then to
but a few specialists, may seem a kind of exercise of little importance in the larger world. Yet just as the ethnography of one individual from a small obscure tribe can shed light on some larger problem, perhaps the biography of our local anthropologists may also add in some small way to the sum of knowledge.
CHAPTER I

SOME BRITISH COLUMBIA FIELD WORKERS, 1895-1915

This is the story of Charles Hill-Tout and James A. Teit and mainly covers their most productive years in anthropology -- from about 1895 to 1915. During that time Hill-Tout accomplished the bulk of his creative work and much, though not all, of his writing in the years that followed consisted of restatements of his earlier thinking or was based on it. During that same time span Teit also made his major contributions to anthropology. Towards the end of that time he began to feel that his most pressing obligation was to ameliorate the lot of the Indians and that became his major commitment until the end of his life.

During the years from 1895 to 1915 there were also other individuals in British Columbia who devoted themselves to tasks which were associated with anthropology. The following is a brief discussion of some of those people whose activities touched upon the lives of Hill-Tout and Teit.

One of the most influential anthropologists in North America was Franz Boas (1858-1942). His research in the Northwest Coast began as early as 1883. He was a specialist in the cultures and languages of American Indians and his own special study was on the Kwakiutl of British Columbia.

Boas was born in Germany and received his Phd. in
Physics from the University of Kiel. His interest in the Northwest Coast began while he was still in Germany. In 1887 he became a permanent resident of the United States and was editor of Science. In 1888 he became an instructor at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, and in 1896 joined the staff at Columbia University, a position he held for the rest of his life. There he built up one of the foremost departments of anthropology in the United States and trained and influenced many noted anthropologists and linguists. He was largely responsible for encouraging women to enter the field.

From 1901 to 1905 he was Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and led the Jesup North Pacific Expedition under its auspices. He established the International Journal of Linguistics, was one of the founders of the American Anthropological Association and was its president in 1931. He was a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and of many other societies.

Boas emphasized facts rather than interpretation, which reflected a widespread reaction against the sweeping theories on cultural evolution popular during the nineteenth century.

Boas was the trusted friend and mentor of Teit and critic of Hill-Tout.

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) was a noted U.S. linguist and anthropologist. He was born in Pomerania and in 1889 was
brought to the United States by his family. In 1909 he received a Phd. from Columbia University. He was named Chief of the Division of Anthropology at the Canadian National Museum in 1910. He came to British Columbia to work with the Nootka in 1911. In 1925 he joined the staff of the University of Chicago and in 1927 joined the staff at Yale.

He became interested in linguistics chiefly through the influence of Boas. He wrote *Language*, published in 1921, which was considered one of the most stimulating books on the subject ever written. Sapir was a scientist of extraordinary breadth who kept the study of linguistics in proper perspective as part of the study of man. His collected essays are edited by David G. Mandelbaum in *Selected Writings in Language, Culture and Personality*.

Sapir occasionally was a guest of Teit's at Spences Bridge and the latter stayed at the Sapir home when he made trips to Ottawa.

Charles F. Newcombe (1851-1924) was British Columbia's first psychiatrist, practising a profession which in his day was more concerned with the physical nervous system than it is now. He was born in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England; studied medicine at Aberdeen University and did postgraduate work in Germany.

He married and with his growing family moved to Oregon where he began his practice as a physician and psychiatrist.
He became interested in botany and collecting Indian artifacts. In 1885 the family moved to Victoria. There Charles Newcombe joined the Victoria Natural History Society and made expeditions in his own boat. He had two sons who as they grew older joined him in collecting animal and plant specimens, as well as marine specimens and Indian artifacts.

Accompanied by his two sons (especially William) he explored the coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands and later explored as far north as Alaska. In 1904, he took a group of British Columbia Indians to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis.

Hill-Tout was acquainted with Newcombe and corresponded with him for a few years. Teit acted as Newcombe's agent in collecting ethnographical specimens and carried on a correspondence of many year's duration.

At the age of twenty William Newcombe (1884-1960) gave up a scholarship to accompany his father to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis and had no further formal education. He was described as "untutored but self-taught." He became Assistant Biologist at the British Columbia Provincial Museum.

He lived in an old house near the beach and later in life became a recluse and beachcomber. In his house he kept what was later called the "The Newcombe Collection of Indian Artifacts," purchased in 1962 after his death by the Provincial Government. The collection included about one hundred canvasses by Emily Carr, the well known painter of British Columbia scenes.
According to some sources he kept the collection secret because he feared his ownership would be challenged. However, according to Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn, the various items:

...were carefully stored in cabinets, drawers, etc. He was proud to show them to serious scholars, and developed a very effective barrier (for instance, not answering the door) against others...He said, "I like to be of help to people like you, Drucker and Barnett."³

The Newcombes mainly contributed to anthropology as collectors and cataloguers for museums and important collections. These included museums in Europe; the American Museum of Natural History in New York; the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, which became the nucleus of an important exhibit in the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago; the British Columbia Provincial Museum in Victoria and the Canadian National Museum in Ottawa. Largely unrecognized, but of extreme value were Charles Newcombe's museum catalogues and collection notes.

Perhaps the major collector in British Columbia was Lieutenant George T. Emmons who specialized in the Plateau Culture area where Teit lived and did much of his research. He contributed monographs to the Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History. These were: "The Basketry of the Tlingit," and "The Chilkat Blanket" with "Notes on the Blanket Designs" by Franz Boas. Teit appeared in the footnotes as a source of information. Like the Newcombes, Emmons' museum catalogues and collection notes are of inestimable value to anthropology.
The other field workers important to this history were the members of the Jesup Expedition, which was sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History. Apparently they were all acquainted with Hill-Tout and Teit.

Livingston Farrand (1867-1939) was an ethnographer who wrote several papers for the *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. These were: "Basketry Designs of the Salish Indians," "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians," and "Traditions of the Quinault Indians" (assisted by W.S. Kahnweiler).

Harlan Ingersoll Smith (1872-1940) was the Expedition's archaeologist. His contributions to the *Publications* were: "The Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia," "Archaeology of the Thompson River Region," "Cairns of British Columbia and Washington" (with Gerard Fowke), "Shell-Heaps of the Lower Fraser River," and "Archaeology of the Gulf of Georgia and Puget Sound."

John R. Swanton, also a member of the Expedition is remembered largely for his three hundred-page work, "Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida," and his five hundred and thirty-one page monograph, "Haida Texts," and his works on the Tlingit.

Of all of these people, only two were native to the Pacific Northwest. George Hunt was a Kwakiutl Indian who was Boas's informant for more than forty years. He co-authored with Boas four major contributions to the *Publications*. These
were: "Kwakiutl Texts" (Parts I, II and III) and "Kwakiutl Texts" (Parts 1, Second Series).

Henry W. Tate was a Tsimshian Indian. Like Hunt he was a Boas trainee and an informant of his for many years. He co-authored with Boas a massive work on Tsimshian mythology.

Farther to the north in British Columbia was another individual who also figures in this history. He was the missionary, Father A.G. Morice, O.M.I. (1858-1938), an anthropologist and student of Indian languages. He came to British Columbia from France in 1880, and at first stayed at Williams Lake Mission where he learned the language of the Chilcotin.

In 1885 he was transferred to Stuart Lake Mission (now Fort St. James) where he remained for nineteen years. He studied the customs and languages of the Carrier Indians and also those of the Sekani and Babine Indians. He also devised a special syllabary for them for their own use.

Father Morice wrote four books and thirty-two monographs on anthropology. His ethnographic descriptions of many traditional Indian customs and artifacts were given in great detail and are an invaluable source of information for scholars. He did much of his writing after he had been transferred to Winnipeg.

Hill-Tout respected and acknowledged him as an important source of information. Teit apparently knew and occasion-
ally corresponded with him. For a while Morice and Sapir carried on a spirited discussion through the pages of the *American Anthropologist*. Although located far to the north he was a member of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver.
CHAPTER II

LIFE OF CHARLES HILL-TOUT

Early Life and Training

That Charles Hill-Tout was born in England is universally agreed upon. But his birthplace is variously given as Plymouth or Buckland or Buckland-Tout. The year of his birth is equally in doubt, being either 1858 or 1859. There is even some confusion concerning his name. According to the Encyclopedia Canadiana,¹ he was born September 28, 1858 at Buckland, Devon, to John Tout and Elizabeth Hill. Properly pronounced the name Hill-Tout rhymes with will-too.

Speaking about his father's name, date and place of birth, his son, also Charles, said:

I think it's September 28th -- I think. But he's gone a long time. I don't remember. I don't know the year either. I've got no records of anything like that. But he was born in Buckland, a village in Devon. My name is Buckland -- Charles Buckland Hill-Tout. He only had the name Charles Hill-Tout. That's all, that's all he had.²

According to a clipping (source unknown) in the Vancouver City Archives the Hill-Tout family dates back to the Conquest. Concerning the family's having illustrious forebears, his son, Charles said: "Sure we have, but who knows anything about it beyond my father. We never heard about his family."

Various biographical sketches differ concerning the details of the early life of Hill-Tout. One stated that he lived
the first six or seven years of his life in Plymouth and that later he was sent to a private school at Oxford. A short biography accompanying a 1948 reprint of his speech, "The Great Fraser Midden," published by the Art, Historical and Scientific Society, said that he spent his early boyhood at Oxford where he had his first schooling, later he went to school at Weston-super-Mare, and that following this he lived at home with his parents in Somersetshire. His son, Charles, said:

He never spoke much about his childhood. I know that he had a brother and a sister and they lost their parents, and the Cowley Fathers -- kind of English monks -- brought him up and educated him. Anglican Church. I understand it was a small unit. I don't know; he never spoke much about his childhood.

His father was a farmer -- I believe. I don't know anything at all about his father or his mother. He never mentioned them as far as I know. I don't know whether he (Hill-Tout's father) was actually on his own farm. We never heard about his family. ...As I understand he and his brother and sister were left orphans. I never heard about his mother. And his father was a laborer in Devon I expect -- or Somerset, they're side by each.

Concerning whether the Cowley Fathers had also educated Hill-Tout's brother and sister, Charles said:

I don't know about the brother and the sister. No, I don't think so. The Cowley Fathers took him and educated him to the church. The Cowley Fathers, I understand, were in Devon, but I don't know whether they were a self-contained group or what. They were associated with the Church of England.
**Education**

Regarding Hill-Tout's later education, again the accounts vary considerably. His son, Charles, said, "He went to Oxford; he told us he went to Oxford." One brief biographical sketch stated that he was an Oxford graduate.⁴ Alfred Buckley in *British Columbia, From the Earliest Times to the Present*, refers to Hill-Tout's coming to British Columbia "with little to call his own except the scholarly endowment that Oxford had given him."⁵ Buckley wrote that after the first six or seven years of his life:

...he was sent to a private school at Oxford and the Oxford spirit, more dominantly religious than it is today, but always stimulating and refining, found in him the best of material for its impress; sensitive, eager to learn, affectionate and responsive to the advances of his seniors and finely tuned, then and now, to the attractions of poetic mysticism. A short residence in the clergy house at Roath, Cardiff, brought him under the influence of Father Puller, who was a friend of Pusey's and a member of the Puseyite movement. When Father Puller entered the Cowley Monastery, at Oxford, Mr. Hill-Tout decided to follow him and for sometime led the simple life of the fathers, intending to join the order. (pp. 1194 and 1196)

According to newspaperman Donald A. McGregor, Judge F.W. Howay and E.O.S. Schofield, published the several-volume publication called, *British Columbia, From the Earliest Times to the Present*. To make the venture pay, two of the volumes were biographical and the people whose histories appeared in them paid for the privilege. Howay irreverently used to refer to the
biographical sections as the "mag volumes."^6

Noel Robinson's brief biography in the 1948 Art, Historical and Scientific Association Reprint supports the factual material quoted above and further states that Hill-Tout later went to Lincoln for the theological course, "taking lectures at Oxford whenever possible."

Another account states that he was sent to school and university at Oxford where he became a student of divinity. He came under the influence of Father Benson, founder and head of the Cowley Fathers, and lived in their religious community just outside Oxford for some years. From university he proceeded to the theological college at Lincoln where he came under the influence of Bishop Wordsworth, brother of the poet and head of the college "whose well known hymns he divides into two categories -- the beautiful and the doggerel."^7

Donald A. McGregor mentioned that Hill-Tout used to be called by the other students at Oxford, "Tootles."^8 Mrs. Ruth Corbett, former Assistant Curator of the Vancouver Museum said that she had known that Hill-Tout was called "Tootles."^8 She mentioned that Joe Capilano, a Squamish Indian spokesman, used to call him, "My friend, Toot," or sometimes, "Hill-Toot."^9

Whether Hill-Tout was actually an Oxford University graduate seems doubtful and with how much scepticism the various printed accounts of his education should be taken as true is not to be known. None offers any reference or source of information.
Marriage

Hill-Tout married while he was living in Lincoln.

Concerning his mother, Charles Buckland Hill-Tout said:

Mother's maiden name was Edith Mary Stothert, from Cardiff, Wales, but she was not a Welsh girl. Her father was English from the north of England but he came down to Cardiff; he had a big iron works. He came down from the north; I don't know whether it was before she was born or after. The name Stothert is around Cardiff — you'll find that in more than one place. I remember seeing it on a great big building when I was going in there one time. Stothert Iron Works and Foundries.

He was a divinity student and I think she must have seen or heard him sometime. In fact, she told me one time, that when he was taking some service in some church she thought, "Oh what a lovely voice; what a lovely man he is!" A lot of people thought the same. I think she met him in church, but I don't know anything at all about it; we never thought to ask.

Religious Attitudes

At some time during the latter part of his student years Hill-Tout apparently underwent an intellectual, and probably a spiritual crisis, or as Alfred Buckley put it:

...Mr. Hill-Tout was awakened from his dogmatic slumbers and the old story of shifting theological moorings was repeated in another young soul. He spent two years at the Scholae Cancellarii (Schools of the Chancellor) at Lincoln, studying theology with a view to missionary work in South Africa; or a living in his own country, the gift of a relative, was at his service. But once more the bondage of subscription to rigid dogmas became intolerable and once more a brave young spirit rebelled. (Buckley: p. 1196)

Buckley also said that during the time he lived in
Oxford, Hill-Tout met Max Müller, "who first created in his mind an interest in anthropology."  

Noel Robinson wrote that Hill-Tout, during his time at Oxford had come under the influence of Huxley and Darwin, which resulted in intellectual difficulties and he gave up the idea of ordination.  

Concerning Hill-Tout's religious attitudes, Donald A. McGregor said:

Hill-Tout had a son who lived in Victoria who was a Christian Scientist. I was talking to this son one day and he said he had known that his father was not a Christian Scientist. The son said to me, "I know he wasn't, but he told me once that he wished he could be." But I think he couldn't be because he couldn't believe in that sort of thing.  

However, Hill-Tout was not an atheist but felt that religion and science could be reconciled. This is made clear in his book, Man and His Ancestors in the Light of Organic Evolution (1925). In it he quoted Father Wasman, Jesuit priest and biologist:

Because, being a priest, he cannot be said to favor the Doctrine of Evolution at the cost of Scriptural truth..."We must first of all state clearly," says he, (Father Wasman) "that the Bible is not intended to instruct us in modern science; and we scientists of the twentieth century ought not to seek zoological information in it. The Bible is meant to give instruction not on science, but on the way of salvation." We commend this very pertinent statement of the reverend Father to the consideration of our Fundamentalist friends. It seems to us to hit the nail straight on the head. (p. 14)  

The book concluded with a chapter on philosopical and
spiritual lines. The following reveals Hill-Tout's attitudes towards the spiritual and mystical:

...The very fact that we experience spiritual longings, have spiritual aspirations, feel spiritual needs, seek and find spiritual satisfactions, proves to us the existence of a spiritual world. These cannot be found in or got out of a physical realm. Religion and religious experiences -- and these also cannot be denied -- would be meaningless if there were no spiritual realm to give them significance, and their very universality is proof of their deep reality and of a source from which they must come. Where ever man is found, no matter what his state of culture, high or low, we find he is a religious being, that he has religious needs and seeks to satisfy them. (p. 154)

**Emigration to Canada**

Soon after his marriage, an event which seemed to coincide with his "abandoning his dogmatic slumbers" and giving up his plans for ordination, the Hill-Tout family emigrated from England. According to Alfred Buckley:

Mr. Hill-Tout abandoned the idea of a clerical life and turned his thoughts to Canada. Dr. Daniel Wilson was then President of Toronto University and, on his advice, Mr. Hill-Tout took up educational work in that city as proprietor of a private school. There his impulse to anthropology was greatly strengthened by Dr. Wilson, but for a time teaching and farming absorbed his attention. He bought a farm and soon resigned his scholastic work, but after about eighteen months of farming, sold out profitably and, in 1889, moved west to British Columbia. (p. 1196)

Noel Robinson wrote that in 1884, at the age of twenty-five, Hill-Tout emigrated with his wife and baby daughter to Canada. He bought a hundred-acre farm on the shore of Lake
Ontario, which he farmed successfully, but sold after several years. For unknown reasons he resolved to return to England but first decided to visit the west, where he was "impressed by the infant city of Vancouver" and made up his mind to settle there. However, he carried out his original plan of returning to England. By this time he had several children. The family stayed in England two years and then returned to Vancouver. According to his son, Charles:

He married in England. My eldest sister (Beatrice Mary) was born in England. Then he came out here and I was born in Ontario -- and another boy (William Stothert). He had a farm a few miles out of Toronto...He must have been there some years...

Then he went back to England again. Like every other Englishman -- couldn't stand the damn country; took two breaths and then came back to Canada and never saw England again. Every Englishman has to go back once and that's all they want....He never went a second time to Britain.

As to why Hill-Tout left England or Ontario, Charles speculated: "I don't know -- maybe the feeling that he wasn't getting anywhere."

When Charles Hill-Tout came to Canada he took advantage of his being unknown in new surroundings and changed the sound of his name, though not the spelling. In England the family name was pronounced as if it rhymed with "will-out." In Canada he changed the pronunciation so that it rhymed with "will-too." Hill-Tout's son, Charles said:

We call it "Hill-too." When they came to Canada he didn't like the sound "Towt" because
tout is a racetrack (term) and so he called it "Hill-Too." Sounds nice, but "Hill-Towt" does not. My uncle and all his family -- and there's quite a large family, as big as ours there -- they call it "Hill-Towt." And one sister-in-law told me, "I hate the sound "Hill-towt,"" she said, "But I like the way you say it -- 'Hill-too.'" I told our kids there's only one family with a name like that and no one's been in jail yet and don't you be the first.

The similarity between the sound of "Tootles" (by which he was called in his student days) and the pronunciation "Hill-Too" suggests he may have initiated the name change much earlier than his son realized.

**Vancouver at the Turn of the Century**

In 1890 the family returned to Vancouver. Hill-Tout was prompted to do this by a friendship formed at Oxford with Father Finnes Clinton, who at the time of his arrival was rector at the pioneer Anglican Church of St. James.14

Noel Robinson described Vancouver in the early days as:

...a township -- though it had already been incorporated -- in the bush, magnificently situated but clinging to the south shore of Burrard Inlet and with a population of a little over 1,500; a city, moreover, almost entirely dependent for its existence upon the logging industry.

(Those were)...the years when the ladies of the community wore picture hats, tight bodices, with mutton chop sleeves and long skirts -- quite unknown to their descendants except in photographs.15
Thomas Ainsworth, former Curator of Vancouver City Museum recalled the city as it was about 1910:

Vancouver itself was small...nothing but bush, By bush I mean a second growth as much had been logged in the early days. The stores were small then, no chains. It was a typical small town...It was known all over the world as a seaport. Much lumber was cut here - at Hastings Mill down on the waterfront.

Only the weather was the same; very foggy at times...I never saw it thicker in London -- and the sound of foghorns! There were places over little ravines...where there were bridges with no railing, so you had to proceed carefully or else you'd be down below. There were plenty of logs; False Creek was always covered with them. Vancouver was a great lumber and fishing town.16

Charles had childhood memories of the family always living in the same building as the schools where his father taught, both Whetham and Buckland Colleges. Speaking of his early memories of Vancouver, about 1893, he said:

Down on Cordova Street and Water Street I remember them paved the long way with wooden planks...and I remember seeing a great big truck there, and the wheels went through the planks, right alongside the car tracks, and they couldn't get it to move...it was a dray, a horsedrawn truck.

Hill-Tout as a Teacher

According to some accounts, upon arriving in Vancouver Hill-Tout either taught or took charge of St. James School. Other accounts record that he first taught at Whetham College, a high school for boys and about ten years later founded his own school, on Burrard Street, Buckland College, named after
his birthplace. Charles said that the family always lived in the same building as the school. Donald A. McGregor recalled that Whetham College had been founded by a young Ontario doctor with a degree from a university in Washington State. McGregor said:

At the time he (Whetham) came there was a mild boom in real estate after the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The C.P.R. came about '86. Vancouver had about two thousand people then -- mostly bush, and hills and ravines and creeks and swamps. When they started to clear the townsites the first buildings were not built on land that was cleared, but were built on the beach. When they cut down the timber the brush was so thick they had no place to put the stuff they cut down. That's why they built on the beach. Then they started to burn bush after a time and they set fire to the town. That was the big fire in June, '86.

Whetham arranged for subdivision, surveying of townsites and was selling lots down in the business section. He apparently had a little money and he bought some town lots on Granville and Pender Streets. He started Whetham College in a building near the corner of Georgia and Granville Streets, where the Birks Building (Birks Jewelry Store) is now. There was a building there known as the Strathcona Block. The school was in the block. Hill-Tout sometime in the early nineties was a teacher there.

Whetham became more interested in speculation and business than the college and quit. Hill-Tout and some of the other teachers took it over. Then Whetham died in a typhoid epidemic in Vancouver about '91.

Hill-Tout was well thought of as a teacher and some insight into his methods may be gained from excerpts from letters which were used as recommendations when he was a candidate for the post of Superintendent of Schools in Vancouver
about 1899. Mr. W.H. Howland of Toronto, March 4, 1892, wrote to Hill-Tout in Vancouver:

I believe the college has acted wisely in securing your services, as while many men may teach, it is only a very few who can educate. I have always felt indebted to you for the result of your training in the case of my own boy. It was not the volume that he was taught, as the fact that you trained him so that he worked things out for himself, and the result has been most satisfactory. His after school life has been the best evidence as to the superior character of your grounding. I am convinced that this is a faculty that you specially have. It is easy to cram boys but it is really the work of an educator to get them to work things out and understand them for themselves. It makes a man who can find his own way along in life.

Another letter said:

I do not forget how he coached my boys for their examination in law.

Another satisfied parent wrote:

The boys showed much more careful preparation than many of those who came to this college and they were at once able to enter upon the work of their forms to good advantage.

In a letter to the Board of School Trustees May 3, 1899, the Reverend H.J. Underhill wrote:

I have had good facilities for observing the results of his work, as two of my nephews have been under his care for the past eighteen months, and the progress they have made has been most satisfactory. The boys have been taught to think for themselves, and not crammed with a mass of indigestible facts; and this, I take it, is the best kind of education.

In spite of the nature of the recommendations (or perhaps because of them) Hill-Tout was unsuccessful in
obtaining the post.

The Art, Historical and Scientific Association

One of the most important events in the cultural life of Vancouver and in the personal life of Charles Hill-Tout was the founding of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association in 1894. According to Noel Robinson in his history of the organization the idea had come from a letter sent from London, England, to the Vancouver News Advertiser by Hyde Clarke, D.C.L., after a visit to the city. The letter begins:

Now that the future of British Columbia and its great destiny is recognized on all hands it would be well if its citizens remember that they have a history.

He urged the preservation of books concerning the history of the city, the province and also of "Indian relics" and other materials in a future museum. This letter was published September 22, 1887. It was followed by an editorial which called attention to the letter and suggested the possibility that:

Mr. Clarke and other friends of the Colony in England would willingly assist such a movement by securing for us any materials obtainable there which would aid the object which the Society would have in view.

Robinson's article noted:

Internal evidence in the old minute books of the Art, Historical and Scientific Society points to the fact that it was this letter and editorial that provided the stimulus which led to the founding
of an Art Association upon a date and at a place in the city, to which there is no exact reference.

In 1892, at a meeting of the Art Association, it was moved and seconded that the Association enlarge its scope and the name "Art, Historical and Scientific Society" was suggested. Among the members of the committee elected to carry out the motion was Charles Hill-Tout. In the meantime other meetings were held for various purposes, some of them concerned with the urgent business of securing the rapidly disappearing British Columbia Indian artifacts. Two years later on April 17, 1894, a public meeting was held and the Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association officially came into being.

The list of the first members of the Association included the names of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hill-Tout. A count of that membership list according to sex reveals that the Association began its life with a membership of sixty-five men and one hundred and thirty-three women.

Among the early addresses delivered before the members was one given by Hill-Tout on "A Unique Skull" which he had excavated in 1895 from a grave in an old burial mound at Hatzic in the Fraser Valley.

Concerning the forming of the Association, Noel Robinson commented:

When it is remembered that three-fourths of the population were loggers or employed in Hastings Mill or otherwise engaged in the lumbering industry some idea may be gathered
of the enterprise and vision of the other
fourth which sought to give an intellectual
foundation to that pioneer settlement, a
foundation upon which future generations
would be able to build.

Fifty years later (1944) in the society's Golden
Jubilee Year, Charles Hill-Tout was one of a handful of
survivors. He was then in his eighty-eighth year and had been
President for ten successive years of the Art, Historical and
Scientific Association.

Organizations and Honors

Hill-Tout was a:
Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada; Fellow
and Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthro-
pological Institute (England); Member of the
Executive of the School of American Research;
Past Vice-President the Canadian Department
of the American Institute of Archaeology;
formerly Organizing Secretary of the Committee
appointed by the British Association for the
Advancement of Science for the Ethnological
Survey of Canada; Etc.21

He was appointed to a Committee "to organize an
Ethnological Survey of Canada" by the British Association for
the Advancement of Science in November, 1898.22 Upon the
death of Dr. George Dawson, noted Canadian geologist, he was
appointed organizing secretary. He accepted and held this
office for the next twenty-five years.

In the 1902 Report on the Ethnological Survey of
Canada, in the section called "Archaeology," Hill-Tout
indicated that he was connected with the Dominion Geological
Survey and the National Museum at Ottawa through Dr. Dawson. He was also a fellow of the Alaska Geographical Society of Washington.23

He was a member of the Canadian Authors' Association and was elected president of the Vancouver Branch in 1934.

As mentioned earlier, Hill-Tout was a charter member of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association (now incorporated into the Vancouver Museums Association) and was its president for the last ten years of his life.24

Another one of the groups which Hill-Tout helped form was the Vagabonds Club, which was:

...Formed in 1915 by a colourful group of classically educated expatriate Englishmen to promote good fellowship and cultivate intellectual vagabondage...

It gave us, writers, artists, musicians, an outlet for whatever small talents we possessed in a city in which the buying and selling of real estate was the main preoccupation of the inhabitants. It kept alive a spark of literary and artistic culture the city needed so badly.25

The Vagabonds Club lasted only ten years and did not accomplish much in its own right, but its members inspired many of the organizations which are still active, such as the Vancouver Little Theatre.

Veteran newsman Donald A. McGregor recalled Hill-Tout's restraint in regard to J. Francis Bursill, founder of the club:

The founder of the Vagabonds was J. Francis Bursill; probably the oldest member. He was
an old newspaper man, full of stories, eccentric, regarded as being born at the time of Methusaleh. The people in the club were always teasing him because he seemed to know all history. But I never knew Hill-Tout to take part in the teasing, though nearly everybody else had a whack at Bursill. But Hill-Tout let the old man alone. He wasn't of a teasing character.

He also remembered having heard Hill-Tout speak at the Club on the subject of Continental Drift:

I heard him talk at the Vagabonds Club. There was a theory at the time the various continents were floating on something, not stationary, but moving apart or together. If you look at a map of the Atlantic you see that the two sides are roughly shaped as if they had been together. Hill-Tout took up this idea and used to talk about it quite a lot. He thought it seemed reasonable.

Hill-Tout was honored numerous times by being appointed or elected an officer of almost every organization to which he belonged. He was also sought after as a lecturer and writer. In addition he was honored by France in 1939. On that occasion the following article appeared:

**Recognize Work of Scientist**

Professor Hill-Tout was presented with a diploma from the Historical and Heraldic Council of France in appreciation of his work at the annual meeting of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association. Professor J.A. Irving announced the presentation. "I remember," he said, "answering examination questions based on Dr. Hill-Tout's work when a student in the University of Toronto. I figured then if he was sufficiently important to get on 'exam papers' he must be pretty good."
In 1944, Hill-Tout was honored with the presentation of an illuminated address by the mayor. The event was the highlight of Vancouver's City Museum Golden Jubilee Week. The address was described as "a fine piece of art work done by T.P.O. Menzies, Secretary-Curator of the Museum and was adorned with a border of Indian Symbols in color."28

Financial Problems

Hill-Tout was never a rich man and money worries seemed to have beset him most or all of his life. He had eight children to provide for. After Beatrice Mary was born in England, Charles Buckland and William Stothert were born in Ontario, followed by the birth of five other children in Vancouver: Harold, Edith Lillian, Mildred, Phyllis and James; all of whom lived at least to young adulthood.29

His eldest son, Charles said, "He never had any money. He'd barely get by -- all the time." Mrs. Ruth Corbett, who had known him later in life, since 1924, described him as "a man who had no money at all." However, Donald A. McGregor, who had known him socially since 1915 said:

He had property in the Fraser Valley, at Abbotsford -- he had a saw mill there. He told me that one time he had made as much as forty thousand dollars per year out of the mill.

Commenting on this, his son said:

No, he didn't have any money at all. He wasn't able to leave us anything. My father
could make any statement, any time, anywhere, three times and believe it himself. Accuracy was not a gem as far as he was concerned. He was human, yes. He was better than the average. He gave work to a lot of people. He ran his mill...and tie camp. He didn't make any money because you don't run a sawmill, a sawmill runs you.

Charles explained about Hill-Tout's sawmill activities:

He had a bush ranch near Abbotsford. It was all bush. When I say "bush" I mean big trees, three, four and five foot through. Majority of them were three foot through. He went out there in 1892 and 1893 for the summer holidays. He lived there from 1900 -- he and Mother lived there. We had a large house on top of a hill.

Hill-Tout bought some rough bush a few miles from Abbotsford and built a log home. Later he bought a nearby farm and started operating a sawmill. As he explained later, he knew nothing about tie-cutting, but this did not stop him from contracting with the C.P.R. to supply them with fifty thousand hewn ties for the Nicola railway branch:

In my ignorance, I hired lumberjacks instead of tie-cutters to do the work...with the result that the inspector culled fifty percent of the ties, whereupon the lumberjacks laid down their axes and demanded full payment of their cheques for fifty thousand ties, half of which they had not cut correctly.

However, the enterprise eventually went through, though not without a struggle. His son said:

We had the tie camp. Would you know what a tie camp was sixty or seventy years ago? The camp was built up of tents, big tents -- cook tents and sleeping tents. One of the men had a heavy undershirt and he put it on
and my father made some remark about, "Oh, it'll stay on until it falls off." He was serious. The only time they'd get a bath would be when they'd get to town maybe once a year and maybe buy some new clothes and put them on then. Later on the law got around so they had to have a shower for the men.

Two or three years later when all the trees suitable for hand-hewn ties were used on the various lots that he had acquired, he put a sawmill in on the lake and brought in some trees that were too big for hand hewing and sawed them into ties. He ran the sawmill for several years. His eldest son was about fourteen years old when Hill-Tout decided on an additional venture. Charles said:

Then he put a shingle mill in much against my wish and will, because he said, "Charles, what I'm going to do is give you a start in life. What I'm going to do is give you a partner and you can have a shingling mill and do well." I said "I don't want the shingling mill!" He said, "Why not?" I said, "I've been to Vancouver, to the biggest mill, Hastings Saw and Shingling Mill, and was talking to the chief sawyer there and he said, 'Whatever you do, don't go into shingling this year; they're bringing less than they cost. The bottom of the market will drop right out.'" I said, "I don't want it!" He had the mill, of course, and the mill went broke -- naturally. We had the sawmill and he added the shingling mill and lost everything, and of course, he said it was bad management on my part. It was the wrong year.

During World War I, his sons, who had been helping him, went overseas and he ran the farm short-handed until the end of the war. Then he sold some of his land and divided the rest between two of his sons. He retired to Vancouver, bought
the Fontenac Apartments and lived there until he died. His son, Charles, said:

He owned the Fontenac Apartments but it was like this -- I don't suppose there's one building in ten, and certainly not one in five in this town that are owned by the people who own them. They're owned by the mortgage people. He had traded some vacant land up at Abbotsford. He had bought a lot of land there to get the timber off -- at a very low price -- and took the timber off and then as taxes started to rise he got rid of some of it by trading one or two of these sections on this property and taking over a huge debt, which is still there. The debt was never wiped out in his lifetime and I don't know what happened to it afterwards.

He had about twenty different apartments there -- the Fontenac's a big place -- three stories and six or eight apartments per floor. I don't know how many.

This was during the depression and he let some of the people live in them without paying. He had no money. One man was going to sue him about something and he said, "Go ahead, you can't get blood from a stone. I haven't got any money -- along with a few other hundred thousands."

**Kitsilano Beach**

Hill-Tout took part in the naming of Kitsilano Beach and described the situation in the following letter which was sent to the Vancouver City Archivist, Major Matthews, for the purpose of becoming official record in the Vancouver City Archives.
Vancouver, B.C.
May 8, 1931

My Dear Major Matthews:

Replying to your letter of May 4th in which you request me to put in writing for purposes of record the manner in which that part of the city we know as KITSILANO got its name, and also the significance of the word in the Indian tongue from whence it was drawn.

To the best of my knowledge it came about in the following manner.

The name by which the Kitsilano district was first known was "GREER'S BEACH," so called because a squatter by the name of Greer had erected a dwelling there near the beach. The land at that time was in control of the C.P.R., and when they opened it up for settlement they desired to give the district a more suitable name than Greer's Beach, and, knowing that Mr. Jonathan Miller, who was postmaster of Vancouver, was on friendly terms with the Indians, they requested him to find an appropriate Indian name for the settlement.

Mr. Miller referred the request to me knowing that I had given considerable time and study to the customs, habits, and place names of the local tribe. After some little consideration I chose the hereditary name of one of the chiefs of the Squamish people, namely "KAHT-SA-LAN-OGH", or modified it after the manner in which "KAPILANOGH" had been modified by dropping the final gutteral. We thus got the word "KAHT-SI-LANO." This Mr. Miller, or the C.P.R. further modified by changing the long "a" in the first syllable into an "i", and thus we have "KITSILANO".

You may be interested to know that the Indian pronunciation of KAPILANO was "KHA-AP-PO-LAN-OGH". This also was an hereditary name of the chief who lived near the mouth of the river which we know by this name. Both names had the same ending -- "LANOGH". This suffix signifies man. We find it also in another of their names "KALANOGH", meaning "first man". I could not
learn what significance of the first part of the other two hereditary names was. The Indians did not appear to know it themselves. The terms are very ancient.

I hope the account I have given is what you require.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Chas. Hill-Tout

Personality and Relationships

In a 1934 newspaper article whose authorship was indicated only by the initials "N.R." (presumably Noel Robinson) Hill-Tout was characterized as:

A fluent and informed public speaker, a most entertaining companion, a very medium bridge player, and -- with some few exceptions -- a more medium poet.

The same article also stated:

Occasionally, in his earlier years in B.C. Charles Hill-Tout descended from the Olympian Heights, implied by his activities in seeking to unravel the mysteries of the evolution of man, into the maelstrom of politics, and has taken the platform in both political and municipal affairs, once running unsuccessfully for the reeveship of Matsqui. But he has long since left the hurly-burly of those arenas, which, he suggests, usually result in "more kicks than ha'pence."33

Donald A. McGregor recalled:

Hill-Tout was very pleasant to talk to and generally regarded as an intellectual. There are thousands of people around here now who regard themselves as intellectuals, but there weren't so many in those days. Hill-Tout was regarded as a cut above the average and he prided himself on being that, in maintaining
that position. Hill-Tout became involved in arguments -- it was fun. There was no entertainment in those days except what you made yourself.

Mrs. Ruth Corbett, former Assistant Curator of the Vancouver Museum, said that she had attended many of Hill-Tout's lectures and recalled:

He had the English language at the tip of his fingers. (sic) When you came away from one of his lectures you knew something. He used simple words. He didn't use these long words people didn't understand, he used the ordinary simple English language. He had a wonderful gift of knowing the English language.

He was very gentle and charming. He liked to talk and argue. He would talk or discuss with anyone. He was a good conversationalist.

His son, Charles said:

His health was poor. He was very irascible. And so, most of the time it was likely we'd get our scalp taken off.

Mrs. Corbett also recalled:

He was a great ladies' man. The ladies adored him! He was a great ladies' man when he was married too. They all loved Hill-Tout.

It is difficult to think of the Hill-Tout family in today's terms; his son's recollections suggest the Victorian patricentric family with submissive wife and obedient children.

He reminisced:

He could turn on the charm -- no man more charming than he -- but his family didn't see it very often.

Mother had a very difficult time. Mother was very subdued and he was very autocratic. Mother was wonderful! He didn't put the
charm on at home much. You couldn't find a man more charming, more delightful anywhere -- when he wanted to be. When he didn't, he was just the opposite.

Their social life was average. Mother had in friends once in a while.

I don't know too much because I was a child. The young people in those days were kept out of sight.

Some people felt that Hill-Tout did not pay enough attention to the education and upbringing of his children.

The girls of the family were considered very bright, especially Phyllis, who died young, but their schooling was not mentioned at all. At that time, as long as a girl appeared well bred, higher education was not considered necessary. Opportunities for the education of boys were very limited in Vancouver in the early part of the century. Hill-Tout gave his son, Charles, a good basic education and tried to set him up in business. The other three boys did go to college, though James, the youngest, put himself through college and later became a well-known educator in the Vancouver area. Charles recalled the education he and the next two brothers received.

I only went to his school (Buckland College) but the brother next to me, he went down to O.A.C. (Ontario Agricultural College) at Guelph. And Harold...he went there for a year, but Harold was not able to apparently absorb book learning much and so he was only there for the one term, but Billy was there I think two, at least two. I didn't go there, I didn't go anywhere. He had his own school and I was there in the school room.
Though never a champion of "causes," Hill-Tout believed in the equality of the races and spoke out in favor of racial intermarriage as shown in the following:

**INTERMIXING OF WHITES AND ORIENTALS IN B.C. ADVOCATED BY HILL-TOUT**

(Special to Province)

Toronto, May 22. - Intermixing and marriage between the Japanese and Chinese and white races in British Columbia would not only settle the so-called racial problem, in the opinion (sic) of Dr. Chas. Hill-Tout, noted anthropologist of Vancouver, now attending the Royal Society of Canada meetings at the University of Toronto, but the resultant race would probably be superior to both the present white and yellow races.

In ten generations, if racial and cultural prejudice could be broken down and cross-breeding continued, the characteristics of the new race would be fixed, Dr. Hill-Tout stated.

"It is the same with organisms in animal or plant life," he explained.

Only by intermarriage to the fullest degree could Dr. Hill-Tout see any solution to the possibility of an ultimate race war, with the colored peoples against the whites. "I think such a conflict is a possibility," he said, "if we don't check up on our air of superiority in dealing with the Asiatic peoples and give India self-government. That seems the only way to me of preventing India from aligning itself with some enemy of Europe.

"All this foolish prejudice of race -- just as strong on the part of the Japanese-should be broken down," he continued. Denying emphatically the common belief that a mixture of the races
usually retains the vices of both and the virtues of neither, Dr. Hill-Tout said that was simply because, "with our cultural prejudice, the resultant product is forced back into the lower of the two races culturally." It was that way with the half-breeds of Western Canada, he said, who on account of the race pride of the whites were forced back to live with the Indians.34

Hill-Tout was often admired for the content and style of his writing, but his penmanship was so poor that before those virtues could be displayed to the public his son attested that:

> When I was young my father's writing was very terrible and we had to transcribe it so that the publishers could read it. Sometimes even he couldn't tell you what a word was without reading the whole sentence. We didn't have to help write any of it; he had it all written out. We spent a winter evening many and many a time -- write so many passages every night. It was a chore. I say "we" but I don't remember if anybody else did it. I sat at the dining room table an hour or two at night time.

Mrs. Corbett recalled that Hill-Tout had an English accent, and others thought perhaps it was an Oxford accent, however, Charles said:

> He did not have a decided accent of any kind at all. There were two words, "dance," and another word like it -- I have the "ah" and he had the (hard) "a" (as pronounced in U.S.A.) but otherwise, his diction was good.

Hill-Tout's appearance is usually described as tall, slim and distinguished looking, and his manner as dignified and scholarly. He had a beard, a full head of hair and in his later years wore glasses for reading. He is often
characterized as having had a lot of energy. Mr. Donald A. McGregor described him:

He was not nervous, though not slow and deliberate. He was vital and interesting.

Mrs. Ruth Corbett recalled:

He was a restless soul, had to be on the move and on the go all the time.

He worked by himself. He was a man who couldn't work with anybody. He was too independent.

Hill-Tout had far more energy and enthusiasm than the average person.

His son, Charles said:

He was in ill health a lot of the time. He wasn't bad all the time. But sometimes he was bad. Stomach trouble comes and goes. He didn't get up early in the latter years. He was very irascible. He wasn't in good health. He was never strong. He was not robust.

No, he'd not much strength. When I remember him, day after day for breakfast he'd have a piece of bread put in a soup plate and pour boiling water on it. Pour the water off and pour a little milk on and that was his breakfast. His stomach was bad. I expect it was ulcers. He was not strong at all. He couldn't work much. He'd work for an hour or two on the ranch and he'd be absolutely all in. He'd spend some of the time in bed. He had no strength. He died of old age at eighty-seven.

Noel Robinson characterised him as:

A man in his earlier years of very different views along political and sociological lines, he could express himself very vigorously upon the public platform and occasionally he entered in public controversy, but in his later years, he became increasingly mellow and would
admit, with a tolerant smile, that there were usually two sides to most questions. 35

Latter Years

During World War I three of Hill-Tout’s sons went overseas with the Canadian forces. Hill-Tout himself, though over sixty years of age, volunteered and somehow managed to get into uniform. He got as far as Montreal when his age was discovered and he was not allowed to go farther. He then returned to British Columbia and ran his farm during the war. 36

As mentioned earlier, after the war he sold his property in Abbotsford, bought a heavily mortgaged apartment house in Vancouver and retired.

Mrs. Hill-Tout died in 1931, survived by her husband, seven children and twenty-grandchildren. Her obituary noted that she was hospitable, kindly and an artistic accompanist on the piano. 37

Ten years later Hill-Tout married again. Under a heading, "Romance that Began at Picnic in Park," an account of his wedding to Meada Alyce Wilcox was published. 38 According to his son Charles, Miss Wilcox had been his father’s housekeeper. Concerning how Hill-Tout met her, Charles said:

Here’s the way to look at it; he belonged to the Art, Historical and Scientific Association and other intellectual groups like that and so naturally you meet all kinds. I don’t know if she belonged too.
Well, my brother told him one time, he said, "Why don't you marry again, instead of living alone there." ...Why didn't he get married and live a normal life. With Mother gone there was no two ways about that...My brother Harold, said, "Why don't you marry her and then -- save all the bother of things."

She was a nice looking woman, medium size. I only saw her two or three times. You see I had a family of young people and I never made much money...We never went to Vancouver to see them -- only rarely went there because it meant staying overnight -- more expense.

According to Noel Robinson, in his latter years Hill-Tout enjoyed life to the full "and when well past three score and ten was seen at social and literary gatherings and often on the dance floor."

When he was eighty-four his picture appeared in the paper over the heading; "Professor Gives His Unrehearsed Idea of Rumba -- or Something. Happier Old Age Folks Swing on Down." The article told of a "gray haired anthropologist who danced a jig in front of 650 people and diagnosed his action simply as itchy feet." Hill-Tout, characteristically, was president of the Happier Old Age Club.\textsuperscript{39}

Hill-Tout's active participation in numerous organizations was in apparent conflict with his son's statement that his father had never been in good health and was not strong. Concerning this Charles said:

That's not any work; that's just occupying the day. He hadn't written anything since I was married and that's fifty-five years
ago. He wrote when we were children.

Once when Hill-Tout was very ill after a major operation a newspaper writer came to visit him in the hospital. He told Hill-Tout that he had just written his obituary:

The patient almost immediately proceeded to get better. The visitor knew his man, and the stimulant, applied at just the right juncture in the case of Professor Charles Hill-Tout proved remarkably effective.  

Hill-Tout died in 1944, survived by his second wife, seven children by his first marriage, twenty-two grandchildren and three great grandchildren. Hundreds gathered to pay tribute to him at his funeral services. A long and appreciative obituary appeared in Man, leading anthropological journal of Great Britain and Ireland.
CHAPTER III

LIFE OF JAMES A. TEIT

Growing Up in the Shetlands

James Alexander Tait (which he later changed to Teit) was born in the Shetland Islands on the chief island of Mainland in the county town of Lerwick. The Shetland Islands are a bleak and barren group of rocky outcroppings rising from the North Sea, and lie seventy-five miles northeast of the extreme northerly tip of Scotland. They are also almost directly opposite Bergen in Norway. Teit's daughter, Mrs. Inga Teit Perkins described her visit there:

I went back there a few years ago. Lerwick -- it was a beautiful town. It is very old looking and the streets are very, very narrow, crooked and have a lot of little lanes that are steep -- rolling grass lands all around, but there are no trees. The wind is quite strong. I was there in the end of June. They don't have very good weather there all year -- maybe a couple of months in the summer. I was lucky; I was there only three days and I had lovely weather.

Lerwick is a small town; mostly stone homes. Stone is easy to get; they don't have wood there. Stone would stand against the winds and they have lots of stone there -- so why not use it? They don't do a lot of farming in Shetland; they mostly have sheep.

Lerwick is a fishing port with a good natural harbour and the chief catch is herring, which is smoked or cured in the town. When James was a boy the diminutive Shetland ponies were bred in the islands for work in the British coal mines. A special dwarf breed of sheep were also raised
for their fine wool.

James's father owned a general store in Lerwick and concerning it his daughter recalled:

I have seen it, you know. It was a fairly big store in the little town there, and on his store it was "Tait." I think it was called a "licensed grocers" because he was allowed to sell liquor.

James's mother was a Murray, of Highland Scots descent, born in Aberdeen. She had come to Lerwick to take a position caring for some orphaned children. There she met John Tait and married him. In due time James arrived, the first of twelve children. His daughter Inga said, about her father's family:

He had three sisters and four brothers that lived (to adulthood). I think there were twelve in the family altogether but only eight lived beyond infancy -- pretty good for those days. The family was considered well off -- not really well off -- but they were not crofters; they were business people.

The family's relative affluence may have accounted for the goodly number of children who survived infancy and also for the fact that young James attended school until 1880, when he was sixteen years old, at a time when twelve or thirteen was the usual age for ending one's formal education. His eldest son, Erik, said that his father had no training for any particular occupation.

With school behind him James worked in the family store and also for about a year as a bank clerk. Another son, Sigurd, believed his father also went out with fishermen in
the North Sea, which was a difficult and dangerous occupation. 3

However, at this period life for the young man seems to have included more than work alone. His daughter said:

He went out on boats. They used to sail on weekends to Norway -- the young people. He could speak Norwegian. He did not have relatives he went to see, but friends. It isn't so far but there are terrible seas across the North Sea. I know he made some trips. Some of the photographs we have of him and his brothers were taken in Oslo -- it's written right under them. They would go over there and have their photographs taken.

James developed an intense interest in the old myths of Shetland and began an almost mystical search for his own Norse roots. The Shetland Islands were a possession of Norway until the fifteenth century, and the islanders have preserved many Scandinavian customs.

An Invitation to British Columbia

When James was about eighteen or nineteen years old a letter came from John Murray, his mother's brother. Murray had originally come to British Columbia about 1858 during the Cariboo Gold Rush. According to Erik, Teit's eldest son, Murray had later settled in Spences Bridge, British Columbia, where he had a general store and was a fruit farmer. He also grew the first apple at Spences Bridge, which later became popularly known as the "Smith Apple," as the property was sold
to a rancher of that name. Murray was a bachelor and in his letter he promised that if one of the boys would come to Spences Bridge he would make him his heir. However, Inga stated that at his death:

John Murray didn't have anything left to give because he gave everything away. This sounds typical. This is the kind of thing my father was always doing. He (Murray) was going to make Teit his heir and by the time he became his heir there was nothing left to inherit. He was very generous. John Murray was a very good Scotch Presbyterian -- an interesting character.

His daughter also said that in the Shetland Islands James, as the first born son would have inherited all of the family property. However, of the five brothers it was he who decided to go to far-off British Columbia. Inga said of the situation:

He gave up everything. In Scotland they have very peculiar inheritance laws. You have to be the oldest son of an oldest son of an oldest son. And my father had to turn everything over to the next oldest brother, John, who would inherit everything instead of him.

After legally signing over his birthright to the next eldest brother, James embarked on a ship in the winter of 1883 and made the perilous trip around the Horn. It is likely that he worked for his passage. He arrived in Spences Bridge in March, 1884.

According to some accounts he settled permanently in Spences Bridge immediately on arrival, and according to others, he worked for a few years in various places around
British Columbia, including a coal mine in Nanaimo, a town where several people of Shetland origin have settled. According to his son, Erik, none of James's brothers or sisters ever came to Spences Bridge.

Tait à Teit

James altered the spelling of the family name when he came to Canada but kept the original pronunciation. Concerning the change Inga explained:

His father used the name Tait but it seems the family before that had used Teit at one time. I think they always considered that they were Nordic in their ancestry and that it was a name that had come from Norway like a lot of Scottish names have. They're very proud of their Nordic ancestry -- the Shetlanders. An awful lot of Scandinavian names among the place names; streets as well as people's names.

James was Tait until he came to Canada and he knew it (Teit) was the original family name. He thought, "Now I'm in Canada I'll go back to the original family name." But in Scotland they all spell it Tait. He changed it back -- he was a little eccentric about things like that. I think he thought, "Well, that's our original name and why shouldn't I take it now I'm in Canada?"

He was always studying up about things like that; he was always very interested in anyone's family name. He was always looking for roots to different words and different names.

Teit's son, Sigurd, recalled with amusement his father's poring over family genealogies, determined to find at least some Norwegian ancestry on his mother's side. He said that Teit wanted to be known as Scandinavian. However, Sigurd's own mother had told him that Teit had retained a
Shetland accent, quite Scottish in character and all written accounts refer to him as either a Shetlander or a Scot.

Years later Teit gave all of his five children Scandinavian names — Erik, Inga, Magnus, Sigurd and Thorald.

First Marriage

The first official information concerning James A. Teit in British Columbia appeared in the Yale Register of Marriages, recording his wedding to Lucy Artko or Atello on September 12, 1892. Of the first Mrs. Teit little is known except that she was a Thompson Indian. Sigurd Teit said that he had heard his mother, the second Mrs. Teit, say of his father that "he'd sooner have it forgotten." She told Sigurd that it was the only thing that Teit had ever done that he had regretted because he felt that Indians "should marry themselves." However, Sigurd felt that it was unlikely that this was actually Teit's own attitude but probably reflected his mother's feelings. Sigurd mentioned an article which said in effect: "Hardly out of his teens, Teit married an Indian..." He pointed out that by 1892 his father had been a grown man of twenty-eight and he said, "They were trying to play it down and make it seem as if he didn't know what he was doing."

In March 1899, Lucy Teit died of pneumonia or tuberculosis. The couple had no children. Sigurd said that near a road leading into Spences Bridge is a graveyard. There
Lucy's grave is marked by a marble stone with a sentence in the Thompson Indian language.

**Anthropology**

In 1894 Franz Boas met Teit during a brief stay in Spences Bridge. The meeting seemed to mark a sudden turning point in Teit's life. However, as the well-known columnist of the time "Lucian," pointed out:

...While yet a youth and almost a stranger to this country, he became interested in the Indians. He hunted and fished with them, shared their adventures, their hardships, their entertainments, smoked and drank with them. He became acquainted with their habits of thought, their traditions, their superstitions, their folklore, their craftsmanship. Quite unconsciously he was preparing for the work of his later years and for the splendid assistance he was able to give to research workers from the universities and learned societies.

Boas was a great teacher and in Teit he found an apt pupil. Admittedly Teit had the potential but it was largely Boas who developed Teit the anthropologist.

**Guide Trips**

Teit earned part of his living from the store in Spences Bridge and also from the growing and shipping of apples. But most of his income came from his work as a guide which he often combined with his field work. He began a correspondence with Charles Newcombe in 1900 and many of his letters reveal the dates and routes taken on many of these
trips, the animals hunted by the parties he led, as well as the nature of the field work he often attempted to do at the same time. In a letter written in August, 1903, Teit told Newcombe:

I am leaving here on the 7th for the Stikine River to hunt moose Northeast of Telegraph Creek and will not be back until November.

In another letter dated April 5, 1905, Teit said he was "going to Nicola the day after tomorrow and will not be back for eight days." On August 5, of the same year, he wrote:

I am leaving here on the 12th inst. for Vancouver and will proceed north to Cassiar on a hunting trip. I expect to be back sometime in October.

On November 15, 1907, he wrote:

I received your letter of 6th inst. and had I not been away deer hunting would have answered it sooner.

In his monograph, "The Shuswap," published in 1909, Teit gave many details of his journeys made by pack-train, mentioning the routes he took as well as dates. He owned a number of pack horses for this purpose. His article, "Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia," published in 1906, mentioned that he obtained the information at intervals when hunting moose during the fall of 1903 and big-horn sheep in the fall of 1905.

Sigurd Teit said that his father earned good wages as a guide. Sigurd thought that his father had begun doing
this work as early as 1890. However, in the Shuswap article Teit said that he was acquainted with the region of the western and northern bands of the Fraser River as he had made several hunting and exploring trips through it in 1887, 1888 and 1892. Sigurd said that everyone at Spences Bridge including the Indians traded at Uncle John Murray's store. Teit hunted and fished with the Indians, learned from them the location of the best hunting grounds and this led to his becoming a guide to the hunting parties which came to British Columbia from all over the world. In the earlier years he guided mainly around the Thompson area but later he took hunting parties farther afield.

His daughter, Inga said that on her birth certificate his occupation "was given as guide." She recalled that the parties he led did not go to Spences Bridge but that he met them in Vancouver and then took them up to Telegraph Creek, the Cassiar or to Wrangell, Alaska. She said that her father was well known as a guide because "one person would tell another."

Franz Rosenberg, a Norwegian big game hunter from Kristiania wrote about Teit in a book called Big Game Shooting in British Columbia and Norway. In this book each page has its own heading and Page 15 is called "Jimmy Teit." Rosenberg told of travelling on the steamer "Princess Royal," in 1910 in mid-August. There were four parties of hunters bound for Telegraph Creek. Rosenberg wrote:
Among the hunters was a Shetlander, a most interesting personality, by name Jimmy Teit. He had come out to Canada as a youngster, had quickly become intensely interested in the Indians, and had travelled a great deal amongst them.

Being well educated, and of a scientific turn of mind, he soon became a recognized authority on Indian Tribes of British Columbia, and was often employed by the Government in its dealing with the tribes, besides being in great demand as a guide to various scientists who were studying the Indians, their history, languages, etc. Thus Teit accompanied the well-known ethnologist, Professor Franz Boas, on several expeditions in British Columbia.

Teit and I became great friends during the trip, a friendship which resulted in steady correspondence after my return to Norway, and continued until he died a couple of years ago, only just over fifty years of age. (p. 15)

Rosenberg mentioned Homer Sargent, a Pasadena, California millionaire who financed some of the field work necessary for Teit's Indian studies, and commented:

Teit had several times been to Telegraph Creek to study the Tahltan Indians of the Upper Stikine, and on this trip he was to guide an American sportsman, Mr. Sargent, on a shooting expedition. Mr. Sargent also being of our party on board. (p. 16)

It was Mr. Sargent's third trip to the Cassiar, and Teit had accompanied him on both of his two former trips. (p. 33)

The "Princess Royal" missed connections and the parties on board were:

...obliged to remain in Wrangell for some days. I spent the time going about the town in company with Teit. (p. 20)

One day Teit and I called on Shake, the chief of the Wrangell Indians...Teit was an old acquaintance
of Shake's, and they conversed freely in the Chinook language, the Esperanto of the North American Indians, which is understood by nearly all the tribes. (p. 21)

During the time they stayed in Wrangell Teit compiled a list of supplies which Rosenberg and his party would need for their coming trip. Rosenberg commented:

The list of provisions made up for me by Teit...proved to be considerably more complicated and extravagant than what I had been accustomed to, but Teit told me that these Indians had to be fed well on such a trip, which to them is a holiday, if they were to work well and willingly. And we found later on that with their quite superhuman appetites they made short work of all such luxuries as butter, sugar, syrup, dried fruits, etc., long before we were half way through with the trip.

During the stopover in Wrangell Rosenberg reported an unsuccessful attempt to sleep in his hotel room one night:

I was roused by a terrific din downstairs in the hotel bar, and I thought I might as well dress again and go down to see the fun. There was a fellow sitting in the bar playing a jig on a fiddle while in the middle of the floor Jimmy Teit was executing a pas seul, and the rest of the company were clapping hands in time to the tune.

They proved to be a Norwegian crew off a fishing smack just back from a successful trip...

Plate X, opposite page 56 is a photograph of "Jimmy Teit and a Rocky Mountain Goat." Against a background of snow covered mountains he stands, a dark figure with a dark wide-brimmed hat, light gloves and a light moustache. Rifle in hand, his feet widely planted on the steep rocky foreground, a huge white thickly-furred goat lies before him.
Rejected Suitor

The year 1902 was an important one for Teit not in the field of anthropology, but on a personal level. First he suffered the disappointment of having his offer of marriage rejected by Miss Leonie Josephine Morens; second, he made a journey back to the Shetland Islands and third, he became interested in socialism.

Leonie Morens was the daughter of Leon Morens, a stock owner and dairyman of Spences Bridge. French was spoken in their home. Teit wanted to marry her and take her to Europe on their honeymoon. Although she later did marry him, she refused him that year. Commenting on the matter, their daughter Inga said, "I don't know why Mother didn't want to marry him then. Perhaps she just wasn't ready."

Teit was thirty-eight years old and Leonie Morens was twenty-one.

Return of the Native

Teit made the voyage back to the Shetland Islands, again round the Horn. His son, Sigurd, had heard that he went to London at this time with a band of Indians to see the Queen. However, he doubted that this was true. Such a visit is most unlikely as Teit made his journey in 1902 and the Queen had died the year before. However, Teit did visit England, Edinburgh in Scotland, some friends in Norway and his father in Lerwick. Sigurd said that Teit found that the
family in Shetland (still Tait) was "well fixed." He added that Teit had always been different from the rest of the family in that he had a marked dislike for "dressing up," and Sigurd said with wry amusement that the Shetland branch celebrated Teit's return by staging a "dressy" dinner party. Teit attended the gala function attired in his ordinary working clothes.

Socialism

Teit apparently returned to British Columbia by the summer of 1902, as his name appeared in the "Canadian Socialist" dated August 9, of that year. Under the heading, "From the Local Field," the title of a column which appeared semi-regularly on the last page, was the following item:

"I am in favor of socialism and wish to understand its aims better. It is gaining ground here and if a socialist is run in the Yale-Kootenay district next election I think he is sure to go in." -- Comrade Teit, Spences Bridge, P.O.

"The Canadian Socialist" was a four-page semi-weekly Vancouver Newspaper which had originally been published in Toronto, Ontario, as "Citizen and Country." On its masthead appeared the motto: "You Might As Well Try to Keep Back the Waves of English Bay with a Toothpick as Keep SOCIALISM Out of the UNIONS." It had timely headlines such as, "COMRADE DEBS VISITS VANCOUVER," with a column mentioning that Eugene V. Debs, noted U.S. Labor leader, urged working men to "buy more books and less booze." The paper carried advertising,
the local union news, as well as items from Eastern Canada, "Uncle Sam's Domain," and even international news -- "Spain now has fifteen socialist newspapers." An article entitled "Workers Gulp The Pill," revealed that the working class was being fooled by swallowing the sugar coated promises of capitalists.

"The Canadian Socialist" changed its name to "The Western Socialist" and later to "The Western Clarion." Finances appeared to have been a continual problem and "The Western Clarion" seemed to suffer the most severe setbacks. The day the paper shrank to almost pamphlet size a headline declared: "CAPITALISM PASSING!" Later the paper recovered.

Teit's name occasionally appeared in one of the small columns on the last page, which were fairly regular features of the papers. The approximate date of his joining the party probably can be inferred from the following in the "Western Socialist," November 1, 1902:

A Talk With Our Busy Co-Workers

Comrade Eeit, (sic) of Spence's Bridge, B.C. sends along $2 for five sub-cards, asks for a socialist button, and two application forms to join the Socialist Party of B.C. There isn't a nook or corner in this province but what is becoming permeated with socialism. The reason is obvious -- it fills the bill.

At another time the Minutes of the Executive Meetings of the Socialist Party of British Columbia, which were a regular feature of the paper, mentioned (November 29, 1902):
"Correspondence was received from J.A. Teit, Spence's Bridge...."
That Teit was an active participant is apparent in this item of March 7, 1903:

Comrade J.A. Teit, of Spence's Bridge, who has been spending some time on the coast at various points, returns to the interior this week en route home. Both coming up and going Comrade Teit hands in the names of new subscribers. Moving around the province a good deal he finds everywhere increasing interest in the political gospel of socialism.

Other evidence of his effectiveness can be seen in the following mention dated April 10, 1903:

Comrade Teit, Spence's Bridge, B.C., sends along $8 on share account, and is redoubling his efforts to push the sub-list up to the 10,000 mark. Let every reader get a reader in his plan. Comrade Teit is a hustler.

"The Western Socialist" changed its name to "The Western Clarion" in May 1903 and on June 26 in a new column called "Among Ourselves" the following appeared:

Comrade Teit, Spence's Bridge, B.C. sends along his renewal this week, adding, "labor problems and socialism are certainly coming to the front."

According to his son, Erik, his father had also at one time been a Mason. He said, "However, that had to be before he became a Catholic."

Marriage and Family Life

The following year Teit made front page news in a paper of quite a different type, The Ashcroft Journal, of British Columbia ($2 per annum). This announcement appeared:
TEIT - MORENS

A very pretty and interesting wedding took place on Tuesday, the 15th day of March at the residence of the bride's mother, Mrs. P. Morens, Four-Mile Ranch near Spence's Bridge, the contracting parties being Mr. James A. Teit and Miss Leonie Josephine Morens. The ceremony was performed by the Reverend Father J.M.R. LeJeune O.M.I. of Kamloops. Miss Pauline Morens, sister of the bride, acted as bridesmaid while Mr. J.L. Guichon of Fort Guichon supported the groom. The bride looked charming in a pretty costume of cream serge trimmed with white satin and silk applique with the customary veil and orange blossoms. The bridesmaid was attired in a pretty costume of maize cashmere trimmed with black velvet baby ribbon and wore a large picture hat.

A large number of friends and relatives of both parties witnessed the ceremony and afterwards partook of the sumptuous wedding supper, after which the happy couple left for California and the Coast cities. They will be away about a month when they will take up residence at Spence's Bridge.

The bride's travelling dress was a very pretty Oxford gray with a large picture hat.

A list of wedding gifts followed. The names of the donors are omitted here:

Amongst the numerous and costly wedding presents received by the bride were: gold necklace, china tea set, chamber set, silver cake basket, cheque, set of silver coffee spoons, set of bath towels, silver berry spoon, cut glass perfume bottle, linen tablecloths and serviettes, handkerchief and glove cases, parlour lamp, silver fruit dish, imitation oak teapot and china mustard pot, silver sugar shell, set of silver knives and forks.

Father LeJeune, who officiated at the wedding, was the well-known Oblate missionary. To reach the festivities
on the other side of the creek, both the minister and the
wedding guests were rowed across in a canoe by Teit and an
Indian friend.

Leonie Josephine Morens was a Catholic and Teit
became a convert. His daughter, Inga, said:

I imagine he was brought up as a Scotch:
Presbyterian. In Shetland they have the
Church of Scotland, the Episcopal Church
and Methodist Church. I just sort of assume
he was Presbyterian.

Erik, his eldest son, said he did not feel religion
was important to his father but that he believed strongly in
being a good friend to the Indians. Inga recalled that he
went to church only occasionally. Concerning his having
religious feelings she said:

I don't know about in an orthodox way, but
I think he did. I suppose everybody thinks
that their parents are good living and all
that, but I think he had very strong convic-
tions about what was right and what was wrong.
I think he was very anxious for us to be
brought up good Catholics.

I think that when he died that he was very glad
that he was a good Catholic -- anyhow my mother
gave me the impression that he was.

Inga told of three mysterious incidents involving
her father:

Father was psychic. He had a feeling when
things were going good or bad. Mother told
me that he was in Vancouver when his Uncle
died. He was in a hotel; he checked out --
had a bad feeling. A wire arrived at the
hotel but he was already on the train.
When Mother's mother died, it was at breakfast. He hitched up the horses because he felt something was wrong. He met someone on the way and found out Grandma had died. Both were unexpected deaths.

Once when he was out hunting he had a dream -- about a hole in a mountain. He was leading a hunting party and he knew the valley where the game should be but there was no game for the three days of searching. He had a dream one night that he came to a mountain and looked through it and saw a lot of sheep. The Indians considered him psychic; some took his name, Teit, because of this. They told him to act out the dream. He did and actually came to a tunnel through the mountain and on the other side there were lots of game.

Inga compared her parents:

They were very different personalities. He belonged to the first Socialist Party that was here in B.C....not much of a party in those days -- mostly Liberals and Conservatives. Mother was not the type of person who would have mentioned much about socialism. She was very conservative.

He was always at the last minute catching trains. Mother wanted to be early but he would say, "Oh, we have lots of time!" Then they would get there just as the train was pulling out.

He was very easy-going -- loved to tease and joke and laugh. His favorite expression was, "First rate!" What upset Mother was that he never criticized. She wanted criticism. She would cover a chair or make a new dish for dinner. He wouldn't even notice until she showed him. Then he'd say, "First rate!" And she'd get so mad.

Their son, Sigurd, described his mother as "very quick tempered." He recalled:

She would get very mad at him, while he would sit there and pay no attention. And that would make her even madder. He was an easy-going person.
His brother-in-law said he was the hardest person to get mad he ever knew. But sometimes he flew off the handle and then would forget all about it. He had a dry humor and was a good story teller; he told Indian stories.

His eldest son, Erik, described his father as being gentle, kind and calm. He could remember him being in a bad temper only once. Inga said:

He loved the babies. After Erik and me they came every four years. The latest baby was always his favorite, then he'd forget that one when the next one came. I can remember him waltzing around the house, from room to room, holding a baby in his arms like a dancing partner.

Of her father and of Spence's Bridge she said:

He loved to dance. I remember him at dances because in the days when I was a child you took all your family to the dances. And you know, even if you were six or seven years old, you got up and danced with the adults and they'd dance with you. He loved dancing. They had a great big dance hall, a beautiful big dance hall, a fabulous place, great big! I think Spence's Bridge at one time must have been a very fun place. There weren't many people there, but everybody was full of life and they'd go for miles and gather at these dances. I think the people from Lytton used to come to the dances in Spence's Bridge because they had a beautiful big hall there.

His son, Sigurd, recalled his father as having brown hair, freckled with fair skin and yet his mother told him that in the summer Teit got "as black as an Indian." His daughter Inga described him:

He seemed big to me but he was really not a tall man. My hands remind me of his hands. His arms were milk white when he rolled up
his sleeves. He had a ruddy complexion with large features -- not good looking -- with blue eyes, dark brown hair and a very red moustache and his beard, when he let it grow, was red.

He loved the outdoors, he liked to hump and work hard. He liked to study too. He was very keen on doing nothing but sitting and thinking and puffing away on his pipe. He liked to be exposed to the wind and the elements.

He had a habit of looking up. People teased him. He said that all Shetlanders look up at the weather in the sky.

Indian Rights

By 1910 Teit appeared to have been actively working on behalf of the Indians. However, as early as 1900, in his monograph, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," Teit voiced his concern over their plight. He noted the decrease of the native population and said that many supposed this was due to the dying off of old people and the sterility of women. However, he offered figures of increase and decrease showing that Indians had not only a high death rate, but a high birth rate as well. His figures supported his contention that the Indian decrease was due to the great mortality among children. He felt the high death rate among all ages reflected the epidemics of measles, influenza and tuberculosis and among young people, venereal disease and whiskey, both of which had been introduced by the Whites. He noted that the percentage of deaths from the latter two was small and consid-
ered them an indirect cause. He made the suggestion that the Indian Department provide physicians for Indians. He also mentioned another possible factor in the decrease in the native population:

The belief that they are doomed to extinction seems to have a depressing effect on some of the Indians. At almost any gathering where chiefs or leading men speak, this sad, haunting belief is sure to be referred to. (p. 177)

Teit wrote a letter to Charles F. Newcombe on August 6, 1910, in which he mentioned magazine articles, museum collections and shipments and concluded with a statement showing his involvement with Indian causes:

I enclose a copy of the Indian Declaration signed by the twenty-four Shuswap, Okanagon and Thompson chiefs who attended the meeting here last month.

In another letter to Newcombe on January 1, 1911, he wrote:

The Indian Rights movement is going ahead. There will be a big meeting of Indian Chiefs (interior) at Kamloops on the 3rd Feb. next. The United Shuswap, Okanagon and Thompson Tribes presented a memorial dealing with their grievances to Sir Wilfred Laurier when he was in Kamloops last August.

January 27, 1911, he wrote to Newcombe saying:

I am going to Kamloops for the Indian meeting of the 5th and 6th February...There will be another one here at Spences Bridge. I believe a general meeting is to be held on the 1st March at Victoria. I will likely be there with some chiefs from the interior and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you then and having a chat.
The columnist, "Lucian," was present at one of those meetings and wrote an account of his impressions:

Several years ago there was held in Vancouver a conference of British Columbia Indian chiefs, gathered at the request of Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott, to discuss Indian rights. A friend invited me to attend. There were present some white advocates of Indian claims. One of the participants was Rev. C.M. Tate of Victoria, translator of the Gospel of Mark into Chinook, who made the first speech in Chinook that I ever heard.

On a low chair by the table among the chiefs sat a silent white man, who took no part in the proceedings until the chiefs began to address the superintendent-general, each in his own language. Then he began to interpret. As one after another of the natives poured out his complaint or expressed his opinions in various forms of aboriginal eloquence. Mr. Teit in a low, quiet voice, rendered his appeal or argument into clear and cultured English. I was struck with the simplicity, felicity and clearness of his language. Every sentence was ready for the press. And though he must have interpreted from four or five dialects he showed no doubt or hesitation, though he occasionally asked the speaker a question or made a suggestion evidently in the interest of clearness.

When it was over, I made some enquiries and Rev. Lashley Hall, an old friend of Mr. Teit made us acquainted. After that I met Mr. Teit sometimes when he came to town, but not nearly so often as I wished.

His son, Sigurd, said that the Indians had implicit trust in Teit. He said that Teit organized the Allied Tribes of the Interior and was their treasurer and spokesman and that after his death the organization fell apart. As treasurer, Teit collected money from the Indians to finance work for
land claims and he also contributed money himself. As spokesman for the Allied tribes, Teit served as interpreter at local court trials and also accompanied delegations to Ottawa where they met Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Minister. He also accompanied a delegation to Victoria when Laurier was there.13

Inga remembered that after every trip to Ottawa her father always brought home little gifts for the children -- usually fancy-shaped maple sugar. She recalled on one occasion his bringing her a doll, which she called "Ottawa."

Sigurd mentioned that Dr. Peter Kelly, a Haida minister of the United Church who was for long one of the spokesmen for Indians in the Province, had told him that on these occasions Teit wore moccasins and "was one of the Indians." He dressed as they did and had a very deep tan. On one trip to the capital someone commented with surprise to Teit that he had not known before there were any blue-eyed Indians. Teit told the man that he belonged to a "different tribe."

Books and Photography

His daughter, Inga, recalled:

Father was a self-taught man. He knew an awful lot of languages. He had any amount of dictionaries in all kinds of languages in our home. I don't know if he had a Latin dictionary. But I can remember as a child
seeing German and Spanish and French dictionaries on the shelves. But I was very young and not interested. In those days books were treasures and children didn't handle them. You looked at them on the shelves and that's all.

Inga had many of her father's books in her own home and she said that he always made many notes on the margins. Many of his books had been destroyed in a fire and the moisture from the fire hoses could be seen on those that were left. She recalled that Livingston Farrand had given a book to him. The books on the shelves included several volumes on botany, history, poetry, a natural history dictionary and various books on the Shetland Islands, as well as Through the Sub-Arctic Forest by Warburton Pike, Life Among the Indians by George Catlin, Sport and Travel in Canada, The Time and Place of Homer, a treatise on botany by J. Fletcher, dated 1885, and books of poetry by Robert Burns, his favorite poet. According to Inga many more were in her basement and she said:

After he died mother had his books all boxed and stored in the basement of the general store in Spences Bridge. The proprietor was a good friend of father's. He had a fire and a lot of water from fire hoses wet everything. He wrote to Merritt where trains ran about twice a week and by the time Mother got the letter and got back to Spences Bridge they had all swelled from moisture and broken the boxes open and they were all mouldy and a mess. Mother and I had to sort them and take piles of them, wheelbarrows and wheelbarrows of them away to be destroyed. Mother was heartbroken because she knew he treasured those books so much. We lived in a very small home in Merritt
and had no room for them. She stored them hoping we'd get a bigger place or one of the children would have the books some day. But I don't know what books were destroyed.

James Teit had a long-continuing interest in photography as shown in the following letter to Charles F. Newcombe dated January 4, 1908:

I have looked over all the photos I have and find there would be very few that would be suitable for your purposes. Many years ago when I used to be travelling through the upper Fraser and Nichaco [Nechako], Blackwater, Stuart's Lake and etc. I carried no Kodak and therefore have no pictures of that country. Given the pictures I have of the Fraser River are all from Dog Creek down and nearly all taken by other people...I also have some pictures of Thompson Indians -- some of them in native costume.

His daughter Inga, recalled:

He had a very good camera and he took a lot of good photographs, family photographs. I think somebody still has that camera. It was one of those old cameras where you put a hood over yourself and you pulled out a piece of metal. You saw everything upside down when you looked through the camera.

He took outdoor pictures of us. I remember sitting on the veranda right beside the house and he took our pictures. He developed his own pictures. Quite a few of his photos and negatives are left. Sigurd has reprinted them and made slides of them. He has a wonderful collection of slides of photos made by Father -- a few of Indians; a lot of collections of hunting trips.

Father was forever making lists of plants and lists of photographs of plants. He never wrote on the photographs but put lists in the front of the photo albums so it wouldn't efface the photos.
Teit's Interest in Botany

Many of Teit's letters, which are preserved in the British Columbia Provincial Archives in Victoria concern plants. His correspondence with Charles Newcombe, which lasted over many years, began with the inquiry by Newcombe, Ch.V, Pg. 90, about native plants he had seen mentioned in Teit's work. In the intervening years the letters covered many other subjects but botany was of continuing interest. Teit wrote in his very last letter to Newcombe:

It was a disappointment not to have you along. The weather was ideal and no mosquitoes nor flies. We found the flowering season was more advanced than at the same time last year. This by about two weeks. But there was no harm in this as some plants not in flower last year when we were there we found in flower.

He also wrote a very long letter in answer to an inquiry from E.O.S. Scholefield, British Columbia Archivist, regarding "cultivation of the soil in prehistoric times in B.C." He said that the Tahltan claimed that they had grown tobacco before even the fur traders came. Although Teit did not doubt that this was true, he felt the tobacco plant was not indigenous to the area. His daughter Inga said:

The things I remember more about my father than anything else were things about botany. I remember the botanists coming to our home, and I can remember Professor John Davidson. He's a well-known botanist. He made a big collection of plants of interior B.C. for the university and Father helped on this.

Teit had been ill from January to June of 1914 with what he referred to as a "hard sickness," which included fever
and rheumatism. He apparently recovered by summer and on June 11, 1914 he wrote to Newcombe:

I am leaving on a 10 days trip in the neighbourhood botanizing with Prof. Davidson.

Davidson was a professor of botany at the University of British Columbia for many years. Concerning Teit's work with him, his daughter, Inga, said her father was not ambitious, not interested in money. She thought he was religious as he was anxious to do things for people, adding that when he failed to get credit for the assistance he gave to scholars he said, 'It doesn't matter; I enjoyed the work.' He was a very modest person."

About the possibility of some of Teit's material being in the Botany Department at the University of British Columbia, Inga said:

Yes, but it wouldn't be under his name. I think the Davidson collection went to the Natural History Society. I'm a member of that myself.

Mother was very interested in botany and a very good botanist and tried to interest us.

We had a lovely garden -- all wild flowers; every wild flower in the region. He couldn't stand people picking flowers.

**Visitors at the Family Home**

Inga mentioned the family home (the Morens farm) which she referred to as the "farm" or sometimes as the "ranch."
They had quite a few visitors to the farm. The farm was four miles out of Spences Bridge -- the Morens place. At school age Father built a little house in town so the kids could go to school. We went back to the farm on weekends and Christmas.

She recalled some of the guests who stayed there:

Professor Davidson stayed at the ranch. It (the home) is still there but it hasn't been in the family for many years.

The house where Boas stayed was Mother's people's home, a big ranch house. Most visitors to Spences Bridge stayed there because they had a lot of room. My grandmother and my aunt were good cooks and they loved company.

Erik Teit also remembered Boas coming to Spences Bridge and staying with the Morens family outside of town. He had memories of Boas covering himself with a blanket, singing Indian songs and dancing. He also recalled seeing Sapir at Spences Bridge. Inga said:

I remember Sapir. He and father sat there and they played an old gramophone. They had a new record with John McCormack singing "My Mother Came From Heaven." I remember Father getting letters. He went to Ottawa fairly often. I think he stayed with Sapir. I think a baby was born one of those times.

Last Days

James A. Teit died November 3, 1922, in Merritt, after a lengthy illness. Sigurd Teit said that tissues had been sent to the Mayo Clinic but that there had been no reply. The family did not know what caused his death but thought it was an abscessed prostate gland; probably not cancer.
Teit's daughter said Boas had paid a visit to Spences Bridge earlier in the year, probably because he knew that Teit was very ill. The date was August 30, 1922. Inga said:

I remember him just before my father died. He came there that summer and I can remember him quite well. He was an awfully nice fellow. He might have been there before, but I don't remember him other times. Several months before Father died Boas came to Spences Bridge. Father was sick in bed, very sick and couldn't get up to come to the door.

I remember walking with Dr. Boas down from the house to where the bridge was going across the river. I remember him talking to me and he seemed such a nice person. He made himself quite young with me. He teased me about being an only girl and how spoiled I was with all the brothers, you know.

On August 30, 1922, Boas wrote one of his children:

The visit here is very sad. An old companion of my travels is dying of cancer of the bladder. I spend much time with him trying to give him courage. ¹⁴

The family moved Teit from Spences Bridge to Merritt, perhaps because medical care was available in the larger town.

Teit was fifty-eight when he died and left a widow and five children -- Erik, seventeen; Inga, fourteen; Magnus, twelve; Sigurd, seven; and Thorald, three.

Boas made another trip to Spences Bridge as the following excerpts from two of his letters show:

Vancouver, Nov. 13, 1923:

Monday night I arrived at about 1 a.m. at Spences Bridge...
Then I went to Mrs. Teit who had come from ...(Merritt) with two of her children. I sat with her over some papers which she had classified and which she is going to send to New York. (p. 277)

Vancouver, November 14, 1923:

I was in Spences Bridge from Sunday night until Monday. I looked through and brought to order all the papers Teit left there. He has many notes, which I have sorted, I shall let a few of my students sort these things. (p. 278)
CHAPTER IV

HILL-TOUT AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Archaeologist and Ethnographer

While others were building up their fortune, he was grubbing among the midden heaps and cemeteries of a dying race, sharing the life of the Indian Tribes, methodizing their language from grunts and monosyllables, making literature of their unwritten traditions, lending his mind out, as Browning's Fra Lippo has it, that the coming race of students in British Columbia should have light and guidance concerning the first dwellers in this wonderful western land. (p. 1196)

Thus Alfred Buckley described Hill-Tout's early days in British Columbia. It is quite likely that many of his contemporaries felt that the young schoolmaster was not making the most of the financial opportunities which were opening up in the bounteous new land. However, Hill-Tout was fascinated by the Indians, past and present, and he devoted as much time as he could to acquiring knowledge about them.

His anthropological work may be divided into two types as his studies covered both the archaeology and the ethnography of the region.

Archaeological Field Methods

Unfortunately Hill-Tout had no training in archaeology and apparently had not educated himself on its technical aspects. He did not use a datum point, make a grid
or know how to dig in the scientific sense of the word.¹

However, his explorations in the middens along the banks of the Fraser River excited greater public interest than did his ethnographic work among the living Indians. It was on the basis of his publications and theories concerning his archaeological finds that his reputation, at least in the popular mind, rested.

He also studied a few other areas including Hatzic Prairie mounds about 1895. In his article, "The Story of the Most Unique Fossil Beds Known to Science," concerning Rancho La Brea in Los Angeles, California, Hill-Tout wrote, "Various institutions and individuals, of whom the writer was one, took part in the work of excavation."² These explorations began in 1906 and continued until 1913, but information is lacking as to when he took part in them.

His son discussed Hill-Tout's archaeological work:

The only time I went with him was out to Steveston and I was grubbing around there in an Indian midden and I dug out a nice bone spearhead. It had four barbs on it, but possibly the point or something was broken and that's why it was discarded.

Digging up the artifacts was something he could do himself, the other (ethnography) he had to discuss it with the Indians.

The Great Fraser Midden

Hill-Tout's most important archaeological explorations were made at a site for which he proposed the name, The
Great Fraser Midden, but which was also known as Eburne Midden and later was called Marpole Midden. Mr. Thomas Ainsworth, former Curator of Vancouver City Museum, said:

I always associated Hill-Tout with the discovery of Marpole Midden at the foot of Granville Street. It used to be called Eburne Road after Mr. Eburne, who was a neighbour of mine. We arranged the artifacts in the museum in a sequence to show the evolution of the Indians from the Stone Age to the height of the totemic art.

According to newsman, Donald A. McGregor, while Hill-Tout was teaching at Whetham College in 1902 workmen began to cut through a new road in an area known as Marpole at the foot of Granville Street on the Fraser River. The new street was called Eburne Road. McGregor had heard that one of Hill-Tout's pupils came from this area and that he had brought a few artifacts to school, which immediately had excited his teacher's interest. However, Hill-Tout seems to have known about the Marpole site much earlier as his first published work "Later Prehistoric Man in British Columbia" (1895), dealt with this midden, as did his article, "The Prehistoric Races of British Columbia" (Christmas Number 1899), of the Mining Record.

On May 29, 1955, Lieutenant Colonel H. St. G. Hamersley presented to the Vancouver City Archives a small carving and document of presentation entitled, "Stone Relic from Eburne Midden." The relic was described as being two
inches long, three eighths of an inch wide, weighing three quarters of an ounce and as drab, dark brown. The presenta-
tion stated:

A stone image I dug up about 1895 in an ancient midden where the old road, through the forest, from Vancouver reached the North Arm of the Fraser River. As a boy I went with Professor Hill-Tout to dig. It was beside a skull. The skull had a slate or shale spearhead in it.

The Midden at Eburne, now called Marpole was on the North bank of North Arm of the Fraser River and covered two to three acres on a flat summit of a cliff. The low land bordering the river lay about thirty feet below. The whole area of the midden was hidden beneath a dense forest of towering trees varying from saplings to seven feet diameter. The exact site was a few yards east of the junction of Granville Street South and West Marine Drive, and is now crossed by a busy thoroughfare, smooth paved, flanked by business buildings. Relics were unearthed at depths from a few inches to five or six feet.

Charles E. Borden, Professor of Archaeology at the University of British Columbia wrote:

The large shell-heap at Eburne, as the present Marpole district used to be called, has been known since 1889, when the road leading south from Vancouver was extended to connect with the bridge to Sea-Island. The new section of the road was cut through the middle of the Marpole Midden and Mr. William Oliver, who was in charge of this work observed the occurrence of artifacts and asked his men to save all specimens that came to their notice. Oliver's observations and the collection which was then made drew the attention of other observers to the place. Among these was Charles Hill-Tout, who published the first account of this midden under the title, "Later Prehistoric Man in British Columbia" (Transactions Royal Society

In his 1938 Address called the "Great Fraser Midden," Hill-Tout said, "the first thing that arrested my attention was its apparent immense extent." Concerning the size of the midden, Borden wrote:

According to Hill-Tout, who surveyed the site with G.F. Monckton, a mining engineer, the midden had a length of more than 1400 feet and covered an area exceeding four-and-a-half acres in extent. The approximate average depth of the deposit is said to have been five feet with a maximum depth in places of fifteen feet. The small remaining portion of the midden where we were able to work had a maximum depth of less than six feet. (p. 14)

In the meantime, due to a lack of funds, Hill-Tout could do little more than conduct superficial investigations. However, when the new road was cut through in 1902, the project became what was later to known as "salvage archaeology," that is archaeology salvaged from public works or other projects or gathered in haste before they begin -- seldom permitting the most refined recovery techniques, but giving results that are better than nothing.

Realizing the importance of the site Hill-Tout pleaded for funds over a long period of time. After many years (about the 1930's) the Art, Historical and Scientific
Association was able to devote a small amount to the project. However the only person in the early days who had financial backing for digging at the midden was Harlan I. Smith. Borden's own later explorations of the site have been hampered by lack of funds as well as urban development and industrial expansion. Borden wrote: "The recent history of this site is tragic and not a credit to Canada and the citizens of this province." He also wrote:

For half a century after Smith's investigations this important site was left to the mercy of amateur diggers and souvenir hunters. Much of the material they dug up has been scattered and lost. However, thanks to Mr. Hill-Tout and other interested persons, many fine items have been saved... (p. 13)

An important figure in the early Marpole Midden explorations was Herman Leisk of Powell River, as he did the actual excavation. The Museum Curator, Thomas P.O. Menzies, cited Leisk's "skilful management" and said that it was because of him that the Vancouver Museum has its "splendid collection" from the midden.5

Mrs. Ruth Corbett, former Assistant Curator, discussed the Marpole finds and their arrangement in the old Museum. (However, it should be remembered that when she became Assistant Curator in 1923 Hill-Tout was over sixty, and that she spoke somewhat from hearsay.) She said:

I arranged the exhibits. He (Hill-Tout) had nothing to do with the museum beyond being the President. It was an honorary position. He didn't contribute things to the Museum. It was he who had the
Marpole Midden dug up. Herman Leisk did the digging at Marpole; he dug up all the artifacts and they were brought to the Museum. He (Leisk) was a working man, not an archaeologist.

According to Menzies, the method of digging the midden was to trench down to rock bottom, then work forward on a face. The exact position of every item was carefully measured from the surface. Concerning early digging techniques Borden wrote:

Smith was dependent for assistance on unskilled local labourers who dug fast, but paid little attention to where the various objects they found came from. I think we are fortunate to have Smith's publication. However, the science of archaeology has grown more exacting since those early days, and modern investigators regret that Smith was not able to pay more attention to stratigraphy, that is to the chronological sequence of finds. (pp. 12-13)

Regarding one of the interesting finds from the midden, Ainsworth said:

Dr. Kidd examined a trephined skull that was found there. I think Kidd and Hill-Tout disagreed on the interpretation of the skull. This skull created a lot of interest.

Concerning the dating of the trephined skull, Mrs. Ruth Corbett said:

He (Hill-Tout) dated the trephined skull at the museum. He dated it by looking at it and knowing what he was doing. He was a great anthropologist. He was a very clever man.

However, these remarks may be unfair to Hill-Tout, because his dating techniques, though not up to modern standards,
were not whimsical and impressionistic. Regarding the length of time man had been in British Columbia, he wrote:

...Man has been here a considerable period of time. This evidence is mainly seen in the numerous great midden-heaps and ancient burial mounds that are found scattered up and down the province. Some of the former are of enormous extent covering several thousand acres of land and containing thousands of tons of extraneous matter. Not only do these huge masses of camp refuse indicate long periods of settlement at these centres, but the presence of dense forests growing over and out of them -- some of the trees of which indicate they are at least a thousand years old -- shows these middens belong to a distant past and are not of modern formation.

The burial mounds of this region are likewise structures of a relatively distant past, for out of the crowns of some of them huge fir and cedar trees have grown whose annular rings show them to be over a thousand years old.

Borden wrote that coniferous trees do not become established on shell middens until certain internal changes in the midden mass have taken place and it is not known how long this takes. (p. 14)

Hill-Tout estimated that it took at least a thousand years to accumulate the refuse in the large middens of this region and added that "we may reasonably conclude that a primitive people had settled on this spot at least two thousand years ago, and it may have been considerably earlier." Hill-Tout's early estimate was remarkably accurate for his time as the later C\textsubscript{14} dating method has yielded a date of about 2,000 years B.P. for this region. However, knowledge of the area
is in a state of flux and estimates of the length of human occupation of British Columbia increase every few years as dating and recovery techniques improve.

In the early days the finds from the midden were housed in the basements and homes of local citizens. The Vancouver City Archives contain numerous newspaper clippings detailing Hill-Tout's continued pleas for money from the city fathers so that a museum could be established. After much time a very small amount of space was finally allotted for that purpose. Hill-Tout continued his battle for larger quarters.

Thomas Ainsworth described the old museum:

Andrew Carnegie donated the building where the old library is on Main and Hastings. The museum was on the very top floor. When the library moved the museum was given the entire building. The museum was on the top floor when I took it over and it was there for several years. When we got the whole building we put in material from other areas. I don't know what they use that old building for now.

Ethnographic Field Work

Regarding his ethnographic work, Noel Robinson wrote that as the years went by Hill-Tout visited the various divisions of the Salish and gathered information from the oldest of the Indians. "He devoted much time and attention to their languages, elaborated their grammar and collected vocabularies." Robinson wrote:
To get the material for these reports he often went to live among the Indians to obtain his information first hand about them and their past, customs, habits and totemistic beliefs.10

Hill-Tout's method of obtaining stories was to write down phonetically the stories told to him, give an interlinear translation and then write a free translation.

About 1899 Hill-Tout tried to learn a story from an ancient Indian named Mulks, who was nearly one hundred years old, born shortly after Captain Vancouver sailed up Howe Sound in the Discovery at the close of the 18th century. Hill-Tout recalled the episode:

Unfortunately as his archaic Squamish was beyond my poor knowledge of the language, it was necessary to have to resort to the tribal interpreter. The account will, in consequence, be less full and literal.

By the time it had been determined who should act as interpreter, the large room in which the meeting was held was full of people, but before the old man was allowed to begin his recital, certain preparations were deemed necessary by the elderly men present. These chiefly consisted in making a small bundle of short wooden rods about six inches in length. These played the part of tallies, each rod representing to them a particular paragraph or chapter in the recital. They apologized for making these, and were at pains to explain to me that these rods were, to them, what books were to the white man.

The rods were placed at intervals around the edge of the table at which some of us sat, and after some animated discussion between the interpreter and the others as to the relative order and names of the tallies, the old man was told he might begin.
The first tally being placed in his hand, for he was too blind from old age to see them himself, he began his recital in a loud, high-pitched voice, as if he were addressing a large audience in the open air.

He went on without pause for about ten minutes and then the interpreter took up the story.

The recital was clearly either beyond the interpreter's power to render fully into English, or there was much in it he did not care to relate to a white stranger, for I did not get a third of what the old man uttered; and it was only by dint of questioning and cross-questioning that I was able to get anything like a connected narrative from him at all.

The old man recited his story chapter by chapter, that is, tally by tally, and the interpreter followed in like order...11

According to another account Hill-Tout was an authority on the language and customs of the Coast Salish and the Déné in the interior and:

He spent long stretches of time among the Indians, winning their confidence, listening to their legends and recording their languages. His work was mostly among the old men, for these alone were in touch with the past of the tribes. Now, these are gone and there is no link save the professor's studies.12

His son, Charles, said:

As far as I know he didn't go with others to see the Indians.

I know perfectly well that he found his greatest assistance with the Catholic priests, wherever he happened to be, which village he was in. He only made one trip you know, up Prince Rupert and down. But the Catholic priests were the ones that he depended on... They were educated men living with the Indians and he would get the
information from them as well as from the Indians. The priests spoke English and the natives told him the stories.

He went up the coast one time and came through what is more or less the line of the Canadian Northern to Prince Rupert and came down the Fraser Valley right through to Vancouver. And he lived with the Indians in there a day or two here, a day or two there, to get their history and so forth. One way he would talk to the chief and the chief would have a little pile of small sticks and he would make some statements and then put one stick over to one side. That indicated one chapter and that way he would get all his information from that source that he could. He wrote a book, what you might call a dictionary on the Kwakiutl.13

In a forward to his monograph on the Mainland Halkomelem in the 1902 Ethnological Survey his difficulties in the field were discussed:14

Mr. Hill-Tout has continued to carry on his investigations among the Salish of British Columbia under greater difficulties than usual during this past year. Two of the three tribes which he has at present under observation were quarantined on account of an outbreak of small-pox among them just at the season when it is most convenient to be among them. This and the shortness of funds with which he was provided to prosecute the work have proved most serious obstacles to the completion of his report... (pp. 1-2)

In the same monograph Hill-Tout wrote about his field methods:

In the compilation of these notes I have followed my usual practice and employed two or three Indians together. I have found this to be an imperative necessity. The personal difference in articulation and enunciation, through loss of teeth or malformation of some
voice organ, is sometimes very great. Moreover, the spread and use of English among the Indians is seriously affecting the purity of the native speech. Frequently they are in doubt about the correctness of some form or phrase, and have to appeal one to the other to know which is right. (pp. 17-18)

In his ethnological papers Hill-Tout usually devoted one or more paragraphs to a discussion of his informants. In his report in the Ethnological Survey of 1899, which was a study of the N'tlaka'pamuQ (the Thompson), he noted that his principal informant had been Chief Mischelle, who died the following year. The following notation is typical as it combines remarks regarding his informants with other observations. In his study of the Sk'gō'mic (Squamish) Hill-Tout wrote:

Having found an intelligent helper this spring in my studies in the person of a half-breed named Annie Carrasco, I have taken advantage of her assistance to gather a fairly extensive list of phrases and sentences illustrative of the laws and structure of the language... (p. 495)

My methods of working was to supplement the services of Mrs. Carrasco with those of one or more full blooded Sk'gō'mic. These were generally a woman named Annie Rivers and Chief Thomas of Kuk·aiō's. My notes therefore, will, I trust be free from those errors which sometimes creep into our studies of native tongues when only the services of half-breeds, with limited and imperfect knowledge of the language are employed. There are many ways of expressing the same thoughts and ideas in Sk'gō'mic as in other tongues. I have, however, in my grammar notes sought to record at all times the correct or 'classic' forms. Colloquialisms and 'slangey' phrases are quite common
and these are active factors of change in the Sk'gö'mic language as in others. Chief Thomas and others of older men informed me that the language had changed considerably during the past fifty years, and that every generation of speakers had brought in new phrases and expressions, some of which die out and are forgotten, while others are perpetuated and in time become 'classic' or correct forms of speech. (pp. 495-6)

Hill-Tout found missionary help valuable in his Report for the Ethnological Survey of 1902 (Mainland Halkomelem) he wrote about informants:

The Indians most useful to me in my studies of the Tcil'Qe'uk were -- 'Captain' John, Chief of the Suwa'le sept; his son-in-law, 'Commodore,' and David SELa'kEtEn of 'Cultus' Lake. I also desire to express my thanks to the Rev. W. Barraclough for the use of his private Tcil'Qe'uk vocabulary... (p. 18)
CHAPTER V

TEIT AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Teit Becomes Anthropologist

At a time when ambitious pioneers were seeking opportunities to grow rich in this new country, it would be thought by the wise and prudent that this young Scottish settler was not living up to the standards of his countrymen, and was wasting years of valuable time for no gain. He was, in fact, going through a period of apprenticeship in Goethe's sense. It was seen afterwards that in no other way could he have obtained that intimate and sympathetic knowledge which he acquired.

In a remarkably similar (though less florid) way the above paragraph by "Lucian" about Teit repeated almost exactly the sentiments expressed by Alfred Buckley when he wrote of Hill-Tout.

While Hill-Tout's interest in anthropology had developed over a period of time, Teit's entry into the field can be dated exactly.

On September 19 and 20, 1894, a meeting took place which was to have great importance for the future of anthropology in British Columbia and which gave special direction to Teit's own life. Franz Boas passed through Spences Bridge and he and Teit met for the first time. The meeting was described as follows:

Boas left Kamloops on September 18 and stopped in Spences Bridge on his way to North Bend, Mission City and Vancouver.
He met James A. Teit — "A redheaded Scotsman who is married to an Indian woman" (Boas: 9/21/94) — near Spences Bridge. Teit later became one of Boas' principal informants for many years. On this occasion he simply employed Teit for two days to assist with the measurements, but Teit also agreed to write a description of the tribes along the Thompson River which Boas intended to incorporate in his own report.²

Ronald Rohner's _An Ethnography of Franz Boas_ records many letters Boas sent from the Northwest.³ In one letter Boas wrote to his wife from North Bend September 21, 1894, giving his own impression of the historic occasion:

> I left the train at Spences Bridge, which is a little dump of three or four houses and a hotel right at the station. I had to make a lot of noise before I was heard... In the morning everything looked quite hopeless. I took a ferry across the river because the bridge had been washed away in the spring. On the other side I went to see a man, a Salvation Army Warrior and big farmer, who raises...fruit and is supposed to know the Indians very well. He sent me to another young man, who lives three miles away up the mountain and who is married to an Indian. So I started up the mountain in the great heat and finally found the house, where he lives with a number of Indians. He was not at home. I waited, entertained by his wife and an old man, and after an hour he came. The young man, James Teit, is a treasure! He knows a great deal about the tribes. I engaged him right away.

> With his help I measured all the Indians who live there. Since I didn't know that Indians lived on the mountain, I did not have my instruments, so that I had to go down, cross the river, and go up again. In the evening I was terribly tired and slept well in spite of everything. Yesterday we left at 5:30 and rode horseback to the various camps. Since the Indians are scattered all around, I cannot
finish here but hope to be able to come back later. This depends on what I find in Fort Rupert. (p. 139)

On the same date Boas also wrote a letter (partially quoted above) to his parents:

(I met) a red-headed Scotsman (James Teit) who is married to an Indian woman. He knows a great deal about the Indians and was especially kind. I engaged him right off. Around him live a great number of Indians... (p. 140)

(Regarding his description as a "redheaded Scotsman," Teit's children born years later remember him as having brown hair without a trace of red, but with a bright red beard and moustache. They added that since he almost always wore a wide-brimmed hat it may have appeared from the color of these that he had red hair. However, hair color changes and in later years darker pigments could have masked the red. Boas could very likely have been right in 1894.) The letter continued:

Yesterday morning the Scotsman came down with horses, and we visited the Indian tents. The Indians here irrigate the land and raise horses and cows on the irrigated pastures...The Indians were scattered all over the countryside, some hunting in faraway fields, and therefore I could not do very much. (p. 140)

Two days later (September 23) Boas wrote to his wife from his hotel in North Bend:

I like it here very much in the handsome, clean hotel at the Pacific Railroad, especially after the filth in Spences Bridge. (p. 141)
It seems that Boas was quick to realize the potential of his new informant, kept him in mind, and during 1894 returned to see him at least two more times as the following excerpts show:

To his wife, October 21, 1894:

Mr. Teit, from Spences Bridge, about whom I wrote you before, promised in his letter to send me a description of the tribes along the Thompson River. You probably remember that I found him very well versed and had asked him to write such a report for me which I want to incorporate in my own report, as much as feasible. He also wrote that he would help me with the measurements. (p. 162)

November 10, 1894, to his wife:

From Victoria I will go again to Spences Bridge and into the Nicola Valley. This will take about ten days, so that I will be back in Victoria on the twenty-fifth. (pp. 174-175)

To his wife, Victoria, December 8, 1894:

I sent a telegram to Spences Bridge so that my companion will be ready. I cannot be there before that. I hope I shall be finished there in one week. (p. 192)

As far as I can tell now, I shall be in Spences Bridge on the twelfth; on the fourteenth I shall be back there again, and will leave there on the fifteenth. (p. 193)

To his parents, Lytton, December 14, 1894:

I had ordered the same informant I had in the fall, with two horses, and we went around all day long up the hills and down the hills, from house to house, to make measurements.
To his wife, Lytton, December 15, 1894:

My informant is a very nice man. He comes from the Shetland Islands and has bummed around here a lot in all kinds of capacities. He is very much interested in the Indians and is writing a report for me about this tribe which will be very good, I hope. He will also make a collection for me. His name is James Teit. (p. 196)


Activities in Anthropology

In 1897 (June 4 to 6) Boas again stopped at Spences Bridge. It was the start of the famous Jesup Expedition (Chapter VI). Concerning this Ross Parmenter wrote:

Boas made his first sweeping tour of the north central interior of British Columbia in 1897. He began his investigations in Spences Bridge and then went up the Fraser River to Lillooet. (p. 191)

Teit in his article "The Shuswap" said that he had accompanied Dr. Boas on his visits to all the Western Shuswap bands, and across Chilcotin country to Bella Coola in 1897.

In 1900 Teit's first work as a member of the Expedition appeared in Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume I, Franz Boas, editor. It was a 229 page work called, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia."
On June 21, 1900, Boas made his third journey to Spences Bridge. Following his visit Teit worked on two projects at one time, both under the direction of Boas. The first was a continuation of his work for the Jesup Expedition. In his Shuswap monograph he recorded that in 1900 he made a journey with pack-train at the request of Dr. Franz Boas and that he visited the western and northern bands of the Fraser River and spent almost all summer and fall among them. (This was the area he had previously journeyed through in 1887, 1888 and 1892.) Teit mentioned that during the season of 1900 he collected the bulk of his information from several old men in the vicinity of Canoe Creek and Dog Creek and especially from one old man who was very intelligent, well-travelled and informed on the area. He stated that he returned home via Bonaparte. He worked on this project for the Jesup Expedition at various periods for several years including the summer of 1904. Teit said that during these years he had visited all the bands of the Shuswap except the isolated ones of Upper North Thompson River at Jasper House, the Kinbaskets on the Columbia River and the Arrow Lake Band. Teit added that it would have been interesting and perhaps of value to have visited these bands, but the time and money required would have doubled the expenses of the Shuswap expedition.

In the meantime, Teit worked on another project.
In his Foreword to "The Middle Columbia Salish," Boas revealed that from 1900 to 1910 under his direction Teit carried through an investigation of the distribution of the Salishan tribes. These studies were financed by Homer E. Sargent of Pasadena, California, U.S.A. Boas in his preface to Teit's "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateau," acknowledged that "Mr. Homer E. Sargent of Pasadena, California, defrayed for years the very considerable expenses of Teit's work." According to Teit's son, Sigurd, Sargent had first met Teit when the latter served him as a guide. Teit's daughter, Inga, recalled that Teit had guided Sargent, who was a millionaire, at least twice with a hunting party and that she herself had met Sargent.

The Teit-Newcombe Correspondence

As a result of the articles on the Thompson River Indians a correspondence between Teit and Charles F. Newcombe was started in 1900 which continued until about 1918. In February, 1900, Teit received a letter signed by the President of the Natural History Society of British Columbia. The writer said that he was making a collection for the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, to represent the use of native plants by Indians of the Northwest tribes and that he had seen references to several plants in Teit's work on the Thompson River Indians and these plants had not been used by the Coast Indians. He added:
I should be greatly obliged if you could get me specimens to represent Indian plants on the enclosed list. Let me know their cost.

Although Newcombe was a physician and psychiatrist with an M.D. degree, Teit wrote to him as "Mr." He replied to Newcombe's enquiry as follows:

Mr. Charles F. Newcombe, Victoria

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 20th inst. duly to hand. I presume that it is specimens of the plants you desire to procure, but am not quite sure. Do you wish them when they are in flower so their exact names can be determined or do you want entire specimens for propagation. Please let me know and oblige.

Yours truly,

(signed) J.A. Teit

P.S. If it is only specimens of the plants you want it will not cost much but if it is specimens of articles used by the Indians representing these plants then it will cost a good deal. Let me know and I shall give you an approximate of the cost. J.A.T.

In a letter to Newcombe dated June 19, 1903, Teit again wrote about various plants. This letter showed that he was already part of the then small world of British Columbia anthropology:

I am glad to hear that you have seen Father Morice. I sent him a note in your care which please give or send to him.

A letter to Newcombe in August, 1903, revealed that he was also part of the larger world of anthropology and also gave information concerning his field work. The letter said
that he was forwarding specimens he had collected for the Field Columbian Museum. He added:

I have just lately returned from my trip among the Shuswaps. I did not find a great deal of old stuff amongst them although I visited a number of out of the way places and got altogether some one hundred odd specimens for the New York people. I would like you to let me know how your account is with me. That is to say at the time we parted in Kamloops. I do not know if I have it right. The stuff I am sending consists of two bales and one box and I hope everything will arrive in good order and that you will be pleased with all. Let me hear from you at your leisure.

Some of the letters reveal his attitudes towards finances. Many consist in part of long lists of the names and prices of the various articles he packed in large parcels and sent to Newcombe. One such letter sent in April, 1905, said:

The cost of the nine specimens is $10.25. The actual cost was $9.50 and I am allowing 75c to myself for packing if you take them.

In another letter concerning finances dated April 10, 1910, Teit wrote:

Your letter of 5th inst. came to hand, and I was glad to hear you had an engagement to arrange the N.W. collection in the Museum at Ottawa. I shall be glad to prepare the map for them, but I have no idea what the job is worth. I think I better leave it with you to make the arrangement and whatever price you set will be satisfactory with me. Either that or you might give me an idea of what to charge. I suppose it ought to be worth $10 anyway...
Many of his letters contained bills. May, 1903, Teit sent the following short bill to Newcombe from Nicola:

1 bark cape .50
1 dentalium head drip $2.25
1 bark hood .50
1 necklace .75
1 ... needle .25

Other bills were longer. The following was sent December 1, 1903.

Moss cloak $5.00
Sagebark cape 2.50
Sagebark shoes 1.00

Altogether $8.50

Balsam Horiz'a seeds 4.00
Mortar Bag for seeds 2.50
Moss Leggings and Man's moss shirt 6.30
Necklace of Elaeagnus seeds
Fisher skin Headband 1.50
Boy's moss leggings, moss shoes, moss cap and Elaeagnus poncho 3.75
Moss Shoes, moss leggings, sheep skin leggings and knife sheath 3.75
Elaeagnus cape, Elaeagnus kilt and Cixcuxxelp bark cape 1.50
Round snowshoes Stiwxamux snow shoes 6.00
Tent mat, cedar bark belt, sap scraper 2.50
Chilcotin basket, man's Musquash cap, bone awls, Elaeagnus cloak 7.75

Altogether $44.25

Paid
Fixing large basket, fixing cradle .65
Fixing spear, making beaver tooth knife .55
Pipestem, fixing salmon spear .85
Stone for, and fixing skin scraper .40

Altogether $46.70
Field Work

Teit's knowledge of the Indians was not based on special expeditions into the field to gather information. Rather he was immersed in Indian experience. Thus, in a strict sense he did not do field work. The writer, "Lucian," recognized this when he wrote:

Professor Boas could not, in fifty years of study as a research student, have gained directly from the Indians as much as he obtained in two or three summers with Mr. Teit. You can not by searching find out what the Indians know. They would not if they could and could not if they would reveal themselves to a superior stranger asking them questions. What they knew, but did not realize that they knew, could only be gathered by a comrade, who was never in a hurry, who did not make much fuss, but took it all in as a matter of course and showed no sign of literary or scientific intention.

Nor is it likely that the young man himself could have learned half as much if he had been consciously gathering knowledge for a useful purpose. He had no particular motive, in qualifying himself to determine on the examination of a basket or mat or pair of moccasins or a rude wood carving, in what district and by what band of Indians it was made. When he began to learn one after another the various languages and dialects spoken in the interior of the province he never knew that he was becoming a phonologist. These were the days when in conversation with old men he gained information which assisted him in making and classifying collections of Indians relics.

On the other hand, it would not have been possible for him to become the high authority that he was had he not later made his home in a village and settled down where he could continue his studies under what may be called
service conditions. The life that was suited for gaining original information was not adapted to the classification and record of his knowledge, the collection of material, and communication with other students.  

Teit's accounts of his informants varied widely. In some of them he did not mention informants, in others he mentioned a few and in one report ("Coiled Basketry") thirty-five individual informants were listed. This list was compiled under unusual and tragic circumstances. Boas wanted a report on coiled basketry and sent Dr. Herman Karl Haeberlin to Teit to start the research. Haeberlin gathered his information, returned to New York and continued his studies. However, before he could finish them he succumbed to a disease. In the meantime Teit who was busy with his work for the welfare of the Indians had assembled some notes on basketry. But before he could finish his studies he became ill and died. Helen H. Roberts then took Haeberlin's and Teit's manuscripts, arranged the material, wrote the text and prepared it for publication.

An entire section called "The Informants" consisted of a list of the individual names of each Indian woman who wove baskets, the name of her band, her relationship to other artisan-informants, the age when she began to make baskets and age at the time of the interview.

Regarding Teit's manner of working his daughter recalled:
Father was completely relaxed with the Indians. He had a very big office -- two desks and an old Edison Gramophone with cylinders. The Indians came in and sang to them. He recorded their songs and conversation. He parcelled them up and mailed them. The Indians stayed all day and the place would be blue with smoke. Father chewed on a pipestem and was soft spoken and quiet.

I remember as a child he had instruments for measuring heads. He would measure visitors and the family and some of the Indians and anybody. He measured all us children -- measured all our heads. I often used to see him measuring heads.

Sigurd Teit said that the Indians accompanied his father and worked with him on the guide trips and that he collected notes all the time. At nights the big game hunters stayed in tents of their own, while Teit lived in the Indian tents. In this way he learned about Indian life, language and customs as an insider.

Teit learned the language of the Thompsons and he could also converse in related dialects. Sigurd related that Teit was so fluent in the language and his accent so good, that an Indian had said that in a dark room "you couldn't tell him from an Indian speaking."
CHAPTER VI

THE JESUP NORTH PACIFIC EXPEDITION

Aims of the Expedition

In his introduction to the Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition Boas explained his choice of the area, and outlined his philosophy and the aims of the Expedition. He wrote that although anthropology had been a science for only a few years, it was already approaching the solution of its problem — that is, the laying down of laws governing the growth of culture.

He also expressed the belief that the history of anthropology was like that of other sciences. At first facts arranged themselves in seeming order and the ultimate goal of inquiry seemed to be near at hand. But as investigations continued new facts were disclosed, and:

The beautiful, simple order is broken and the student stands aghast before the multitude and complexity of facts. ...The phenomena, as long as imperfectly known, lend themselves to grand and simple theories that explain all being. But when painstaking and laborious inquiry discloses the complexity of the phenomena, new foundations must be laid, and the new edifice is erected more slowly. Its outlines are not less grand, although less simple. (p. 3-4)

Boas explained that anthropology had reached the stage where a firm belief in far-reaching theories had been shaken. He said:
Heretofore we have seen the features common to all human thought; Now we begin to see their differences. We recognize that these are no less important than their similarities, and the value of detailed studies becomes apparent. Our aim has not changed, but our method must change. (p. 4)

In these few words Boas was striking a blow at the proponents of psychic unity and unilinear evolution, both of which often led to "grand theories." In addition, he was committing himself to a strictly empirical approach based on field work.

He stated the goal of the Expedition:

Its aim is the investigation of the history of man in a well-defined area, in which problems of great importance await solution. The expedition has for its object the investigation of the tribes, present and past, of the coasts of the North Pacific Ocean, beginning at the Amoor River in Asia, and extending Northeast-ward to Bering Sea, thence southeast-ward along the American coast as far as Columbia River.

The peculiar interest that attaches to this region is founded on the fact that here the Old World and New come into close contact. The geographical conditions favor migration along the coast-line, and the exchange of culture. Have such migrations, has such exchange of culture, taken place? (p. 4)

He pointed out that the two continents were widely separated and that it had been assumed that the development of New World culture was uninfluenced by the causes acting in the Old World. In the Old World there was probably not a single group of people that had not been influenced by others.
"If the development of culture in the New World has been quite independent of the advances made in the Old World, its culture will be of the greatest value for the purpose of comparison." Boas felt that it was important to investigate all possible lines and areas of contact and that of all of them, the North Pacific coast was probably the most important.

He set forth the problem of the investigation noting that although there was an American race, a number of distinct types had developed showing that a long period was necessary for their development. He observed that although the variability of each type was slight, "the members of each type show a remarkable degree of uniformity." He concluded that "the small variability is an indication of lack of mixture, and therefore of long-continued development by differentiation." He stated that the probable long occupancy of the American continent implied that the American culture had passed through a long period of development. "It is likely that the distinct types of the race developed in isolated spots, and therefore culture must also have followed distinct lines of growth."

However, he noted that the period of isolation was so far in the past that even archaeological evidence showed contact between tribes in all directions and "imply a mixture of blood, as well as exchange of a cultural achievement."

Boas noted that the people of the North Pacific coast of America, while of the American type, show an affinity
...and the question arises, whether this affinity is due to mixture, to migration, or to gradual differentiation. The culture of the area shows many traits that suggest a common origin, while others indicate diverse lines of development.

What relation these tribes bear to each other, and particularly what influence the inhabitants of one continent may have exerted on those of the other, are problems of great magnitude. Their solution must be attempted by a careful study of the natives of the coast, past and present, with a view of discovering so much of their history as may be possible. (p. 6)

Origins of the Expedition

According to Boas, "The Jesup North Pacific Expedition was organized early in the year 1897." However, that may have been an oversimplification, as the roots of the Expedition lay further in the past and there were a number of events prior to that time which led to the manner in which it was organized.

In 1884 The British Association for the Advancement of Science (B.A.A.S.) in Montreal appointed the British Association Committee on an Ethnological Survey to make studies in the various provinces, including a systematic investigation of the tribes of British Columbia. The committee studied the languages, customs, and physical characteristics of the natives of the region. By 1896 it had accomplished the main part of its goals except for a study of the physical types of Northern Interior British Columbia. Plans for this final phase
had already been worked out. According to Boas, "The operations of the committee extended over a period of fourteen years, and field-work was conducted under the auspices of the committee from 1888 to 1897."

Hill-Tout was closely connected with the work of the B.A.A.S. Although the Association had formed a standing committee to secure funds from the Dominion Government and the various provincial governments, he found it necessary to contact various people and organizations to plead for money to carry on his work for the Ethnological Survey, which was conducted under the auspices of the B.A.A.S. That he had a difficult time finding money to support his work is attested by this letter to Newcombe, dated February 20, 1901:

...My field expenses are about $500 a year. I have received about $150 a season...The rest has come out of my pocket but I cannot keep this up. Must drop the work if I do not receive outside help. I am asking for $500 per season. Of course I shall be glad to get even a smaller sum but that is about what I spend in the field. Please give us your valuable assistance and influence.

For some reason Newcombe had apparently disclaimed any knowledge of the survey. This can be inferred from Hill-Tout's letter to Newcombe dated March 4, 1901:

You say you know little of the Ethnological Survey. I thought you were thoroughly conversant with the whole scheme and in hearty sympathy with it. Let me then explain a little. For years past the B.A.A.S. (British Association for the Advancement of Science) has been carrying
on an ethnological survey in the United Kingdom. When the meeting of the Association was held in Canada in - '97 (sic) it was thought advisable to extend the survey to the Dominions. To encourage the work the B.A.A.S. made a temporary grant of £50. They have continued this thus for each year. This is . . . the pounds we have had at our disposal. It has been as you see largely a work of love on the part of the committee, no one getting more than a portion of his field expenses paid. As I told you the work I have been and am still carrying on has taken about $500 a year and the most I have received has been about $100. I . . . thought at the inception of the survey that the several Provincial authorities would assist in the work and help it along by small annual grants. Thus far B.C. has done nothing for the work. I have mainly supported the movement here myself but can afford to do this no longer. If the work is to be continued other help must be forthcoming. I am willing to give my time but my field expenses must be found. . . . Each year I am now devoting more than six months to the work. I do not want to boast but I think the work I have already accomplished stands as an excellent argument for granting the assistance I am asking.

The next month Hill-Tout wrote to Newcombe saying that he had received a postcard informing him that funds were not forthcoming and that he found this "inexplicable." However, in 1902, the Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada stated:

It is encouraging to report that the Government of British Columbia has recognized the value and importance of Mr. Hill-Tout's work, and has this year assisted him by a grant of $150 towards his field expenses. (p. 2)
However, several years earlier Boas had not only set before the B.A.A.S. the plan of an expedition which would complete the work of the B.A.A.S. committee, but unlike Hill-Tout, he also had his own financial backing:

...Morris K. Jesup, 'The Father of Rapid Transit,' in New York, retired banker and philanthropist, was president of the (American) Museum (of Natural History.)

Boas was curator of the Museum, which sponsored a number of studies in various departments, including entomology, zoology and palaeontology and published the findings. One of its sections was anthropology, and under this heading it published the work of scholars in various interest and geographical areas.

The Anthropology Department's first major organized project was an expedition on both sides of the Bering Straits, and its problems "induced him (Jesup) to provide personally with great liberality the means for carrying on investigations." The Expedition was given Jesup's name.

Combining the work of the B.A.A.S. committee with that of the Jesup Expedition had some advantages for the British Association, of which, it is likely, financial backing was not the least. The advantage to the Jesup Expedition is less clear. Concerning the cooperation between the two associations, Boas stated:

Since the plan of the latter (Jesup) expedition made it necessary to supplement the work of the committee of the
British Association, particularly in regard to archaeological and somatological research, it was deemed best to combine the two expeditions. The committee of the British Association and Mr. Jesup agreed to pursue a common plan. It is due to this enlightened policy that unnecessary duplication of work was avoided, and that the new work can be taken up where the old work ceased. During the year 1897 anthropometric work in northern British Columbia, and linguistic work on the tribes of southern British Columbia, was carried on for the British Association for the Advancement of Science, while all the remaining work was done for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

It was not mentioned that the excluded "anthropometric work in Northern British Columbia, and the linguistic work on the tribes of southern British Columbia," (in which Hill-Tout was engaged) would benefit from Mr. Jesup's largesse.

The Expedition Starts

The Jesup North Pacific Expedition got under way in June, 1897. Boas and Hill-Tout were then thirty-eight years of age, Teit was thirty-three and Smith was twenty-five. Boas in his "Operations of the Expedition" recorded that the people who began the expedition consisted of:

Mr. Franz Boas, of the American Museum of Natural History; Mr. Livingston Farrand, of Columbia University, New York; and Mr. Harlan I. Smith, of the American Museum of Natural History. This party was assisted by Mr. James Teit, of Spences Bridge, B.C.; Mr. George Hunt, of Fort Rupert, B.C., and Mr. Fillip Jacobsen, of Clayoquot, B.C. (p. 8)
Boas said that the party made preparations in Victoria and then proceeded to Spences Bridge, "where they arrived on the June 2, and were met by Mr. James A. Teit." On June 5, he wrote to his wife from Spences Bridge:

We can be satisfied with the results of our first two days here. If it only will continue this way! We have measured ten people and have photographed them, and I bought a small collection of ethnographic artifacts. It was not much effort, though. Teit had prepared everything for us very well. (p. 202)

The next day he wrote to his wife:

This afternoon Jimmy Teit and I went down to the village and collected melodies. The phonograph works very well, and got ten good songs. The rhythms seem to be rather difficult, although the songs themselves are very simple. The few hours in the village were very interesting. (pp. 202-203)

In his "Operations of the Expedition" Boas wrote that Harlan Smith had found in making preparations to conduct archaeological investigations in the valley of the Thompson River that Spences Bridge was not a favorable place for excavations:

...and for this reason Mr. Smith moved his base of operations first to Kamloops, and later on to Lytton, which is situated at the confluence of Fraser River and Thompson River. At the latter place Mr. Smith was ably assisted by Mr. Charles Hill-Tout of Vancouver, B.C., well known for his researches on the archaeology of British Columbia. The Expedition is under great obligations to Mr. Hill-Tout for the deep interest that he manifested in its work, and for the kindly assistance rendered by him. (p. 8)
Harlan I. Smith in his "Archaeology of Lytton, British Columbia" (Vol. I, pt. III), wrote:

In the field, assistance was rendered by Mr. Charles Hill-Tout of Vancouver, who for many years has been much interested in the antiquities of British Columbia, and whose "Later Prehistoric Man in British Columbia, is the first resume of British Columbia archaeology. (p. 130)

However, Lytton was Thompson Indian Country, therefore Teit's name appears more times in Smith's text as an important source of information and interpretations than does Hill-Tout.

The Jesup Expedition was not an expedition in the usual sense -- that is a band of people making a journey together. This first phase in 1897 was the closest approach to such a group excursion, although actually it was more in the nature of a lengthy summer field trip. Teit made the arrangements for horses and supplies as he had done many times before for hunting groups. The party, which had started from Spences Bridge early in June, continued all summer with members spreading out to various places and joining together at a later date.

Boas wrote that while Smith conducted extensive excavations at Kamloops and Lytton, "Mr. Boas and Mr. Farrand, accompanied by Mr. Teit, started on a lengthy trip northward..." He recounted that the party had started with a train of ten horses from Spences Bridge, travelling to Lillooet, where
Farrand "visited the villages of the Upper Lillooet on Seton and Anderson Lakes." The pack-train proceeded slowly along a wagon road leading to the Cariboo, visiting all the villages near the road and collecting anthropometric data. Farrand rejoined the party, which continued on to Soda Creek on the Fraser River to visit "the most northern village inhabited by the Shuswap tribe," then crossed the river through the territory of the Chilcotin. Farrand stayed behind to study them while the rest of the party continued on to Bella Coola.

Boas, in "Operations of the Expedition" described proceeding along narrow trails in the mountains, following rivers, travelling across snowfields, climbing trails to a height of five thousand feet and viewing mountain peaks and enormous glaciers. He also mentioned crossing a "deep and rapid river," reporting that:

The party built a raft, on which an Indian embarked in order to fetch a canoe that was seen on the other side. In this the men crossed the river, while the horses swam over. (p. 10)

At Bella Coola the party was met by George Hunt, Boas's Kwakiutl informant and co-author with him of several volumes in the Jesup Publications. There Teit with his pack-train returned to the Fraser River and Spences Bridge while the others continued with their various activities and side trips. In a letter to his wife and parents (July 31) Boas wrote:
Teit let the horses rest for two days and left the afternoon of the twenty-third, since it had rained heavily in the morning. Until then I stayed with them in the tent, and also slept there. (Rohner: pp. 214-215)

The last stop was Rivers Inlet. On September 5, Boas wrote from there to his wife:

Today I also had word from Teit, who finally arrived happily in Spences Bridge on August 18. (Rohner: p. 241)

From Rivers Inlet George Hunt returned to his home in Fort Rupert and Boas and Farrand returned to New York.

In the meantime Smith had been exploring the shell-mounds at the mouth of the Fraser River. Concerning this Boas noted in "Operations," "The results that were here obtained are so important that it will be necessary to continue the researches during the coming year." (p. 11)

The same account mentioned that: "The expedition is also under great obligations to Dr. Charles F. Newcombe, who contributed an interesting collection from Queen Charlotte Islands." (p. 11)

Beginning in 1897, the expedition lasted for ten years but the remaining studies were never again made on a group basis. Rather it consisted of one or two individuals making investigations, with Boas providing the direction, either in the field or from the American Museum of Natural History.
Results of the Expedition

In the "Introductory" to Teit's "Mythology of the Thompson Indians" (Vol. VII), Boas revealed that compromises had to be made in the publication of the results of the Expedition. He wrote:

The following collection of myths of the Indians has been in my hands for quite a number of years. Their publication has been delayed because it seemed desirable, on account of the large amount of mythological material brought together by the Jesup Expedition, to devote a whole volume and a complete discussion to this subject. Unfortunately this has not been possible; and it has been necessary to scatter the material in a number of publications, and much of it remains still unpublished. For this reason the present series, given without a detailed comparison, would have to be repeated and expanded when the reference to the unpublished material should become available. It is hoped that after publication of the original data, the general discussion can be given in the final volume of this series. (p. 203)

A list of planned publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition shows that the actual results differed from Boas's expectations. The Siberian material was not as full as Boas intended, and also there were to have been twelve volumes, including a separate volume on physical anthropology and a concluding summary with final results. The Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition actually consist of nine volumes, plus an "Ethnographical Album," which was not given a volume number.10
The *Ethnographical Album* mainly consists of photographs of individual Indians from certain groups — Thompson, Shuswap, Half-blood Shuswap and Lillooet. Before each group a brief one-paragraph description is given of the dialect, habitat, measurements of stature and head and face, and the number of men and women measured. The plates are in groups of three to a page showing full face, three-quarter face and profile of the same individual. In addition there are several photographs of items of interest such as the view of the Thompson River from Spences Bridge and of special rocks, lodges and sweat houses. Almost all the "plates (were) reproduced from negatives taken by Mr. Harlan I. Smith," except for three plates of the Lillooets taken by Roland B. Dixon.
Hill-Tout was the author of two books and about thirty-five articles published over a period of forty-three years from 1895 to 1938. In 1913, when Hill-Tout farmed in Abbotsford he wrote a paper on farmers' problems called "Government Aid to Agriculture," for the Canadian Political Science Association. He also had written for the Proceedings of the Psychical Research Society of England.

Although most of Hill-Tout's work on anthropology appeared in scientific journals occasionally some of it was published under somewhat less scholarly auspices. The Illustrated London News featured an article by him headed:

The Art of the Wolves of the Sea -- Masterpieces of the Once Ferocious Haida Indians of British Columbia Exhibited at Vancouver, which the Lord Mayor of London is Visiting for its Jubilee!

Hill-Tout was intensely interested in origins. When he noted similarities (either physical or cultural) he tended to use them as a basis for speculating on the origins of the peoples involved. His writing was concerned with archaeology and ethnography, including mythology and linguistics. His findings in these areas were used to support his theories.

Between 1895 and 1901 Hill-Tout had committed himself in print to his three major theories. First, the earliest inhabitants of British Columbia were Eskimo; second, present-
day Indians of the region were of Malayo-Polynesian origin with some Asiatic influence; and third, totemism was a method of naming based on animistic concepts of the universe.

Archaeology

Hill-Tout's first published monograph, "Later Prehistoric Man in British Columbia" (1895), was very important for him in several ways. It was the earliest published report of the archaeological riches of British Columbia and as it was incorporated in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, it attracted attention to the area and to him. Also, it served as a basis for later articles and lectures on the archaeology of the area and he used the same material without substantial change for many years. In addition, he used it to expound the first of his major theories -- that the earliest inhabitants of the area were Eskimos -- a view which he held until the end of his life.

According to him the skulls which he unearthed from the midden had "keel ridges" (sagittal crests) as do many Eskimo skulls, and the "nostrils are pinched so that the indraughts of air into the lungs are reduced in comparison to those people who dwell outside the arctic circle."

His measurements revealed that the present Native people were broad headed and that no long-headed tribes were
known in British Columbia. He wrote that in the lower layers of the midden however, long-headed skulls had been found. These he said had a cranial index of the Eskimo type and had striking differences from present day Indians. (p. 112)

Hill-Tout's monograph appeared in 1895, but a few years later, by 1905, studies were published showing that cephalic index is not a single-gene characteristic and may be influenced by environment. These early studies (reinforced by later findings) confirmed that cephalic index was of little use as a criterion of race.

Nevertheless, as late as 1938 in an address given at the dedication of a cairn on the site of the Marpole Midden, Hill-Tout revealed his unchanged attitude in the following statement:

The importance of this difference in head-form will be best realized if I state that anthropologists regard the contours and indices of the head or skull as one of the best and most reliable criteria of race that can be found.

He also noted that Eskimos have a tradition that their people come from the south.6

Some of the problems in evaluating Hill-Tout's archaeological monographs are that he did not keep proper records, he did not use accepted excavation procedures (although they were known at that time) and also he did not
say exactly how he measured the skulls. Later measurements show them to be brachycephalic, not dolichocephalic, and the Vancouver Centennial Museum has only one long-headed skull in its collection and it is apparently recent. The Museum also has skulls with keel ridges, but these are of indubitable recent and Indian origin. Many of the skulls were deformed either artificially or by earth pressure and it is not clear if Hill-Tout always recognized this. Immediate below Hill-Tout's 1895 article appear a few short paragraphs by Franz Boas entitled, "Remarks on a Skull From British Columbia." Boas wrote that he had examined a fragment of a skull found by Hill-Tout and said that it had been deformed in two ways, by pressure from the ground and by artificial deformation during life. He wrote that it had been artificially deformed in the same manner as that practised by certain "present day" Indians of nearby areas. He concluded that the face resembled that of the present Indians of the area and there was some pathology but not of syphalistic origin."

**Origins of B.C. Indians**

In Hill-Tout's 1897 monograph, "Notes on the Cosmogony and History of the Squamish Indians of British Columbia," he first began to develop his theory that Indian
languages were linguistically related to Malayo-Polynesian and to Asiatic languages and that this pointed to the origin of the Indians themselves.\textsuperscript{9}

The article is also interesting as an account of his field work (as cited earlier in Chapter IV) as it told how the story was conveyed to him, the various parts being marked off by sticks from a bundle.

The story told of the origins of the Squamish Indians: First the Great Spirit created man and woman and in time their descendants peopled the earth. But the people were wicked and the Great Spirit caused a flood to cover the earth. A man and a woman who fled to the top of a mountain were saved and when the water subsided, they came down and their descendants multiplied. Later the Great Spirit sent a snow storm and the only people to survive were a man and his daughter, who became husband and wife and produced offsprings. Then salmon covered with sores came and the people ate them and got sores and died. A remnant were left, who again prospered and multiplied. Then Vancouver sailed up Howe Sound.

At this point Hill-Tout abruptly discontinued the tale, saying the rest of it was not important. He did not press the point of the Biblical affinities as flood stories
are very widespread, but seized upon as interesting and significant the various names used in the story. The remainder of his article was concerned with demonstrating that they were related linguistically to Polynesian names. He very specifically posited a relationship between the Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish with Malayo-Polynesian, Haida-Tlingit with "Japo-Corean," and Déné with archaic Chinese. He noted that the similarities were in the vocabularies and the morphologies of the languages. A large part of the article was devoted to lists comparing Indian words with similar ones found in various Polynesian languages.

Hill-Tout further developed this theory in his 1898 article, "Oceanic Origins of the Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish Stocks of British Columbia and Fundamental Unity of Same with Additional Notes on the Déné." His basic thesis was that Indian vocabularies were Oceanic and their grammar was East Asian in structure.

He followed a common scholarly procedure of praising the opposition before demolishing it. He noted that more than two-thirds of all linguistic stocks in North America are found between the Rockies and the Coast. "Various theories have been offered by ethnologists to account for this singular bunching of stocks in this limited territory, the most plausible of which is that put forward by the late Horatio Hale"
Hale's explanation had been that children of different sexes orphaned in the wilderness would grow up and frame a language of their own which would become the mother tongue of a new linguistic stock. Hill-Tout argued the difficulties of surviving, even for adults, in the rigorous climate of the region. He pointed to the numerous voyages and the peopling of the Pacific Islands by the "Oceanic Race," and wrote:

...there is nothing antecedently impossible or even improbable in the hypothesis of an extra-American origin for our west coast tribes; and the disfavor with which this view is held by some of our eastern Americanists has long been a matter of astonishment to me.

And again, why so much objection to an Asian origin for some of our northwestern stocks on the part of the eastern investigators, who have never studied our western tribes in their own home and who have to rely upon the labours of others for the information concerning them? (p. 190)

Hill-Tout pointed to the similarities -- "physical, psychical and linguistic" between Asian peoples and "our Indians." He cited Boas, Morice and R. Virchow in support of this view. He stated:

The Salish approximate more nearly both physically and linguistically to the Malayo-Polynesians; the Nootka more so than their congeners the Kwakiutl, who with the Bilqula, Tsimshian, and Haida-Tlingit show unmistakable evidence of Asian contact both in habitus and speech. I know of no other instance in the field of ethnology where linguistic and physical data so clearly coincide, as in this case. (p. 190)
He pointed out that the vocabulary of the Kwakiutl-Nootka "is, like Salish, of Malayo-Polynesian origin, but the post position of its particles and its general structure mark its affinity to the Déné of the interior on the one hand and the East Asian stocks on the other. (p. 190). A major part of the article was devoted to tables comparing the "radicals" of Oceanic languages with those of the Kwakiutl-Nootka and the Salish.

Hill-Tout's exuberance in putting his theories across makes it difficult to assess the amount of subtlety involved in his analysis of Indian languages. In one sense he understood he could not impose the Indo-European scheme on them because he suggested their grammar was East Asian in structure. But on the other hand he seemed to view them in terms of nouns, pronouns and verbs, as well as the usual tenses found in English plus the Greek aorist tense. It is also difficult to say from his interlinear translations which appeared in his other works whether he simply viewed these languages as exotic utterances by which Indians expressed themselves in a peculiar scrambled manner, or whether he realized they were structures which actually could be understood only in the context of Indian cultural perceptions.

Sweeping theories, such as his assertions of Malayo-Polynesian, "Japo-Corean" and archaic Chinese affinities seem irrelevant now, or at any rate they seldom appear in the literature.
Later analysts of Northwest Indian languages such as Sapir contented themselves with assigning various dialects and languages to larger North American linguistic families, often tentatively and with many reservations.

**Totemism**

The Royal Society of Canada published two monographs by Hill-Tout on the subject of totemism: "The Origin of the Totemism of the Aborigines of British Columbia" (1901) and "Totemism: A Consideration of Its Origin and Import" (1903). In them he developed and committed himself to the idea that totemism was a method of naming based on animistic concepts of the universe, acknowledging that Tylor's work was the basis of this viewpoint.

In his first article he wrote that the Indians of the Northwest coast had interesting peculiarities in their social institutions and customs and that their totems and totemic systems appeared to differ from that of people elsewhere. He said that many scholars (including Frazer and J.W. Powell) believed that a characteristic feature of totemism was:

...that the members of a totem are consanguinely related to each other through a common descent from their totem prototypes, or the members of a totem are blood relatives through a common descent from their totem prototype. (p. 3)

Hill-Tout believed that this characteristic was entirely lacking from the totemic systems of the coast and
that northwest coast Indians did not consider themselves related to nor descended from their totem prototype, "nor, in the case of the northern clan totems, from a common ancestor" (p. 3).

He wrote that the origin of totemism was not known and reviewed the various theories that had been advanced, saying that they did not satisfy him. One, Herbert Spencer's "confusion theory" was that the origin of totemism could be found in the primitive custom of naming children after natural objects from some accidental circumstance or fanciful resemblance. Or it resulted from confusing real objects with their ancestors of the same name and paying them the same reverence as they did their ancestors. Lubbock, Hill-Tout said, "leaned to the 'supposed resemblance theory.'" Tylor saw totemism as arising from the habit of the primitive mind of personifying all the objects of its material environment. (p. 4) McLennan thought that imitation of animal forms and habits and consequently the naming of "neighbouring hordes" by each other might explain the origin of totemism.

Hill-Tout wrote that the origin might be found in part in all these views, but especially that of Tylor. His own studies of British Columbia he wrote, confirmed this as "it is manifestly born of the animistic conceptions of the native mind." He explained that he could not accept the definition of Powell, because he made no mention of personal
totems, only clan totems. Hill-Tout felt that to understand northwest coast totemism one must consider the personal element:

...for there is little room for doubt that our clan totems are a development of the personal or individual totem or tutelar spirit, as this is in turn a development of an earlier fetishism. (p. 5)

Hill-Tout took as a "given" the idea of stages, in this case from fetishism, to personal totem, to clan totem, and wrote that though he did not know if most natives of North America had gone through these stages, it was highly probable. He quoted Powell as saying, "...it was customary for each clan to adopt a tutelar god," which "always gave the name to the clan." Hill-Tout remarked, "One hesitates to put oneself in conflict with such an authority on matters Indian as Major Powell unquestionably is; but here no alternative is left one." He wrote that he could not visualize a clan sitting down "to consider and determine what deity they shall 'adopt' by whose name they shall call themselves" (p. 6). He pointed out that the main drawback of various theories was that they looked at things from the culture state of the European and not of the "savage," adding:

To rightly understand savage conceptions one must view things as far as is possible from the standpoint and mental view of the savage. Many of our mistakes are due to our forgetfulness or our inability to do this. (p. 7)
He noted that, "totemism and its kindred institutions are obviously the outcome of animistic conceptions of the universe," and made the following eight points:

First, Indian personal and gentile (clan) names are very often taken from animals, plants and familiar objects.

Second, they are given shortly after birth before any resemblance is apparent or possible. He wrote that to:

...those of us who have passed beyond the animistic stage of philosophy this may seem strange. But the savage, who sees no distinction and recognizes no essential difference between mankind and the rest of creation, such names are at once most rational and appropriate. (p. 7)

He observed that to Northwest Coast Indians animals and plants and other objects in nature are transformed human or semi-human beings and may possess the power to appear in human guise at will. "They like himself possess a shade or spiritual essence." (p. 7)

He made his third point using Salish myths concerning transformations, where the animal or object bore its name before it changed form:

Instead of the native calling himself by the name of animals and plants, it is really the other way about; and these now bear the names formerly applied to them when they were conceived and regarded as having human or semi-human form. The measure of the universe to the savage is truly and literally -- Man.

In other words all plants, animals and objects were
at first men. At that time when they were in human form they had their present names. Then they changed into their present-day form, retaining the names they had when they were human.

Fourth, among the Salish were beings who could take the form of man or animals at will. After the tribal heroes or great transformers, they changed permanently to animal forms and lost the power to assume human form. But their shades or essences still possess human or semi-human forms which sometimes appear to people. He noted that Eskimos have a similar belief. He added that it was natural for people who looked at their environment with animistic eyes not to differentiate between the names they give to clans, to persons, to plants, animals and objects. "It is hardly necessary to point out that where there is no distinction there can be no 'confusion.'"

Fifth, totems are not deities or gods in this region.

Sixth, it is always the spiritual essence or "mystery" which becomes the totem, not the bodily form of the animal or object. This perhaps is the reason it is alright to kill an animal, as it is merely the body not the spiritual essence which is being killed. (pp. 7-9)

The seventh point offers a reason why totemic carvings and representations were usually kept covered -- where there is an outward form there is an inward "mystery." According to Hill-Tout, in the primitive mind these are
inseparable (an apparent contradiction of his sixth point.)

His eighth point dealt with the order of totemic development from fetish to personal totem to clan totem. In support he wrote that Boas expressed the belief that among the Kwakiutl the personal totem gave rise to the clan totem.\(^1^3\)

Hill-Tout wrote that proceeding from the tribes of the interior down the Fraser to the coast there is increasing complexity in social organization. Among inland tribes the totem is unknown, the social organization is loose and simple and the only incest is between blood relatives. Personal or tutelar spirits are common and differ little from fetishes. Although he did not define fetishism he stated that the belief in personal spirits is a connecting link between pure fetishism and the totemism of the region.

In support of his theory in his second paper on totemism he outlined the following categories:

**Personal**
1. The name acquired by a person during the puberty ceremonials;
2. The object or thing from which the name is taken;
3. The symbol or representation of the object.

**Kinship Group**
1. The name of a group of people united by ties of consanguinity;
2. The object from which that name is taken;
3. The crest of kindred symbol or representation of the object.

**Social Organization**
1. The name of a "medicine" or "religious" society;
2. The object or thing to which that society is devoted;
3. The emblem, symbol or representation of that object or thing. (pp. 63-64)
Hill-Tout pointed out that all three categories have the same underlying concept and the same three elements: name, object and symbol. Each object is the source of the name and in it is the tutelary guardian spirit. The connecting link is the ghostly helper or spirit. This, said Hill-Tout, is the essential element of totemism; it is totemism shorn of all its "social accessories." In applying the same name to all three elements, we are following the custom of the natives and regarding the subject from their point of view. To a "savage" a name is an essential part or attribute of a thing. To receive a name of an animal or plant or object was to be endowed with the essence or spirit of that object, to be under its protection, to become one with it in a very special and mysterious sense.

Hill-Tout listed European views of totemism which he felt were not true:

1. Totemism is not heritable.
2. Under matriarchy founders of families are not men.
3. Totemism is a class of objects, not an individual object.
4. Canons of Totemism are exogamy and taboo.
5. Canon of Provender (increases supply of plants and animals). (p. 75)

He felt that the first two points (Lang's) could be disproved because in his investigations he had found the personal totem is transmissible and heritable. People are lineal descendants of the man or woman who first acquired the
personal totem, adding there is evidence "direct and ample" of the heritability of the individual totem and that American data abound in it.

Concerning the second point, Hill-Tout felt it was incorrect because of Lang's single misconception: "Under mother-right men are never founders of families, clans or totems." He felt that the big stumbling block of European students was that they could not visualize any descent being true descent except through a line of sons. He pointed out that the man could be the founder of the family and the line continue through his sister's children and that descent reckoned in this manner could also be valid.

The third point (Frazer's), that totemism is a class of objects, not an individual object, he dismissed as irrelevant.

Concerning Frazer's "canons" Hill-Tout wrote:

...Totemism rightly considered is not a set of practices or ceremonies, but clearly a belief, which is the efficient cause of these practices. Hence to attempt to judge totemism by "canons" and "tests," is to regard the form or expression of the doctrine rather than the enforming principle or concept which underlies and prompts, to take the shell for the kernel, and to open the door to endless differences of opinion.

He pointed out that the underlying principle is the same everywhere but its outward manifestations differ sidely. He suggested that errors arose from the "preconcep-
tions of the savant rather than the real beliefs of the savages," because the former regard totemism as a set of rules rather than as an expression of religious feeling and that these have been confused with other customs that have little to do with totemism.

Hill-Tout concluded by saying that the basic difference is that Americanists show "that...totemism is rightly regarded as a system of naming, in the sense in which the savage regards names, and not as a system of social rules and regulations, as held by most European students..." (p.99)

The problem of totemism has been argued for about a century. It has been described as being involved and intricate, as indefinable, and as Levi-Strauss suggested if we follow Boas's idea that myth is a category of thought, then:

Similarly, totemism is an artificial unity, existing solely in the mind of the anthropologist, to which nothing specifically corresponds in reality. 14

Levi-Strauss equated totemism with hysteria, in that both were intellectual fads at the turn of the century. They served the purpose of offering a comforting separation of the "normal, white, adult man" from the primitive (in the case of totemism) and from the female or from mental patients (in the case of hysteria.)

He felt that what was spoken of as totemism was actually the confusion of two problems: first, the identifi-
cation of human beings with plants and animals (nature); and second, the designation of kinship groups with animal and vegetable names (culture). "The term 'totemism' covers only cases in which there is a coincidence of the two orders."

Thus he put nature and culture into separate categories. It is likely that perceiving things in terms of oppositions is a way of looking at them from "the culture state of the European" and not of the "savage" as Hill-Tout would have said.

**Indian Culture**

Hill-Tout also published a number of other papers containing ethnographic information. These were largely factual, some with the known history of the group written about, notes from a journal such as the diary of Captain Vancouver, as well as observations on the social organization and kinship structure. They covered birth, puberty, courtship, marriage and mortuary customs; and also various feasts. He often included a small section on the archaeology of the area and the information was substantially the same as that in "Later Prehistoric Man." Also offered was information about dwellings, dress, shamanism and usually one or more myths. He occasionally told of his field methods. (See Chapter IV, section on "Field Work.")

Language was almost always an important part of
his studies and touched upon vowels, diphthongs, consonants, accent, number, diminutives, reduplication, various noun types, compound terms, parts of speech, gender and sometimes included a glossary of common terms.

His "Notes on the Sk·qō'mic of British Columbia, a Branch of the Great Salish Stock of North America" (1900), began rather puzzlingly with the introductory statement: "This report is accompanied by nineteen photographs of Indians, taken by Mr. Hill-Tout..." (p. 470) The photographs were also referred to in the body of the article, but not one accompanied it.

Like Teit, Hill-Tout gloomily predicted:

In a few years, all those who lived under the old conditions in the prae-missionary times, and who now alone possess the knowledge we desire to gather, will have passed away, and our chances of obtaining further reliable information of the past will have gone with them. (p. 472)

His linguistic studies often led him into speculative byways concerning the origin or at least possible migrations of the Salish and other groups.

His report for the 1902 Ethnological Survey of Canada (B.A.A.S.) on the Halkomélem was an ethnographic report with little theory. However, Hill-Tout did note that the speakers of this language were on the Mainland of British Columbia, they were also on Vancouver Island, occupied a larger and more scattered territory than other Salish divisions
and also were surrounded by people who did not speak the same language. He suggested that this meant that they had not occupied their present territories for a long time but were comparative late comers. (p. 3) The article also offered a small census of the Tcil'qe'uk (Chilliwack) group only and named the old settlements.

His monograph entitled, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okanákin of British Columbia, an Interior Division of the Salish Stock," consisted of about three pages of facts and the remainder of its thirty-one pages was devoted to speculation:

And this leads me to the point where I may with propriety offer a few remarks upon the origin or source of the Salish of British Columbia in so far as my studies of this stock bear upon that question. (p. 132)

Hill-Tout expressed the opinion that certain features of their language and culture and a new element -- mythology:

...make it quite certain that wherever else their original or early home was it was not on the rivers and waters of the North Pacific Slope. (p. 133)

He believed that they came from the south-east to the north-west, "as did other Salish tribes of British Columbia."

He restated his belief that the "stock" had originally come into the American continent by way of the Pacific Ocean because their language had linguistic affinities with Oceanic peoples. He wrote:
At what point it (the Salish Stock) entered the continent is not at present clear, except that it would appear to have been south of the area where the salmon forms the staple food supply for the littoral tribes. (p. 133)

Almost every linguistic division (of Salish speakers) has distinct and unrelated terms for the salmon which no method of linguistic equation can show to be the same or to have had a common origin. (p. 134)

He also noted that no two salmon origin myths were alike and "the very possession of a myth of salmon origin shows that they believe that once they lacked this article of their diet."

Hill-Tout often mentioned his informants, Indian and missionary, by name or acknowledged his indebtedness to other sources. In his paper on the Okanagon he wrote:

Regarding their past a careful inquiry at various centres reveals that their culture followed so closely that of neighbouring divisions, that a description of one is virtually a description of the other. Teit's account of Thompson culture might have been written, with a few minor and unimportant points of difference, for the Okanâkân.ēn. (p. 131)

In general Hill-Tout's accounts of most of the manifestations of Indian culture were factual and offered without judgment of Native morals. However, the Okanagon monograph revealed that he did have his opinions concerning Indian contact with the Whites. (Compare with Teit in the following chapter.) Hill-Tout wrote:
Fifty years of more or less close contact with the Whites has greatly modified the lives and conditions of the Okanagan. As in other centres they have much decreased in numbers. They now live on Reserves, some of the finest tracts of country having been set aside for their use. I cannot say that they have taken much advantage of their opportunities. With rare exceptions here and there, and generally where the infusion of white blood makes itself apparent, they are content to muddle along in their old hand-to-mouth style of living. They display little or no concerted action in their labours. Each family is satisfied to cultivate a small patch of vegetables or grain for itself, whereas if they showed any energy or enterprise they might all be wealthy, or at any rate well-to-do, in a few years. Certainly no Indians in the Province have better opportunities or more valuable lands either for agricultural or stock-raising purposes. (p. 131)

Equality of the Races

One of Hill-Tout's more interesting and confusing articles is one in which he posed the question, "Is There a Fundamental Difference in Racial Aptitudes and Capacities, and Does the Mind of the Savage Differ Essentially From That of the Savant?"¹⁸

He suggested that the reason we study the past and primitive people (practically the same in his mind) was so that we could understand our own civilization. He wrote:

The question is often asked: What is the essential difference between the mind of the savant and the mind of the savage? Are they different in kind or only in degree? And is the difference one merely
of cultural environment, or does it lie deeper?

First, then, by way of clearing the ground, let me explode the notion so common among people of European descent that the white race is superior in all respects to all other races. This naive assumption, so flattering to our self-esteem, is based wholly on racial prejudice and conceit, and finds no support in actual fact. (p. 150)

Hill-Tout continued his argument with a kind of reverse race prejudice in which he found the "Polynesian race" and the "Zulu race of South Africa" physically superior. On the other hand he pointed out that physical characteristics do not indicate racial superiority and wrote:

It is only our racial conceit that leads to such an unwarrantable conclusion as this. We of the white races of Europe have to remember, too, that we did not evolve the civilization, of which we are so proud, unaided...we find first one race and then another -- Hamitic, Semitic, Mongolian, Aryan, black, yellow and white -- all contributing to the common structure. (p. 150)

He said that all the present races have evolved on the plane of humanity so that there is little difference in the fundamental qualities of the mind. He discussed various studies of the brain weight of various races and noted that a difference had been found, but concluded:

...whatever differences exist in the faculties of man they are not the consequence of the weight of the brain when these lie within normal limits. (p. 152)
He also discussed women's brains:

...the woman's brain is much lighter, height for height, than that of a man
...a woman's mental faculties are qualitatively different from those of a man, there is no justification for regarding them as fundamentally inferior...

(p. 152)

He wrote that the differences between races could not be found in brain size but must be sought elsewhere. He suggested that environment played a large part in the evolution of racial and social characteristics. He then asked and followed the question by his own answer:

Why it is that some races have never risen out of the same state and apparently never would rise out of it if left to themselves uninfluenced by more-advanced people?

The answer is surprisingly simple when we once find it. It is because they have lacked the necessary impulse or stimulus.

(p. 154)

Hill-Tout wrote that if a man were supplied with his fundamental needs of food, shelter and clothing his lot actually would not be an unfavorable one. To him the surprising fact was that man should have ever been stimulated to move out of savagery. "In other words, and speaking biologically, the natural state of man is not civilization, which is an artificial condition but savagery, or, at best, barbarism."

He discussed the Indians of North America:

Socially they were organized into tribal, sub-tribal and family groups directed and controlled by their chiefs or eldermen; had well-defined ideas concerning all the essential questions of social life; could,
indeed, in many respects, give points
to ourselves in this direction; led
decent, orderly and mostly, chaste lives;
respected each other's rights and property;
had no slums, no destitute indigent class;
no vexed social problems; no husbandless
women; no wifeless men, and no homeless
and friendless children. (p. 155)

He added that the more we learn of the conditions
of "man in the so-called uncivilized state, the less we
wonder why he remained so long in that state..." (p. 155)

Hill-Tout felt that of all the steps by which
people pass into civilization slavery was perhaps the most
important. He felt that the social and economic conditions
resulting from slavery seemed to furnish the essential factors
for the evolution of:

the savage or barbarous horde (into)
a more or less civilized people.

But even the difference which exists
between the sophisticated mind of today
and the mind of the untutored savage is
still only one of degree and not of
kind...

It is found to be the result, in the
main, of the difference in his intellectual
and social conditions...it is only where
their training and experiences differ that
a distinction arises; and this distinction
is seen to be mainly a cultural one...in
a word the civilized man intellectualizes
his experiences of life -- the savage
emotionalizes them. (p. 156)

He further pointed out that the "savage" is like
a child, a child of nature, a creature of his emotions, who
lives largely in the senses. However, he optimistically predicted:

Give the backward races the same opportunities we ourselves enjoy and I am convinced they will play their part worthily and make their own characteristic contribution to the world's future progress. (p. 156)

In this article Hill-Tout wrote that the differences between races did not exist per se but were the result of differences in training and experience. He noted that women are intellectually different in a qualitative sense but seemed to assume that they were products of the same cultural pressures as the men of a given society. After comparing some of the security afforded by American Indian life, and by inference the deprivations of the civilized state, he implied that it was not only inevitable but desirable that all races evolve towards the culture stage of the White European. And further, that this pinnacle was achieved through the despised institution of slavery.

Hill-Tout's Books

Although Hill-Tout's work appeared in a number of books he himself actually wrote only two. The first of these comprised Volume I in a series called Native Races of the British Empire. His work was entitled British North America: The Far West: The Home of the Salish and Déné.19 The book was
a summary of most of the known data concerning the Indians of British Columbia. In a number of places Hill-Tout acknowledged his indebtedness to Father A.G. Morice for information about the Déné. He wrote that he had relied mainly on his own knowledge and studies for his treatment of the Salish, supplementing it with the work of others. As will be noted later (Chapter IX, "Differences of Opinion") he granted Teit the skimpiest acknowledgement possible on the very last page while using Teit's work extensively.

The work was largely factual and objective and in it he offered information about the geography, climate and history of the area. He also mentioned a number of origin theories; some of these he obviously found absurd. Included was the Ten Lost Tribes theory as well as Cotton Mather's idea that the Devil created Indians on a continent apart so that he could have an entire race to himself which was denied Divine Grace. Hill-Tout did not mention the possibility that Indians may have come from Asia across the Bering Straits in this book, although he had in earlier works. Of all the theories he did not seem to favor any one over another.

Much of the book was devoted to a discussion of physical characteristics, habitations, dress, personal adornment, food and cooking, an elaborate section on basketry and bark vessels (based on a Daniel Brinton classification), implements of war and the chase, social organization, religious
beliefs and practices, social customs, folktales and myths, games, feasts, etc. The Salish and Déné were not discussed separately but under each heading they were compared with each other.

In several places Hill-Tout voiced his concern about the treatment and decline of the Salish Indians adding, "Father Morice has the same to say of the Déné" (p. 28).

Hill-Tout wrote:

The shores and bays of both groups of islands were in the days of the early navigators of these western waters comparatively densely peopled with native tribes. This can scarcely be said to be the case today. The mortality of the native races since the advent of the whites has been excessive and nowhere more so than among these island tribes. (p. 5)

Hill-Tout published his second book Man and His Ancestors in the Light of Organic Evolution in 1925.20 It presented his views on the evolution of man and in parts its tone is somewhat polemic. It was apparently inspired by the "Scopes Monkey Trial" in Tennessee where a school teacher named Scopes had been accused of teaching evolution, contrary to state law. Hill-Tout never specifically mentioned the trial. However, he presented what was at times an almost impassioned defense of evolution declaring: "Organic evolution is a 'fact,' it is its factors which are in dispute" (p. 145).

His religious bent can be inferred from his numerous
remarks such as, "Life proceeds from some intelligent force" (p. 23), and references to the "Secret workshop of Nature" (p. 39), as well as use of the terms "Nature," "Creative Principle," and "Ultimate Source." He wrote: "...we may say that Nature has been preparing herself all down the long ages, a highly specializing agent...man" (p. 61). His final chapter was written along philosophical and spiritual lines.

He also accepted Lamarckian ideas and noted that Darwin was a Lamarckian (p. 137) and wrote that he himself believed, "Lamarck was not wholly in error" (p. 145).

The book was his summary of many of the processes involved in evolution. He made a great deal of use of other people's ideas, sorting them out and usually acknowledging their source in the text. Origins was apparently written for the layman and does not contain a bibliography.
CHAPTER VIII
TEIT'S WRITING

Early Work

Two years after his first meeting with Boas in 1894, Teit's first article was published, "A Rock Painting of the Thompson River Indians, British Columbia." It was a four page article consisting of a one-page introduction by Boas, a sketch of the painting, and two pages were explanations of the figures in the drawing, which had been numbered. Boas's Introduction said that Teit had found the rock near Spences Bridge and that the Indians had explained it to him in detail. The drawings were part of puberty rites for young girls and were a record of offerings made and ceremonies performed.

Teit's next published work was his "Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia" with an introduction by Boas. In his preface Boas wrote that the article was the result of the long-continued studies of James Teit and that the stories had been "recorded with great care."

Organization of Teit's Writing

In order to give consistency to his ethnographic studies it is likely that Teit and Boas arrived at an agreement on the information Teit was to obtain in the field; perhaps he even went out armed with a list. This inference can be made
because the subjects covered in Teit's ethnographies usually appear in the same sequence, which is as follows:

I. Introduction, Historical and Geographical

II. Manufactures

III. House and Household

IV. Clothing and Ornaments

V. Subsistence

VI. Travel and Transportation

VII. Warfare

VIII. Games and Pastimes

IX. Sign Language

X. Social Organization and Festivals

XI. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Marriage, Death

XII. Religion

XIII. Medicine, Charms, Current Beliefs.

The above list is from "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," Teit's first contribution to the Jesup series. Teit in his Introduction included a discussion of names of the tribes, habitat, divisions of the tribe, population, migrations and intercourse, and mental traits.

His article, "The Lillooet Indians," omitted a discussion of mental traits, but contained a paragraph on temperament as well as a section on smoking and tobacco. In addition, items III through VI (above) were subsumed under "Manufactures." However, these were minor variations and the
overall pattern was maintained in most of his writing. Articles concerned with special subjects such as coiled basketry did not, of course, follow this form.

**Manner of Writing**

Teit's writing was largely factual and little concerned with hypothesis or theory. It was characterized by abundant detail and thoroughness in reporting minute elements of Indian life. He wrote detailed descriptions of technology, such as special knots used in fish nets, construction of house posts, basket weaving and aspects of canoe making. In the same careful manner he described the social life including rules of games and of warfare, as well as many customs and rituals.

In an Editor's Note Boas wrote that "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia" was based on two manuscripts prepared by Teit. One, describing the Upper Thompson Indians, was written in 1895, (drawing on studies made by Teit a full two years before the Jesup Expedition was begun.) The other was written in 1897 as the result of work done by Teit for the Expedition. Boas stated that Teit was:

- fully conversant with the language of the Thompson Indians and, owing to his patient research and intimate acquaintance with the Indians, the information contained in the following pages is remarkably full. (p. 165)

This article has numerous footnotes referring the reader to explanations at the end of the article and these
usually begin: "The full version of this passage is as follows..." The complete account is then given in Latin. In translation it appears that this was a device for avoiding some of the more hearty passages in Thompson Indian folklore. Boas, in his work used Latin to present similar material which was fairly standard practice at the time. It is not known whether Teit knew Latin and could make such translations. However, similar explicit phrasing, either in English or Latin is not apparent in Teit's later work.

In his remarks entitled "Operations of the Expedition in 1897," Boas wrote:

The great familiarity with the language of this area which Mr. Teit has acquired during a long period of residence here, and the deep interest which he is taking in the Indians, make him a most valuable assistant in the investigations. Early in the year 1897 he collected notes on the Thompson River Indians, for the use of the Jesup Expedition; and with his help a number of additional data were obtained, mainly bearing upon the art of the Indians, their language and physical characteristics. (p. 8)

Throughout his articles Teit made no apparent value judgements, whether in commenting that the Indians ate corn, squash and turnips or:

...the Lillooets ate dog-flesh extensively, and many families raised dogs for their flesh and skins. (p. 223)

He was equally matter-of-fact in discussing the care of hunting dogs, trading practices and efforts to retard the
growth of whiskers. Thus in "The Lillooet Indians" he wrote:

Trained hunting dogs were taken good care of. Some men washed them regularly, purged them with medicine, and even wiped and cleaned their noses. (p. 223)

Among themselves one slave was valued at ten sheets of copper and two strings of copper tubes (a string of these was generally one half fathom long). One good hound dog was counted equal to one large dressed elk-skin. (p. 233)

Young men smeared their faces with snail-slime, or rubbed the snails themselves over their faces, so that they might not have any whiskers. (p. 267)

In the same bland manner he discussed the less exotic but far more emotionally charged and controversial subjects of Indian morality and addiction to liquor. By covering a full range of subjects with the same impartial air he was able to give his writing an appearance of being completely factual. Actually, he was a very subtle man and writer, who in his seemingly objective material, was able to inject much of his own personal bias and have it appear as pure fact. He was heavily pro-Indian and opposed to the exploitive policy of the Whites.5

"The Thompson Indians of British Columbia" contained numerous factual descriptions of many aspects of Thompson Indian life as well as Teit's impressions. In the Introduction under "Mental Traits" he wrote:

As with every other people there are both bad and good among them; but on the whole they are more honest and industrious,
intelligent and receptive, than other Indian tribes. They are quiet, sociable, and hospitable; yet combined with the last two qualities are often pride and suspicion. Some are of a jocular, humorous temperament; and some are courageous, determined, and persevering, although the last-named quality is not characteristic of the tribe as a whole. Some show it, however, to a marked degree when hunting or fishing. Being proud, they are easily offended, but seldom allow their wrath to get the mastery of them. As a rule, they are not vindictive. They admire a man who is athletic, active, energetic, industrious, strong to endure, brave, hospitable, neighbourly, sociable, and kind. They are fond of the wonderful, of oratory, gambling, story-telling, hunting, and horseback-riding. They are not as proud spirited as they were, nor do they take as much interest in games, athletic exercises, and fun, as formerly. Disease and the knowledge that they are doomed to extinction are the chief causes for this, while change of pursuits, and the acquirement of new ideas, also have their effect.

At present these people both socially and otherwise, may be said to be in a state of transition from the customs and modes of life of the past, to those at present in vogue among the surrounding whites. (pp. 180-181)

Teit also wrote that some of the old people clung to the traditional ways of life but the young people tried to copy the Whites in as many ways as possible. He added that whiskey could be obtained easily:

...And is the cause of ruin, both moral and physical of many of the young people, as well as of brawls, and sometimes loss of life. Be it said to their honor, however, many of the tribe have little or no desire for liquor, and, though it is easily procurable, never avail themselves of the opportunities so flagrantly brought
to their notice. Those Indians who indulge in whiskey almost always do so to excess, and they are generally those members of the tribe who most closely copy the whites in other particulars. Moreover, these are often included among the most industrious and progressive members of the tribe. On the other hand, those individuals who are more exclusive and conservative have, as a rule, little or no craving for whiskey, and refuse to use it, nor will they accept other innovations brought by the white man. (p. 181)

In the same article in the section called, "Ethical Concepts and Teachings," Teit mentioned many of the traits to which the Indians object such as, "It is bad to steal," or, "It is bad to lie," followed by the consequences of such undesirable actions. These are, "people will not like you," or "no one will want to marry you." It was also bad to be lazy, adulterous, cowardly, inhospitable, and stingy; each with its consequences. An addition to these more usual sins was the injunction: "It is bad to boast if you are not great." The list is very similar to another well-known list of "Thou-shalt-nots." It is a moot question whether Teit presented these values in this way due to his own pre-conditioning, because he wanted to present Indians in a favorable light, or because these concepts were of major importance to the Indian way of life.

In any case, it seems likely when comparing this article with his others, that although he was in general pro-Indian, he was especially fond of the Thompson Indians. This
can be inferred from the facts of Teit's own life -- he lived with the Thompson Indians, knew them better than the others and had married one of them. In addition, he admired the fact that they kept more to their traditional ways than the other Indians, thereby preserving their own identity.

"The Lillooet Indians," by Teit was very similar in presentation to his Thompson article. However, there was a section on "Smoking and Tobacco," with a detailed treatment of the methods of planting and the varieties grown. Near the end in a paragraph labelled "Temperament," Teit wrote:

In temperament the Lillooet much resemble the lower Thompson. Most of them are of somewhat milder disposition than the average member of the southern interior tribes. In former days they were noted as being unwar-like and lovers of peace. They are intelligent, receptive, quiet, good natured, and kindly disposed, and are equally as honest, industrious and hospitable as other neighbouring tribes. (p. 202)

Teit's monograph, "The Shuswap" covers the same subjects as his other work including "Mental Traits" as well as a long section on myths. Boas wrote the Introductions to the Thompson and Lillooet monographs and Teit wrote the preface for this one. In it he included the dates on which he obtained his material (1900 and 1903) and, for the first time, his sources of information were discussed:

I collected the bulk of my information from several old men in the vicinity of Canoe Creek and Dog Creek and especially from a very intelligent old man called Sixwi'lexken...
Under "Mental Traits" Teit wrote:

The Shuswap seems to be less conservative than the Thompson Indians, and have been quicker to accept the teachings of the whites, and to discard their old ways of life. This is evidenced in many ways. Shamans still practise among the Thompson Indians; and dancing, feasting, and potlatching of different kinds are not infrequent. Basket, bag and mat making are still important industries. Parts of the old style of dress, and a few men with long and braided hair, may still be seen; and stone pipes are still commonly used. Among the Shuswap all these have disappeared entirely, or almost entirely.

The Shuswap are affectionate and indulgent to their children, courteous to strangers, and kind to their friends, although in these points probably not much more than are other neighbouring tribes. They are more reserved than the Thompsons, have a more serious mien, and on the whole are perhaps slightly less affable, and not so inclined to be helpful to strangers, except when asked. However, in general deportment, in honesty, and in manner of speech, they resemble the Thompson tribe. (pp. 469-70)

In discussing alcohol in "The Shuswap," Teit made positive correlations between the use and non-use of alcohol and certain characteristics. He wrote:

The people of those bands formerly noted for warfare are now the most industrious; generally the wealthiest, have most money, utensils, stock, etc; usually the most addicted to liquor, and on account of this the greatest offenders against the law. On the other hand, those people formerly noted as of mild temperament are less industrious; live somewhat in the old way; are poorer, or have at least fewer white man's goods and food; do not care much for liquor; and live up to their religious professions better. (p. 472)

The following table is derived from Teit's material.
A summary of the traits of drinkers and non-drinkers shows an unexpected juxtaposition of "good" and "bad" characteristics according to White values:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drinkers</th>
<th>Non-Drinkers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people</td>
<td>Older people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formerly war-like</td>
<td>Mild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow White ways</td>
<td>Follow Indian ways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrious</td>
<td>Not industrious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Breaking</td>
<td>Law Abiding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less religious</td>
<td>More religious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teit did not define "living up to their religious professions" and it is not clear whether he meant indigenous Indian beliefs as outlined in his Thompson paper, or Christian teachings. He seemed to be making the point that neither ethical code could be reconciled with White rapacity and that wealth, though an index of accomplishment, could not be reconciled with morality.

Teit related a story which his Shuswap informant, Sixwi'lexken, told him he had heard sixty years earlier around 1840:

Long before the arrival of the first white miners, a Hudson Bay half breed told the Shuswap that after a time strange men would come among them, wearing black robes (the priests). He advised them not to listen to these men, and although they possessed much magic, and did some good, still they did some evil. They were descendants of the Coyote, were also foolish, and told many lies. They were simply Coyote returning to earth in another form. If the Indians paid attention
to and followed the directions of these "black-robes," they would become poor, foolish, and helpless; and diseases of all kinds would cut them off. If they avoided them, they would remain contented, happy, and numerous. Some Indians believed what was told them and for this reason called the first priest whom they saw "Coyote." At the present time some Indians wonder whether, if they had taken the half breed's advise, it would have turned out as he said, and whether it is really the priests and their religion that are the cause of the people dying so much, and not being so well off as they might be. (p. 621)

Teit's opposition to White exploitation comes through even in a work compiled by someone else and based on his field notes. This is the case in a book edited by Elsie Viault Steedman, on the "Ethnobotany of the Thompson Indians."

One section contains a glossary of terms in relation to disease. Included are the following definitions:

Consumption of the lungs. This disease is said to have been rare formerly but common since the whites came to the country.

Venereal diseases. These were unknown before the coming of the whites. (p. 456)

"The Middle Columbia Salish" written much later and published posthumously seems more an expression of Teit's own personality than many of his other writings. The article itself and even the footnotes are written in the first person. Also, he expresses doubts in many places (e.g. "My notes do not make it clear...") which are not always typical of his other work. He also expresses his judgment of his informants — "He was a veritable storehouse of knowledge," and "I found
him very intelligent and generally well informed." In addition, concerning native myths, he expressed the opinion that a large amount of valuable material "even now" can be obtained. He warned that "much of this will have passed away in a few years, and what remains will be obscure, and hard to obtain."

Some of Teit's early letters to Newcombe reveal the vicissitudes of authorship. In his letter of March 4, 1901 he wrote optimistically:

I am very glad to learn that my work on the Thompsons has been of value to you. I have just finished writing a paper on the Lillooet tribe which will probably be printed before very long.

On April 5, 1905, he wrote:

I have been writing a long paper on the Shuswap for Dr. Boas since 1st January and just finished a few days ago.

April 30, 1905, he wrote to Newcombe:

...I am writing a short paper on the Chilcotins at present. I made a collection of baskets from that tribe in 1900 and was successful in getting the meanings for nearly all the designs. I don't think Swanton's report on the Haida is published yet. It will probably be a good while before my paper on the Shuswaps will be published as they have not managed to get out my Lillooet paper yet which was written several years ago.

The paper on the Lillooet, which he finished in 1901 was printed in 1906. The Shuswap article, completed in 1905 was published in 1909. "Notes on the Chilcotin Indians" mentioned in the 1905 letter was published in 1907. Altogether
about twenty-nine of his papers appeared in various publications (some reprinted several times) spanning the sixty-year period from 1896 to 1956. Some of his work was published posthumously.

Occasionally the researcher comes across information in an unexpected way. The present writer, while leafing through a library copy of the Sixth Report of the North-Western Tribes of Canada dated 1890, of the B.A.A.S, which largely consisted of a paper by Boas, "Notes on the Indians of British Columbia" (Report IV), found that the particular copy was neatly inscribed in ink on the title page in Teit's own handwriting: "J.A. Teit, Spences Bridge, B.C." Apparently the volume had originally belonged to him. In this report Boas wrote that his information on the Ntlakya'pamuQ had been obtained in part from Teit, and in part from the Indians whose statements were interpreted by Teit. Inside were several pencilled phonological notations on various pages. On Boas's table of measurements of individual Indians of the Ntlakya'pamuQ group listed by personal name, Teit had written in the margin opposite many of the names, "Dead." Boas had included a small section on "The Tinneh Tribes of Nicola Valley" (p. 30). Teit supplemented this a few pages later on a blank page on the back of a map. He wrote in pencil:
May 1900

About 40 years ago
6 to 8 old people
in Nicola still
talked Tinneh.

About 70 years ago 30 to 35 people in the whole
Nicola talked Tinneh, but a great number on the
Similkameen talked that language at that time.
About 50 years ago very few remained in Nicola
who could talk that language but probably 50
or more still used it at that time on the
Similkameen. The last Tinneh talking people
died in the Nicola & Similkameen about the
same time.

(Nic) Tinneh used to go to Nikaumen to buy
salmon.

Tinneh had winter houses as far up as the head
of Nicola Lake and Okanagon who had settled
around Douglas Lake & intermarried with Tinneh
occupied the country there. Before the Okanagon
came there the Shuswap held the country from
the head of Nicola Lake and Douglas Lake & Fish
Lake for hunting and fishing.

The editorial writer, "Lucian," paid tribute to
Teit's writing ability:

When it became known that he was a good
interpreter and guide, that he knew where
archeological treasures could be found, and
could explain and interpret them, he found
plenty of learned friends. Scholars
discovered that here was a man with a mine of
original knowledge, a linguist in native
tongues, an authority in Indian work and folk
lore, who had no ambition to appear in print,
who claimed no copy-rights, who was glad to
tell all he knew to any man who could make
use of it. He was not (sic) denied the mere
courtesy of mention in sources of information,
in learned papers of which he was the real
author of all but the phraseology.
Such effacement did not disturb him. He modestly explained to me, some ten years ago, that while he had a great deal of odds and ends of knowledge about the Indians, he had little gift of writing or other form of expression, and therefore it seems fitting that he should gather all he could and pass it along to authors who could make it available. My remonstrance based on his translation of the Indian meeting was probably not effective. But it is pleasant to know that several years ago he began to come to his own. His own countryman (sic) at last gave him official recognition as an ethologist (sic) and made him a place on the appropriate branch of the geological survey, which fortunately is not confined to geology.

If anyone wished to know whether James Teit could write let him take that monumental work in twenty-two volumes, edited by Mr. Doughty, and called "Canada and its Provinces." In volume 21, pages 283 to 312, will be found his contribution on "Indian Tribes of the Interior of British Columbia."

...This account is singularly clear and precise, without rhetorical adornment, and far less technical (sic) than the corresponding account of the Coast Indians by Dr. E. Sapir in the same work.

Fairly late in his life Teit returned to one of his earliest interests and wrote "Water Beings in Shetlandic Folk-Lore, As Remembered by Shetlanders in British Columbia." The work began with a detailed Table of Contents although it was only twenty pages long. The article discussed the Water-Horse, Sea-People, Seal-People, Sea-Trolls, Sea-Monsters, Sea-Phantoms, Sea-Spirits, Sea-Witches, Sea-Language and the Sea-God. In a statement reminiscent of his remarks on Indians he wrote that knowledge of the old beliefs was fast passing away. He also stated:
Shetlandic folk-lore, in my opinion, is decidedly Scandinavian in character, as many of the surviving beliefs, practices, and tales are identical with those lately current in the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Norway. This is, moreover, in accord with the history of the country.

It may be noted that there is practically no such thing as Shetland-Canadian folk-lore, or Scandinavian-Canadian folk-lore, in the sense, for instance, of French-Canadian, or even German - and Scotch-Canadian folk-lore, as Scandinavian settlement in Canada is as a whole quite recent and until lately has never been compact enough to allow the homeland lore to take root. For this reason the Canadian of Scandinavian descent, when born in Canada, retains generally little or nothing of the lore of his ancestral lands. (p. 182-3)

This statement seems to be a de-emphasis of the Scottish ancestry of Shetlanders and stresses their Norse heritage. The article has many references to various sources showing Teit was well read on the subject of Scandinavian traditions.
CHAPTER IX

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION

In the early days all those concerned with anthropology in British Columbia including Hill-Tout, Teit and Boas were involved in various direct and indirect controversies.

Somehow Hill-Tout more than the others managed to be the most noticeable target and attracted the most fire. On one occasion he was even the center of conflict in the popular press. In general, he either ignored the arguments or returned the remarks with a few restrained retorts.

Boas took him to task a number of times in the pages of scholarly journals. Verbally Teit contented himself with some indirect remarks from the sidelines. However, his activities (and those of other collectors) constituted a major assault on one of Hill-Tout's most cherished hopes, a fine museum for Vancouver. This caused Hill-Tout to fight a long drawn out defensive action from a losing position. The struggle was over the disposition of Indian archaeological and ethnographic specimens.

Indian Specimens

As mentioned earlier, one of the principal aims of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association founded in 1894, was obtaining and preserving "Indian Relics" for a future museum.
As an important member of the new Association, Hill-Tout immediately devoted himself to the task of collecting and keeping Indian ethnographic and archaeological specimens in the province. (He has been called "B.C.'s first B.C.-Firster.")

British Columbia had long been a happy hunting ground for the unsystematic plunderings of amateur, dilettante and professional collectors, but for Hill-Tout the worst was yet to come.

The same year that the Art, Historical and Scientific Association was formed (1894), Teit met Boas and entered the world of anthropology. There were already other collectors in the area, such as Lieutenant Emmons, and with each new one Hill-Tout's task became increasingly frustrating.

Teit's first letter, cited earlier, to Charles F. Newcombe showed that he was quite willing to obtain and ship out anything from plant specimens to artifacts. His later communications contain numerous detailed descriptions of "the stuff" he was sending to Dr. Boas at the American Museum of Natural History in New York and to Chicago's Field Museum. His letters mention that he "got together only some one hundred odd specimens for the New York people," or, typically, "the stuff I am sending consists of two bales and one box..."

That Hill-Tout was aware of and troubled by the continuing exodus of native materials from British Columbia is
evidenced by a March 4, 1901 letter to Newcombe. In it he expressed fears that his appeal for funds had been rejected due to confusing the Ethnological Survey with the Jesup Expedition. His letter stated:

The complaint was made "that while the B.A.A.S. received many reports thus the agency you represent very few specimens found their way to England but were ultimately lodged in the United States."

Will you kindly allow me to assure the National Society that no specimens collected by me or any other member of the Survey Committee, have ever been sent or found a place in the United States. Indeed, I am one of those who never ceases to express regret that so many of our archaeological treasures pass into that country and regard it as a serious reflection upon the Province that if anyone wishes to study the technology of the aborigines of this region he must go to New York to do it. As a matter of fact, the Ethnological Survey has done no direct archaeological work. What has been done along the lines I did on behalf of the Dominion Geological Museum at Ottawa or privately on my own behalf. All specimens that I have personally checked are either in the Provincial Museum at Victoria or in the Museum and the Dominion Geological Survey at Ottawa with the exception of a few I presented to the local Art, Historical and Scientific Association at Vancouver.²

What may have amounted to a long continuing race for artifacts with several participants is suggested by a letter from Teit to Newcombe dated November 28, 1914, which mentions Hill-Tout:

I received your letter of recent date. I have no jade cutters on hand of any kind and have not had an opportunity of getting any for a number of years. I heard some Lytton Indians
had some they found a year or two ago and on further inquiry learned that they had disposed of them along with a block of jade showing two cuttings to some collectors whom I suppose might be Lieutenant Emmons or Hill-Tout. Had I any spare ones I would certainly let you have some but I have none at all. The only stone implements I have are hammers, pestles, spear, knife and arrow points and skin scrapers.3

Charles B. Hill-Tout said that his father, due to financial problems, did sell and export Indian relics on two occasions. He reminisced:

Franz Boas. I remember Boas...when he came to Vancouver and we were living in Whetham College. Was it ninety-one? I rather think we were there when he came in ninety-one to B.C. ...He came there on a visit to my father and was talking about the different Indian relics. My father on account of necessity, he sold his Indian things twice. Once to the historical one in New York (American Museum of Natural History.)

In his 1902 Ethnological Report on the Mainland Halkomelem Hill-Tout said that he had given a skull to Boas; no date was mentioned. Boas, at the start of the Jesup Expedition (June 3, 1897) wrote to his wife from Vancouver:

This afternoon the trip goes on, and at 11:00 we shall be at Spences Bridge. Mr. Hill-Tout here gave me five skulls this morning, one of them very valuable.4

A series of letters written in 1905 and 1906 shows that Hill-Tout did ship one item out of the country, and also hint at work he and Newcombe were doing for Boas:
Abbotsford, B.C. September 15, 1905

Dear Dr. Newcombe,

I too was sorry not to be able to say goodbye to you. I should have liked to spend some of this last Sunday with you but I was too seedy as you know. I spent a day at the fair on my way back. The Government exhibit was the only thing worth stopping for.

I have not received any communication from Boas. When I do I will endeavour to do as you ask. I shall have to take a photo of the small totem before I can send for one and as I do not develop them myself now up here, it may be some time before I can forward you a photo of it. I am glad I met you again at Frisco. You had almost become a stranger. Don't let us lose sight of each other so long next year. We can work together. To use your own expression, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."

Believe me, Sincerely yours,

(signed) Charles Hill-Tout

In a letter dated October 30, 1905 Hill-Tout wrote to Newcombe:

Since I last wrote to you I received a letter from Boas. The particulars of the papers are the same as you gave in your letter. I am writing him by this mail to say I cannot do my paper till February. I can't see what the hurry is, the meeting doesn't take place till October. I am shipping you that precious grave totem by Freight. I shall take it over on the American side so there will be no customs bothers. You will doubtless see it in due course. I was down at Victoria the other day and hear that you had passed that way or just back from Frisco.

An unsigned copy of a letter dated November 17, 1905, presumably from Newcombe states in part:
Your letter of October 30 is encouraging. I am very glad to hear that you are shipping that grave totem and hope that you will kindly also send the notes you spoke of. Please send shipping receipt.

December 14, 1905, Hill-Tout replied:

...I don't know what I have done with the shipping bill of the totem. I put it away too carefully to lay my hand upon it now that I want it. But as I did not prepay the charges I don't see what good it is to you...Before I enclose this I'll have another look for that receipt.

Newcombe also collected for the Field Museum, so presumably this was the destination in this instance. He replied to Hill-Tout in a letter dated December 27, 1905:

Yours of the 14th was forwarded to me at Toronto but I postponed answering until my return to Chicago. We are extremely obliged to you for letting us have (emphasis added) the totem pole and I hope that you will also kindly send us the story about it which you mentioned to me you had obtained of the specimen. When in Canada I took the opportunity to run over to Ottawa and spend three days at the museum of the Geological Survey there. Since Dr. Dawson died no one has replaced him in regard to ethnological material, and all the specimens they have hitherto collected are massed together in such a fashion that it is impossible to examine it. Indeed so seldom are the cases opened that the keys were lost and carpenters had to be employed to break them open. There is absolutely no room at present to make a display, and the new museum will not be opened under five years, so they told me.

Many thanks for your hints as to Dr. Boas desiderata. He does not seem to ask for the same notes from me however as he has written about to you.

The correspondence apparently ended when Hill-Tout
sent the story of the grave totem to Newcombe April 4, 1906:

...With respect to the history of the totem it is one that came from Harrison River. As far as I could gather from my native informant it represented a native of a family whose ancestors were "real men" and not descendants of mythical creatures as most of the ancestry of Upper Delta tribes is supposed to be. I have referred to these "just men" which I have likened to the ertwa of the Australians in my report on the Skatlamtt, a copy of which I am mailing you.

It appears that the shipping of the grave totem was a favour and not a sale. Nowhere in the entire exchange of letters is a price mentioned. The closest thing to it is the use of the phrase, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," -- perhaps an indication that Hill-Tout expected Newcombe to return the favour in kind.

At the same time that Hill-Tout was endeavouring to keep Indian ethnographic and archaeological specimens at home, Teit was busily shipping them out by the bale and box. Although he discussed other matters in his letters to Newcombe, they were largely concerned with shipments. March 4, 1901, he wrote, "Regarding the specimens you want I expect that they will cost some way between $50 and $60 that encludes (sic) all those you mentioned excepting the specimens to be manufactured from dogwood, yew and nettle." A letter to Newcombe concerned a shipment whose destination was not mentioned. The museum in Victoria was not set up to store artifacts until 1912-1914, therefore it is likely it was sent to Chicago. The letter dated December 6, 1903 stated:
The things of yours I have on hand yet are the unfinished mat, deerskin mat, horsehair robe, antler hook and two saddles. I procured a necklace of Elaeagnus seeds for you the other day which I will forward with the next lot of stuff, probably in the spring.

In 1910 Teit wrote to Newcombe:

"I have just lately shipped part of the collection I had on hand to the Field Museum. Over 160 specimens."

However, Newcombe was not Teit's only customer. This is apparent in some of his letters, such as the following excerpt written April 5, 1905:

I have some duplicates on hand if you think they will be of value to your museum you better buy them. If not I can probably dispose of them to dealers I know.

Newcombe purchased specimens for the British Columbia Provincial Museum and the Field Chicago Museum. Boas bought them for the American Museum of Natural History. Some things were purchased for the National Museum in Ottawa. According to Mrs. Corbett Teit never contributed anything to the Vancouver City Museum, never came there and she never had occasion to keep a file on him. In all his letter writing Teit never once mentioned the Vancouver Museum and the city itself was only referred to as a place to pick up hunting parties. The Teit-Vancouver neglect was mutual as the Vancouver City Archives have absolutely no material on him, although there is a file on Morice, who was farther from the area.
Hard feelings may have been precipitated by Boas as early as 1895 when Hill-Tout's first paper, "Later Prehistoric Man," was published. In it Hill-Tout suggested that certain sites had been abandoned by the early inhabitants with "the intrusion of the Salishan emigrants into this district..." He added, "Should this conjecture hereafter prove to be the truth, the results of Dr. Boas's study of the Cowichan tongue, will receive an interesting and independent confirmation" (p. 105). Hill-Tout's main hypothesis in this paper was that the skulls he found were "strikingly different from present day Indians."

In the early nineties Hill-Tout had presented Boas with a skull. Therefore it may have been a little unsettling for him to find that his very first published effort had right below it a contradictory paragraph by Boas headed, "Remarks on a Skull From British Columbia." In it Boas stated that the face resembled the "present Indians" of the area. (p. 122)

In Hill-Tout's "Notes on the Sk·qo'mic" published in 1900 he wrote:

With the exception of about a score of photographs of men and boys of the Sk·qo'mic I regret to say that I can add no new material to our knowledge of the physical characteristics of this tribe. Dr. Boas's earlier work along these lines among them so prejudiced their minds against anything of the kind that I found it impossible to do anything with them;
more particularly after the death of the late Bishop Durieu, who had a great influence over them... He told me himself that on occasion of Dr. Boas's visit many of the Indians ran away and hid themselves in the woods rather than submit to the examinations. (p. 491)

In the same paper Hill-Tout wrote that he found vowel sounds troublesome — "no two Indians uttering them exactly alike." Several times he complained that he could not find certain sounds as recorded by Boas. (Apparently Hill-Tout's ear was better than the linguistic scholarship of the time. It is likely that the few phonemes were recorded in a number of non-significant variations by other early anthropologists.)

In his 1902 paper on the Mainland Halkomelem under "Linguistics" Hill-Tout wrote that Boas had noticed slight differences between the Island and the Fraser groups. According to Hill-Tout Boas had said that the most striking difference was "l" for "n" and "ā" for "ā" on the Fraser River. Hill-Tout remarked, "In making this general statement, Dr. Boas is slightly in error." (p. 17) Elsewhere he noted, "Dr. Boas is not quite right."

One of the more devastating scholarly attacks against Hill-Tout was made by Boas, with Teit passing him the ammunition. An addition to Teit's 1906 publication, "The Lillooet Indians," was an appendix by Boas entitled, "Notes" (p. 292).
These were not listed in the index. "Notes" consisted of detailed criticism by Boas of Hill-Tout's "Report on the Ethnology of the StlatlumH of British Columbia," based on information supplied by Teit. Boas wrote:

StlatlumH is Mr. Hill-Tout's spelling for the name by which the Upper Lillooet are called by the Thomson and Shuswap Indians. His description is based largely upon information obtained from the Lower Lillooet, and in this respect supplements in certain lines Mr. Teit's information, which seems to be the fullest on the Upper Lillooet. New facts and corrections found in Mr. Hill-Tout's paper are given in the following notes, in which, also, corrections of statements made by Mr. Hill-Tout are included. The information for these was furnished by Mr. Teit. (p. 292)

Boas suggested that since Captain Paul, Hill-Tout's informant, was of mixed descent "belonging partly to the Fraser River Delta, partly to the Lillooet, it seems probable that much of the information that he gave was characteristic of the mixed families of Douglas." He added:

For this reason Douglas is as little a favorable place to obtain full information among the Lillooet as the villages at the foot of Harrison Lake are a favorable place for collecting information of the typical tribes of Fraser River Delta. (p. 292)

The remainder of Boas's critical remarks were systematically numbered.

Note.1. had to do with villages, their number, when inhabited and their names. Boas said that Hill-Tout's "list is incomplete," and that at least one name was "certainly not
correct." Boas wrote that his information had come from Teit who had:

...passed four times over the country between Douglas and Pemberton, -- twice on horseback, once on foot, and once by canoe; and that he has seen every one of the villages, the names of which were supplied by Chief James of Pemberton. (p. 292)

Boas included lists in parallel columns of villages according to Hill-Tout and according to Teit, followed by a list of place names collected by Teit and the 1903 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs showing the population of various Indian bands. (pp. 293-4)

Note 2. wrote: "Mr. Hill-Tout gives a description of the house of the Lower Lillooet which is not very clear." This was followed by Teit's description and information.

Note 3. said that Hill-Tout stated "that the Lillooet, like the Thompson Indians...had nicknames and names taken from their guardian spirits," and that "women never had nicknames." Boas remarked that Mr. Teit "thinks Mr. Hill-Tout is not quite right..." followed by a discussion of naming systems.

Note 4. quoted a paragraph of Hill-Tout's concerning birth customs and the quotation was allowed to stand without comment.

Note 5. had to do with the purification of young girls. Boas stated categorically: "The purification of
adolescent girls did not exist among the Upper Lillooet."

Note 6. concerned adolescent youths and Boas allowed a brief quotation from Hill-Tout to stand without comment.

Note 7. said that Hill-Tout had ascribed certain marriage customs to the Lower Lillooet which Teit had reported were current among the Squamish and Delta tribes.

Note 9. concerned mortuary customs. Hill-Tout was quoted, sometimes in detail, concerning a custom and each quotation was followed by a refutation: "Mr. Teit remarks that he heard nothing of funerary shamans," or where Hill-Tout had said the use of red-fir was customary, "Mr. Teit remarks that rose-branches were used." Where Hill-Tout had made a statement concerning the Upper Lillooet in general, Boas wrote: "Mr. Teit thinks that this may be the individual view held by Captain Paul" (Hill-Tout's informant).

Note 10. was a quotation from Hill-Tout concerning sock-eye salmon and was allowed to stand without comment.

Note 11. said that Hill-Tout treated "the subject of guardian spirits under the heading of totemism," a classification which Boas felt was unwarranted. He further stated that his own book, The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians "was partly re-stated by Mr. Hill-Tout in his paper "The Origin and Import of Totemism."
It is likely that Boas and Teit did not endear themselves to Hill-Tout with the publication of these "Notes."

Hill-Tout's book, *British North America: The Far West, The Home of the Salish and Dene*, was published in 1907. He derived a major portion of his material from his own studies and also drew heavily from Morice and Teit, with perhaps even more from the latter.

The organization of the book is remarkably similar to the over-all plan employed by Teit in many of his articles, though similar chapter headings were widely used by many writers. Hill-Tout's material was organized as follows:

I. Introductory: geography, climate, history

II. The Native Races: origin theories, distribution, physical characteristics

III. Habitations

IV. Dress and Personal Adornment

V. Food and Cooking

VI. Basketry and Bark Vessels

VII. Implements of War and the Chase

VIII. Social Organization

IX. Religious Beliefs and Practices

X. Social Customs

XI. Folktales and Myths

XII. From the Cradle to the Grave: customs of birth, early life, education, games, gambling and feasting.
Hill-Tout quoted Teit's "The Thompson River Indians of British Columbia," almost verbatim from pages 47, 48 and 49. This part is the Indian equivalent of the Ten Commandments, with each one beginning, "It is bad to be --" followed by the consequences. Hill-Tout did not acknowledge the source except in an extremely indirect manner at the end of the book.

Hill-Tout was almost effusive in acknowledging his indebtedness to Morice. His name appeared throughout the book both in the body of the text and in footnotes. In the "Author's Preface" Hill-Tout wrote:

Foremost among these (sources) is my always courteous friend and fellow-student, the Reverend Father Morice of the Oblate Mission at Stuart's Lake, British Columbia.

This able and scholarly missionary has spent a large portion of his life among the Dene tribes, and is more familiar with all that appertains to their lives and customs, both past and present, than any other man living. To him I have gone for much of my information on this stock, as also for confirmation of doubtful points drawn from others, and my readers may feel assured that what I have written upon the Dene is accurate and reliable. (p. vii)

As mentioned earlier he had drawn from his own studies of the Coast Salish and also heavily from Teit's work on the Interior Salish and yet concerning them he merely said:

In my treatment of the Salish, with whom I have myself been in close and friendly contact for the past fifteen years, I have relied mainly on my own personal knowledge and studies, supplementing these, where I thought desirable, with
information gathered by others who have made special studies of particular tribes or subjects. For such help I believe I have always made acknowledgement in the text.

This was followed by a statement of obligation to Dr. Otis Mason and others, but with no mention of Teit. In his bibliography he acknowledged Father Morice as his principal source of information for the Déné. Here on the bottom of the last page he did make a minor mention by last name only, of Teit:

Salish: In addition to papers by the present author in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, etc., Teit may be consulted. His reports on the Thompson River Indians are published by the American Museum of Natural History; in the Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, vol. vi, are a number of myths and folk-tales.

It is possible that when the post of Dominion Ethnologist fell vacant Hill-Tout would have liked to have had it. In a letter to Newcombe dated January 1, 1911, Teit cheerfully wrote:

I was glad to hear Sapir had received the appointment of Dominion Ethnologist. No doubt he is a good man, and will do good work in various parts of B.C. and elsewhere in Canada. His letter written to you from Alberni is very interesting, and gives a person some idea of the west coast field.

I am glad the work of writing up the B.C. Indians has been allotted to you. I think that forty pages gives too little scope for even a very concise description of the B.C. Indians. There are so many different
linguistic stocks, physical types and etc. Because of this they ought to allow more space for the B.C. Indians than is required for the Indians of any other province in Canada. I should think about twice as much if all points concerning the various stocks are to be touched on. re. the Indians of the Interior I think all those of the Southern Interior - at least all the Interior Salish can be grouped together. I shall be glad to help you in the description of the interior types. Preferably I would like you to write up the interior.

In 1916 Boas attempted to disassociate himself from the possibility that he and Hill-Tout held ideas in common and for the second time suggested that Hill-Tout had based his theory of totemism on his (Boas's) ideas. In his book, *Tsimshian Mythology*, Boas wrote:

In the numerous discussions of totemism published during the last few years much has been said about the "American theory" of totemism, -- a theory for which I have been held responsible conjointly with Miss Alice C. Fletcher and Mr. Charles Hill-Tout. This theory is based on the idea that the clan totem has developed from the individual manitou by extension over a kinship group. It is true that I have pointed out the analogy between totem legend and the guardian-spirit tale among the Kwakiutl, and that I have suggested that among this tribe there is a likelihood that under the pressure of totemistic ideas the guardian-spirit concept has taken this particular line of development. Later on Mr. Hill-Tout took up my suggestion and based on it a theory of totemism by generalizing the specific phenomena of British Columbia.

My own point of view -- and I should like to state this with some emphasis -- is a quite different one. I do believe in the existence of analogous psychical processes among all
races wherever analogous social conditions prevail; but I do not believe that ethnic phenomena are simply expressions of these psychological laws. On the contrary, it seems to my mind that the actual processes are immensely diversified, and that similar types of ethnic thought may develop in quite different ways. Therefore it is entirely opposed to the methodological principles to which I hold to generalize from the phenomenon found among the Kwakiutl and to interpret by its means all totemic phenomena.

Teit was apparently the target of Boas's criticism only once -- and then posthumously. Teit had undertaken a study of the distribution of the Salishan tribes during the years 1900 through 1910. The results, "The Middle Columbia Salish," were published in 1928. Boas wrote a foreword to the work, presumably at the same time as the study was made for he wrote in the present tense:

Mr. Teit's perception of sounds is not very definite. He does not distinguish clearly between velars and middle palatals and does not always hear labialization. (p. 89)

Hill-Tout's Professional Standing

Hill-Tout apparently never achieved full recognition in the world of anthropology, at least in North America. It is likely that this may have rankled him as well as others who had a precarious footing in the academic world. There are hints that he may have wanted a position at the University of British Columbia. However as Mrs. Corbett pointed out:
U.B.C. didn't have a seat for anthropology in those days. That's a recent development. U.B.C. never recognized him anyhow. There were better men I know than U.B.C. will ever turn out. He knew his anthropology right to the fingertips, and he never went to the university.

Ainsworth was not a university man, neither was Menzies and neither was I. Later the museum was taken over by people who had gone to university and they wanted university girls and I was thrown into the dustbin.

Concerning his father's not being recognized by the University of British Columbia, Charles B. Hill-Tout said:

It was quite likely (that his feelings were hurt) but I wouldn't know. You see we were young and Father talked to Mother of course, but he never talked to us.

Mrs. Corbett also said:

Hill-Tout didn't believe in universities. He said you could work your way up, you could do anything you like without a University degree.

Although not commenting specifically on the value of a university education in 1931 Hill-Tout compared the state of knowledge in his youth with later years:

...Then a man was not considered properly educated unless he was a scholarly compendium of all the knowledge of his day; and it was actually possible, a half century ago, for an individual to grasp and comprehend the essential facts and principles in every line of human endeavour, and make himself familiar with what his fellows had accomplished.

Today this is utterly beyond his powers, so voluminous and so specialized has modern knowledge become. 
Professor Hill-Tout?

In 1934 a letter-to-the-editor column in the
Vancouver Province, called "The People's Safety Valve,"
carried a series of letters variously headed, "Unsportsmanlike Attack," "Vents His Spleen," and "Unsporting Sniping." The furor had been caused by another column in the same newspaper written by Jim Butterfield. In it he questioned the management and efficiency of the city museum and in addition, and more importantly, he had objected to Hill-Tout's being called "professor." Mr. Butterfield wrote:

I would like to know in the first place in what he is a professor of, and, in the second place, what are his contributions to the science of anthropology outside the achievement of having probably read everything that experts have written on the subject?

Butterfield apparently had no defenders, though numerous people rose on Hill-Tout's behalf. Noel Robinson expressed a majority opinion when he wrote:

Professor Hill-Tout consistently objected for years to being so styled, but eventually had to submit to the inevitable.

In Great Britain the prefix is only applied to a man who occupies a chair at a university. On this continent it is often a courtesy title as well. The dictionary definition is one who specializes in certain subjects and lectures on them. He has lectured on his own subjects scores of times, not only here, but at a number of leading Universities on this continent, including, in Canada -- McGill and Dalhousie.
Other letters to the editor cited Hill-Tout's numerous writings, membership in scientific societies, first hand studies of British Columbia Indians, his being quoted by Sir James Frazer in his work on totemism and that "Andrew Lang held back his work, 'The Secret of the Totem,' in order to meet the arguments used by Hill-Tout in a monograph on totemism in Canada." The editor finally drew the controversy to a close with his "Editor's Note: A number of other letters have been received by the Province taking exception to Mr. Butterfield's remarks."
CHAPTER X

SOME COMPARISONS

Retrospective Studies

Despite all the resources of modern psychology such as depth interviews, Rorschach tests and various case study methods, there is probably no completely reliable manner of determining why any given living person acts and thinks the way he does. Retrospective case studies of deceased persons are surely even less dependable. Nevertheless, in analyzing historical figures there are many precedents.

One of these was provided by Sigmund Freud, who in collaboration with William C. Bullitt, attempted to analyze Woodrow Wilson in this manner and predictably, among other conclusions found that the American President's difficulties arose from a subconscious Oedipal rivalry with his father.¹ Historian Barbara W. Tuchman in reviewing their book wrote:

This seemingly bizarre combination has produced a fascinating but distorted book. As an analysis of the deep mainsprings of motivation of one of the most complex and puzzling public characters who ever lived it is sharply illuminating, and with certain reservations, convincing; it makes the contradictions in Wilson's behavior fall into place with an almost audible click. But as an overall estimate of the whole man, it is lamentable, and as an interpretation of events it falls to pieces. It is good psychology but bad history...²
More recently Erik H. Erikson has attempted several retrospective analyses. In the latter part of his book, *Childhood and Society* he offered a brief study of Adolph Hitler's childhood and another of Maxim Gorky. He devoted an entire book, *Young Man Luther*, to an analysis of one individual. Both books stress the importance of the "identity crisis," a concept which was Erikson's special contribution to personality studies. In his study of Luther Erikson explained:

I have called the major crisis of adolescence the identity crisis; it occurs in that period of the life cycle when each youth must forge for himself some central perspective and direction, some working unity, out of the effective remnants of his childhood and the hopes of his anticipated adulthood; he must detect some meaningful resemblance between what he has come to see in himself and what his sharpened awareness tells him others judge and expect him to be. This sounds dangerously like common sense; like all health, however, it is a matter of course only to those who possess it, and appears as a most complex achievement to those who have tasted its absence...In some young people, in some classes, at some periods in history, this crisis will be minimal; in other people, classes, and periods, the crisis will be clearly marked off as a critical period, a kind of "second birth," apt to be aggravated either by widespread neuroticisms or by pervasive ideological unrest. Some young individuals will succumb to this crisis in all manner of neurotic, psychotic, or delinquent behaviour; others will resolve it through participation in ideological movements passionately concerned with religion or politics, nature or art. Still, others,
although suffering and deviating dangerously through what appears to be a prolonged adolescence, eventually come to contribute an original bit to an emerging style of life; the very danger which they have sensed has forced them to mobilize capacities to see and say, to dream and plan, to design and construct, in new ways. (pp. 14-15)

The identity crisis concept seems particularly applicable to the histories of Hill-Tout and Teit. It is hoped that it also may prove fruitful to consider the knowledge we have of these men in terms of the knowledge we have of the context of the time in which they lived, and attempt to come to some commonsense understanding of why they acted and thought as they did. A restatement of certain facts is necessary in the following sections to show the crucial part they played in the lives of the people we are considering.

Hill-Tout - The Personal Side

We know that Hill-Tout was born to farming people and that he and a brother and sister were orphaned when he was about seven years of age. In addition, he was separated from his brother and sister and adopted by the Cowley monks. We know also that to a seven-year-old the loss of his parents followed by separation from a brother and sister is a catastrophic blow.

Hill-Tout was adopted by Anglican Monks (the Cowley
Fathers) and raised by a community of men in a religious atmosphere. He was brought up for the church and given a gentleman's education; the time and place was Victorian England. All these factors played an important part in determining his sense of values, identity and role.

Such a large amount of research has been devoted to the study of children raised in institutional settings that it has practically become a field by itself. The likelihood of emotional shallowness in such children and the adults they become is well documented.  

Raised in an all-male clerical atmosphere Hill-Tout lacked the total experience of family life, of knowing a father and mother, and learning to respond to closeness and warmth as well as to rivalries and bickerings. Such experiences contribute to a child's developing sense of how to relate to others, not only in the family but in the larger world as well. They also prepare him for his future role as spouse and parent. It is likely that among the monks Hill-Tout found the quickest way to approval was to be bright and knowledgeable in the classroom. Therefore, he learned to be dependent on others for self-fulfilment and mainly developed the impersonal and public side of his nature.

In his book on Luther, Erikson wrote that some young people give themselves an extended moratorium, a "way of postponing the decision as to what one is and is going to be,"
by devoting themselves to some cause or study not knowing that:

they are marking time before they come to their crossroad, which they often do in the late twenties, belated just because they gave their all to the temporary subject of devotion. The crisis in such a young man's life may be reached exactly when he half-realizes that he is fatally overcommitted to what he is not. (p. 43)

Hill-Tout's son said that his mother had been attracted to his father and first met him when the latter was officiating at a religious service, showing he was already well launched on a career in the church. Several aspects of Hill-Tout's history suggest that he underwent an "identity crisis" and that sometime around his twenty-sixth year he went through a convulsive period during which he turned from orthodox religion and gave up becoming a minister. Such a reversal suggests great inner turmoil, for changing his beliefs also meant the loss of a status and role held in high esteem and made the search for a new identity imperative. Significantly about the same time he assumed two new roles; he became a husband and shortly thereafter a father. In addition, he changed his name from the plebian-sounding "Hill-Towt" to the more refined "Hill-Too," as if to pull away from his farming origins and create a new self-image. During this same period Hill-Tout and his new family made an apparently abrupt departure from the land of their birth to make a home in a
strange and distant place. All of this suggests that Hill-Tout went through a state of crisis from which he could see only one way out -- by abandoning all of his previous life and seeking a "second birth" in Canada.

It may therefore seem paradoxical that when Hill-Tout came to Canada he became a farmer as his father had been before him. Along with farming Hill-Tout became a schoolmaster and followed both occupations for the rest of his working life. It is difficult to completely deny one's past, and in becoming a farmer and a teacher Hill-Tout was following the examples of masculine occupations to which he had been exposed. The great enjoyment he later got from giving public lectures showed that something of the preacher still remained with him.

It is likely that the Cowley Fathers were authoritarian without being harsh. This is suggested by the fact that Hill-Tout never had to reject them to the point where he became an outright atheist, a person to whom God is so important that He constantly must be denied. That Hill-Tout could make a break with the church on a reasoning basis and that later as a teacher his main goal was to teach others to think for themselves is a possible reflection of the methods used by the Cowley Fathers.

Having had no patterns for family life Hill-Tout apparently was not able to perform well in terms of the husband
and father role. When Hill-Tout was angry at home it was characteristic of him to become irascible and surly and express his negative feelings very openly. His becoming ill and feeling weak only occurred at home. This, plus his retiring to his bed were ways of avoiding unpleasantness, responsibility, and being non-supportive in his role as spouse and parent. However, it must not be forgotten that Hill-Tout was a product of middle-class Victorian England as well as an upbringing by monks. Much of his authoritarian behavior which seems unreasonable today, was derived from this background and was eminently suitable in the Victorian context where the husband was the centre of the family, the wife submissive and the children were to be seen but not heard.

In public, stimulated by the admiring attention of friends and audiences Hill-Tout seemed to blossom. There was such a noticeable difference between his conduct at home and outside that one might be tempted to conclude that he was dissembling in public, while actually this was not the case. He simply was not able to function well in the mundane, day after day, face to face situations of family life. He needed admiration and attention to bring out the best in him. Because it is not possible to be the star, all or even much of the time in the average home situation, he was least able to be at his best in the bosom of his family.
Teit - The Personal Side

Teit had the advantages of a more secure background than Hill-Tout. He was raised by his own parents who were well established, prosperous store owners in a small sheep-raising and fishing community. He received a good basic education and his formal schooling ended when he was sixteen -- well beyond the usual for his time and class. Being raised as a part of a family meant that he had a pattern for being a family man, and important for his later work, for being part of a team. It is likely that as the first child his parents had less realistic expectations and standards for him than for the other children, such as being more mature and responsible than his age warranted as well as being something of a parent-surrogate to the younger children -- at least this is often the lot of the eldest child.

It seems apparent that Teit also went through an "identity crisis," though at an earlier age and not as protracted as Hill-Tout's. At nineteen he was not committed to a particular way of life and the decision was not postponed while he "marked time." It was if he were waiting for just such an opportunity as his uncle's letter gave him to give up his family inheritance, leave the Shetland Islands and head for a distant place. It is likely he was tired of family entanglements, the restraints of his Scotch-Presbyterian
background and in a state of mild rebellion. He asserted his independence and right of self-determination by leaving all this behind him and heading for the unknown. His reverting to the Norse "Teit," from the family spelling of "Tait" is an important indication that he too was seeking a new self-image and identity. Although his children said that religion was not important to him, the fact of a Scotch-Presbyterian's conversion to Catholicism possibly indicates that it was very important to him and that a large residue of rebellion always remained.

Except for extremely rare episodes of "flying off the handle," Teit did not express negative feeling openly. When Mrs. Teit's temper became too much for him he took refuge in inactivity. It was what he did not do and did not say that practically drove her into a frenzy. Not being on time, not noticing her homemaking efforts, not responding to her anger may have been ways of goading her.

Similarly when there were strained feelings between the Hill-Tout and Boas-Teit factions, Teit was never the one to engage in open combat, but allowed Boas to perform that service while he helped from the sidelines.

Teit chose a way of life that made it necessary for him to be away from home for months at a time -- either on guide and field trips or on behalf of the Indian rights movement. Worthy as such efforts were, they were made at the
expense of the family, and at these times he was emotionally non-supportive in his role as husband and father.

Having grown up in a patterned family, Teit apparently performed adequately in his role as husband and father. This is suggested by his wife's great sense of loss when the books were destroyed, as if she were losing him all over again. Also, there is the evident fondness with which his children remembered him.

Teit was a product of the egalitarian traditions of rural Scotland and had a love of nature as expressed by his favorite poet, Robert Burns. It is curious that although "he couldn't stand people picking flowers," he guided them to where they could kill animals.

Teit's attitudes were well suited to the proletarian outlook of the frontier men in the New World while Hill-Tout's stern pater familias image seemed harsh in this more egalitarian society.

Hill-Tout and Teit - Anthropology

Hill-Tout had no formal training in anthropology but had read a great deal on the subject in his student days. It is recorded that the crisis he went through came about after his being exposed to the thinking of Max Müller, Thomas Henry Huxley and Charles Darwin. As noted earlier, Max Müller was an Anglo-German orientalist and comparative philologist
and his works stimulated widespread interest in the study of linguistics, mythology and religion. It seems possible that young Hill-Tout's encounter with Müller gave him his taste for the exotic and an interest in linguistics and mythology which was to characterize his anthropological work in British Columbia. It is likely that Hill-Tout came under the influence (if only indirectly) of works such as J.J. Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* and Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law*. Both Bachofen and Maine were unilinear evolutionists. It seems that these influences were to have a devastating effect on his future in anthropology. The one area where some understanding of method would have been important -- archaeology -- he apparently overlooked.

We find Hill-Tout's work heavily burdened with references to evolution by stages and associated concepts. These ideas lead to, and lean heavily on, an anthropology of speculation and theorizing, both of which are characteristic of much, though not all of his writing. Thus his early exposure to Huxley, Darwin and presumably some of the unilinear evolutionists, made Hill-Tout's thinking old-fashioned even before he left the shores of England and began his work in the New World.

James A. Teit had come to British Columbia burdened by little more than a good basic knowledge of reading and
writing. His personal interest and reading in the field of Norse folklore and mythology prepared him well for an understanding of the importance of Indian myths. He had not been exposed to anthropology as a field of study and thus had no preconceptions. Teit, with his keen personal interest in the Indians, his insider's knowledge of their language and ways, adapted so well to the empirical approach and data collecting methods of the new approach to anthropology that it almost seemed made to order for him.

Thus Hill-Tout had arrived with that lack of potential inherent in something or somebody highly developed. He had what Veblen called "the penalty of taking the lead," while Teit had what Trotsky referred to as "the privilege of historic backwardness." Trotsky was writing about countries but his words may apply to individuals:

Although compelled to follow after the advanced countries, a backward country does not take things in the same order. The privilege of historic backwardness -- and such a privilege exists -- permits, or rather compels, the adoption of whatever is ready in advance of any specified date, skipping a whole series of intermediate stages.6

Hill-Tout in his writings did so much theorizing, speculating and expounding of personal views that his prejudices are there for all to see. Like every person, he operated on the basis of the assumptions of his time. These are always so
mundane, so taken for granted, that it takes special experience to make us aware of their existence. At times Hill-Tout was able to perceive this insensibility in others. For instance in his arguments concerning totemism he showed that a stumbling block of many European scholars was their blindness to the fact that descent could not only be reckoned through a line of sons, but also in other ways which were equally valid. That he was unable to perceive or even guess at his own imbedded assumptions suggests that his field work was not an immersing experience. Some of the contradictions in his writing may be due to his intellectual or conceptual realization of alternatives without an experiential comprehension of them.

It cannot be assumed that Teit remained completely immune to the existing prejudices of his time. There is less evidence of this simply because his writings did not express as many personal opinions. There is evidence that despite his admiration and defense of Indians he had an imbedded assumption that the White people were the standard against which others were to be measured. This is apparent in an occasional stray sentence such as the following from "The Thompson River Indians:"

With the steady progress of civilization the tribes have become equally as law-abiding as the whites themselves, and even more hospitable. (p. 271)

In many ways Hill-Tout was like Darwin whose father
had intended him for the church and later became a farmer. Like his illustrious predecessor Hill-Tout worked hard and lived long though suffering most of his life from an undiagnosed illness. Hill-Tout was also like Darwin who was once described as having an "old-fashioned outlook which kept in touch with the well-educated, but not too well educated, public and out of touch with the ideas of younger men."?

Hill-Tout was essentially a conservative person of the educated class whose prejudices were essentially the same as the circle in which he moved. When he lectured at the Vagabonds Club; the Art, Historical and Scientific Association and even when he wrote for learned British journals he was addressing a larger version of himself.

For Hill-Tout Vancouver was the place where he could be "the big fish in the small pond." It was well suited to an intelligent, obviously ambitious man, who lacked formal credentials.

Much has been said about Teit's easy-going ways and lack of ambition. But surely this cannot be altogether true. The large body of his published work speaks for the intensity of purpose and the drive which lurked beneath his mild-mannered exterior.

Teit was apparently able to communicate easily with
all kinds of people. He was an unaffected man who did not attempt to maintain an image of himself either as a scholar or as "a cut above the average." He was apparently well liked by everyone -- socialists, millionaires, Indians, hunters and learned men. He had no pretensions to scholarship, yet was a storehouse of knowledge and was sought out by scholars. Teit, from the obscure little hamlet of Spences Bridge, belonging to no formidable scientific associations, seeking no honours, seemingly retiring and unambitious, somehow managed to make the world of anthropology appreciate him.

In a certain sense Teit was a good psychologist and politician. He knew how to operate as part of a team. He must have been very sensitive to the vulnerable points which even renowned scientists have. His total lack of credentials was an asset making him no threat to anyone's self-esteem. In addition to serving a valid scientific service, he played the political game well when he gave three powerful people (Boas, Sapir and Newcombe) what they wanted -- information and native ethnographic specimens.

Hill-Tout seems to have lacked political acumen. Although he had memberships in numerous organizations and held many offices, essentially he was unable to work with or under anyone; basically he was always alone. He had no powerful person guiding his efforts or backing him as Teit did but tried
to compete with other anthropologists on their own ground in terms of authoritative utterances, while lacking the credentials. It was to his great disadvantage that he was an alienated person. Largely because of this he always retained the mark of the gentleman amateur, the self-made anthropologist, while Teit became a trained specialist.

Religion is sometimes defined as that which is of ultimate importance. In this sense Teit's children felt that he was truly religious in his responsibility for his fellow man as shown by his work for Indians.

Because there is little in Teit's history to suggest he had a background of misery and oppression it is unlikely that his working for oppressed Indians arose from feelings of that kind of identification with them. But he did identify with them on another level. He especially admired those Indians who, against great odds, retained their own identity. It was these aspects of positive self-image and rights of self-determination, which had been part of his own struggle -- these were the Indian values he identified with and fought for.

Teit, in contrast to Hill-Tout, did very little speculating and theorizing in his writing. Therefore it is difficult to say how, on the intellectual level he regarded his work for the Indians. There are many things we do not know. For instance, in terms of culture change did he see
change as dysfunction? Did he see Indian loss of identity with many of their prior structures as complete loss of identity? Was he in the tradition of seeing native cultures as static? -- a position which has a great deal of appeal. Did he realize that if any culture is to survive it must adapt and yet retain its own identity?

Hill-Tout was the more vocal about preserving Indian ethnographic specimens in British Columbia while Teit was the one who shipped them out of the province. Now, several generations later, we are in a position to evaluate these two opposing views and the actual results of them.

Concerning the collection which the old Art, Historical and Scientific Association put together, although it is in Canada and it is in Vancouver it is not of the finest.

Although Teit sent material out of the province, in doing so he helped to preserve it at a time when there were no good facilities in British Columbia, not even in Victoria. Teit helped Newcombe and others to assemble spécimens for several major collections of Northwest materials. These include an exhibit at the American Museum of Natural History in New York, the Field Musuem of Natural History in Chicago, contributions preserved in several European Museums as well as an excellent collection which remained in Canada in the National Museum, and later another in British Columbia in the Provincial Museum in
Victoria.

As for the writing of Hill-Tout and Teit, it was the latter's which preserved more facts about the Indians of the southern part of the province, and for anyone wishing to study them reading Teit's work is essential. While Hill-Tout also did a great deal of research in the field and factual writing, much of his work was concerned with speculation and theory.

Concerning the ephemeral nature of theorizing, Frazer once wrote to two anthropologists in the field:

Works...recording a phase of human history which before long will have passed away, will have a permanent value so long as men exist on earth and take an interest in their own past. Books like mine, merely speculative, will be superseded sooner or later (the sooner the better for the sake of truth) by better inductions based on fuller knowledge; books... containing records of observation, will never be superseded.

2. Hudson, Bert, "Victoria's Gentle Servant to the Arts."

3. Personal communication from Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn, Professor of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.


The identity of "D.L.S." is not known at the present time. The most plausible theory was offered by Sister Mary Paul, R.S.M. (Irene C. Howlett) of Vanderhoof, B.C. Sister Paul suggested that "D.L.S." was probably a close friend of Father Morice's who had access to the latter's personal journal, and that he incorporated much of the journal exactly as it was written into Fifty Years, but without identifying the quoted passages by means of quotation marks.
NOTES

CHAPTER II

LIFE OF CHARLES HILL-TOUT


2. Charles B. Hill-Tout quotations are from a taped interview.

3. Noel Robinson in a 1948 reprint of "The Great Fraser Midden (With Added Papers), Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver, B.C. Robinson Docket, Vancouver City Archives. Noel Robinson (1879-1966) pioneer Vancouver newspaperman, worked for newspapers in Britain, emigrated to Vancouver in 1908, but returned to Europe as a soldier during World War I. He wrote articles for all the Vancouver newspapers including the World, Star and Province. He also wrote a book on the Canadian Pacific Railway called, Blazing the Trail Through the Rockies, and articles for various publications including the Museum Notes of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association. He served as president of that organization in its later years.

4. Lowther, Barbara J. and Muriel Laing, A Bibliography of British Columbia, Laying the Foundations, 1849-1899, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. 1968. The information in this annotated bibliography also indicates that Hill-Tout's immigration to British Columbia was in the 1880's and claims that his monograph on the archaeology of B.C. "led to the extensive investigations of Jesup in the area." All of these statements are garbled and contrary to fact.


6. Howay and Scholefield Dockets, Vancouver City Archives. Judge Frederick William Howay (1867-1943) - British Columbia Jurist and historian, was noted for his historical research and writings. Ethelbert Olaf Stuart Scholefield was provincial archivist and librarian at Victoria before World War I. He and Howay collaborated on British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present.

8. Mrs. Ruth Corbett quotations are from a taped interview.

9. Capilano Dockets, Vancouver City Archives. A 1939 clipping (no source) noted:

If Chief Joe Capilano of the Squamish tribe is presented to King George VI on May 19, he will be meeting the grandson of the King who received his father, Chief Mathias.

Another clipping (no source) referring to the earlier visit was headed:

Fifty Years Ago - August, 1906

FUTILE - Chief Joe Capilano has arrived home after an interview with King Edward VII, and told his followers of the futility of his efforts to see redress in Indian problems.

He was "Capilano Joe" before he went. After he came back he was Chief Joe Capilano.

Actually he was not a Capilano at all -- not by blood.

(It is likely that the group bestowed the name, Capilano, on him for the trip to enhance his prestige at court. Personal communication: Professor Wilson A. Duff, Anthropologist, University of British Columbia.)

10. Friederich Max Müller (1823-1900) was an Anglo-German orientalist and comparative philologist. His works stimulated widespread interest in the study of linguistics, mythology and religion. He was an authority on Sanscrit and wrote in his later years on Indian philosophy.


12. Donald A. McGregor quotations are from a taped interview.

14. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, "Delves Deep into History."


16. Thomas Ainsworth quotations are from a taped interview.

17. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, various clippings.

18. Charles Ben Hill-Tout File, Vancouver Centennial Museum, Vancouver, B.C.


20. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, newspaper clipping (no source) 1945:

Fifty Years Ago

April 19, 1895. -- Charles Hill-Tout has returned from exploring the mound at Hatzic Prairie. He got a number of curious specimens which must be at least 1500 years old.


24. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives.


26. Donald A. McGregor described the group in his editorial column in the Province:

This club was a curious mixture of people chosen partly because they made congenial companions and partly because they were opposites in character and temperament and could provoke clashes and create uproars at the meetings. The
meeting that ended with the most broken heads -- metaphorically broken, that is -- was the most successful one.

The members, for the most part, held jobs that were more or less routine. They were accountants or lawyers, doctors, newspapermen, a few university professors, a few musicians, a couple of librarians, and quite a lot who could not fit into any category. They liked to let their memories run, to air their ideas and prejudices, to listen to the other fellow's stories and to sharpen their minds on the other fellow's steel.

The club was useful in providing a forum. The Vagabonds had a constitution full of "whereases" and "notwithstandings" which it never followed. It had a presiding officer called "Mine Host," a secretary called a scribe and a bursar with an empty bag. It never had a home nor dreamed of having one. It wandered about, taking the lean things with the fat. Sometimes, when it was in funds, it entertained its friends in the old Hotel Vancouver or Glencoe Lodge or the University Club -- places all vanished now. At other times it was on short commons. During prohibition days, it met, now and then in the reformed bar-room of the Abbotsford Hotel. Again, it met in Hamilton Hall, a de-consecrated church on Dunsmuir Street. Its happiest days were probably those when it could count on finding a welcome in a great barn of a room -- a sort of rookery filled with shabby and old furniture, pictures, prints, books and miscellaneous bric-a-brac maintained by J. Francis Bursill on Pender Street.

27. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, Jan. 25, 1939.

28. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, clippings (no source) dated March 28 and April 28, 1944.

29. Much of the family information comes from Charles Buckland Hill-Tout of Victoria, (born 1885 in Ontario.) Articles in the Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives refer to him as "Button and Badge King of Canada." He had the world's greatest collection in the United Services Museum in London, consisting of one hundred thousand buttons and fifty thousand badges, as well as a ten thousand dollar stamp collection. He had hoped that the collection eventually would be housed in a national museum, but fell
upon hard times and sold it. One of Charles' sons, Ben Hill-Tout, was a well-known photographer who won a number of prizes in photographic competitions. He died in 1954 at the age of twenty-nine. A Benjamin Charles Hill-Tout Memorial Fund has been established at the University of British Columbia for excellence in photography.

Beatrice Mary (born in 1884 in England) married a mining engineer called Pearson and they emigrated to Chile. She and all her family are now Chileans. Charles recalled that her son came up to San Francisco on a Chilean naval vessel and while it was there for repairs he travelled north to visit the family in British Columbia.

The rest of the family includes William Stothert (born in Ontario, 1887); Edith Lillian, now deceased ("Of course, none of us are young."); Mildred, who married Scotty Dunlop; Phyllis, who died in the 'flu epidemic of 1918, and James, a noted educator in the Vancouver area.

30. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, "Delves Deep Into History."
31. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, "Delves Deep Into History."
32. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, letter to Major J.S. Matthews, V.D., R.O., Vancouver City Archives.
33. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, by N.R., clipping (source unknown) 1934.
34. This undated clipping was found pasted on the last page of a second hand copy of Man and His Ancestors in the Light of Organic Evolution, when the volume was purchased from a used book dealer.

39. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, source unknown, Feb. 6, 1942.

40. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, "Delves Deep Into History."

NOTES

CHAPTER III

LIFE OF JAMES A. TEIT

1. Inga Teit Perkins quotations are from a taped interview.

2. Information and quotations from Erik Teit, personal communication.

3. Information and quotations from Sigurd Teit, personal communication.

4. Erik, draftsman, was a tennis champion, hockey player, interested in music and a bachelor. Inga, a registered nurse, has raised two sons. Magnus, an executive with a construction firm, is interested in sports, is married and has two children. Sigurd, a logger, said to be the most like his father, is married and has two children. Thorald, also a logger, is married.

5. Teit File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

6. The Merritt Herald, Merritt B.C., March 9 and 16, 1923, in an article headed "James Teit's Work Given Recognition," reprinted in two installments an account of Teit's life and works written by "Lucian" which had originally appeared in the Vancouver Daily Province. According to Donald A. McGregor "Lucian" was the pen name of Dr. Snowden Dunn Scott, who had an honorary degree from the University of New Brunswick. He came to Vancouver about 1910 and was the editor of the morning News-Advertiser until its demise in 1912 when he became an editorial writer for the Province where he remained until about 1923.

7. Teit Correspondence File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria B.C. All quotations from the Teit-Newcombe correspondence are from this file.


9. All information in this section is from University of British Columbia, Main Library, Special Collections.

10. British Columbia Provincial Library, Victoria, B.C.


13. The organization continued for a number of years but with little or no success. In 1927 Andrew Paull, a Squamish Indian and spokesman for the Allied Tribes, appeared before the Special Joint Committee on Claims of the Allied Indian tribes. Part of his testimony before the committee is as follows:

I want to read a statement here which was prepared by our late friend, Mr. J.A. Teit, in the spring of 1920, in Ottawa, to be presented to the Senate, but it was never delivered. The document has been preserved. I would like to just read parts of that. This applies to conditions which existed at that time, and refers to the conditions which exist now.

The Indians see nothing of real value for them in the work of the Royal Commission. Their crying needs have not been met. The Commissioners did not fix up their hunting rights, fishing rights, water rights, and land rights, nor did they deal with the matter of reserves in a satisfactory manner. Their dealing with reserves has been a kind of manipulation to suit the whites, and not the Indians. All they have done is to recommend that about 47,000 acres of generally speaking good lands be taken from the Indians, and about 80,000 acres of generally speaking poor lands, be given in their place. A lot of the land recommended to be taken from the reserves has been coveted by whites for a number of years. Most of the 80,000 acres additional lands is to be provided by the Province, but it seems the Indians are really paying for these lands. Fifty per cent of the value of the 47,000 acres to be taken from the Indians is to go to the Province, and it seems this amount will come to more than the value of the land the Province is to give the Indians. The Province loses nothing, the
Dominion loses nothing, and the Indians are the losers. They get fifty per cent and lose fifty per cent on the 47,000 acres, but, as the 47,000 acres is much more valuable land than the 80,000 they are actually losers by the work of the Commission.

Now, this was the opinion arrived at by our late friend, and we attach a great deal of importance to statements that he prepared carefully. It is not a statement prepared by our general counsel, but by one who went carefully into the matter, and who strived to interpret the whole thing as he saw it, and that was his conclusion. Perhaps it is educational to read some more from this same document. There is another reference to Bill 13, and I will read that. It will speak for itself, and I think it expresses the Indians' viewpoint very accurately.

Bill 13 is to empower the Government of Canada to adopt the findings of Royal Commission as a final adjustment of all lands to be reserved for the Indians. The McKenna-McBride Agreement, the Order in Council, the findings of the Royal Commission, and Bill 13, are all parts of a whole. The Order in Council states that the Indians shall accept the findings of the Royal Commission as approved by the Governments of the Dominion and the Province as a full allotment of reserve lands, and further, that the Province, by granting said reserves as approved, shall be held to have satisfied all claims of the Indians against the Province. What chance will there be for the Indians in the future to get additional lands or a fair adjustment of all their rights, if Bill 13 is made law?

I simply read from the document. Mr. Scott has said Bill 13 is merely an enabling Act, giving the Government power to deal with British Columbia, and that the whole bargain is so advantageous to the Indians, that the Indian Department feels justified in backing it up. We are sorry the Indian Department is of this opinion, for it places it out of sympathy with us, and makes it appear to the Indians an instrument of oppression and injustice.
The chief enabling the Indians see in the Bill is that of enabling the Government to take their lands without their consent. There may be something advantageous to the Government in the Bill, but certainly not to the Indians.

Canada, Parliament, Report and Evidence, Special Joint Committee on Claims of the Allied Indian Tribes, pp. 124-125, Ottawa, 1927.

NOTES
CHAPTER IV
HILL-TOUT AND ANTHROPOLOGY


3. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver, B.C.

4. Borden Docket, Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver, B.C. "An Ancient Coast Indian Village in Southern British Columbia," reprint from Indian Time, Vol. 2, No. 15, Vancouver, B.C. (The quotations from Borden in this section are from this article.)


7. This trephined skull, (on permanent exhibit at the Vancouver Centennial Museum) has signs of two cranial operations and was not an isolated incident. Professor Borden has a few skulls with trephinations. Most of them have keel ridges, are fairly large in size and some have several trephinations. (Personal communication: Gay Calvert, Archaeologist, Vancouver Centennial Museum, Vancouver, B.C.)


10. Robinson, Noel, added paper to 1948 reprint of "The Great Fraser Midden."

12. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver, B.C., Clipping no source, July 3, 1944.

13. The "dictionary" referred to was probably the parallel lists of Kwakiutl-Nootka and Malayo-Polynesian words Hill-Tout compiled to show their similarities for his monograph, "Oceanic Origin of the Kwakiutl-Nootka and Salish Stocks of British Columbia and Fundamental Unity of Same with Additional Notes on the Dene" (1898).


15. This is an example of the corroborative method and it is interesting to note that about the same time W.H.R. Rivers was doing field work among the Todas. The latter was scrupulously careful to interview his informants separately so that they could not confirm each other's information as he felt this was one of the two great sources of error in anthropology. The other error was paying for information by the item. (The Todas, W.H.R. Rivers, 1906, p. 7.)

CHAPTER V

TEIT AND ANTHROPOLOGY


5. Teit Correspondence File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. All Teit-Newcombe correspondence quoted is from this file.

6. Teit's bills to Newcombe revealed the amount of money he received for some of his shipments. Teit was not yet involved in gathering specimens in 1893, but Newcombe was.

The following is a copy of a letter estimating how much the Indians would have to be paid for labor and artifacts for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and following that, a copy of a voucher showing the amount paid them for articles for the same fair. (Public Archives of Canada, Dept. of Indian Affairs Records.)
Sir,

With reference to your Circular letter of the 27th. ultimo stating that it is desirable that a collection of Indian Exhibits should be sent to the Columbia Exposition at Chicago; I would suggest that some of the following articles might prove suitable - viz:-

Spinner & Spear - used in cod-fishing
Halibut hooks and line
Dog fish lines (native made)
Cedar Mats
Reed Mats
Indian Blanket, half made with frame and distaff.

Ancient

War Clubs
Bow and arrows
Spears
Stone hammer, axe, wedges.

Grain-  Oats-  wheat-  Peas-

Fish, dried i.e. clams, salmon, Halibut, cod.

Some of these articles could be borrowed, but it would be necessary to buy some and employ Indians to make or fit up others, the approximate cost would be about $50.00. Any that are bought would have to be paid for at once.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Ob'dt Servant,

(Sgd) W. H. Lomas
Indian Agent.
Voucher No. 271
GOVERNMENT OF DOMINION OF CANADA (Aug. 28th, 93)
Worlds Fair Exhibit
DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
KWAWKEWLTH AGENCY

..........................(Sgd). R. H. Pidcock..........................

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<th>Amount $</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Articles of Indian Manufacture purchased for Exhibition at the Worlds Fair Chicago</td>
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Total..... 98 50

I Hereby Certify that this Voucher is correct, that the material has been supplied, the work performed, and that the charges are fair and just; also that all the expenditure has been incurred legitimately and that each item of the same is a fair and just charge against the Government of Canada and that the articles were paid for at the time of purchase.

(Sgd). R. H. Pidcock
Agent

$98.50 Victoria B.C. 1893

Received from A.W. Vowell, Indian Superintendent, the above sum of Ninety eight Dollars, Fifty Cents

(Sgd) R. H. Pidcock
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedar bark mats in different stages</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medicine mens Rattles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yew Wedges</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain horn spoons</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved wood spoons</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved horn spoons</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carved horn spoons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone instrument for softening fibre</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood Combs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whale bone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoons mountain sheeps horn</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do do</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Wood currency ornamented  1.50
2 Adzes  1.00
1 Carved Knife  .50
2 Cakes dried berries  .50
1 Dried dog fish skin  .25
2 Canoe balers  .50
2 Pairs Earings  1.50
2 Silver Bracelets  5.00
4 Copper  do  .50
1 Silver Brooch  2.50
2 Stone Hammers  2.50
9 Stone Chisels  2.50
2 Water buckets  2.00
1 Model of Nimkish Indian Village  12.00
1 Do  do  Canoe  3.50
2 Yew Instruments for digging roots  1.50

Making Packing Cases and packing  4.50
Freight per St. "Boscowitz" to Victoria  4.25

$98.50


NOTES

CHAPTER VI

THE JESUP NORTH PACIFIC EXPEDITION


2. From these statements it seems likely that Boas knew he was participating in a "scientific revolution," as used by Thomas H. Kuhn. Kuhn suggested that "normal science" rests on a framework or paradigm which is accepted by the scientific community. Inevitably, continuing research reveals "anomalies" which cannot be reconciled within that framework. Further work leads to a new conceptual structure which is accepted and which in turn leads to a new "normal science," the practice of which will again inevitably evoke further crises. (The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Thomas H. Kuhn, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1962 and 1966.)

Boas perceived anthropology as a science directed towards an ultimate goal: "the laying down of laws governing the growth of culture." He was also anti-evolutionary. Kuhn noted that the greatest obstacle Darwin faced "stemmed from an idea that was more nearly Darwin's own. All the well-known pre-Darwinean evolutionary theories...had taken evolution to be a goal-directed process...For many men the abolition of that teleological kind of evolution was the most significant and least palatable of Darwin's suggestions:" Kuhn suggests science is also a process which moves "steadily from primitive beginnings but toward no goal" (Kuhn: pp. 170-171). Perhaps the idea of randomness at any level was basically repugnant to Boas, who was himself goal-oriented.


4. The meeting of the B.A.A.S. in Montreal in 1884 appointed a committee and gave two reasons: First the construction of the Canadian Railway had given "ready access" to a number of Native tribes; and second, the United States had a Bureau of Ethnology which had "qualified agents" to study Indians and the committee felt that Canada should not lag in this respect. They wrote:
On these and other considerations the General Committee of the British Association appointed Dr. E.B. Tylor, Dr. G.M. Dawson, General Sir J.H. Lefroy, Dr. Daniel Wilson, Mr. Horatio Hale, Mr. R.G. Haliburton and Mr. George W. Bloxam (secretary) to be a committee for the purpose of investigating and publishing reports on the physical characters, languages, industrial and social condition of the North-western tribes of the Dominion of Canada with a grant of £50. (173-174)

When the committee issued its Second Report in 1886, Hale was not mentioned as a member. In the Fourth Report of 1888, the committee said it had been able to obtain the services of Dr. Franz Boas. By the time of the Sixth Report in 1893 Tylor was still chairman, Hale was again a member, Wilson had died, Dawson was absent on an expedition to the Behring (sic) Sea, and Boas was working on the World's Columbian Exhibition at the Chicago Fair. The Report of 1898 was the twelfth and final report and by then the committee was composed of Tylor, chairman; Sir Cuthbert Peek, secretary; Dawson; Haliburton; David Boyle and the Hon. G.W. Ross.

5. Hill-Tout Correspondence File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. Quotations from Hill-Tout's letters to Newcombe are from this file.

6. Parmenter, Ross, "Glimpses of a Friendship..." p. 92


9. Rohner, Ronald P., The Ethnography of Franz Boas. Excerpts from letters to Boas's family are from this source.

CHAPTER VII

HILL-TOUT'S WRITING


5. Harlan I. Smith wrote:

The first published account of the shell-heaps of the Lower Fraser river was by Mr. Charles Hill-Tout, who referred to both the large shell-heaps near Eburne and the one at Port Hammond. ("Shell-Heaps of the Lower Fraser River, British Columbia," Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Vol II, Part IV, p. 135, 1903.

Professor Charles Borden also wrote that "Charles Hill-Tout...published the first account of this midden..." ("An Ancient Coast Indian Village in Southern British Columbia," reprint from Indian Time, Vol 2, No. 15, Vancouver, B.C.)

Some confusion has arisen about the role played by this monograph and according to popular accounts it led to the investigations carried out by the Jesup Expedition. This is not correct and the misinformation is an interesting example of the heights to which local patriotism can be carried and later perpetuated, even in works of reference such as A Bibliography of British Columbia, Laying the Foundations, 1849-1892.


12. Regarding the covering of "totemic carvings and representations," the phrasing is vague and Hill-Tout did not give empirical references to substantiate this assertion.


CHAPTER VIII

TEIT'S WRITING


5. According to Professor Harry B. Hawthorn, "Boas in a more formal or sophisticated way, was writing the same things..." Personal communication.


CHAPTER IX

DIFFERENCES OF OPINION


2. Hill-Tout Correspondence File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. All quotations from the Hill-Tout-Newcombe correspondence are from this file.

3. Teit Correspondence File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C. All quotations from the Teit-Newcombe correspondence are from this file.


7. Hill-Tout Docket, Vancouver City Archives.

8. Hill-Tout Clippings File, British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.
CHAPTER X

SOME COMPARISONS


Erikson is well known in anthropology for two other sections in this book which have been anthrologized. They are: "Hunters Across the Prairie," a study of Sioux society and child training, and "Fishermen Along a Salmon River," a study of the society and child training of the Yurok, coastal Indian group of Northern California.


5. The following is a small sample of the literature concerned with separation anxiety and institutional upbringing:


APPENDIX ii
HILL-TOUT: PUBLISHED WORKS


"Haida Stories and Beliefs," *British Association for the Advancement of Science*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 700-8, 1898.


Man and His Ancestors in the Light of Organic Evolution, Cowan, Brookhouse, Ltd., Vancouver, B.C., 1925.


"Indian Masks and What They Signify," Museum Notes, Art, Historical and Scientific Association, pp. 91-93, Sept. 1929.

"Is There a Fundamental Difference in Racial Aptitudes and Capacities, and Does the Mind of the Savage Differ from That of the Savant?" Museum Notes, Art, Historical and Scientific Association, pp. 149-157, Dec. 1929.


"Vancouver Two Thousand Years Ago," (with Dr. G.E. Kidd) *Vancouver Province*, Jan. 16, 1932.


APPENDIX iii

TEIT: PUBLISHED WORKS


### APPENDIX iv

#### HILL-TOUT: TABLE OF EVENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>LOCATION(S)</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tout-Buckland, Devonshire, England.</td>
<td>Born.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Married Edith Mary Stothert.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Emigrated with wife and baby daughter to Canada, (Toronto, Ontario). Opened boys' school, also farmed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Visited Vancouver and returned to England.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Settled in Vancouver, B.C. Taught at Whetham College and lived in Whetham Block, corner of Georgia and Granville, where Birks' Jewelers are now. Taught school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Art Association (date and place of founding unknown) names committee, including Hill-Tout, to enlarge its scope and changes name to Art, Historical and Scientific Association.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Transit: Field trip up coast to Prince Rupert and returned through Fraser Valley.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>LOCATION(S)</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abbotsford, B.C.</td>
<td>Spent summer holidays.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Art, Historical and Scientific Association founded. Charter Member.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>First monograph published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Field Trip Hatzic Prairie</td>
<td>Explores mound and returns to Vancouver with specimens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>Aided Jesup Expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>Visits Squamish and learns traditional history and ancient Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Abbotsford, B.C.</td>
<td>Moved from Vancouver to Abbotsford, went into business making hand hewn railway ties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>Field Work - River tribes below Yale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>Workmen dug up skeletons and artifacts daily at Eburne Road, Marpole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Hill-Tout named Kitsilano Beach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-13(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.</td>
<td>Participated in exploration of La Brea Tar Pits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td>Made fellow of American Ethnological Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elected Vice President of the Archaeological Institute of America, Canadian Dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>MONTH</td>
<td>DAY</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>LOCATION(S)</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td>Member of the Executive of the Archaeological Institute of America, Canadian Department.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Vagabonds Club founded by John Francis Bursill and others, including Hill-Tout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>First wife died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Butterfield controversy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Apr.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Elected President of Vancouver Branch of Canadian Authors Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Pleads for more room, and funds for city's valuable museum material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Urged city, at City Museum Meeting, to secure Marpole Mound.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Presented with diploma from Historical and Heraldic Council of France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Married second wife, Meada Alyce Wilcox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>President of Happier Old Age Club.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Mar.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Retired as President of Art, Historical and Scientific Association. Presented with illuminated address by Mayor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
<td>Died.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX v

#### TEIT: TABLE OF EVENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>DAY</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>LOCATION(S)</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lerwick, Shetland Islands, Scotland</td>
<td>Born.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lerwick, Shetland Islands</td>
<td>Completed formal education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>On ship, came around the Horn.</td>
<td>Emigrated from Lerwick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spence's Bridge, Arrived and changed his B.C.</td>
<td>Name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser River Region</td>
<td>Hunting and exploring trips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser River Region</td>
<td>Hunting and exploring trips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser River Region</td>
<td>Hunting and exploring trips.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>Married Lucy Artko or Atello, a Thompson Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>19-20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>Teit meets Boas, first time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First monograph published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>4-6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Spences Bridge, B.C.</td>
<td>Visit from Boas, Jesup Expedition begins here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser River Region</td>
<td>Visited all western Shuswap bands, through Chilcotin country to Bella Coola with Boas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>Wife died, no children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>MONTH</td>
<td>DAY</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>LOCATION(S)</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>Visit from Boas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Canoe Creek and Dog Creek</td>
<td>Field Work Study of Salishan Tribes under Boas's direction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Fraser River Region</td>
<td>Visited Western, Northern Bands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Norway, England, Shetland</td>
<td>Visited relatives and friends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>Joined Socialist Party of British Columbia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canim Lake and North Thompson River, Red Tree Reserve.</td>
<td>Across country by pack train.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hunted moose and did field work on Tahltan Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>Married Leonie Josephine Morens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>March-April</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>In Transit</td>
<td>1 Month honeymoon to California via coast cities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Field work among Okanogan, Indians of Spallumcheen, Shuswap Lake, Kamloops, Savona, Manet Lake, Nicola.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>-08-09</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge and In Transit</td>
<td>Travelled over B.C., Washington and Montana to study distribution of Salishan dialects and general movement of tribes according to their traditions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>MONTH</td>
<td>DAY</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>LOCATION(S)</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hunted big horn-sheep and did field work on Tahlton Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Middle Columbia Region</td>
<td>Lived among Middle Columbia Salish for a few days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seattle, Washington</td>
<td>Stayed at Kenneth Hotel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spence's Bridge B.C.</td>
<td>24 chiefs of Shuswap, Okanagan and Thompson Indians hold meeting and sign Indian Declaration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Field work to determine old boundaries between tribes in W. Washington and differences between various Coast Salish dialects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Kamloops, B.C.</td>
<td>United Shuswap, Okanagan, and Thompson tribes present grievances at meeting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Victoria, B.C.</td>
<td>General Meeting of Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Ashcroft, B.C.</td>
<td>Visits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ottawa, Ontario</td>
<td>Took delegation of Indians to Ottawa; he interpreted for them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913-15</td>
<td></td>
<td>49-51</td>
<td></td>
<td>In Transit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Jan.-June</td>
<td>49-50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spence's Bridge, Long illness B.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>MONTH</td>
<td>DAY</td>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>LOCATION(S)</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge</td>
<td>Botanizing with Dr. John Davidson of U.B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Area</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge</td>
<td>Dr. Boas's visit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E.C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Victoria, B.C.</td>
<td>Visits Provincial Capital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Merritt, B.C.</td>
<td>Moved to Merritt, but kept home at Spence's Bridge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Victoria, B.C.</td>
<td>Temporary appointment as head clerk in Office of Chief of Indian Agencies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very ill, life despaired of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Spence's Bridge</td>
<td>Visit from Dr. Boas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Merritt, B.C.</td>
<td>Died.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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