BRIAN THOM

PRECARIOUS RAPPORT
Harlan I. Smith and the Jesup North Pacific Expedition

This paper is an investigation of what must be some of the darker moments in the history of anthropology. As part of the massive Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897–1902), Franz Boas put the young archaeologist Harlan I. Smith in charge of collecting archaeological remains, anthropometric measurements, and gave him licence to collect ethnological materials from the Northwest Coast. Smith spent three seasons in the field, undertaking investigations in Interior Salish (Nlaka'pamux [Thompson], Stl'atl'imx [Lillooet]), Secwepemc (Shuswap), Coast Salish (including Straits Salish, Lushootseed, and Halkomelem speakers at Katzie, Musqueam, Cowichan, Nanaimo), Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka), Oowekano, Heiltsuk (Bella Bella), and Tsimshian communities. Smith's work in many of these communities created controversies his colleagues frequently had to resolve. Smith sometimes turned to secrecy and deception to get results for Boas and the museum. Smith's attempts to work in some communities were quashed by persistent rejection of his requests for collaboration. Many of the dilemmas of rapport he found himself in continue to present themselves in the context of modern archaeological and anthropological research.

The Jesup North Pacific Expedition (JNPE) was an important moment in the development of anthropology in

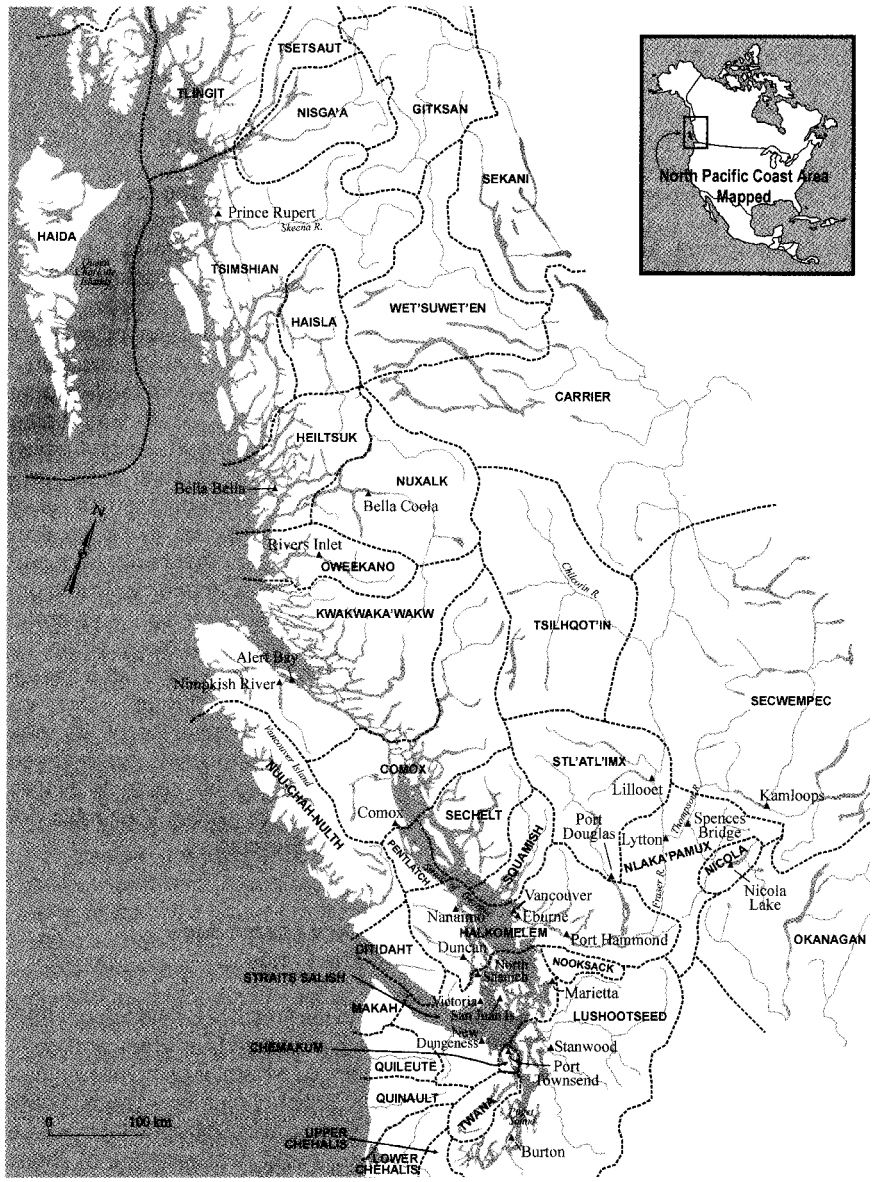

Fig. 1 Locations visited by Harlan I. Smith for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1897–99. Cartography by Brian Thom, 2000. General language boundaries based on Ives Goddard, *Native Languages and Language Families of North America* (map), University of Nebraska Press, with contemporary names as used in the text.

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North America. It was a collaborative effort of major proportions, bringing together scholars to conduct research in the Native communities of both sides of the Pacific to answer questions about the relationship between the peoples of the New and Old Worlds. To explore these relationships, Boas envisioned very broad anthropological investigations, which were to include the gathering of material culture for museum exhibits, the collection of texts in Native languages to reconstruct historical interactions between groups, the collection of anthropometric data through photographs, plaster cases, and the collection of skeletal remains, and finally the investigation of archaeological remains, to infer connections and differences between groups from time out of mind.

While incidental archaeological investigations would be made in Northeast Asia by Gerald Fowke and Waldemar Jochelson, major archaeological research during the JNPE years was to be conducted in North America by Harlan I. Smith. Smith's work would be a key component for uncovering the history of these connections, both through the examination of "physical type" represented in skeletons uncovered from graves and through the artifacts which represent the cultures of the people who left them behind. Smith was additionally charged with making extensive photographic records of the communities he visited and with making plaster cast and photograph sets of the "physical types" represented in the North American regions being studied by the Jesup Expedition (Smith 1897:537). Smith's archaeological research was to be "carried on in the whole region" (Boas 1903:77; see the map of Smith's study area and the communities he visited, Fig. 1), as systematic regional surveys of archaeological sites had not yet been done on the Northwest Coast. Though Smith's position in the field was clearly as an archaeologist, he also undertook at every opportunity to make ethnological collections in the communities he worked in.

Unlike Boas's important local collaborators on Northwest Coast, like James Teit and George Hunt, Smith had no abilities in Native languages, nor any personal, long-term connections to community members. Smith was a young man of twenty-five, only six years into his professional career, who had been unable to return to complete a Master's degree because of the collapse of his father's business (Smith to Boas, 17 September 1897, American Museum of Natural History [AMNH]). The insecurity of finances and his position was with Smith throughout his Jesup work, first manifested by a cautious manner Boas characterized as "Smith's curious being and his sensitivity" (Rohner 1969:225–226, with additional translation by Douglas Cole, pers. comm. 1996), and which sometimes resulted in Smith being able to "do nothing" (Rohner 1969: 233–234, with additional translation by Douglas Cole, pers. comm., 1996). With Smith's marriage and security of work promised in his second field season, Smith acted more boldly, sometimes against his own better judgment to secure material for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.

Smith's worry over the security of his post at the American Museum of Natural History at times put him at odds with Boas's research methodology. Smith was eager to excavate at sites which would produce quantities of artifacts and human remains so that he would please the benefactors of the Museum with his collections. Smith was loathe to spend much time in regions which he felt would not produce many artifacts and was hard-pressed to leave those areas which he found productive. Boas, on the other hand, frequently urged Smith to make his investigations over the entire region, so a broad picture of the archaeology could be obtained. Smith and Boas left a legacy of correspondence through which we can make an examination of the difficulties and controversies experienced by Smith during his visits to Native communities in British Columbia for the Jesup Expedition.

The Secwepemc Are "On The Fence"

Early in his first JNPE field trip of 1897, Smith had parted from Boas and company to go to Kamloops in the dry interior of British Columbia. There, Smith met Father Jean-Marie Raphael Le Jeune, an old acquaintance of Boas. Le Jeune was a local minister who had an extensive knowledge of the Secwepemc (Shuswap) language. Boas had already arranged for the expedition to meet with Le Jeune, whom they wanted to help them explain to the Secwepemc people the procedure of making plaster casts (Boas to Le Jeune, 15 April 1897, AMNH). Successful in making their work clear with Le Jeune's help, Smith obtained photographs and casts of seven people from the area.[1] Upon completing his work documenting the "physical type" of these people, Smith began his archaeological excavations at a number of sites on the bank of the Thompson River (Smith 1900a:403–405). Smith quickly ran into opposition as he began to unearth human remains:

> "Indians here object to my taking bones away—They are friendly & will allow me to dig graves & take all but the bones. I have seen [Indian] Agent and Indians are on the fence. We hope they will change their minds & allow bones to go to N.Y. for study not for joke as they fear" (Smith to Boas, 18 July 1897, AMNH. The photograph numbers of these graves are 42778–42780.)

Through the assistance of Father Le Jeune, who was able to explain the purpose of Smith's research to the Secwepemc people in their own language, Smith received the support of the community for his work. The main concern of the Secwepemc was over the respect their ancestors would be treated with:

> "... They, after holding a big council where my side was presented by the Priest [Le Jeune] telling them I came to get things to use to teach to people in N.Y., decided to let me have a few bones to teach with, but I must cover up all I did not take as so no bad white men would take them to make fun of the Indians" (Smith to Saville, 11 July 1897, AMNH).

Although Le Jeune's role in convincing the community of the validity of the work was vital, this was in fact not revealed in a subsequent publication about the work:

> "The Indians do not know to what people these burials belong, but they do not like to see the bones of what may have been their ancestors, disturbed. For this reason the chief called a council in which the subject was very fully discussed. Finally the confidence of the people was gained by the help of a number of photographs of the museum, in which it was shown how the people visited the halls in order to see the wonderful works of the Indians, and how they were instructed, by means of lectures, in regard to the meaning of all these objects, and from that time on they rather helped than resisted any endeavor to obtain collections" (Smith 1898a:101–102).

Le Jeune was trusted and respected,

[1] AMNH cat.nos. of photographs showing profiles of people from Kamloops are 42745–42755, 22696–22708 and 11691.

whereas it is clear from their fear of others making fun of their ancestors, most non-Natives had not yet earned that distinction. Smith had overcome his first major dilemma with the generous help of someone with long-term commitments to the community he was working in, but returned little credit to Le Jeune for the favor.

Trouble after Secret Grave Digging in Fort Rupert

Later in the summer of 1897 Smith met Boas and George Hunt in Bella Bella, moving on to Fort Rupert to continue their Jesup work. Smith, with the aid of Boas and Hunt, successfully engaged in photographing and making casts of people in the communities at Alert Bay and Rivers Inlet.[2] Smith engaged in little archaeological work in Boas's presence and returned to southeast Vancouver Island area to complete his 1897 field season.

Smith was eager to return to Fort Rupert the following year to continue this work with Hunt's help. With the assistance of Hunt, Smith was able to arrange the taking of casts and photographs of a number of men from the community at Fort Rupert, although no women would take part.[3] In addition to the usual array of profiles and poses intended to capture the "physical type" of the people, Smith took photos at a Fort Rupert potlatch (photograph nos. 42967, 42968), during gambling (42970, 42999), at a woman's potlatch (42992), of several house posts and totem poles (11905–11907, 42969, 42991), coppers fastened to trees (42984), and series of "unposed photos" of an old man "clothed in a blanket sharpening a stone adze."[4] These form a significant contribution to the ethnological photos of the Fort Rupert area of this time.

Although the archaeological investigations in Fort Rupert did not reveal many human remains, Smith was very successful in collecting from more recent graves in tree burials and rock shelters. At the end of the first week in Fort Rupert, Smith wrote to Boas:

> "We have secured five complete skeletons and three skulls from tree and box burials. George Hunt got permission to take these bones. We are doing it secretly however, leaving no traces behind us and will use the permission to cover a possible detection" (Smith to Boas, 12 June 1898, AMNH).[5]

Smith later wrote to Boas that although he had permission from Hunt to take these skeletons he "thought what the Indians did not know about it would not hurt them" (Smith to Boas, 6 July 1898, AMNH). By the end of Smith's stay in Fort Rupert, thirty-two skulls were obtained from tree, box, and cave burials, in addition to collecting several painted boards and boxes from these graves.[6] This burial work was not well received by the community in the following winter, long after Smith and his wife, Helena, had left.

While in the Fort Rupert area, Harlan and Helena Smith had camped on the shell-heap near the home of George Hunt's sisters Sarah and Jane. Smith was delighted by the hospitality of the Hunt family, who often visited bringing fresh food and gifts. Although Smith may have enjoyed the company of the Hunt family, they came to have very different feelings about him and Helena. Later that winter George Hunt received the brunt of enormous family and community resentment about the Smith's stay in Fort Rupert. Hunt wrote (in his particular style) about these problems to Boas later that fall:

> "Now there is one thing that I am sorry to let you know what Mrs. H. I. Smith Done for me and I think for you to now the knight there arrived here. I went and Beged my two sisters Sarah and Jane to let them Have a Room for the night for Mr. Smith was my friend, so they did give Mr. and Mrs. Smith one of there Rooms in the House free of charges and after that, my sisters was kind enough to let them have Empty cases free of charges and Even Help me in sending the Indians to him to have there casts taken and after Mr. Smith left Fort Rupert he left all his traps in the care of my sister and the thank my sister got from her, or Mrs. Smith. She went to Victoria put something against my sisters, on the newspapers. The it was enough to make Mr. Spencer and wife and all my sisters would not speak to me Ever since they Read the paper of what Mrs. Smith say about them, and Even signed by her. It seems to me that Mrs. Smith asked Sarah and Jane to let her have one each of these photographs, so my sisters did have her that is to Mrs. Smith one Each of these photos, and on the second paper she let the reporters scratch the two pictures and put them into the news paper and the names she called them there I am shame to talk about, so my sisters got that wild about things that they went and Report to the Indians what Mr. Smith done to there Daid and that I was helping them, and the Indians, said that they will never let Mr. Smith come to Fort Rupert again to still there grave again. Now I let Mr. Smith have David Boat, that cost David $25.00 Dollars, and after it was returned, the keel was all worn away, leeking like a basket for the Bottom was nearly worn through. Yet I am pleased for the things that I got from Mr. Smith" (Hunt to Boas, 10 January 1899, American Philosophical Society).[7]

Hunt's news about the Smiths was accompanied by further bad news that one of the Fort Rupert Chiefs had heard that Boas was making speeches telling of how the Kwakiutl were still "living on the Daid people." Because of these two incidents, Hunt was told at a feast that neither he nor Boas could ever attend ceremonials again. Upon hearing of this news, Boas responded in defense of Smith and the work of the Jesup Expedition:

> "Now about the Smiths. I simply cannot understand the things you are talking about. All the letters that I received from Smith and Mrs. Smith while they were in British Columbia were just full of praise of your sisters and your mother, and every time they talk about British Columbia, they say how kindly all of you treated them; in fact, they are taking every opportunity to express how much they are indebted to all of you. I am quite certain that neither he nor she would willingly hurt the feelings of any of your people. I suppose the whole trouble lies with the meddlesome and nasty newspaper

[2] People from Rivers Inlet are listed by name in photograph nos. 42862– 42885.

[3] Smith lists the people photographed by name and community in photograph nos. 11853–11903.

[4] Smith, Report of Operations of Harlan I. Smith on the Jesup North Pacific Coast Expedition, for the Year 1898, p. 3. Ms. AMNH. Photograph nos. 42986–42990 and 42994.

[5] Smith's photographs of these tree burials include nos. 42951, 42960, 42961, and 42993.

[6] Photographs of some of the more recent burials are listed in the photograph catalogue as nos. 42951, 42960–42961, and 42993.

[7] Note that this letter is written in Hunt's characteristic style and has not been edited for grammar, spelling, or other standardized English usage.

writers. You do not know how they are bothering us all the time, and how every thing they learn is twisted about in the paper so as to make it look exciting to the people. I suppose you remember the nasty figures and the horrible description of the dance that was in one of the newspapers, said to be written by me, but which was simply made up, and stolen out of my book. You may be quite sure that the same thing happened to the Smiths" (Stocking 1974:126).[8]

Boas's response to the accusations of the Chiefs is now something of its own legend (e.g., Cole 1999:200–201; Briggs and Bauman 1999), sending Hunt the funds to host a feast, give out copies of his previously published Kwakiutl work, and make a speech in which all their names were cleared. While Boas cleaned up his reputation with Hunt and the Fort Rupert community, Smith avoided further controversy by not returning to that community the next year. Such a response could only have reinforced Smith's desire to keep his grave-digging archaeological work quiet in future projects.

Rejections, High Prices, and a Gift from Halkomelem and Straits Salish

Smith's work with Halkomelem and Straits Salish speakers (both often referred to as Coast Salish) occurred with no local intervener like Hunt or Le Jeune, as Boas had not had many positive experiences in Coast Salish communities in his previous work (Rohner 1969). However, there were a number of well-known archaeological sites that Smith could excavate without such aid. In his first field season of 1897 the weather did not permit Smith to continue his excavations uninterrupted. On rainy days he made his own contacts in the Katzie and Musqueam communities near Port Hammond and Eburne in order to photograph, cast, and collect ethnographic objects from the people there. Members of the Katzie community near Port Hammond offered Smith the opportunity to purchase a mountain-goat wool blanket, woven hats, a *sxwayxwey* mask, canoes, spindle whorls,rush mats, and other utilitarian items (Smith to Boas, 15 September, 9 October, 30 October 1897, AMNH).

Following his cautious program, Smith did not purchase any of these objects, as he wished Boas to give him direction on such acquisitions first. However, Smith was offered one of the beautiful mountain-goat wool blankets for $10 on 15 September and purchased it on his way back to New York on 4 November for $6 (Smith to Boas, 10 November 1897, AMNH).

Smith was less cautious when it came to trying to obtain photographs and casts of the people living on the Fraser River. He initially tried to do some photography and casting of Native people at the prison in New Westminster, but was declined his request (Smith to Boas, 15 September 1897, AMNH). Smith spent a number of days during rainy October urging people in the Katzie community to be photographed and cast—offering $1.00 for each cast—but only Archille James, a nineteen-year old boy from Katzie would do it (Smith to Boas, 11 October 1897, AMNH).[9] By the end of his 1897 field season he was unable to get any other person from the Coast Salish communities in Victoria or the lower Fraser River to get involved in this kind of work:

> "I could not get a single Songish at Victoria, nor can I get any here [at Port Hammond] to submit to be cast ... All these lower Frazier [sic] people seem to object to casting – I must try here again next season when I work at the Great Frazier [sic] Midden."

There is little in Smith's letters to tell us directly why these Coast Salish people were reluctant to be photographed or cast. Being as close as they were to the rapidly growing non-Native populations of Vancouver and Victoria, there were undoubtedly many local interactions that caused them mistrust. Contemporary Coast Salish people do not permit photographs of their winter ceremonial or masked dance performances, a concern generated by the dual worries of soul loss though the creation of images and the possibility of commercialization of their sacred rites. It is possible that similar concerns contributed to the rejections Smith endured.

The next spring (1898) Smith returned to the lower Fraser River area with a mind to collect more of the traditional Coast Salish objects that he had seen the previous year. Smith visited the Musqueam Reserve on a rainy May day, looking to purchase ethnological materials for the museum. A man offered to sell him a "whe-whe" (*sxwayxwey*) mask for $10, a horn rattle (*syiwméxwtses*) for $10 and an entire shaman's outfit for $100 (Smith to Boas, 19 May 1898, AMNH). The outfit was too expensive for him by far, and he decided to wait before buying the mask, hoping the man would come down in price.

> "I have not yet bought the mask for $10.00 or the horn rattle for $10.00. I expect to get the mask in the fall and hope to get it cheaper by delay. Do you want the rattle at $10.00? It seems to be fine, has goat wool fringe, carving of human head on handle, and the rattle part is carved in their own art. There was at least 6 of the masks all the same in the Delta. The shamans outfit consists simply of mask & feather attachments. I do not think you would care for it at $100.00 and I think you would prefer the $10.00 mask & $10.00 horn rattle to it even if they were equal in cost. I have worked my best to get things from them. Hastings has also. I sent you a list of what we got. Yet I hope to get more later. I have not all there is to get & want to bring you a complete lot from the Fraser Delta. What are shell rattles worth? Several of this kind of shell [sketch of a large pacific scallop shell] are strung on a hoop. Will make every effort to get all kinds of baskets & uses" (Smith to Boas, 3 June 1898, AMNH).

The willingness to part with ritual items like masks, rattles, and shaman's outfits, but only at a high price, is suggestive of the difficult times the Coast Salish people were going through. The Indian Act had been amended in 1895 to make convictions against Potlatching (which had been banned in 1886) easier. In January of 1896 Superintendent of Indian Affairs I. W. Powell acted on the recommendation of Fraser River Indian agent that the potlach laws be used to convict a Coast Salish man Bill Uslick (LaViolette 1973:70). This was the first of a host of convictions along the Northwest Coast, which left communities stinging. Banned with the potlatch were the winter dances and other ceremonies the Coast Salish people participated in. The items being offered for sale were important in these social contexts and with the ban in place, they were more difficult to use publicly. Selling the ritual objects at a value that was, for them, fair was better than having them confiscated or burned by missionaries (another com-

[8] Stocking cites this letter as having been written by Boas to Hunt, 3 February 1899.

[9] Photograph record nos. 42886–42889.

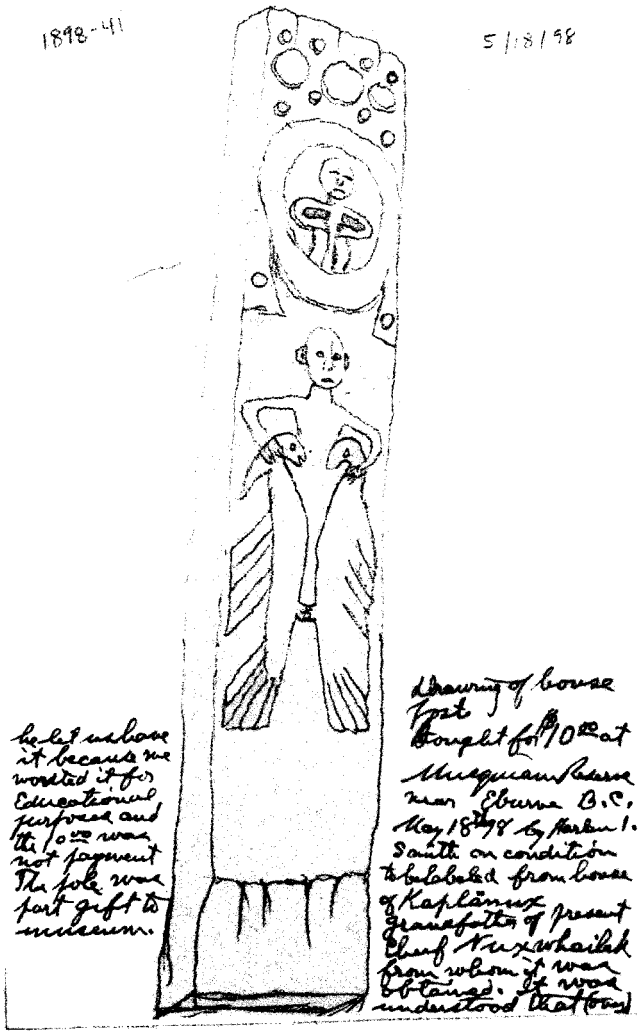

Fig. 2 House post collected by Smith at Musqueam, given as part gift to the museum from Chief Nuxwhailak. A note by Smith (ambiguously referring to this post) reads: "Top row of circles they say represents stars, then moon, sun, then row of stars. The sun with moon in it. Below represents ancestors who taught them of sun, moon, and stars—a carved woman."

mon practice of the day). Nonetheless, these important objects would not be parted with for too little a price.

Smith's best success in collecting at Musqueam was a gift of a housepost presented to him and the museum by Chief Nuxwhailak. This chief accepted only $10 for it and said that the pole was "part gift to museum" because the museum was going to use it for "educational purposes" (see Fig. 2). Smith received the post on the condition that it was to be labeled "from house of Kaplänux, grandfather of present Chief Nuxwhailak from whom it was obtained" (Smith to Boas, 18 May 1898, AMNH). Smith attempted to document the meanings associated with this post, "as well as they could give them," but he was disappointed by the report given by Chief Nuxwhailak:

> "The man figure they say is simply an ornament or a carving made to be a carving & has no meaning. They don't seem to know as much of the old times as we wish they did" (Smith to Boas, 3 June 1898, AMNH).

Smith was not in much of a position to listen to the stories connected to these objects. He had no knowledge of any of the local languages and had a precarious rapport with community members who might otherwise be willing or able to share the stories. As to Smith's fulfilling the "condition" of Chief Nuxwhailak's gift, the pole was not labeled as it was intended.

Smith tried to collect other posts that he photographed at Musqueam during his stay on the lower Fraser River.[10] He used his technique of showing community members pictures of the American Museum's halls explaining that if the poles were moved there, they would be kept out of the rain and weather. However, he was not able to purchase any of the others that he photographed, as the people from Musqueam "would not sell others at any price except one for which they wanted $100.00 and it was some broken [sic]" (Smith to Boas, 3 June 1898, AMNH).

Frustrated, Smith left the Halkomelem villages on the lower Fraser River to conduct his burial work with George Hunt on northern Vancouver Island (as discussed above). On his return in August, he passed through several Halkomelem villages on the southeast coast of Vancouver Island. Smith located a shell heap on one of the Cowichan Indian Reserves in Duncan, but was not permitted by community members to do any excavation there. He continued to look for house posts in four other Cowichan villages he visited, but did not find any. Feeling pressed for both time and money, and pressured by the reluctance of these Coast Salish communities to participate in his research, Smith continued on to Victoria where he found several Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) people who were visiting Victoria and willing to participate in making photographs and casts.[11] Smith continued his efforts in the local Straits Salish villages around Victoria, but like in the Halkomelem communities, no one was interested in taking part in the photographs or casts.

He decided to use the last of his funds in the Vancouver area, visiting the Musqueam Reserve in order to collect the objects he had seen in the summer:

> "Musqueam Indians doubled the price on the rattle making it $20.00 so I left it. Wanted $20.00 to be photographed at loom, as did also Duncan Indians – will try it again at Port Hammond. Offered $5.00 but thought $20.00 too much & need it for shell heap work. Told me 10 disks game on plate not used & did not know it or have it. It was lost long ago they said. Told me bear tooth game [which Smith earlier had written to Boas was played by women] did not exist. Conclude the man with bear teeth meant by "he he" that he was fixing bear teeth for fun. I thought he meant for a game. I secured a blanket (Mt. Goat), 2 made,

[10] The pictures of these posts are described in the photograph catalogue at nos. 42923, 42924, 42933, 42936, 42937, 42939, 42940, 42942, and 42944.

[11] These unnamed people are pictured in photograph nos. 12074–12092.

$3.00. Cowitchin [sic] Indians would not sell loom but I saw how they were made. They would not show us how to weave as it took so long & much work & they wanted $20.00 to do it. I have tried, & with Hastings help, to get the pictures of weaving at every place we have been and went twice to Musqueam, several times in May and once yesterday. I conclude as I have spent so much for ethnology... [I] will use the money for shell heap work" (Smith to Boas, 7 September 1898, AMNH).

Smith's confusion over the "bear tooth" game came from his lack of effort in translation. *Xéxe* (Smith's "he he") is the Halkomelem term for 'sacred,' 'taboo,' or 'ritually potent.' As was typical for Smith working in the Coast Salish communities, he was able to collect nothing from Musqueam except a photograph of "cat tails from mats" (photograph no. 43032). Smith's last money for the season was spent excavating for a few days at Port Hammond. He visited the nearby Katzie reserve where he had previously seen another "Xoaexoe" (*sxwayxwey*) mask, but again was unable to purchase it (Smith ms. 1898, AMNH). In the second week of September Smith ended his fieldwork and boarded the train for New York.

In the following, final year of his Jesup fieldwork on the Northwest Coast (1899), Smith returned to Musqueam determined to make a collection of house posts and spindle whorls. Although most of the objects from Musqueam were originally high priced, now the people at Musqueam were no longer interested in selling any of their objects to someone who was going to take them out of the country. Smith was not deterred:

"At Eburne I got two carved posts for $15.00 each. They would not sell them last year but I brought photos of them. I considered that carvings from the Lower Fraser are very much to be desired. They would not sell them to New York even this year, but they sold them to an Eburne friend who turned them over to me for cost. The Indians who had the fine spindle whorl last year were not home so I had that trip for naught ... Indians near Eburne have been told not to sell specimens to people who plan to take said specimens out of Canada" (Smith to Boas, 25 August 1899, AMNH).

Through this deception, Smith was finally able to make a collection from Musqueam. It is doubtful that the people from Musqueam who sold their posts to Smith's Eburne friend were ever informed of their being removed from the country.

Take the Skulls from Lillooet and Leave before the People Get Back

Earlier in that final year, Smith had planned to make some investigations in the Lillooet-Harrison Lake region. The focus of this work was on the acquisition of skeletons, or specifically skulls. Boas felt that this area might provide important historical information about the link between Coastal and Interior people:

"I did not expect you to confine yourself to skulls, but should have been glad to have had archaeological researches carried on also... You know the Lillooet region is one of those inland districts by way of which coast culture entered the interior, and for this reason it is particularly interesting from an historic point of view. It might be, for instance, that in prehistoric times the culture proved to be much purer interior culture then later on, or it might be that the culture was more closely affiliated to the coast culture than it is now. The Lillooet have adopted the social organization of the coast tribes, and many of their industries, as far north as the town of Lillooet, on Fraser River. At the same time they have many things in common with the tribes stretching from Columbia River through the Cascade Range, up to the Chilcotin Valley. It would be exceedingly interesting to obtain prehistoric skulls from this area" (Boas to Smith, 5 August 1899, AMNH).

Smith was successful beyond his expectations in collecting skulls from the area. However, Smith lowered his own ethical standards to undertake the work deemed necessary to satisfy Boas's questions:

"When I began work in the Lillooet Valley I said 'If I can only get two skulls I will be surprised and pleased' but in this regard I have succeeded beyond my hope. I have (16) sixteen more or less complete skeletons—all of them are so old that the Indians said I might dig. But with nearly all, evidences of white contact were found. Some were under rock piles but not well formed cairns. Nearly all the skulls are entire ... By taking skeletons out on backs we got them out without Indians realizing the bulk & so free from objections. But when the Indians return from fishing it would not be pleasant to be here" (Smith to Boas, 19 August 1899, AMNH).

Although he was pleased about being able to make such a large collection of material, Smith felt concerned about "running some risks" for the Expedition:

"I consider that no trouble will arise from my work up the Lillooet and yet as the work was done while only a few Indians were there, those who were absent and have since returned might object. Those that were present did not confront me much and I feel that I would rather let the matter be digested by them before taking up more extensive archaeological studies, which must, of necessity to careful work and preservation of specimens, be done more openly. The skeletons I collected there and at other places are evidence that I am not trying to get out of running some risks on small insurance" (Smith to Boas, 16 September 1899, AMNH).

Smith realized that the exhumation of recent graves under the pretext of their being old was morally problematic. He also knew full well that the few people left in the community while the others were out fishing were not the proper spokesmen to give access to the old graves. Regardless, not wanting to be the failure his father had been in business, Smith took the risk and succeeded in securing a large collection of Lillooet skulls for Boas. Smith did not return to Lillooet to continue the archaeological work, unwilling to face the community whose graves he had robbed while they were away.

Summary of Smith's Jesup Work

Harlan I. Smith's contributions to the Jesup North Pacific Expedition left an important published legacy for the archaeology of the North Pacific Coast.[12] During the Jesup Expedition Boas interpreted Smith's archaeological results as being suggestive of the

[12] The following articles were published by Smith as a direct result of his fieldwork for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition: Smith (1897, 1898a, 1898b, 1899a, 1899b, 1899c, 1899d, 1900a, 1900b, 1900c, 1900d, 1900e, 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1902, 1903, 1904a, 1904b, 1904c, 1904d, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1911), Smith and Fowke (1901), Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1900). For a more complete bibliography of Harlan I. Smith's works, see Leechman (1949).

historical relationship between culture groups of the North American Pacific coast. These published works are well known by the archaeologists whose careers followed Smith and to some degree defined much of the next seventy-five years of research.[13] Research excavations have often been at places Smith documented in his published site maps (Smith and Fowke 1901:56; Smith 1907:303.) However, Smith's work on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition produced more than the published archaeological results. An archival legacy of correspondence, photographs, and both physical and ethnological collections provide an important body of little-known work, which tells a highly interesting and relevant tale about the relationships between archaeologists, anthropologists, and the people they study. Smith's letters, photographs, and notes provide insight into the dynamics of the scholarship and research operating around Franz Boas and the Jesup Expedition.

Smith's relationships with the Native communities he studied had a profound influence on how his investigations proceeded and on his final descriptions and interpretations of the archaeological remains. Through Boas, Smith had connections with James Teit in Spences Bridge, Father Le Jeune in Kamloops, and George Hunt in Fort Rupert. Through his relations with Teit and Le Jeune, Smith was able to compile rich archaeological reports, describing the functions of many of the objects he collected and the history of the sites he visited. Through Le Jeune's support, Smith was able to gain the trust of Secwepemc community members in making photographs and casts for his physical anthropology work. He provided Smith with detailed information on the families and backgrounds of the people he photographed and cast. Of those pictures of people that Smith took on his own, most tended not to give any kind of detail about the subject other then their linguistic affiliation. Good relations in the community produced better scholarly results. In his work with George Hunt on the central coast, Smith gained access to making large ethnological purchases. However, the reciprocity of good relations could not always be maintained, particularly when community members found out about and objected to grave digging.

This tenuous rapport can be contrasted with Smith's work in the lower Fraser River and southeastern Vancouver Island regions, where he had no such contacts with the community. His descriptions of the archaeological materials from these areas are based largely on his own knowledge of the finds and draw heavily on information obtained by Teit from people in the interior. He confined his archaeological investigations in these areas to off-reserve sites, where he could work on land owned by non-Natives. When he did try to excavate on reserve in Duncan, he was unable to obtain permission from the Native leaders. As he could only communicate in English or with his limited knowledge of Chinook, he had a difficult time explaining what he wanted to do, or recording what Native people tried to tell him about their traditional ways of life. Smith's most extreme case of not having any community contacts was his work in Lillooet, where he chose to work at night to excavate burials that the community members would not otherwise approve of. This later came back to haunt him, as he could not return to the area like Boas would have wanted.

Contemporary Reflections on Smith's Jesup Work

Specific research questions being asked today may be different, but many of the issues and situations faced by Smith one hundred years ago continue to be relevant for anthropological and archaeological fieldworkers today.

A particularly important lesson is the difference between "access" to a field site and "acceptance" by the community of the research being done. Gatekeepers like Hunt may not always be spokespersons for the community at large, but ultimately have to bear the consequences of the researchers' actions long after the fieldwork is over. While Smith could simply continue his research by not returning to Fort Rupert, the trouble surrounding his visit left more serious repercussions for Hunt and Boas, who wished to continue living and working in that community. In the case of Smith's work in Lillooet the community members who did not protest Smith's grave-digging work would have had to answer to the rest of the community when they returned.

A second lesson is in the frustration Smith endured in trying to gain access to Coast Salish communities to excavate, take photographs, make casts, and purchase ritual objects. There is a striking absence in Smith's correspondence with Boas of an attempt to understand why people were unwilling to collaborate with him. Being able to engage in a dialogue, as both Le Jeune and Hunt had done, may have moved forward his work or at least saved him time and effort in trying. However, Smith and Boas's research strategy of making general surveys of the broad region prevented Smith from building the kind of rapport where such a dialogue would have been possible. When the research questions are as grand as those proposed by Boas for the Jesup Expedition, clearly a team approach, with specialists in each community being worked in, is preferable.

Finally, the results of Smith's work on the Jesup Expedition leave the current generation of anthropologists and archaeologists with a dilemma of what to do about those collections Smith made under questionable circumstances. Repatriation of the skeletal remains collected in secret or with inadequate permission may now be appropriate. Clearly, for the house post given by Chief Nuxwhailak, the American Museum of Natural History must honor his request in properly labeling it for the public. The house posts acquired through Smith's Eburne friend pose a more difficult problem. Should they have been collected even though Smith and Boas both knew that sending them over the Canadian border was against the Musqueam people's wishes? Would it have been better to leave them to rot or burn, like so many other works of Coast Salish art of that era? The answers to these questions are not clear. I would suggest that the answers lie in the ongoing relationship between the museum and the Native communities whose collections they hold. The Musqueam house posts are now among the very few photographed or preserved from this region and have been important for the current generation of carvers to study. Susan Point's interpretation of some of these Musqueam posts now standing at the Vancouver Airport is a good example. Access to and interpretation of these collections may ultimately be an end that can justify the means. Thus the legacy of Harlan I. Smith's sometimes problematic work for the Jesup North Pacific Expedition can continue to have ongoing relevance to Native communities and the public at large.

[13] See Ames and Maschner (1999) for a recent overview of archaeological research on the Northwest Coast.

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