"Land of the Painted Totem": Northwest Coast Native Art
at the Service of the 1958 British Columbia Centennial

by

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ABSTRACT

The 1958 British Columbia Centennial was the first of a series of centennials for the province which marked significant events in the history of British Columbia. These centenary events played an influential part in the construction of British Columbia's sense of identity, at a time when the province was undergoing rapid modernization and the general public's perceptions of First Nations were undergoing fundamental change. This thesis examines the role of Northwest Coast Native art and culture within the 1958 centenary celebrations and their commemorative and symbolic context. It explores how government and private organizations, as well as tourism, shaped the Centennial programme. Through a survey of the Centennial projects that incorporated elements of Native culture, it considers the Centennial's use of First Nations cultural resources, who exercised control over these resources, and the implications and benefits of their use for First Nations and non-native parties. It reveals that while First Nations were marginalized in the planning and management of the Centennial, elements of First Nations culture were central to the symbolic messages presented in the 1958 celebrations by its organizers.

The 1958 Centennial provided an opportunity for the production of numerous local, as well as province-wide celebrations and projects, to commemorate history or to establish permanent legacies for the province. Chapter one provides some general background on the government-sponsored Centennial celebrations. It examines the organizational structure of the Centennial Committee and the extent to which First Nations participated in the planning and management of the Centennial programme. The role of First Nations within the Centennial is analyzed through a discussion of the overall state of Native/non-native relations at the time. It continues by introducing a survey of initiatives organized or approved by the Centennial Committee which incorporated First Nations culture or imagery. It then presents three Centennial promotional initiatives: the commemorative Canadian silver dollar (coordinated by the Federal Government), the poster competition, and the Committee's general advertising and promotions campaign.

Chapter two documents in detail the Royal Totem Pole, a major Centennial project which produced the Province's commemorative gift for Queen Elizabeth II. Chapter three discusses some of the Centennial souvenir initiatives and introduces projects that were either organized by First Nations groups or communities, or involved First Nations contributions. In contrast, a selection of non-native proposals which included Native cultural content are discussed briefly to demonstrate the range of projects considered or undertaken during the year. The public impact of the surveyed Centennial projects is analyzed through promotional materials, press coverage, and archival correspondence.

The Conclusion of this thesis explores the 1958 Centennial context and its projects through an analysis of the issues of cultural appropriation, representation, and authenticity. It considers the impact of the 1958 Centennial program through a comparison with more recent British Columbia commemorative initiatives such as the 1967 and 1971 Centennial celebrations, Expo '86 in Vancouver, and the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Victoria. The 1958 Centennial celebrations provide an opportunity to explore the appropriation of First Nations cultural resources and their role in the ever-changing construction of British Columbia history and identity.

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Finally, I wish to thank my partner, Allan Hyggen, for his patience and support over the past few years as I completed this seemingly endless undertaking. I owe my success to your encouraging words and actions; I will be there for you should you also choose to follow the graduate path!

Introduction

In her 1996 text, *The West Beyond the West: a History of British Columbia*, Jean Barman describes what she calls "British Columbia identity." She states:

> The province of British Columbia has been home to indigenous peoples for countless generations, to Europeans and other non-natives for almost two centuries. Out of their experiences a British Columbia identity emerges. British Columbians are not bound together by geographic coherence. Nor can they be so, given the province's difficult topography and the differing character of its ten regions. But a cohesive physical entity need not exist for there to be a distinct identity. Shared attitudes also draw people together. So do strong visual images that strike residents and visitors alike. British Columbia is not so much a place as a state of mind.[1]

The development of British Columbia's sense of identity, as defined by Barman, played an integral part in the realization of the province's 1958 Centennial celebrations. This Centennial set the stage for a decade of provincial centennials which marked several significant events in the history of the province. These centenary events played an influential role in the construction of British Columbia's sense of identity, at a time when the general public's perceptions of First Nations were undergoing fundamental change. The period between 1958 and 1971 was a particularly momentous time for the province. During this twelve-year period, British Columbia celebrated four major centennials. The year 1958 celebrated the establishment of the mainland colony of British Columbia. The 1966 Centennial celebrated the union of the colonies of Vancouver Island and the mainland to form British Columbia in 1866. 1967 marked the one hundredth anniversary of the Confederation of Canada, and 1971 commemorated the centennial of British Columbia joining Canada. It is of particular significance that each of these centenary celebrations incorporated to some extent Northwest Coast Native art and culture within its commemorative context.

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[1] Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: a History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 352.

Without a doubt Northwest Coast Native art and culture has played, and continues to play, an important role in the production of symbols at the service of British Columbian and Canadian identity. In times of swelling national pride, such as world expositions, international sporting events, and centennial celebrations, many local, provincial, and national governments have turned to the First Nations of British Columbia — or at least towards their *idea* of these cultures — for cultural content and contributions to widely-publicized events reflecting the uniqueness of this part of the world. These selections are designed by governments to serve a variety of purposes, some explicit; others implicit. A careful look at the environment in which these cultures and their artistic creations have been incorporated into Canadian commemoration provides an enlightening lens through which to explore issues of First Nations' cultural appropriation, representation, and political control.

My thesis examines how the 1958 Centennial, like the subsequent ones in 1967 and 1971, was organized by a committee and supporting subcommittees responsible for the comprehensive planning of image and events, as well as their careful promotion, orchestration, media coverage and documentation. It illustrates how the 1958 Centennial celebrations were designed in a broad perspective to make British Columbians more aware of the history of their Province, and to increase interest in British Columbia's heritage for both residents and outsiders. This thesis focuses on how the 1958 Centennial incorporated Northwest Coast Native art and culture within its commemorative and symbolic context, and examines the roles that government and private organizations, as well as tourism, played in this process. I compare in general terms the approaches of the 1958 Centennial to those taken by the later Centennials, in order to examine surrounding influences and position 1958 within an historical framework.

The first chapter provides an introduction to the 1958 Centennial celebrations and some background on contemporary British Columbian society. An examination of the organizational structure of the Centennial Committee leads to an exploration of First Nations representation within the planning and management of the Centennial program. The Centennial subcommittees involved with First Nations culture are introduced through a summary of their composition and the objectives that shaped their development of

projects. A discussion of Native/non-native relations follows this analysis of the Centennial Committee and its subcommittees. The First Nations Centennial context is examined in relation to First Nations' struggles for representation and self-determination taking place around the same time. This discussion introduces my exploration of how the Centennial organizers addressed their concerns over First Nations issues as well their willingness to include aboriginal perspectives and participation. The chapter moves on to a primary component of this paper— the documentation of the major Centennial projects which incorporated First Nations culture or imagery. My approach does not focus on an art-historical analysis of the Northwest Coast Native design and form of these projects, but rather on the social, political, and economic processes that influenced these projects. This chapter presents three promotional initiatives organized by the Committee: the Canadian silver dollar competition, the poster competition coordinated by the Advertising and Promotions Subcommittee, and the general advertising and promotional strategy of the Centennial. The public impact of these Centennial projects is examined through an analysis of promotional and documentary materials, media coverage, and archival correspondence.

The documentation of Centennial projects continues throughout chapters two and three. In the second chapter, I focus in detail on the Royal Totem Pole, a high-profile project that produced the Province's commemorative gift for Queen Elizabeth II. My emphasis on this project is due in part to the vast documentation available on the subject. However, the project deserves such detailed attention more particularly because of the consideration it received from the Centennial Office and the local and international media at the time. This documentation and coverage demonstrate the importance of the project to the Centennial. The Royal Totem Pole is followed from its conception, through its development, to its installation and dedication in Great Britain. This account is presented through details taken from relevant correspondence, promotions, and media coverage. The interrelations between the carver, the organizing committees, and the media are examined in depth to provide background for a discussion of the use and control of First Nations cultural resources within the Centennial program. The Royal Totem pole project provides an excellent and detailed example of an event which involved direct First

Nations participation as well as cultural content within the Centennial context. This chapter concludes with an exploration of the issues of cultural appropriation, authority, and the benefits gained by each of the involved individuals or organizations from the Royal Totem Pole project.

The third chapter completes the documentation of Centennial initiatives which involved First Nations culture. Two of the projects presented in this chapter involved significant First Nations input or were proposed by First Nations organizers: a celebration coordinated by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia to welcome Princess Margaret on her July 1958 tour of the Province, and the revival of *Tzinquaw*, an operetta derived from the traditions of the Cowichan First Nation. This chapter reveals that only one of these projects was realized during 1958. Several other non-native proposals are discussed briefly to demonstrate the scope of projects considered or undertaken during the year. The chapter discusses souvenir production and demonstrates the Centennial organizers' role in the approval of in-house and private souvenir initiatives. It concludes by mentioning some of the First Nations community-based Centennial programs in an effort to explore the degree to which the 1958 celebrations made an impact on these local areas. The messages that organizers of these projects wished to share with the outside world are included, where available, to reflect aboriginal perspectives on the Centennial's importance for Native communities.

The concluding chapter explores the 1958 Centennial and its projects using present-day theories of cultural appropriation, representation, and authenticity. These issues are also considered through a comparison of the 1958 Centennial program to more recent British Columbia commemorative initiatives — the 1967 and 1971 Centennial celebrations, Expo '86 in Vancouver, and the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Victoria. I conclude by suggesting trends in the representation of First Nations culture within the Province's commemorative context since 1958.

The archival record of the British Columbian centennials has been my primary source of information. Files kept by Willard E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist and Honorary Secretary for the Centennial Committee, were transferred to the British

Columbia Archives for preservation.[2] These records include the minutes of committee and subcommittee meetings, correspondence files, support documents, promotional materials, print and film publications, newspaper clippings, and a published official record of the 1958 Centennial. To a lesser extent, I have relied on personal interviews with individuals who were involved in the Centennials or who held information on the projects. Unfortunately, several of the individuals intimately involved in the creation of the centennial projects have passed away, leaving some questions unanswered.

The 1958 Centennial Celebrations included a vast number of community-based and centrally coordinated celebrations and projects, of which only a few contained aboriginal content. Since this paper focusses specifically on the role of First Nations art and culture and the promotional approaches of the Centennial, several projects of great significance to the overall Centennial, but of little relevance to the scope of this research, will not be discussed, except in general terms. This choice is not intended to suggest that the projects involving aboriginal culture were any more significant to the overall Centennial celebrations; a thorough analysis of the entire Centennial warrants further investigation.

My research has emphasized the tremendous power and influence of language in the public context. Whether for political, promotional, or commemorative purposes, the terms employed by individuals, committees, and government agencies to identify or describe a cultural group can indisputably affect a reader's or audience's response to that cultural group, and alter their response to the information presented. These terms have the potential to perpetuate, enhance, or counter established stereotypes. An explanation of my approach to the use of a few prevalent terms is offered to clarify their presence in my paper.

Throughout this thesis, I use the broad terms "First Nations" and "aboriginal peoples" when speaking from my contemporary perspective to describe as a whole the many distinct Native cultural groups living in British Columbia. I use the term "Indian"

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[2] British Columbia Provincial Archives [BCARS], Record description for GR-1448, British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records.

(and on rare occasion "redman" or "brave") when quoting from past documents which have used these terms, or when I am emphasizing an opinion contemporary with the period of study (the 1950's and 1960's), when these terms were more accepted and employed. I have used the term "Indian" in places where it more appropriately identifies the viewpoint of individuals, groups, or governments active during the Centennial period. The term "Indian" carries with it a history of derogatory connotations; however, its use is sometimes important to identify individual, political and societal perspectives within the historical period under study. Similarly, the outdated and inaccurate terms Kwakiutl and Nootka are used throughout the archival and historical record. Where the more presently-accepted cultural names such as *Kwagiulth*, *Kwakwaka'wakw* and *Nuu-Chah-Nulth* can be used without altering the viewpoint or meaning of an historical passage, I have used these terms.

At several points within the paper, particularly the final chapter, I employ a critique of cultural appropriation to examine the 1958 Centennial. For the purpose of this thesis, cultural appropriation is defined as the use of aboriginal cultural elements by non-native individuals or groups for personal or corporate gain. Examples of such use can range from a company's purchase of a Kwagiulth thunderbird mask to serve as a symbol of their new line of cars, to an organization's copying of a Haida totem pole design for use on a line of promotional pens, to a writer's borrowing of elements of a First Nations legend to tell a children's story. This appropriation often involves the exploitation of the Native peoples from which the image, object, or resource originated, and is usually unauthorized by the originating peoples. It may involve the removal of Native context from the resource by the new non-native "owner" for the purpose of possession or reconstruction. According to anthropologist Michael Ames in his definition of 'reconstruction', this new "owner" then applies or inflicts their own history and values on the object or resource. This reconstruction "entails a shift in power and status of the object and of those formerly and presently associated with it."[3] Due to its widespread

[3] Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 144. Susan Stewart explains that these objects then "retain their signifying capacity only in a generalized sense, losing [their] specific

occurrence, appropriation sometimes is practised automatically or unconsciously. Appropriators on occasion perceive that their borrowing of Native culture pays tribute to — or even benefits — First Nations.[4]

The critical approach used in this paper is derived from a definition proposed by video producer and writer Richard Fung in his 1993 article in *Fuse* magazine, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation." He characterizes the critique of cultural appropriation as "... first and foremost a strategy to redress historically established inequities by raising questions about who controls and benefits from cultural resources."[5] This definition articulates the primary objectives of this thesis — to explore the 1958 British Columbia Centennial's use of First Nations cultural resources, and to examine questions relating to the control and exploitation of these resources and the benefits of their use for First Nations and non-native communities. This analysis provides an opportunity to explore issues of cultural representation, appropriation, and the construction of British Columbia history and identity.

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referent [s] and eventually pointing to an abstracted otherness that describes the possessor". See Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 148.

[4] It should be pointed out here that this definition of appropriation is approximate, as an absolute definition would be problemmatic. Furthermore, not all examples of borrowing cultural imagery or motifs necessarily constitute appropriation. For example, First Nations tourist art from the late nineteenth-century through to the present day sometimes adapts everyday non-native items such as lamps, wine bottles, knitted sweaters, and oven mitts as objects for Native decoration. Such borrowings suggest cultural exchange and considered adaptation. These examples do not use forms considered significant to particular non-native groups, nor do they exploit these groups.

[5] Richard Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation," *FUSE* 16, no.5 & 6 (Summer 1993): 18.

Chapter I

The 1958 Centennial

The 1958 Centennial was the first of a series of centennials for British Columbia that spanned just over a decade. This first Centennial celebrated the establishment of the mainland colony of British Columbia in 1858. To counter the threat of American expansion encroaching northward beyond the 49th parallel, the British Government established its presence in Western Canada by creating a series of colonies. The Crown Colony of Vancouver Island was established in 1849 under the jurisdiction of the Hudson Bay Company. With the great 1858 gold rush on the Fraser and Thompson rivers, and the influx of thousands of people searching for wealth, including great numbers of American prospectors from California, the British secured their control over the mainland by creating the Crown Colony of British Columbia in 1858.[1]

The 1958 Centennial celebrations included numerous province-wide as well as local community activities which took place throughout the year to commemorate the province's history or to establish permanent legacies for the province. The purposes of the Centennial were outlined in a booklet published and distributed by the Centennial Committee called *A Guide to Community Organization of the British Columbia Centennial Celebrations*. The primary purpose of the Centennial, it stated, was "to honour those pioneers and early settlers who have been largely responsible for the tremendous progress made in our first 100 years."[2] The booklet recognized the importance of marking historic sites and significant occasions that related to these important individuals. A second purpose was to reflect on the past, consider the present,

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[1] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee* (Vancouver, Mitchell Press Ltd., 1959), 4. For a detailed account of the events which led to the creation of the mainland colony, see Barman, "Impetus to Settlement," *The West Beyond the West*, 52-71.

[2] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 221.

and envision the future of the province. In commemoration, the booklet emphasized local industrial and agricultural growth, natural resources, and the arts and crafts of particular areas.[3] A third goal was to host a "party worthy of the occasion" that would be recognized within the Province and around the world, and to celebrate "a year of joyful pride in our past and sure, easy confidence in our future."[4]

Celebrations to mark the year included ceremonies in honour of the founders and pioneers, special projects to designate or preserve historic sites or to compile local histories, and permanent commemoration projects to meet the needs of communities.[5] In addition, the Centennial Committee developed a main celebration program of performances and displays of provincial significance which toured the province or were scheduled at times that did not conflict with local community celebrations.[6] On New Year's night of 1958, an hour-long television and radio variety show of performances by entertainers and a chorus and orchestra of Vancouver artists officially opened the celebrations.[7]

While the diversity of celebrations is far too numerous to mention in its entirety, a brief description of some of the activities helps provide context for the year. One of the other major events included the reconstruction of the *SS Commodore*, a ship which in 1858 transported over four hundred miners to Victoria from San Francisco in search of gold. The re-enactment on April 26, 1958 of the arrival of the ship began the main program of provincial celebrations.[8] Two historic caravans were built to exhibit authentic

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[3] *Ibid.*, 222.

[4] *Ibid.*, 222.

[5] "Responsibilities of the Community Activities Subcommittee," The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 41.

[6] "Celebrations Everywhere," The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 159.

[7] *Ibid.*, 159.

[8] *Ibid.*, 163.

artifacts from the Provincial Archives and the Provincial Museum around the province.[9] Explorer Simon Fraser's historic travels down the Fraser River were the subject of the Centennial re-enactment known as "The Fraser Brigade". This travelling spectacle endeavoured to adhere to authenticity wherever possible. The journey began on May 28 at Fort George, and proceeded down the Fraser, stopping at all of the points which the explorer is known to have visited, and concluded near the Musqueam Indian Reserve outside Vancouver. Other projects included the travelling two-hour entertainment event, "The British Columbia Centurama", the "Centennial Searchlight Tattoo", and the opening of the reconstructed Fort Langley. Another large Centennial attraction was the "Salute to the Sockeye" celebrations organized by local Salmon Arm and Chase Centennial Committees and First Nations representatives. The pageants organized to mark the salmon run told the story of the importance of the sockeye salmon to the area.

A valuable introduction to the organization and impact of the 1958 Centennial Celebrations can be found in a few of the published statements regarding the Centennial that express contemporary perceptions of the Province in 1958, and the results that the Centennial Celebrations had, or were perceived to have had, on the population of the Province. The British Columbia Centennial Committee — the organizing Board of Directors for the Centennial described later in this chapter — published its official final report in 1959. It described the first one hundred years of British Columbia history as a "century of progress". It stated proudly:

> How different it is today! A fur trade preserve has now become the third largest and fastest growing province of Canada. The tremendous wealth of its mines, its forests, its fisheries and its land is being disclosed. The future is bright. How well the pioneers laid the foundations is obvious to all of us, their heirs. From wilderness to wonderland—this is the miracle of our first century.[10]

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[9] *Ibid.*, 167.

[10] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 6.

Economic optimism was very much a part of contemporary British Columbian society at the time.[11] In the opinion of the Chairman of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, however, this confidence in the future of the province was offset by a lack of awareness of the history and heritage of the region. In his opening letter to the Province in the official Final Report, Mr. Lawrence J. Wallace, Chairman of the Centennial Committee, reflected on the contributions that the Centennial celebrations had made to raising the internal and external profile of culture and heritage:

> It is most pleasing that British Columbians are more aware of the past of their Province, and that an increased interest in British Columbia's heritage has been created in both young and old. The celebrations, too, have focused many thousands of eyes upon the Province from beyond its borders.[12]

While the majority of British Columbian citizens lacked awareness of the recent history of white occupation and development in their province, they had an even greater lack of knowledge and understanding of the heritage and history of the province's First Nations.[13] Although the history of aboriginal-white relations in British Columbia and Canada is not the focus of this paper, it must be noted that nineteenth and early twentieth century political and legislative actions of the Canadian and British Columbian governments had led to the serious political, economic, and cultural disintegration of aboriginal peoples in the province.[14] Only in 1951 had some of the most detrimental

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[11] See Barman, "The Good Life 1945-72," *The West Beyond the West*, 270-96.

[12] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 1.

[13] Sally Weaver, "The Hawthorn Report: Its Use in the Making of Canadian Indian Policy," *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1993), 75. Weaver states: "In 1963 'the Indian problem' was just beginning to take shape in Canadian society. A greater awareness among the public of the mere existence of First Nations peoples, a hitherto unknown minority, was a significant change."

[14] Diana Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism, and Beyond," in *Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*, Eds. Diana Nemiroff, Robert Houle and Charlotte Townsend-Gault (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1992), 24.

earlier 1927 amendments to the Indian Act been reversed. One of these changes was the removal of the 1885 amendment which prohibited potlatches and had resulted in the prosecution of several Kwagiulth individuals and the confiscation of their cultural materials for practising the potlatch.[15] In 1950, First Nations citizens were given the right to vote in British Columbia, although the federal franchise was not granted to registered First Nations citizens until 1960.[16] Governments were now interested in fostering the limited participation of First Nations in mainstream non-native society, with the expectation that in doing so common ties would develop, and First Nations would eventually move toward assimilation into the dominant society. In its 1957 annual report, the British Columbia Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs articulated its hopes that the upcoming Centennial Celebrations would provide opportunities for First Nations to participate in the celebrations. The Committee wrote:

> It is hoped that 1958 will be remembered as a year during which the native people of British Columbia came to realize as never before their ties of common history

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[15] Gloria Cranmer Webster, "The 'R' Word," *Muse* 6, 3 (October 1988): 43. For more information on the potlatch prohibition, see Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre and Washington, the University of Washington Press, 1990). For a discussion of Canada's suppressive Indian laws, see Chief Joe Mathias and Gary Yabsley, "Conspiracy of Legislation: The Suppression of Indian Rights in Canada," *BC Studies* 89 (Spring 1991): 34-41.

[16] The dates for granting of the provincial and federal franchises varied between sources. Frank Cassidy and Robert Bish state that the federal vote was granted in 1958. See *Indian Government: Its Meaning and Practice* (Lantzville: Oolichan Books and Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1989), 7. Wilson Duff states the federal franchise was given in 1960 in *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man* (Victoria: Province of British Columbia, 1964), 72. Paul Tennant gives 1960 as the federal vote and 1947 as the provincial vote. See "Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism," *BC Studies* 55 (Autumn 1982): 16. On its "Historical References" website, The Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs for the Province of British Columbia uses 1949 for the provincial vote and 1960 for the federal vote. See *http://www.aaf.gov.bc.ca/aaf/history/history.htm.*

> and citizenship with those who have come to this Province during the past century.[17]

In its 1958 Report, the Advisory Committee reflected on the positive outcomes of the Centennial year and its impact on First Nations. The Committee wrote:

> There have been many signs during the year of growing public interest in Indian affairs in this Province, as evidenced by television and radio programmes, and by articles and letters in the press.... mention should be made of the intangible achievements of the centenary year—those which affect the relationship between Indian and non-Indian citizens of this province.
>
> During the past twelve months, Indians have mingled with non-Indian communities to an extent which has never been known before. Residents and visitors to this Province have also flocked to attend colourful celebrations on Indian reserves.
>
> Perhaps the spirit of the centenary year could best be summarized in the words of an Indian chief, addressed to the Chairman of the Centennial Committee, when he said: 'It has done more for the Indians of British Columbia than any other single thing since the white man moved in.'
>
> New foundations have thus been laid for mutual understanding, respect, and liking during our first centenary celebrations. The will to complete the structure depends upon this and coming generations as architects of the future.[18]

This series of quotes gives a sense of the provincial context in which the Centennial Celebrations, with their incorporation of First Nations culture and participation, were planned and carried out. At this pivotal time in Canadian history, when First Nations communities and leaders were joining forces to express their opinions and to participate in the mainstream political process, the 1958 Centennial provided a public forum in which First Nations could participate and celebrate their culture. While church-imposed control of Native communities remained in the hands of the missionaries, and government-imposed control resided with the Indian Affairs department and the Indian Superintendents, inter-tribal organizations were being established by First Nations to advocate for Indians on issues of provincial and national concern.

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[17] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1957 Annual Report*, (Victoria: Province of British Columbia, Queen's Printer, 1958), 15.

[18] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1958 Annual Report*, (Victoria: Province of British Columbia, Queen's Printer, 1959), 16.

Furthermore, First Nations individuals were beginning to take part in provincial and federal politics.[19] The opportunities for participation provided by the Centennial were seen by some as a chance for the aboriginal population to improve its present circumstances, and to build stronger ties to non-native society.

The 1958 Centennial celebration was an example of a major government initiative designed to honour the culture and history of the province, and to create a greater sense of unity among its residents. Records of the Centennial offer insight into government policies and practices relating to First Nations, the roles of the resource-based and tourism industries of the province, and the impact of anthropology, largely through the activities of the Provincial Museum, on public and government understanding of First Nations culture. The records also hold a wealth of information on popular culture and contemporary tourism and marketing, and give a sense of Native and non-native sentiments regarding cultural representation and inter-cultural relations.

The British Columbia Centennial Committee

The first step in examining the 1958 Centennial celebrations is to explore the origins of the Centennial initiative and its organization. The British Columbia Centennial Committee was established in 1955 as the result of recommendations in a report by the Honorable W.K. Kiernan, Minister of Agriculture, and the Honorable R.G. Williston, Minister of Education.[20] Kiernan and Williston had been appointed by the Provincial Cabinet to investigate plans for the centenary. In their recommendations for committee membership, the authors of the 1955 report laid out a structure they felt reflected the interests of British Columbia. Representatives of the following groups were suggested: the Provincial Archives; Ministers of the Crown; the Pacific National Exhibition; the Union of British Columbia Municipalities; and an academic expert from the University of

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[19] Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man*, 105.

[20] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 14.

British Columbia, preferably with a strong background in the arts and in British Columbia.[21] They listed in their report the name of one individual they strongly believed should be involved in the Centennial planning—Mr. Lawrence J. Wallace, Director of Community Programmes Branch for the Department of Education. The newly formed Centennial Committee met for the first time in September 1955. In February 1956, at this Committee's recommendation, the British Columbia Legislature passed the British Columbia Centennial Act, officially legislating the centenary celebrations. By its second meeting, the Committee recommended the addition of a public relations specialist; as a result, they added a representative of the British Columbia Electric Company Limited. This group became the Board of Directors of the British Columbia Centennial Committee. Together with several honorary chairmen and vice-chairmen appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, the chairmen of the various subcommittees, and H. Norman Lidster, the Honorable Solicitor and S.E. Espley, the Honorable Comptroller, this group formed the British Columbia Centennial Committee[22] *[Figure 1]*.

The Subcommittees and their Goals

To ensure that all interests and activities of the Province would be covered during the Centennial, seventeen provincial subcommittees were established.[23] All subcommittee

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[21] *Ibid.*, 14-15.

[22] *Ibid.*, 15-16, 19-23. Members of the Board of Directors were: The Hon. R.G. Williston, Minister of Education; The Hon. W.K. Kiernan, Minister of Agriculture; T.R.B. Adams, Esq., Executive Director, Union of British Columbia Municipalities; W.E. Ireland, Esq., Provincial Librarian and Archivist; Dr. Malcolm F. McGregor, Chairman of the Department of Classics, University of British Columbia; Alderman T.F. Orr, City of Vancouver and Pacific National Exhibition; L.J. Wallace, Esq., Director of the Community Programmes Branch, Department of Education; Mr. E.F. Fox, British Columbia Electric Company Limited. The Honorary Chairmen were: Hon. Frank M. Ross; Hon. W.A.C. Bennett; Hon. G.McG. Sloan. The Honorary Vice-Chairmen were: Hon. C.A. Banks; Hon E.W. Hamber; John Hart; Hon. C. Wallace; B.I. Johnson; and Hon. W.C. Woodward.

[23] *Ibid.*, 39.

projects were submitted to the Board of Directors by the Centennial Chairman for final approval. A primary goal of the Centennial celebrations was to focus attention on British Columbia, both from within Canada, as well as from the United States and beyond. The Provincial government and the Committee hoped that the Centennial would foster development of British Columbia's growing tourism industry, and thus they established the Tourism & Hospitality Subcommittee, as well as a Promotion and Displays Subcommittee, to take leading roles in achieving this goal.

The Tourism Promotion and Hospitality Subcommittee, chaired by T.J. Sturgess, was set up according to the Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, to "promote the tourist industry of British Columbia to its highest peak in history by concentrating on the advertising of the Province's Centenary."[24] The Subcommittee interpreted this broad directive as a call "to advertise and promote the Centennial outside of the Province in order to bring in the greatest number of visitors."[25] The Centennial Committee suggested that the Subcommittee consider courtesy souvenirs and short films as means to attract visitors to British Columbia from Eastern Canada and the United States.

The Promotion, Displays and Pageants Subcommittee — its name was later changed to the Promotion and Displays Subcommittee — chaired by Barry Mather of the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper, was responsible for carrying out the following goals: to develop special projects and events to publicize the Centenary; to devise events designed to focus world attention on British Columbia; to develop local projects to assist with community celebrations; to develop pageants that depicted British Columbia history;[26]

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[24] *Ibid.*, 65. Also listed in the Subcommittee records for the Committee.

[25] British Columbia Provincial Archives [BCARS], The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Report of the Centennial Tourist Promotion Subcommittee," November 6, 1958, Records of the Tourism Promotion & Hospitality Subcommittee, GR1448 Box 9 [GR1448-9] C/T/1.

[26] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Records of the Promotions, Displays, & Pageants Subcommittee, "A list of proposed committee members and an outline of committee work," March 15, 1956, GR1448-9 C/P/2.

and finally, "to educate the people of the Province in the rich historical, industrial and cultural background and the growth of our Province."[27] The Subcommittee was comprised largely of newspaper and television managers and columnists, as well as promoters and public relations officers. The group described the centenary as an opportunity to celebrate as a whole "our first 100 years of life as an organized community."[28] The Centennial Committee saw the work of this Subcommittee as important to the celebration as a whole, and it was expected to work with several other subcommittees.

The Ethnic Groups and Provincial Organizations Subcommittee, chaired by Mrs. P. Steen, was responsible for encouraging participation from members of the Province's many ethnic groups and organizations. In the 1959 Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, this Subcommittee's guiding statement included a directive which articulated the valuable role British Columbia's diverse cultural communities could play in the celebrations:

> A feeling of being recognized as citizens of B.C. and of Canada might possibly be one of the greatest achievements of our celebrations. It is through the moulding of the various cultures present in British Columbia that our Province will take on its own individuality. Co-ordinated activities in each community such as folk dance festivals, concerts of singing and dances of various nations, displays of the handicrafts of various countries, etc., will all add much to the colour of the celebrations as well as creating a better spirit amongst the citizens of the Province.[29]

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[27] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 63.

[28] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Records of the Promotions, Displays, & Pageants Subcommittee, "A list of proposed committee members and an outline of committee work," March 15, 1956, GR1448-9 C/P 2.

[29] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 45-6.

Although the Centennial Committee made this Subcommittee responsible for the development of special activities for the First Nations population of the province,[30] it does not appear that any "native Indian" projects came out of this Subcommittee. While Reverend Dr. Peter Kelly, renowned Nanaimo United Church minister and Haida aboriginal leader, and W.S. Arneil, Federal Commissioner for Indian Affairs in British Columbia, served as corresponding members for the Subcommittee, there is no evidence in the minutes of any regular discussion of Native-related issues or events.

Power, Politics, Participation and Promotion: The Role of the First Nations of British Columbia

The Centennial Committee and the British Columbia government established a position on the role of First Nations participation in the Centennial Celebrations. The Centennial Committee sought guidance early on, in part by seeking the advice of the Federal Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Executive Secretary to the Centennial Committee Larry McCance wrote to Mr. W.S. Arneil, Commissioner for Indian Affairs in British Columbia, in late spring 1956 for his opinions on native participation, explaining that several suggestions regarding Indian activities had already been put forward for review. The Committee requested his "expert opinion" to assist them in making decisions on aspects of these projects.[31] Later that summer there was a meeting of Centennial Committee representatives L.J. Wallace and Larry McCance, and Vancouver office Department of Indian Affairs representatives, Mr. Ansfield and Mr. McGregor. During this meeting, the Department of Indian Affairs

[30] Included in the Ethnic Groups and Provincial Organizations Subcommittee's list of responsibilities was the instruction: "Consideration of the native Indian people should be studied with special activities in mind." The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 46.

[31] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Mr. W.S. Arneil, Commissioner for Indian Affairs in British Columbia, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship & Immigration, Vancouver, from L.H. McCance, Executive Secretary, B.C. Centennial Committee, June 13, 1956, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

representatives suggested "that the Indians should be included in the celebrations in their community as citizens of the Province and not singled out in any way except on their own choice."[32] Native communities would be accorded the same opportunities to apply for the sixty-cent-per-capita grant program for Centennial projects and celebrations, though it was also anticipated that they might wish to collaborate with nearby non-native communities. From the Centennial Committee minutes, it does not appear that representatives of First Nations communities or organizations were present at this meeting. The British Columbia Centennial Committee accepted the approach outlined at this meeting, and when the Vancouver Centennial Committee sought their advice in 1957 on Indian representation on its local Committee, the Centennial Committee responded by explaining that "on the advice of the Department of Indian Affairs, the British Columbia Centennial Committee had adopted a policy of considering the Indian population as one of the many groups within the Province and therefore no special representation was required."[33]

The position demonstrated by the Department of Indian Affairs officials, and accepted by the Centennial Committee, clearly reflected federal government Indian policies of the day. These policies encouraged aboriginal assimilation into Canadian mainstream society; a process that was considered inevitable by many Canadians, and in the best interest of the Native population.[34] Integration of the Native population was

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[32] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, British Columbia Centenary Committee Minutes 27th meeting - September 13, 1956, GR1448 Box 4 [1448-4] 1958 – Centennial Subcommittee Minutes.

[33] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, British Columbia Centenary Committee Minutes 41st meeting - March 14, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[34] Paul Tennant states: "Federal policy assumed, and sought to promote, the eventual disappearance of Indians as a distinct people." See Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism," *BC Studies* 55 (Autumn 1982): 14. Wilson Duff supported the presence of a belief by government in the eventual disappearance of the Native population. He stated: "At the beginning of the period [since Confederation in 1871] the Indians were declining in numbers; and it was fully expected that they would pass out of the picture as a distinct

echoed by another government committee interested in the Centennial — the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee — which operated under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Labour. Known as the Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs from its establishment in 1950 until 1957, the Committee was authorized in 1953 by a Provincial Order-in Council, "to investigate means of improving Federal-Provincial co-operation in the administration of health and welfare services to Indians; and to co-ordinate the efforts of both governments in this particular branch of Indian affairs in British Columbia."[35] It was the first Provincial Committee of its kind in Canada.[36] The 1957 Legislative session passed the "Indian Advisory Act", which provided for the appointment of a Director within the Department of Labour, to also serve as the secretary of the B.C. Indian Advisory Committee. Professor Ellis H. Morrow, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Commerce of the University of British Columbia, served as Chairman from 1953 until his death in 1959. Three of the six positions on the committee were held by First Nations individuals.[37] Long-standing Native representation on the Committee came from renowned Kwakwaka'wakw Chief William D. Scow of Alert Bay. Chief Scow began as a member from the onset of the Committee in 1951, and served as Vice-Chairman after 1955. According to its 1956 annual report, this Committee supported the notion that "Indians would be given every opportunity to play a prominent

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element of the population..." See Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man*, 62.

[35] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1956 Annual Report* (Province of British Columbia, Queen's Printer, [1957]), [1].

[36] *Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs Second Annual Report - 1951* (Province of British Columbia, Queen's Printer, 1952), 4.

[37] Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man*, 74. Harry Hawthorn comments that this Committee was ineffective, as its Native members were chosen without consultation with First Nations and not "fully representative of Indian opinion." Harry Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw, S.M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment* (Canada: University of Toronto Press and the University of British Columbia, 1958), 472.

part in these [Centennial] celebrations."[38] It recommended to the British Columbia Government that "Indians throughout the province be given every encouragement to take part in centenary activities, and to apply for Provincial monetary grants" to help realize local projects.[39] As quoted earlier in this paper, members of the Advisory Committee expressed their wishes for integration in the 1957 annual report:

> It is hoped that 1958 will be remembered as a year during which the native people of British Columbia came to realize as never before their ties of common history and citizenship with those who have come to this Province during the past century.[40]

Although the Advisory Committee supported the participation of First Nations in the Centennial, it did not support the complete assimilation of First Nations culture into the non-native mainstream. It concluded its 1957 annual report with the following observations:

> As we stand at the gateway of the new century, what vision do we see for our native citizens of this province in the landscape of the future? Some of the age-long barriers of separation have vanished; others will diminish with the levelling of time. The colourful undulations of a different culture remain and must not, through lack of husbandry, turn into arid plains of uniformity.
>
> The clouds of ignorance and apathy are lifting, and the rays of wisdom and fellowship are casting new light through the arches of the years.[41]

The statements of the provincial Indian Advisory Committee demonstrate a desire on the part of some groups, at least, to decrease the historical discrimination and segregation of First Nations and to encourage their integration, rather than assimilation, into non-native society. There was less agreement between these groups over the desirable level of assimilation, and their opinions on this matter are more difficult to measure. The Indian Advisory Committee does state its determination that the "colourful

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[38] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1956 Annual Report*, 14.

[39] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1958 Annual Report*, 5.

[40] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1957 Annual Report*, 15.

[41] *Ibid.*, 15

undulations" of First Nations culture — likely meaning their cultural practice and products — remain distinct from non-native cultural signifiers. The federal government, however, continued to be very interested in the eventual assimilation of its Indian population as demonstrated by its publication of the 1969 White Paper under the Pierre Trudeau government. The White Paper proposed the abolition of Indian Status, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the end of the Indian Act, in an effort to integrate the Native population into mainstream society.[42]

What do these statements tell us about British Columbian society at the middle of the century, and about relations between its Native and non-native population? In *The West Beyond the West: a History of British Columbia*, Jean Barman states that British Columbia had been the most openly racist province in Canada, with attitudes of the dominant society moderating only after the middle of the twentieth century,[43] when principles of equality began to play a greater role in the shaping of societal attitudes. Following the Second World War, groups such as the war veterans voiced their concerns that the country's native peoples were not recognized as Canadian citizens.[44] A 1946 Select Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons analyzed the Indian Act and called for the removal of several of the most coercive components of the Act, and reconsideration of the integration of Native peoples into dominant society.[45] A major study commissioned by the federal government was undertaken by University of British

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[42] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 216-18. For a study of the influence of the 1967 Report by U.B.C. anthropologist Harry Hawthorn on the development of the 1969 White Paper, see Weaver, "The Hawthorn Report: Its Use in the Making of Canadian Indian Policy," *Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada,* 75-95. See also Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 308-11; Michael Ames, "Native View of History and Culture," *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, 77-88.

[43] Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 366.

[44] *Ibid.*, 307.

[45] *Ibid.*, 307.

Columbia Anthropology Professor Harry Hawthorn from 1954 through 1956, and published in 1958. This comprehensive report, *The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment*, was characterized by Jean Barman as a "powerful indictment" of the present situation of the province's Native population. Throughout this period, several Native organizations and individuals called for greater self-determination and control over their lives.[46] Thus in the decade that surrounded the 1958 British Columbia Centennial, significant changes in policy, newly published studies, and community advocacy informed the atmosphere in which the Centennial Committee developed its policies and approaches towards the participation of the First Nations in the Centennial structure, projects, and events.

A major Native organization that played a role in the Centennial Committee and government's relationship with the province's First Nations was the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. Several leaders of this organization played roles in the Centennial and in related organizations; *The Native Voice*, a monthly newspaper closely tied with the organization, reported on several events which related to the celebrations. The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was created in 1931 as a vehicle for continuing the goals of the Allied Tribes, an earlier Native organization dedicated to the pursuit of land claims, which had collapsed in large part as a result of the discriminatory 1927 amendments to the Indian Act.[47] Early on, the Native Brotherhood avoided overt pursuit of land claims issues, as the 1927 Indian Act amendments had banished such political activity. It did, however, support greater recognition of aboriginal rights, the legalization of the potlatch which had been banned in the 1927 amendments, overturning of the prohibition of alcohol consumption for Indians, and the replacement of residential

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[46] *Ibid.*, 307.

[47] Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), 115-17.

schools with village-based day schools. Leaders of the Brotherhood were opposed to assimilation, and favoured "retention of the native's identity, racially and culturally."[48]

During the decades preceding the 1958 Centennial, British Columbia First Nations organizations such as the Native Brotherhood, the North American Indian Brotherhood, and the Nisga'a Land Committee, as well as several prominent aboriginal leaders, struggled for increased involvement in political decision-making, greater voice and recognition of aboriginal rights, and for negotiation of land claims. With the formation of the Nisga'a Tribal Council, and other similar councils such as the Allied Tribes of the West Coast (later the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Tribal Council), the First Nations of British Columbia established their own political organizations which reflected their unique tribal affiliations which had existed prior to the pan-Indian organizational structure imposed by the Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs.[49] During this time of significant organizational development and increased public awareness, the 1958 Centennial celebrations brought the provincial government, non-native, and Native communities into collaboration with one another.

How did the Centennial Committee invite Native participation in the Centennial? It is challenging to measure the level of First Nations participation hoped for by the Committee, and the approaches it took to invite aboriginal involvement. Within the 1958 report of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee, there is a provocative reference to political directives that may have been passed on to the Centennial Committee with respect to soliciting aboriginal participation. The report states that the British Columbia Government welcomed the Advisory Committee's recommendations to encourage First Nations participation in the centennial, and that the government "instructed that information regarding these grants [funding for community projects] be

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[48] Philip Drucker, "The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, 168 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1958): 137, 147, as quoted in Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, 117.

[49] Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, 114-24.

given wide publicity by the Centennial Committee through Indian Superintendents and Indian band councils."[50]

It is clear that the Centennial Committee accepted the recommendations of the Department of Indian Affairs. It is also clear from my discussions with the past Centennial Chairman and with other involved individuals, that L.J. Wallace possessed a great personal interest in the welfare of British Columbia First Nations.[51] When Chairman Wallace reported to the B.C. Indian Advisory Committee in June 1956, he stated that his Committee was in agreement that "the original citizens" of the province should have "an appropriate place in any plans for the Centennial Celebrations."[52] It appears that the Centennial Committee followed the advice of Indian Affairs in soliciting aboriginal participation. On the recommendations of B.C. Indian Affairs Commissioner Arneil, the Committee wrote to the regional Indian Superintendents of the Department of Indian Affairs explaining the Centennial initiative, its organization, and the programs available to First Nations communities. These Superintendents were asked to serve as liaisons between the Centennial's Regional Consultants and the Indian bands in their area, and to pass on this Centennial information to the bands. Through the recommendations of the Department of Indian Affairs representatives they had met with earlier that year, Wallace suggested that the Band Council or Chief appoint two or three members from their Council to a community Centennial committee, and elect further members, so as to ensure fully representative Committees. However, Wallace added that it "might be wise to encourage the Indians to become an integral part of the neighbouring community's Centennial Committee and have direct representation on this Committee."[53]

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[50] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1958 Annual Report,* 5.

[51] Peter Macnair, Interview with author, March 16, 1998. Macnair is an anthropologist and former Chief Curator, Anthropology Division, Royal British Columbia Museum (a.k.a. Provincial Museum), March 16, 1998.

[52] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1956 Annual Report*, 14.

[53] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to All Superintendents from L.J. Wallace, December, 1956, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

Whether this approach of using federal Indian Affairs representatives to disseminate information and request the participation of First Nations communities had any effect on the willingness of communities to take part is difficult to evaluate. Perhaps what Cowichan Chief Elwood Modest described as a severe "lack of interest"[54] in the Centennial by many First Nations individuals was due in part to a perception that, as with so many other government-initiated programs or studies, aboriginal voices would not be heard, and their positions not represented. They may have been practicing opposition or resistance.

As a point of comparison, when inviting First Nations participation in the later 1967 centennial celebrations, Chairman of the Native Indian Participation Subcommittee, Kwagiulth leader Robert Clifton of Courtenay, requested that an open letter of invitation be distributed by Subcommittee member and Indian Affairs Commissioner J.V. Boys to Indian Superintendents in the Province, who in turn were to read the letter to each Band in their area and leave the letter for their consideration. Clifton's request was not properly followed and instead letters from each Indian Agent were sent out informing the Bands of the Centennial program and asking that interested Bands contact their Indian Agent. The Chairman was displeased with this altered, less personal approach, and requested that the letters be redistributed by the Provincial Centennial office, this time directly to each Band in British Columbia care of the Chief Councillor of each Band.[55] The use of Superintendents to disseminate information on the 1958 Centennial may have reduced the number of communities that either were sufficiently aware of the Centennial programme or that were willing to participate.

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[54] "Cowichan Chief Says Centennial Festival Planned," *The Native Voice* 11, no. 11 (November 1957): 8.

[55] BCARS, Records of the British Columbia Provincial Secretary - B.C. Centennial Celebrations 1966-67 Native Participation Committee, Minutes of the Second Meeting, Native Indians Participation Subcommittee, Comox Band Council Hall, December 4, 1964, GR1598, Box 1 File 3.

In January 1957, a British Columbia First Nations citizen wrote a letter to the Board of Directors of the Centennial Committee regarding aboriginal representation on the Centennial's Board. Mr. Sohaney Vulture, publisher of *Indian Time*, wrote:

> On your board of people about the Centennial – Who is representing Indian people? – persons of Indian blood or some silly emotional whiteskin biddy? I find it sort of crazy that Government people call on some mixed up old ladies, when it comes to our wants instead of calling on us Indians who know what we want.[56]

McCance replied on behalf of the Centennial Committee, describing the arrangement recommended by the Indian Affairs Branch whereby First Nations communities could be awarded funds to develop their own projects, or join nearby non-native community initiatives. He added that the Committee was working closely with W.S. Arneil and his department. He explained that Indian Bands could participate in the Centennial celebrations "in whatever manner they desire", and added that if they developed their own projects, "they may operate in an autonomous manner."[57] He then commented:

> We are most anxious to have the Indian People of the Province participate in the Celebrations, so that they may express their art and culture to the rest of the population of British Columbia, as well as the many guests and tourists who will be with us on this occasion.[58]

It appears the Centennial Committee interpreted Vulture's question of representation as a concern over the presentation of culture, rather than a concern over having representation on the Board of Directors and some control over the planning of the

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[56] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Centennial Committee from Sohaney Vulture [a.k.a. Doug Wilkinson], INDIAN TIME, January 16, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians. The official programme for *Tzinquaw*, a Cowichan First Nation operetta, includes a foreward by "Sohaney". In brackets are the words: "Doug Wilkinson, Publisher, INDIAN TIME". See Frank Morrison, *Tzinquaw*, (Vancouver: J.W. Bow & Co., Ltd.), 1950, inside cover.

[57] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Sohaney Vulture, INDIAN TIME, from McCance, British Columbia Centennial Committee, February 13, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[58] *Ibid.*

overall Centennial. The Centennial Committee's response suggests that it was amenable to First Nations having control over their local projects, if they applied and were accepted under the Centennial grants program. It was also interested in representing First Nations culture through the special projects over which the Centennial office had direct control. The Centennial Committee's letter went on to describe the totem pole being carved for the Queen (described in detail in Chapter II) as the only project in which the Centennial Committee was engaged in that involved Indian culture, and that it would be "a credit to the Indian People of the Province."[59] The Centennial Committee's misunderstanding of representation also reflects a more significant lack of open exchange and input between First Nations and government in that period.

Fueled with official clarification from the Department of Indian Affairs and the B.C. Indian Advisory Committee on how First Nations citizens of the Province might become involved in the Centennial celebrations, and a sense of the kinds of projects that would suit the Centennial, the various subcommittees went ahead developing projects. Despite the Centennial Committee's assurances to Mr. Sohaney Vulture that there was only one project that involved aboriginal culture, there were many which involved the use of First Nations culture on different levels and for different purposes. In several instances, projects drew upon the cultural imagery of the First Nations of British Columbia, sometimes with, but more often without, the consultation or approval of First Nations. In an era before today's notions of cultural appropriation had been articulated and analyzed, these examples of cultural appropriation were either not scrutinized by the coordinating Committee, or viewed as acceptable. Mainstream society felt, as did Haida artist Bill Reid at the time, that aboriginal imagery was "uniquely British Columbian."[60] This belief that First Nations cultural materials serve as an integral part of provincial and national identity continues today. It is a key part in the perception by many non-native people that

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[59] *Ibid.*

[60] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Bill Reid to Larry McCance, Executive Secretary, British Columbia Centennial Committee, February 7, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

First Nations culture is available for appropriation. As the 1958 Centennial record demonstrates, the British Columbia Government, the tourism industry, private enterprise, and much of the general public agreed with Bill Reid's point. The projects these groups created, the promotions they generated, and the products they sold all made use of this imagery as a selling feature for their various commodities.

The Centennial Silver Dollar

A prime example of an appropriated image was the 1958 Canadian silver dollar created by the Canadian Mint in celebration of the British Columbia Centennial. The Centennial Committee wrote to the federal Minister of Labour, requesting that the federal government consider the production of a coin to mark the "centenary of the Caribou Gold Rush and the establishment of British Columbia as a Crown Colony."[61] Although the Centennial Committee had originally expressed interest in using a gold mining image for the coin, the final decision on an image was made through a Canada-wide competition for artists and sculptors organized by the Canadian Mint.[62] Lithuanian-born artist Stephen Trenka of Thornhill, Ontario won the competition, which drew one hundred and fifty entrants[63], and the one thousand dollar prize.[64] The coin used an image of a Haida totem

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[61] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Finance, Ottawa, from Willard E. Ireland, Secretary to Centennial Commiittee, February 2, 1956, GR1448 Box 1 [GR1448-1] - File: B.C. Centennial Committee - Coin.

[62] L.J. Wallace, Interview with author, February 9, 1998. Information on the gold mining image from BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, The British Columbia Centenary Committee Minutes 5th Meeting, November 17, 1955, GR1448-4. Information on the Centennial coin competition from B.C. Centennial Commitee, GR1448-1 - Coin file.

[63] "Is this Filthy Money?" *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), Thursday, January 9, 1958, 15. Information on the artist's Lithuanian background from Leslie Forsyth, "Images of Canadianism: A History of Currency as an Art Form," (master's thesis, University of Victoria, 1973), 40.

pole set against the mountains of British Columbia, with a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II by Mary Gillick on the reverse *[Figure 2]*. According to the Centennial records, the Board of Judges for the competition was chaired by Mr. A.P. Williams, Master of the Canadian Mint, and included: K.W. Taylor, Deputy Minister of Finance; J.E. Coyne, Governor, Bank of Canada; Alan Jarvis, Director, National Gallery; Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist; C.P. Fell, Chairman, Board of Trustees, National Gallery; John Raymond, Montreal, Trustee of the National Gallery; and Naomi Jackson, Professor of Fine Arts, McMaster University, Hamilton. From the information available, it does not appear that the British Columbia Centennial Committee had any representation on the jury, nor that there was any special effort to include British Columbian representation on the jury.[65] According to L.J. Wallace, the Centennial Committee had input on the silver dollar project, and Ottawa consulted him on several occasions for advice on designs that would be applicable to the Centennial.[66] Wallace also revealed that the decision by the competition judges to go with the totem pole image "was a unanimous choice."[67] Wallace presented the first Centennial silver dollar to Lieutenant-Governor Frank M. Ross during the simulcast of the official Centennial opening ceremony in Vancouver on New Year's Day, 1958. The Victoria newspaper, *The Daily Colonist*, described the coin's design as-

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[64] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Press Release presented by the Honourable Walter Harris, Minister of Finance, to the House of Commons, announcing the Government of Canada's decision to produce a British Columbia Centennial coin, June 1956, GR1448-1, B.C. Centennial Commitee - Coin file.

[65] This lack of British Columbia representation was likely due to the difficulties and costs associated with bringing delegates to Ottawa.

[66] L.J. Wallace, Telephone conversation with author, October 25, 1998.

[67] L.J. Wallace, interview with author, February 9, 1998. I have sought further information from the Canadian Mint regarding the B.C. Centennial Committee's role in the decision-making process for the coin, but have not yet received any further information.

"an Indian totem emblematic of the Pacific Coast Province."[68] In total, over three million coins were produced, almost ten times the usual number produced for the silver dollar.[69]

According to the Centennial Committee's Final Report, the Centennial dollar was an extremely popular souvenir piece.[70] Allan Klenman, president of the Victoria Numismatic Society and a director of the Canadian Numismatic Association stated that the silver dollar "has accomplished its purpose in excellent fashion ... it represents the Indian art of B.C. and as such will be cherished by collectors everywhere."[71] However, the coin was not received positively by some First Nations groups in British Columbia. Immediately after the coin was released for distribution, Guy Williams, a prominent Haisla leader from Kitimat residing in Richmond, and a spokesperson for the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, announced that the coin's image was based on a Tsimpsian mortuary totem and therefore represented death money. He warned that no "West Coast Indian" would handle the coinage.[72] Ellen Neel, an acclaimed Kwagiulth artist living in Vancouver, supported Williams' opinion and added that the design was "terribly unfortunate for the B.C. Centennial."[73] *The Native Voice,* the official newspaper of the Native Brotherhood of B.C., published a letter by the president of the North

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[68] *The Daily Colonist*, Saturday, January 4, 1958, 5.

[69] *Striking Impressions: The Royal Canadian Mint and Canadian Coinage* (Canada: n.p., 1984, 1986), 205.

[70] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 313.

[71] "Centennial Coin Totem Defended," *The Victoria Daily Times,* Saturday, January 4, 1958, 15.

[72] "Is this Filthy Money?", *Daily Colonist*, Thursday, January 9, 1958, 15. An explanation of why Guy Williams felt that the image was a Tsimpsian mortuary totem was not found.

[73] "Centennial Coin Totem Defended," *The Victoria Daily Times*, Saturday, January 4, 1958, 15.

American Indian Brotherhood, Andy Paull of the Squamish Nation. In his note he expressed his concerns, which reflected those of many other First Nations citizens:

> The Canadian Indians take second place to no one in their love and loyalty for members of their Royal Family. Because of this, I have been asked to get word to the Queen Mother to throw away the two centennial coins given her in B.C., as they may bring her bad luck and misfortune.
> The Indians are convinced that the totem pole on this centennial dollar is what they call 'death totem' and the history of or legend of this totem is terribly bad...[74]

Ellen Neel observed the totem pole's similarity to Tsimpsian images of the bear mother and her son.[75] When she heard that artist Stephen Trenka claimed that the totem pole was inspired by the raven myth, she added that this choice of imagery was also inappropriate for the design. She explained that many of the raven stories were "pornographic and unsuitable for general explanation."[76] The controversy was followed closely by the Victoria newspapers, one of which described the situation as a "tempest in a teepee".[77] They sensationalized the headings of their brief articles with titles such as: "Is this Filthy Money?", "Bears are Deathly, Ravens Pornographic", and "Ravenous, Yes But Obscene, No"[78]. An article in a Powell River logging magazine reported on this controversy between First Nations, as represented by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, and Centennial officials and archivists, over the appropriateness of the

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[74] "Death Totem," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 4 (April 1958): 6. The letter is signed Andy Paul, and the author is not identified as the President of the North American Indian Brotherhood. However, it is likely that it is from him, as he sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Canada later in the year on another issue related to the Centennial, and the tone of that telegram is very similar.

[75] "Is this Filthy Money?", *Daily Colonist*, Thursday, January 9, 1958, 15.

[76] *Ibid.*, 15.

[77] "Centennial Coin Totem Defended," *The Victoria Daily Times*, Saturday, January 4, 1958, 15.

[78] "Is this Filthy Money? Bears are Deathly, Ravens Pornographic," *Daily Colonist*, Thursday, January 9, 1958, 15; "Ravenous, Yes But Obscene, No," *Daily Colonist*, Friday, January 10, 1958, 1.

selected image. This article provides an interesting example of a public coverage of this controversy of cultural appropriation. The *Powell River Digester* article read, using some of the stereotypical language of the day:

> One of the publicity features attendant on B.C.'s Centennial has been the issuance of the now famous Centennial dollar. As a special souvenir of the occasion, the Dominion Government Mint put into circulation a special silver dollar, with an engraved totem representing, say the archivists, a traditional Haida Indian emblem. That's what the archivists say. The Native Indian Brotherhood of British Columbia disagree violently. The emblem is not a Haida family engraving, say the redmen. It is, on the contrary, an engraving which Indians of the coast placed on totem poles erected around tribal graveyards.
> It is a poor feature for the Centennial," say the tribal authorities, "These palefaces are misrepresenting the Coast Indians."
> "It's the braves who are wrong," the archivists reply. "It is they, not we, who need a lesson in Indian totem history. The figure on the dollar is an authentic reproduction of the Haida family tradition. It has nothing to do with death or graveyards."
> The battle of the Indian and the paleface is still going on. But meantime the silver Centennial dollar has been issued and is being snapped up by the public almost as fast as it leaves the mint. The coin has been in great demand, not only in B.C., but all over Canada and in the neighbouring states across the International Border.
> The Indians have boycotted it and refuse to tempt fate with this tribal abortion.
> Meantime, the public, as successive charges and counter-charges emerge from the respective warriors' camps, pick up the silver dollars as personal souvenirs or for friends in other parts of the world. Present indications are that few of the dollars will ever get into general circulation but will, rather, be retained as souvenirs or collectors' items.
> The Centennial people are not displeased with the controversy—and the mint coin makers are enjoying a field day.
> So if you are coming up to British Columbia in their Centennial Year, the Centennial dollar will be there to exercise your curiosity or challenge your imagination.[79]

In retrospect, the allegations of the death totem seem to have been unfounded, as Wilson Duff, Provincial Anthropologist at the Provincial Museum, pointed out in the local press. He refuted the claim that the pole was taken from a Tsimpsian mortuary pole

[79] "Funeral Totem or authentic Haida Pole? Controversy focuses attention on the Centennial Dollar," *Powell River Digester*, Powell River Company, 34, no. 1, (January - February 1958): 4. In BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

by stating that the Tsimpsian did not have mortuary poles.[80] He stated that the coin was based on a Haida interior house post which stood in the main entrance hall to the Provincial Museum.[81] The pole had been collected in 1892.[82] The *Victoria Daily Times* included a passage from the Museum's 1909 guide to its anthropological collections to explain the significance of the Museum's pole:

> The pole formerly stood at the back of 'the house so large that people must shout to make themselves heard in it.' This belonged to Chief Neestakena, of the 'Great House' division of the Eagles of Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, and shows two of his crests.
>
> The upper figure is the raven with its beak broken and bent down, as told in one of the stories of its adventures, and below is a whale.[83]

Duff supported his claim by demonstrating how the coin's design closely resembled the top portion of a sketch on page 209 of the book *Primitive Art* by Franz

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[80] "Centennial Coin Totem Defended," *The Victoria Daily Times*, Saturday, January 4, 1958, 15.

[81] *Ibid.*, 15.

[82] "Ravenous, Yes But Obscene, No," *Daily Colonist*, Friday, January 10, 1958, 1.

[83] "Centennial Coin Totem Defended," *The Victoria Daily Times*, Saturday, January 4, 1958, 15. The text was taken from *Guide to Anthropological Collection in the Provincial Museum*, (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1909) Plate IV, text on p. 3. The totem pole is presently on exhibit in the Glass House on the exterior of the Museum, RBCM catalogue # 2. The label reads as follows: "Skidegate, Haida Gwaii / Housepost / 2. This housepost comes from the Haida village of Skidegate where it stood at the back of a dwelling belonging to Chief Nestaqana of the Big House People lineage of the Eagle division of the Haida. The name of the house, which refers to its great size, can be translated as House In Which People Must Shout to be Heard. There are several possible interpretations of the images on this post. One is that the top figure is Raven with a broken beak and the other figures illustrate the story of Nanasimgit. Nanasimgit's wife, who can be identified by the labret in her lower lip, was abducted by a Killer Whale. Nanasimgit journeyed to the Killer Whale's undersea house and rescued her. The main image on the pole represents the Killer Whale. The post was acquired by the Museum in 1892."

Boas[84] *[Figure 3]*. Judging from the similarity of the design to a photograph of a Haida pole from Massett in Marius Barbeau's book *Totem Poles*, the artist may alternatively have copied from there *[Figure 4]*. On January 10, the *Daily Colonist* ran an article on the coin which recounted the suspicions of First Nations, but which also included a detailed explanation of a Raven story, serving to provide a context for the chosen image.

Centennial Chairman L.J. Wallace countered the controversy by commenting in the *Victoria Daily Times* that the proposed design had been publicized widely the previous year, without any objections. He added: "In any event, whether its a mortuary design or not, I don't think it will sound the death knell for the centenary."[85] One of the local papers characterized the issue as whether the chosen totem design "is symbolic of a festival — the province's aim — or an ancient Indian way of signifying death — which West Coast Indians claim."[86] While the issue was presented in the media as a disagreement over whether the coin was a symbol of bad luck, the more significant issue of appropriating a meaningful cultural symbol by a government-sponsored initiative remained unaddressed by either side. The controversy revealed the complex layers of meaning conveyed by the use of such a culturally distinctive image for an unrelated, non-native commemorative purpose, and exemplified the essential need for consultation and collaboration as a starting point towards the shared use of First Nations cultural symbols.

It must be pointed out that the Centennial Committee carried out the project in a manner reflective of the times. The project's ensuing controversy, however, raises some issues for consideration. Had the British Columbia Centennial Committee been more involved in the selection of a design, and had there been First Nations representation on the Centennial Committee, perhaps the potential for protest would have been caught before the coin went forward for production; or perhaps the Committee would have encouraged the submission of a contest design from a contemporary First Nations artist.

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[84] "Is this Filthy Money?", *Daily Colonist*, Thursday, January 9, 1958, 15.

[85] "Centennial Coin Totem Defended," *The Victoria Daily Times*, Saturday, January 4, 1958, 15.

[86] "Is this Filthy Money?", *Daily Colonist*, Thursday, January 9, 1958, 15.

Even if they had still used an appropriated First Nations image created by a non-native artist, perhaps First Nations participation on the Committee would have minimized the likelihood that an image would have been used that was considered inappropriate or unsuitable by the First Nations of the province. The delicate nature of this controversy seems to have been lost on the authors of the more recently published text, *Striking Impressions*.[87] The book illustrates its description of the coin with a 1910 photograph of Kwakwaka'wakw totem poles at Alert Bay. It characterizes the stir caused by the design with disregard for the important role that the First Nations people of British Columbia played in the development of the province:

> On the one hand, it made no direct reference to the Gold Rush, while on the other, it drew attention to native peoples who had nothing to do with the establishment of British Columbia as a Crown Colony. In fact, the West Coast Indians rejected the coin since in their mythology the raven at the top represented death.[88]

The Centennial silver dollar's development provides a glimpse of the powerful nature of First Nations' cultural images and demonstrates the determination of First Nations representatives to control the use of their images. It reveals a struggle for authority between non-native anthropologists and archivists, and First Nations artists and leaders. Furthermore, this project raises issues of government-supported cultural appropriation. On one hand, it is significant that the Federal Mint approved the use of a First Nations image on such a nationally prominent object as the silver dollar. The British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee viewed this project positively, and it stated in its Annual Report: "The Federal Government also paid tribute to the native heritage of this Province by adopting a totem-pole motif on the silver dollar."[89] On the other hand, it must

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[87] *Striking Impressions: The Royal Canadian Mint and Canadian Coinage* (Canada: n.p., 1984, 1986). See also *The Charlton Standard Catalogue of Canadian Coins,* 52nd Edition (Toronto: W.K. Cross, 1998).

[88] *Striking Impressions*, 204-5.

[89] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1959 Annual Report,* Province of British Columbia, Queen's Printer, 1960, 6.

be noted that the federal government supported a non-native artist's appropriation of a culturally-significant Haida image without approval from the Haida Nation or consultation with any aboriginal association. Furthermore, by dissociating the image from any Native context, the Centennial Committee appropriated the image and exploited it for its own gain. Organizations such as the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society and the Totem-Land Society, both described in Chapter II, had been lobbying to stop the use of aboriginal imagery by non-natives for personal or corporate gain and to encourage the production of materials by Native artists. Indeed, with talented First Nations artists such as Bill Reid openly offering their services to the Centennial Committee, would there have been an opportunity available to highlight the work of a Native artist for this project? The Centennial coin project appears in retrospect to have supported the use of Native culture as an icon of British Columbia, but not to have supported the cultures themselves. Nor did the project support the livelihood of a living Native artist, but rather focused on an historical nineteenth-century artifact by an unnamed artist.

In this example of cultural appropriation, the federal government — through its contest jury and the Canadian Mint — and the provincial organizers held strict control over the use of Northwest Coast Native cultural imagery. The First Nations of the province had no input into the selection or production process, and, despite their protests, they had no means to stop the coin's circulation and had to rely on the press to disseminate their disapproval. The British Columbia Centennial Committee and the Canadian Mint gained the most benefit from the project. Their approval of this appropriated image led to the production of a silver dollar which became popular for its unique "collectible" design and for its value as a keepsake of "Indian culture", the Centennial, and the controversy it sparked. Organizers profitted from its sale and capitalized on its media attention.

Poster Contest

In late 1956, the Tourist Promotion and Hospitality Subcommittee sponsored a Centennial poster competition for British Columbian artists. According to the Subcommittee's criteria, winning posters were to either attract tourists to British

Columbia for the Centennial, or to entice British Columbia's residents to stay in the province for their holidays that year.

Two of the four winning posters included non-native artists' renditions of totem poles *[Figure 5]*. A poster by Dick Van der Hoogen included naturalistic images of the British flag, British Columbia's official dogwood flower, and a totem pole.[90] The winning poster by Arthur Hopping of Vancouver depicted a bird's eye view from the top of an imaginary "tallest" totem pole, an image that strongly suggested another Centennial project to be discussed in Chapter II *[Figure 28]*. The top of the pole in this popular poster had the year "1958" carved into it, and the base of the pole stood on a drawing of British Columbia. Fred Amess, Principal of the Vancouver School of Art, and one of the judges of the contest, described this well-received poster in a press release as a "top-flight piece of work."[91] The judges were impressed by the extreme angle of the totem pole motif, and saw it as a very dramatic and effective symbol.[92] Furthermore, they felt the image evoked land, air, and sea travel, which likely pleased the Tourist Promotions Subcommittee. Amess went on to articulate the symbolic nature of the totem pole image: "It may very well be that it will attract great numbers of people from other countries to British Columbia in 1958. By projecting the totem pole in such a unique manner he [the artist] has given the impression of British Columbia's 100 years of growth."[93]

The poster went through a few changes from its original proposed version to its final product. The original totem pole image had a very stylized, cartoon-like quality, and appeared to be brightly coloured *[Figure 5]*. The second, as well as the third and final

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[90] Dick Van der Hoogen is mentioned in the Final Report of the Centennial Committee as Mr. D.A. G. Vanderhoogen. There is no mention of where he is from. *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 157.

[91] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Larry McCance from Fred Amess on behalf of the contest judges, Peter Downes, John Korner & Fred Amess, December 14, 1956, GR1448 Box 19: Poster Contest General File G/P 6.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] *Ibid.*

design, were more subdued and naturalistic, with less of the pole having a painted surface *[Figure 6]*. The final version of the totem pole copied more of a Haida style than a Kwakwaka'wakw one, although it was still lacking as an accurate depiction of an authentic totem pole *[Figure 7]*. The other major change to the poster was the expansion of the map on which the totem pole stood. It grew from a depiction of British Columbia, to a map of Canada with British Columbia highlighted, and finally to a map of the North American continent, with Canada outlined and British Columbia highlighted. Although no evidence has been found to explain why these changes took place, it can be assumed that the larger map would help potential visitors from around North America and abroad situate the province, and thus sell the Centennial to a broader audience. As well, the changes in the totem pole may have fulfilled an administrative desire for a greater sense of perceived authenticity and three-dimensionality.

The posters served as a major marketing tool for the Centennial. Over 33,000 copies were produced and distributed world-wide, primarily of the winning totem pole image, although the dogwood and flag posters made up some of this number.[94] Posters were distributed and even requested for local and international purposes. One example of a local use came from a group from Ladysmith, British Columbia, who used the posters for their Centennial "Totemland" festivals.[95] They cut up the posters for decorations, and dressed up their children as "Indian maidens" using potato sacks, and had them recite the 'Song of Totemland', a production sponsored by the Centennial Committee.[96] The

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[94] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Report of the Centennial Tourist Promotion Subcommittee," November 6, 1958, Tourism Promotion & Hospitality Subcommittee Records, GR1448-9 C/T/1.

[95] "Totemland" was a phrase used in tourism and other contexts to describe Vancouver, and more generally, British Columbia. The Centennial used the term often as well, as in this example. Further discussion of this term follows later in Chapter II.

[96] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR1448-10, Poster Distribution - International File P/P 9.

Vancouver Airport ordered many posters, and overprinted them with "Fly Canadian Pacific", for distribution in their offices in Europe, Australia, Asia, and South America.[97]

The Centennial posters set the tone for what audiences should expect from the 1958 celebrations. Their mass-produced format and early release provided the public with symbolic icons for British Columbia and the upcoming Centennial. This non-native artist's rendition of an inauthentic and imagined totem pole became a primary symbol for British Columbia. As commercial advertising of everything from cardigans to cars similarly appropriated Native imagery, particularly during the Centennial year, the totem pole poster would surely have appealed to the general non-native public's advertising taste *[Figures 8-10]*.

General Centennial Promotions

In the overall promotional strategy for the British Columbia Centennial celebrations, images of British Columbia's First Nations and their cultural productions appear to have played only a limited role. The promotional folders put together by the Centennial Committee included booklets published by the British Columbia Government Travel Bureau entitled "Alluring British Columbia: celebrating the first 100 years".[98] Inside, British Columbia is described by slogans such as "Land of Romance" and "From Wilderness to Wonderland". In its brief four-page history of the province, references to First Nations are limited to a mention of Captain James Cook trading otter pelts with the Indians, and the "weird designs which unknown Indians etched in the stone at nearby Petroglyph Park [Nanaimo]." While the few Native advertising images appear to sell an *idea* of British Columbia as exotic and untouched, the more common images of recreation and nature seem to be the primary lure to bring in tourists. The images of sport and outdoor activities are lively and engaging; tourists could easily imagine themselves

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[97] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Advertising Manager of Vancouver Airport to Larry McCance, June 15, 1957, GR1448-10, Poster Distribution - International file P/P 9.

[98] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR1448-10 Advertising & Promotions.

taking part in such endeavours. Another example of the promotional strategy comes from the television and radio spots produced for the Centennial. In his one-minute segments designed to attract Americans to British Columbia for the Centennial, American music and film-star Bing Crosby described the province as "my idea of the perfect vacation spot".[99] He focused on bountiful fishing, skiing, and the great outdoors, and added that when you cross the border "you're not just in another country, you're in another world."[100] Crosby's omission of any mention of aboriginal culture was not from lack of awareness on his part. He had in fact been involved in a conflict with British Columbia First Nations in 1950, when he and Bob Hope, together with the Vancouver Optimists, planned to create two faux totem-poles in support of the Optimists' East End Youth Centre. The proposal created such a stir amongst several First Nations communities that Chief Harold Sinclair of Kitwanga contacted the *Native Voice* to advise Bob Hope and Bing Crosby that if they wanted to make an honest living they could "earn it out of their own shirts and not insult or cheapen the property of our people.... Totem poles are the sacred memorial historic property of our forefathers."[101]

The advertisements produced for the 1958 Centennial by the contracted firm Cockfield-Brown & Co., Ltd., illustrated the many different experiences visitors could anticipate in the various regions of British Columbia *[Figure 11]*. These images reflected the Centennial advertising theme for tourists, "to build an atmosphere of intensive

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[99] *Ibid.* Photographs and scripts from Crosby's segments located in GR1448-10 Advertising & Promotions.

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] "Natives Tell Hope, Crosby 'Use Your Own Shirts, Not Totems, for Living'," *The Native Voice* 4, no. 1 (January 1950): 2. Centennial Secretary Willard Ireland, who also served as Corresponding Secretary for the Indian Arts and Welfare Society at the time, wrote a letter to the Optimists regarding their plan to use a totem pole "as a publicity stunt," and forwarded it as a Letter to the Editor to the *Native Voice*. It stated: "To our native Indians the totem pole represents a significant part of their culture and to reduce it to the ridiculous, such as your scheme would propose, appears to our Society as a most ungracious act." Letter to the Editor, *The Native Voice* 4, no. 2 (February 1950): 13.

celebration which would attract people of all ages at all times of the year and thus offer entertainment to prospective travellers".[102] This theme was layered on the standard tourist theme so that the province, as well as the Centennial, was being promoted at any time. The campaign used cartoons of a woman in a bathing suit, a man fishing, a steamship, trees, flowers, a moose, and a stylized totem pole to illustrate their message. Other images included a mountaineer, a cowboy riding a bucking bronco, a man playing a cello, and a fort. References to the Native population are rare, and, when used, they evoke notions of a population well past its prime, in a setting perfect for wilderness adventure and recreation. For example, visitors could expect the following from the Queen Charlotte Islands: "Here you'll find a wealth of totems and reminders of the once mighty Haida Indian Civilization, all in a setting of rugged grandeur." [103]

In contrast to the active images of sport and recreation, there is nothing active in the few images of totem poles. Many of the illustrations reflecting aboriginal art and culture, from Totem park at Prince Rupert, Victoria's Thunderbird Park, to the totems at Kispiox, do not make links to the living descendants of the individuals who produced the poles or petroglyphs, or who live on the land that was being marketed as wilderness.[104] No mention is made of the Native communities who were by then living on cramped reservations designed to make way for more recent settlers to move in and develop the province. "Man, the architect of civilization, has scored a giant 'X' across one of the continent's last great strongholds of Nature," one Centennial advertisement read, "the north central hinterland of British Columbia, designating it as 'next for development.'"[105]

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[102] *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 144.

[103] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR1448-10 Advertising & Promotions, Cockfield-Brown & Co. Ltd. File.

[104] One exeption comes from the same Cockfield-Brown & Co. Ltd. File. When describing the Peace River area, they mention the Totem Route and suggest visitors "visit an Indian Potlatch".

[105] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Centennial Year is Here!" folder, British Columbia Government Travel Bureau booklet, "Alluring

The text continued: "A fabulous country still belonging largely to the hunter, trapper, prospector and Indian in spite of the industry which is pulsing along the parallel rail and road, and the singing of the saw in adjacent wood-lands." These British Columbian Centennial images of First Nations cultural resources, like the poles they depict either in sketch or photograph, stand as reminders of an heroic and historic past, available now to the visitor merely as static and unthreatening photo opportunities.

The Centennial records include a photograph of a window display assembled by the *San Francisco Examiner* newspaper, made up of promotional materials provided by the British Columbia Centennial Publicity and Advertising Subcommittee *[Figure 12]*. This photograph provides an example of how the promotional materials for the Centennial were used by an outside city. The window display contains several key icons of the Centennial celebrations. The central piece is a *papier maché* doll of the Centennial's mascot, Century Sam. Century Sam was a bearded, elderly, cartoon gold miner figure that graced many of the promotional materials produced for the celebrations. Surrounding the Century Sam doll are a number of items, including a large "Beautiful British Columbia" poster, small Century Sam cards, one Van der Hoogen dogwood and totem pole Centennial poster, two Hopping Centennial totem pole posters, a Centennial flag, a stand-up cardboard Century Sam figure, several British Columbia Centennial postcards, including one of Thunderbird Park, and a series of small cardboard totem poles which appear to be derived from Haida-like designs. This amalgam of figures and images demonstrates the important role that First Nations imagery played in the selling of the Centennial across the border.

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, in February 1957, the Centennial Committee received a thoughtful letter from Haida artist Bill Reid, who had developed a reputation for his fine carving and jewelry-making. Reid made some fitting observations on the role of First Nations culture and art in the Centennial. He wrote:

> I suppose it is inevitable, and indeed it would be regrettable if this were not so, that a great deal of the decor for the centennial, the advertising, the souvenirs,

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British Columbia: celebrating the first 100 years," Highway 16 page, GR1448-10 Advertising & Promotions.

> should derive from the art of the natives of the west coast. I think you will agree that the material so used should be as authentic as possible, and that it be used with taste, to avoid offense to the descendants of the artists who originated it, so as not to dishonour the great carvers and designers of the past, and so as to present to visitors as true an impression as possible of this wonderful art form. For, and I'm afraid we are only just now beginning to appreciate this, our coast was only a hundred years ago, the home of one of the great art movements of the world. [106]

In this powerful letter, Reid generously offered the Centennial Committee his services without charge "in assuring a high standard of native designs used during the centennial." He pointed out that he was not a legal Indian, and that he did not consider himself Indian; his mother was Haida and his father non-native. He was simply "glad to serve without fee in any capacity where my advice could help assure that for once our Indian designs were properly used."[107] Despite this offer, Bill Reid was not involved in any of the projects or designs for the Centennial, although he produced some items used by the Centennial Committee as gifts for visiting VIPs.[108] Also, some of his jewelry was included in an arts and crafts caravan that was organized by the Creative and Cultural Activities Subcommittee to tour the province during the summer of 1958.[109]

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[106] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Bill Reid to Larry McCance, February 7, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[107] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Bill Reid to Larry McCance, Executive Secretary, British Columbia Centennial Committee, February 7, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians. Reid adds that his mother is of Haida birth, and that his "ties with these people have always been close ones." Reid's comments on his 'Indianness' may have been influenced by the fact that neither he nor his mother could have had Indian status until 1985, when Bill C-31's amendments to the Indian Act enabled First Nations women who had married non-Indians to regain Indian status for themselves and their children. See Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 331-2.

[108] L.J. Wallace, Telephone conversation with author, October 25, 1998.

[109] "Ladysmith - B.C. Centennial Arts & Crafts Caravan", *The Native Voice* 12, no. 6 (June 1958): 4. According to the Centennial Committee's final report, the caravan toured to over 75 communities and was visited by over 16,000 people. *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 104.

Bill Reid's concerns were echoed a year later, when Kwagiulth Chief William Scow wrote to Lyle Wicks, Minister of Labour, to express his concerns regarding the Centennial, and to make a few suggestions on how best to meet the needs of First Nations during the Centennial:

> This centennial year can mean a lot to the Native people and to the citizens. This is a great opportunity to portray to the public (what the Native people are The Aboriginal Natives of this great province of ours) [sic]. I don't mean just on a tail end of a parade with a few feathers where the Americans and foreign visitors to the Centennial Ceremony will point out and say interesting Indians. After all One Hundred years of association with white men and the former governments, what is its pictures?[110]

Chief Scow had a definite idea of how these messages could be displayed for the public. He offered the framework and carved posts of an authentic traditional Alert Bay big house for sale or lease to the Centennial Committee, for preservation and display in Victoria or Vancouver's Stanley Park.[111] Scow envisioned that the house would portray the following:

1st. A primitive House -- the way the Natives lived and were happy.
2nd. Meeting with Colonial Government or White Men.
3rd. The Impact it had on the Indians.
4th. The Progress made by a Few Natives.
5th. There are some areas where Indians have not seemed to recover some of their Historical Pride after the peaceful penetration.

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[110] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Honourable Lyle Wicks, Minister of Labour, from Mr. William D. Scow, January 12, 1958, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[111] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Memorandum, "Suggestion No. 3" from "Suggestions from Promotions and Displays Subcommittee," July 4, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2. This suggestion was reported by Guy Williams. While Scow's letter cited in the next footnote suggested Victoria as the site, Guy William's report suggested Vancouver. Scow's asking price was $4000.00.

> 6th. And the Great Achievement and Changes made by the present government, and where do we go from here the next One Hundred years? [112]

Wallace saw the potential value of Scow's project, both as an "an attractive Centennial event", and as a way of giving "...the Indians the feeling that they have a place in the development of our Province."[113] But, despite Wallace's words of support, there is no evidence that the house was purchased nor that the exhibit was realized.

Bill Reid and Chief Scow were not alone in their concerns. It is difficult, however, to assess what proportion of the population, Native and non-native, had similar apprehensions about the use of First Nations culture in the celebrations. One gentleman from Sidney, British Columbia, wrote a letter to the Centennial Committee in July 1957 to suggest a potential First Nations canoeing activity for the events. He observed:

> ...Such a project would be no idle one, but one that might well show returns beneficial to B.C.
> I often think that we 'Whites' often overlook the fact that those Indian heraldic symbols, devices, etc, we make so much use of for propaganda purposes, and our own gain, are Indian creations, and the works of the earliest inhabitants of B.C. - not ours.
> What about spending a little Centennial money in payment thereof? We are spending plenty on ourselves. What about allowing these earliest inhabitants to put over the propaganda, which is theirs, for a change? Let us give them a break.[114]

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[112] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Honourable Lyle Wicks, Minister of Labour, from Mr. William D. Scow, January 12, 1958, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[113] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Honourable Lyle Wicks, Minister of Labour, from Wallace, February 10, 1958, GR1448-7 General File - Indians. Wallace was replying to a letter he received from Wicks on January 24, 1958, asking for his assistance with Chief Scow's request.

[114] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to the Chairman, British Columbia Centennial Committee from G.D. Sprot, Sidney, B.C., July 7, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

While the Centennial Committee did not choose the silver dollar or poster designs themselves, it sanctioned the final selections made by the juries, and thus legitimated their choices. As a result, it contributed to the appropriation of selected Native cultural images for the Centennial's promotions and benefitted from the results. It also incorporated the images and souvenirs produced by the advertising campaign in its overall promotions for the Centennial. Benefits gained by the Centennial Committee can be measured by increased profile for the celebrations, leading to an increased number of visitors and revenues from souvenir sales and tourism. The First Nations of the province gained little from these examples which used images of their cultural identity. Some Native citizens may have felt a level of increased pride in their culture from seeing a totem pole on a Centennial poster or coin. Some communities may have experienced a slight increase in visitors to their reserves. Native artists may have sold more arts and crafts during the year as a result of the promotions, though most of the "Native" art and souvenirs available in the province were created by non-native souvenir companies, particularly of the calibre produced as souvenirs. The Committee's acceptance of inauthentic, non-native renditions of Native-inspired designs did not support First Nations traditional artistic practice; nor did it respect the notion of authenticity nor adequately recognize the significance of these cultural images to their originators. One offshoot of this appropriation which may have had a limited benefit for First Nations peoples was the controversy surrounding the silver dollar. It revealed to the public the notion that First Nations images and objects could be misinterpreted and used inappropriately by non-native groups with negative consequences, despite the fact that there was no clear winner in the dispute.[115] It also forced the appropriators — the artist and organizers — at least partially to account for their actions to the Native population which claimed ownership to the cultural content. In the end, the controversy did little to

[115] The primary reason why the totem pole poster design did not generate such a controversy was that the image did not replicate a "real" cultural artifact. Thus no individual or Nation came forward at the time to protest the misuse of their cultural heritage; it was likely perceived as just another example of the generalized borrowing of Indian-style imagery.

rectify the appropriation nor to improve relations between the organizers and the disgruntled First Nations individuals who had raised their concerns.

Advertising by its very nature depends on stereotypes to reach its markets through simple and easily understood messages.[116] Its use of First Nations totem pole images provides a clear reference to the region. In these examples of Centennial advertising and promotions, there is some evidence of awareness of First Nations culture on the part of the organizers. There is also evidence that a few Native and non-native individuals were aware of issues of cultural representation and appropriation. In these examples, however, this awareness did not translate into proactive approaches taken by the Committee to integrate Native culture into its promotions. With the input of outside juries and advertising agencies, the Centennial Committee controlled the integration of elements of Native culture into the Centennial marketing campaign as it saw fit. It does not appear that it consulted First Nations to any significant degree; instead, comments recorded in the British Columbia Indian Advisory's 1959 Annual Report suggest that the Committee may not have foreseen potential problems, and believed that its appropriation of cultural imagery benefitted these cultures by paying tribute to Native heritage. Greater attention to authenticity, and particularly to First Nations traditional practice and protocol, were essential to the success of the Centennial's most significant project — the making of a totem pole for the Queen.

[116] Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 175.

Chapter II

In Search of a Suitable Project: The Royal Totem Pole

In the search for an appropriate public-relations project, the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee developed an innovative idea which originated from the Vancouver Centennial Committee.[1] The project was first described in the Centennial record in the minutes of the first meeting of the Subcommittee:

> Mr. Howarth was of the opinion that the Indians might carve a 100 foot totem pole - one foot for every year of British Columbia - which would be sent to London, the smaller ones, of 10 foot size, similar in every detail, be sent to each Commonwealth capital. Miniature ones might be carved also, for souvenir sale.[2]

Tom Howarth's proposal recommended that a 100-foot totem pole be created in British Columbia and shipped to London, England as a gift to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II. The idea was well-received by the Subcommittee, whose members were extremely committed to having First Nations components in their celebrations. In fact, it had previously determined that "every pageant, should have at least one Indian scene in its content."[3] The Subcommittee agreed that members Harry Duker (described by Barry

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[1] Wilson Duff, "Mungo Martin, Carver of the Century," *The World is as Sharp as a Knife* (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum in Association with the Donors Fund, Friends of the Museum, 1981), 37. Reprinted from *Museum News* 1, no. 1 (May 1959).

[2] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Promotions and Displays Subcommittee, Minutes of Meeting 1, April 5, 1956. GR1448-4 1958 – Centennial Subcommittee Minutes.

[3] *Ibid.* The minutes add that "Mr. Howarth reported that the Native Brotherhood of B.C. would be holding its general meeting, held once every 2 years, at Cape Mudge within the next few weeks. Sir Michael Bruce [a Subcommittee member], who is being sent by the Vancouver Herald to 'cover' the event, was authorized to discuss with the Indians there, the role they would like to play in the celebrations." No report on the outcomes of Bruce's attendance at the general meeting was located.

Mather as a "veteran promoter of B.C. publicity and projects"[4]), and Tom Howarth (described by Mather as an "organizer of good-cause enterprises"[5]), be named a "Totem Pole" Committee to explore the idea further.[6]

Mather's pairing of these two Subcommittee members was logical, as both men had been involved in Vancouver-based initiatives supporting First Nations culture. In 1953, Tom Howarth was instrumental in organizing Chief William Scow's trip to England for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II as the British Columbia First Nations representative. The *Native Voice* described Howarth's connection to the Native community as follows: "Few white men have been so honored by the Native Brotherhood as has Tom Howarth."[7] Harry Duker served as Honorary Secretary-Treasurer for a Vancouver organization created in 1950 called the Totem-Land Society, established "to protect Indian art and to promote goodwill among all Canadians."[8] Duker was a retired businessman active in numerous societies and committees. In his 1982 book *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel and Mungo Martin*, Phil Nuytten (a member of the Totem-Land Society himself) described Duker as a "colourful character, a self-appointed, one-man publicity agent for the City of Vancouver."[9] The Society encouraged the preservation of

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[4] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Promotions, Displays, & Pageants Committee, "A list of proposed committee members and an outline of committee work," March 15, 1956, the Promotion and Displays Subcommittee Records, GR1448-9 C/P/2.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Promotions and Diplays Subcommittee, Minutes of Meeting 1, April 5, 1956, GR1448-4 1958 – Centennial Subcommittee Minutes.

[7] "A Tribute to Two True Friends of the Natives," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 7 (July 1953): 2.

[8] "Totem Land An Organization to Protect Indian Art and to Promote Goodwill Among all Canadians: Message From Mayor Chas. E. Thomson President of Totem Land Society," *The Native Voice* 4, no. 8 (August 1950): 9, 10.

[9] Phil Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin* (Vancouver: Panorama Publications Ltd., 1982), 47.

traditional Indian cultural production and the development of contemporary arts and crafts. A brief description of this Society and its objectives reveals an initiative to assist First Nations in British Columbia which preceded the Centennial celebrations, and offers contextual information for further discussion of the Queen's totem.

Vancouver had for years used the term "Totem-Land" to promote the city,[10] and the creation of the Totem-Land Society formalized this reference. According to Duker, the idea for the Society came from an official visit to Australia by Mayor Charles Thompson in 1950. A talking stick carved and painted by Ellen Neel and the small souvenir totem poles he took with him as goodwill gifts generated a great deal of interest among the Australians. The trip's success led Thompson to believe that there was great potential for the "Totem-Land" concept in promoting Vancouver to tourists. He got a group of Vancouver acquaintances together to discuss the idea and the Society was formed, with Mayor Thompson serving as founder and president.[11] In an article for *The Native Voice,* Thompson published the Totem-Land Society's official statement of goals:

> Its objects are to collect in writing and disseminate the legendary history, customs and philosophy of our native Indians; also to encourage and preserve their ancient weaving, painting and sculptural arts; to promote the use of a Thunderbird Totem and the slogan "Totem-Land" as the symbol of the color and romantic interest of the British Columbia Indian together with their singular totemology and unique wood carving art; to advise, encourage and support the British Columbia Indians in overcoming obstacles that may stand in the way of their attainment to the enjoyment of full citizenship.[12]

The Society believed that aboriginal culture and its artistic and philosophical achievements provided "a most interesting and valuable approach to publicity in this

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[10] *Ibid.*, 47.

[11] *Ibid.*, 48.

[12] "Totem Land An Organization to Protect Indian Art and to Promote Goodwill Among all Canadians: Message From Mayor Chas. E. Thomson President of Totem Land Society," *The Native Voice* 4, no. 8 (August 1950): 9, 10.

province."[13] It saw part of their role as "adequately publicizing British Columbia against the background of our romantic Indian history and splendid pre-white-man Indian civilization."[14] Despite Society members' somewhat patronizing attitude towards First Nations, and their exploitation of First Nations culture for the benefit of the province, they articulated a strong commitment to the welfare of aboriginal citizens:

> [Totem-Land Society has] a greater work to accomplish standing shoulder to shoulder with my Indian brothers in overcoming the obstacles that stand in their way of attainment to the responsibility and enjoyment of full Canadian citizenship with all its prideful [sic] rights and privileges.[15]

Their commitment was recounted in the same issue of *The Native Voice* in a letter written by Maisie Armytage-Moore, the newspaper's non-native publisher, who agreed to publish news from the Totem-Land Society. Her statement read:

> The directors of Totem-Land have given us their assurance that at all times they will keep uppermost in their program the welfare of the Indians in their fight for full citizenship and give full respect to their traditions.
>
> That Totem-Land will aid in developing and preserving genuine Indian handicraft, to discourage the manufacture and sale of imitations.
>
> That Totem-Land will strive to educate the general public in recognizing the value of genuine Indian Art and to acquaint them with the colorful ancient Indian lore.
>
> We are assured that the object of Totem-Land is to promote a better understanding among the people of Canada—to make the Bill of Human Rights a reality—for one United Canada.[16]

Original membership in the Society consisted in part of friends and acquaintances of Mayor Thompson, whom he had invited to join. The impressive list of members from 1950 included the Honorable Byron Johnson, Premier of British Columbia, the Honorable

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[13] *Ibid.*, 10.

[14] *Ibid.*, 10.

[15] *Ibid.*, 10.

[16] Maisie Armytage-Moore, "Assurances Given to Native Voice Publisher," *The Native Voice* 4, no. 8 (August 1950): 12.

G.S. Wismer, Attorney-General, the Honorable L. H. Eyres, Minister of Trade and Industry, as well as Dr. George Worthington, Past President of the Evergreen Playground Association, and George Warren, Commissioner of the Vancouver Island and Victoria Tourist and Publicity Bureau. Membership also included representatives from the Pacific National Exhibition, the Automobile Association of British Columbia, the Board of Trade, Downtown Merchants Association in Vancouver, the B.C. Telephone Company, Vancouver City Council, and the Tourist Association. Of the original 1950 membership, it appears that Chief William Scow, then President of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, was one of only two original aboriginal members of the Society, serving as one of five honorary vice-presidents. Kwakwaka'wakw artist Ellen Neel served on the Executive Committee. Letters of invitation were later sent out to many First Nations leaders, offering them honorary membership in the Society.

The Society developed letterhead with a logo that read: "British Columbia 'TOTEM-LAND' A Great Place to Live... to Work... to Play", and a photogravure of the official 'Totem-Land' totem pole, created by Ellen Neel, who had been commissioned by the Society to develop their symbol.[17] Her design consisted of a Thunderbird perched on a globe, on which the geographic features of British Columbia figured prominently. The globe balanced on a kneeling figure of the first man of the world[18] *[Figure 13]*. Phil Nuytten gave his own personal analysis of the Totem-Land pole design in his 1982 text:

> This pole bridged the gap between traditional totem forms and a free expression of artistic creation. It depicted the thunderbird giving the world to the first man. It's a beautiful pole but I've often wondered if Ellen had her tongue in her cheek as she solemnly described how *Kwankwanxwalige,* the great thunderbird, gave the land mass of British Columbia to *Bagwanam*, the first man.[19]

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[17] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 47.

[18] "Totem-Land" business card and letterhead. The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records. GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[19] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 58.

Neel worked with a silkscreener to design a line of textiles using the image, including teeshirts, placemats, ties, and scarves.[20] Duker was very pleased with the design as a symbol for the Society. He wore a Totem-Land silk tie regularly, and gave them away to prominent visitors. He used the Totem-land Society letterhead whenever he wrote to L.J. Wallace regarding the Centennial, and its presence in the archival record suggests the influential role the Totem-land Society ideas had on the Vancouver Centennial Committee, the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee, and indirectly on the main Centennial Committee.

By its second meeting in June 1956, the Centennial Promotions and Displays Subcommittee's membership was expanded to include Guy Williams, who was mentioned on their membership list as affiliated with the Native Brotherhood. Indeed, Williams was an active and long-standing member of Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. His relationship with the Native Brotherhood included a term as its Business Agent in the early 1950's, a term as Public Relations Officer for the Native Brotherhood and *The Native Voice*, which began in 1957,[21] and a term as president of the Native Brotherhood, which began in 1960.[22] Perhaps he was brought on to the Subcommittee at this late date in response to the Queen's Totem Pole initiative.

The Totem Pole Committee reported at the June Subcommittee meeting, and proposed the creation of forty-two replica Centennial totem poles for gifts to the various Commonwealth countries. Crafted from wood donated from the Powell River Company, these poles would be eighteen feet long by twenty inches diameter, at the top and

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[20] *Ibid.*, 48.

[21] "Guy Williams Named Public Relations Officer," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 1 (January 1958): 3.

[22] Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989*, 119.

bottom.[23] Tom Howarth went on to describe the Totem Pole Committee's plans for the overall design of the Royal Totem Pole:

> The pole would have 9 figures, 3 from the Tsimpsian [sic], 3 from the Haidas, and 3 from the Kwakiutls, with the top figurehead being the Thunderbird. The pole would be in 4 or 5 colours, with the paint being donated.[24]

The Thunderbird was a very popular and recognized Native figure in non-native society, and many felt it to be a fitting icon for the Indians of British Columbia as well as for British Columbia itself. The proposed hybrid design, representing the three best known carving styles of the First Nations of British Columbia, was an idea with little foundation in traditional practice. It revealed the Subcommittee's desire to create a promotional spectacle and its lack of understanding of traditional aboriginal cultural practice. Howarth went on to recommend that ten of the replica poles be kept to give to each province and to Ottawa, as gifts from the people of British Columbia. He proposed the sale of "tens of thousands of replicas and hundreds of thousands of coloured photos" to fund the project.[25] Howarth also reported that Attorney General Robert Bonner thought the Queen's totem pole project would be "excellent publicity" and that he would "like to see it at Trafalgar Square or St. James Park".[26]

The Promotions and Displays Subcommittee outlined their suggestions for the totem pole in a memorandum submitted to the Centennial Committee for their consideration. It provided an estimated height, diameter, and weight for the pole, as well as an estimated cost of $4600.00, which had been provided by Kwakwaka'wakw carver

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[23] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Promotions and Diplays Subcommittee, Minutes of Meeting 2: June 22, 1956, GR1448-4 1958 – Centennial Subcommittee Minutes.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] *Ibid.*

Henry Hunt.[27] The Subcommittee had secured the donation of a suitable tree from the Powell River Company, and a paint supply from a Vancouver paint company. They suggested that the project be housed at either the University of British Columbia, the carving shed at Thunderbird Park in Victoria, or a combination of both. The memorandum went on to raise some of the issues they felt needed consideration:

> Several problems arise, such as who is to carve the pole, or whether it should be done by a representative group. Whether they should reproduce an old totem, design a new one, or do a replica of the recently erected tallest totem in Victoria. It has also been suggested that the totem might be carved in Victoria and painted in Vancouver.[28]

The tallest totem referred to in the memorandum is the pole by Kwakwaka'wakw artist Mungo Martin, which stands in Beacon Hill Park in Victoria. By the time this memorandum was presented to the Centennial Committee, a second First Nations representative had been brought on to the Subcommittee. Simon Baker of the Squamish First Nation was referred to on the Subcommittee membership list simply as "Indian authority".[29] Judging from the attendance listings from the Subcommittee minutes, he did not attend any meetings. The Subcommittee continued to struggle with recommendations on who they wanted to carve the pole, and on how much control they should have over the design.

The Board of Directors of the British Columbia Centennial Committee approved the proposal for the Queen's totem with the recommendation that the planning and

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[27] Henry Hunt quoted a price of $4600.00 to do the totem on an hourly basis. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Memorandum, "Suggestions from Promotions and Displays Subcommittee," July 4, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[28] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, memorandum, "Suggestions from Promotions and Displays Subcommittee," July 4, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[29] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "British Columbia Centennial Committee Personnel of Subcommittees," July 4, 1956, the Promotion and Displays Subcommittee Records, GR1448-9 C/P/2.

production of the pole be shifted from the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee to the management of the Honorable R.G. Williston, Minister of Education, and his department, which they felt was set up to handle this kind of project. Williston was supportive of the project, as confirmed by Wallace's later description of Williston as a man taking "great interest ... in the cultural activities of our Indian Peoples."[30] Responsibility for organizing the transportation of the log was left with the Promotions Subcommittee.[31] The Board of Directors also requested that, in particular, Dr. Clifford Carl, Director of the Provincial Museum, and Mr. Wilson Duff, Provincial Anthropologist, oversee the planning and supervision of the carving of the totem pole.[32] Wilson Duff had been with the Museum since 1950, and had a reputation for being well-respected by both the anthropological profession and by many of the Native peoples he worked with and studied. Duff was known for his support of the "Indian point of view" and his efforts to make his knowledge of Indian peoples serve their interests as well as those of the museums and universities that employed him.[33] The Committee's transfer of the initiative to the Department of Education and the Provincial Museum provided a level of informed management and anthropological legitimacy to the project.

With the project officially approved, the Provincial and Federal governments sought the necessary Royal approval. The Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia sent a letter to the Prime Minister of Canada requesting his investigation into whether Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth would be pleased to accept a 100-foot totem pole, which he

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[30] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Hon R.G. Williston, Minister of Lands and Forests from Wallace, April 2, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[31] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Mather, July 17, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[32] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Dr. Clifford Carl, Director of Provincial Museums, Department of Education, July 17, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[33] Michael Ames, "A Note on the Contributions of Wilson Duff to Northwest Coast Ethnology and Art," *The World is as Sharp as a Knife*, 17.

foresaw as "an outstanding specimen of the craftsmanship of a native Indian of British Columbia."[34]

With the project now in the hands of Wilson Duff and the Museum, decisions were made which addressed the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee's concerns over the design of the pole. The Promotions subcommittee's earlier idea of creating a pole consisting of the three cultural designs was not adopted due to its lack of authenticity.[35] Wilson Duff reflected on the process of deciding on a design and an artist:

> In planning this Royal Totem Pole one of the most difficult tasks was choosing the design, because in British Columbia we have several tribes who carved totem poles, but each tribe's art style was different from the others. We had to decide whether or not to mix up the tribal styles, and whether or not to copy one or more older poles. After careful consideration we decided that the pole should be carved in one single tribal style rather than a mixture of styles. We decided that it should be an original and authentic rather than a copy. And we decided that the carver best suited to design and carve the pole was Mungo Martin. [36]

Wilson Duff and the other organizers' decision to appoint Mungo Martin to the project was also based on Martin's availability, and according to Duff, on "the regrettable fact that no wood sculptors of his stature remain among the other tribes."[37] Mungo Martin

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[34] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia to the Prime Minister of Canada, October 18, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[35] Wilson Duff, contributions to *British Columbia Provincial Museum's 1957 Annual Report* (Victoria: n.p., n.d.), C23, located at the Royal British Columbia Museum [RBCM], Wilson Duff files, M-2 / Box 8 TOT-29.

[36] RBCM, Wilson Duff's speech for the Royal Totem Pole departure ceremony, June 1958, Wilson Duff files, M-2 / Box 8 TOT-21: Centennial Totem.

[37] RBCM, Wilson Duff, contributions to *British Columbia Provincial Museum's 1957 Annual Report*, C23, Wilson Duff files, M-2 / Box 8 TOT-29: Queen's Pole Sendoff. For more information on Mungo Martin, see B.C. Indian Arts Society, *Mungo Martin: Man of Two Cultures,* (Sidney: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1982); Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*; Peter Macnair, Alan Hoover, Kevin Neary, *The Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art* (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 1984).

was a well-known and experienced carver from Fort Rupert. He worked restoring old totem poles at the University of British Columbia from 1947 until 1952, when he moved to Victoria to oversee the Provincial Museum's replication program of the poles that stood outdoors in Thunderbird Park.[38] He had proven his reliability and talent with large-scale commissions in 1956 when he completed, with the assistance of David Martin and Henry Hunt, a totem pole for a *Victoria Daily Times* community project which generated great public interest and financial support. The 127-foot pole was the tallest totem to date, and was erected in Beacon Hill Park. While Mungo Martin was at the Provincial Museum, Wilson Duff and the artist had a comfortable working relationship, although Duff often had to secure additional project work to keep Martin and his assistants steadily employed at the Museum.[39] Thus Mungo Martin was a logical choice for carver of the Queen's totem pole, based both on his talent and experience, as well as on the immediate and practical benefits of hiring him for both carver and supervisor. Evidence of the pressure felt by Wilson Duff to keep the Thunderbird Park carvers employed with special promotional projects comes from Phil Nuytten in his book *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin.* He recounts a comment made by Duff in a letter he wrote to a colleague regarding the tallest totem pole project in Beacon Hill Park:

> The idea may seem slightly corny to some, but it sure appeals to our Kwakiutl friends, and it bailed me out of an uncomfortable spot. (Having to lay-off the carvers since the museum budget had been spent for that fiscal year ... P.N.)[40]

Thus, for all of the above mentioned reasons for hiring Mungo Martin, the Centennial Committee approved the design and production of its Centennial totem pole in the Southern Kwakwaka'wakw style. Following the Royal totem pole project's approval by the Centennial Committee, the Powell River Company agreed to find a suitable tree from its logging lands on the Queen Charlotte Islands, the traditional territory of the

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[38] Macnair, Hoover, Neary, *The Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art*, 185.

[39] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 102.

[40] *Ibid.*, 102.

Haida First Nation, known also today by its traditional name of Haida Gwaii. The Powell River Company offered a prize to the loggers who found the tallest and straightest old-growth cedar, which had to have over 100 feet of clear growth. Two competing camps each found a tree suitable for the Royal project and the prize money was divided. The logs were towed down by raft to Andy's Bay near Port Mellon, then shipped by Island Tug and Barge to Victoria, "... where Chief Martin was waiting to decide which log would make the best totem pole."[41] The cedar chosen by Mungo Martin was 110 feet long and had a diameter of seven feet at the base, and thirty inches at the top. It weighed approximately 30,000 pounds and it was predicted that, when carved, the Royal totem pole would weigh 27,000 pounds[42] *[Figure 14]*.

The project's promotional wheels continued to turn under the direction of Barry Mather and the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee. He wrote to L.J. Wallace on October 1, 1956 proposing the idea of creating a second, replica pole. Princess Margaret or another Queen's representative was expected to visit British Columbia during the 1958 Centennial, and Mather felt having the two poles dedicated "or whatever we care to call it"[43] simultaneously would provide a world-wide publicity opportunity at little cost. He added: "The dedications being done under these unique circumstances could be exploited tv and press'wise [sic] around the globe."[44]

Public promotion of the Queen's totem project began on December 1, 1956, with a news release from the British Columbia Centennial Committee. The document included

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[41] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, News Release from British Columbia Centennial Committee, n.d. [prior to March 23, 1957], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[42] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia to the Prime Minister of Canada, October 18, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[43] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mather to Wallace, October 1, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[44] *Ibid.*

the Centennial office's trademark statement provided to the Lieutenant-Governor for his earlier letter to the Prime Minister: "The totem pole, representing one foot for each year from the founding of the Mainland Colony of British Columbia in 1858, will be a specimen of the outstanding craftsmanship of the totem carving tribes of the West Coast."[45] Within the first month of 1957, plans were underway for the production of a colour motion picture of the carving of the Queen's totem pole. In a letter to Mr. Richard Colby of the Photographic Branch, B.C. Government Travel Bureau, Department of Trade & Industry, Centennial Committee Executive Secretary Larry McCance explained the Board of Director's conditions for approving the Royal Totem Pole documentary motion picture:

> The Board is prepared to set aside funds in the amount of one thousand and fifty dollars ($1050) for this project and they feel that the film should be confined to the Totem Pole itself, without any reference to other Indian art work, ceremonies, etc. In other words, the film should be a straight line story from a tall tree standing in the forest to the final erection of the Royal Totem Pole in the United Kingdom. [46]

It is difficult to decipher from the archival record the Board's rationale for its position on the motion picture's story. However, judging by the final motion picture produced by the Photographic Branch, the producers heeded the Board's request.

Meanwhile, ideas on the design of the totem pole continued to come forward. In early March, Barry Mather wrote to Wallace: "...Tom Howarth, who you may recall is high man on our totem pole, suggests that if possible, the B.C. Centennial Dollar totem pole design be that of our Royal Totem. This may be too late to effect, if you agree with

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[45] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Press Release, British Columbia Centennial Committee, December 1, 1956, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[46] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from McCance to Mr. R. Colby, Photographic Branch, B.C. Government Travel Bureau, Dept of Trade & Industry, February 26, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2. The film was approved at the 39th B.C. Centennial Committee Meeting, February 18, 1957.

it."[47] Once again, the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee was proposing that the design of the pole follow a promotions-based design, this time an appropriated Haida image rather than a design inspired by Martin's own traditions.[48] The decision, however, had already been made. Wallace replied to Mather: "With respect to the different design for the Totem Pole, this is out of the question as the design is authentically based on the past Indian history, and a great deal of thought has been put into it."[49] In hindsight, the Centennial Committee made a good decision in moving the project to the Department of Education. Management of the project by Wilson Duff and Clifford Carl likely gave Mungo Martin more freedom to create a pole based on his own traditions and decisions.

In keeping with its plans to build interest in the Centennial through carefully orchestrated promotions, the Centennial office organized a commencement ceremony for March 23, 1957, to celebrate the start of carving on the Royal Totem Pole. They distributed a press release. To set the stage and attract spectators, the press release announced that a number of representatives from First Nations in British Columbia would gather "to watch a white man make the first carving on the Royal Totem Pole."[50] It added: "Under the expert eye of Chief Mungo Martin, famed Kwakiutl totem carver, His Honour Lieutenant-Governor Frank M. Ross is to make the first cut in the giant cedar log which is to become Her Majesty's Royal Totem Pole."[51] Members of Cabinet, the

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[47] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mather to Wallace, March 2, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[48] Mungo Martin was experienced with replicating the traditional styles of other British Columbia First Nations, as was required by his work with the totem pole replication programs at the University of British Columbia and Thunderbird Park.

[49] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Mather, March 19, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[50] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, News Release from British Columbia Centennial Committee, n.d. [prior to March 23, 1957], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2. I found no explanation for why the Centennial Committee organized a "white man" to make the first cut.

[51] *Ibid.*

Legislature, the Centennial Committee, and invited guests were expected for the ceremony. The pole was again anticipated to be "a specimen of the outstanding craftsmanship of the totem carving tribes of the westcoast." The press release announced that the carving would be carried out in the Kwakiutl tradition by Chief Mungo Martin, with assistance from his son David Martin and son-in-law Henry Hunt, who were both experienced carvers. Ceremonial costumes and a speech by Mungo Martin were promised.

The press release explained the Centennial Committee's rationale for changing their focus for the design of the pole, and their conviction that the pole would still serve to symbolize all British Columbia First Nations:

> Although the Royal Totem will be carved in the Kwakiutl art style, it will represent all the carving tribes in B.C. Original plans to have each tribe have a carving represented on the pole was abandoned because of the strange interpretations that would result. It was felt an authentic example of one tribe would be most desirable.[52]

Descriptive language in the press release characterized Chief Martin's role in the totem project, and told the story of the pole:

> The entire project was left in the hands of Chief Mungo Martin, *the last of the great carvers of the Kwakiutl nation.* He will work with Wilson Duff, Provincial Curator and Anthropologist, who is supervising the project.
> Chief Martin will reveal to the world the legend of the Kwakiutl nation on the totem pole. It will carry the crest of each of the ten Kwakiutl Tribes, and each crest will represent the original ancestor of the tribe. In nearly all cases the ancestor *was believed* to be an animal which was changed by some supernatural event into a man. [*my emphasis*]

The press release described the search and transport of the chosen cedar logs as a "fairy tale beginning", and linked the great age of the tree by using a colonial comparison. It stated: " Forest researchers have found that the big tree was born during the reign of Edward II of England, 600 years ago." No parallel comparison to British Columbia aboriginal history or ancestry was made, despite the tree's 'indigenous roots'.

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[52] *Ibid.*

Each of the project's sponsors was appropriately identified in the press release, including A. Lierch, Vice-President of the Powell River Company; Heaney's Cartage & Storage Limited (including their motto, "big or teany just call Heaney"); Harold B. Elworthy, President of the Island Tug and Barge Company; and P.V. O. Evans, Manager of Furness Withy and Company, the international shipping firm responsible for transporting the pole to England. Attached to the press release was a comprehensive outline, prepared by Chief Martin and Wilson Duff for the Centennial Committee, of the figures and legends to be carved on the pole.[53]

According to the detailed description published in the British Columbia Provincial Museum's 1957 Annual Report, likely written by Wilson Duff, Chief Martin designed the totem pole to commemorate the more than twenty local tribes of the Southern Kwakiutl that resided on Northern Vancouver Island and the mainland.[54] The crests chosen for the pole were animal or human figures representing the ancestors of the lineages or family groups of the main Southern Kwakiutl tribes, or other significant figures from Kwakiutl tradition.[55] Of the many crests available, Martin limited the number of crests depicted on the pole to ten, apparently to avoid distorting the proportion of the figures. The ten were selected to provide a broad representation, as well as for their relative importance in Kwakiutl traditions and their appropriateness for the composition of the pole.[56] The chosen figures were then positioned on the pole by adapting them in an aesthetically suitable and well-proportioned arrangement, rather than according to their importance in Kwakiutl tradition.[57]

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[53] *Ibid.* The reference to the description reads: "The Centennial Committee has had outlined for it by Chief Martin and Wilson Duff, the figures which will be carved into the pole and their legends."

[54] RBCM, *British Columbia Provincial Museum* 1957 *Annual Report*, C23, Wilson Duff Files, M-2/Box 8 TOT-21 Centennial Totem.

[55] *Ibid.*, C-23.

[56] *Ibid.*, C-23.

[57] *Ibid.*, C-23.

On March 23, the pole was moved to the carving shed at Thunderbird Park for the morning ceremony *[Figure 15]*. Upon their arrival, the Lieutenant-Governor Frank M. Ross; Premier W.A.C. Bennett's official representative, the Honorable R.G. Williston (who had moved from Minister of Education to Minister of Lands and Forests); Mr. L.J. Wallace; and their spouses were presented with bouquets by Frances and Noreen Hunt, daughters of Helen Hunt, and great-granddaughters of Chief Mungo Martin. Against the backdrop of the Centennial crest and one of the Centennial totem pole posters affixed to the carving shed, the special guests were publicly welcomed by Wallace. Williston followed with a speech that explained the curatorial reasons for choosing the artist and a single style. In his speech, he provided a highly generalized explanation of the reasons for the creation of totem poles; he stated that they were carved to display the origin legends or other traditions of high-ranking families. He briefly described the design of the totem pole, and explained that the ten figures to be carved on the pole were chosen to represent the traditions of the Kwakiutl tribe, and more broadly, all of the Indians of British Columbia. He requested that the Lieutenant-Governor accept the totem on behalf of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II as a gift from the people of British Columbia.[58]

The Lieutenant-Governor accepted the gift, then moved to the totem pole platform where Chief Martin, Willard Ireland, the Provincial Archivist and member of the Board of the B.C. Centennial Committee, and Helen Hunt, Henry Hunt's wife and translator for Mungo Martin, were waiting. Wallace introduced Lieutenant-Governor Ross to Chief Martin, who passed Lieutenant-Governor Ross the adze with which he made the first carving on the pole *[Figure 16]*. The first chip was then presented to Ireland for marking and preservation in the Provincial Archives. Chief Martin and David Martin presented the Lieutenant-Governor with a button blanket and cedar bark headdress and named him an honorary chief of the Kwakiutl tribe, "as a mark of Chief Martin's esteem"[59] *[Figure 17]*.

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[58] RBCM, Williston's speech for the March 23, 1957 commencement ceremony, Wilson Duff Files, M-2/Box 8 TOT-21 Centennial Totem.

[59] *The Queen's Totem,* (Victoria: Photographic Branch, Department of Recreation and Conservation, Government of British Columbia for the 1958 British Columbia

Martin gave Ross the name *Giutalas*, the name of Martin's great grandmother's father, which meant "everybody is always going in the same direction", or "man of great hospitality."[60] After Ross returned to his seat, Chief Martin was brought to the microphone by Wallace. In *Kwak'wala*, Martin offered a greeting to Her Majesty the Queen, to be passed on by Lieutenant-Governor Ross. Helen Hunt translated Chief Martin's greeting into English since his English would have been less eloquent than his *Kwak'wala*. His use of his first language for his statement, however, served to root the project within its traditional cultural vocabulary. The speech went as follows:

> I send her my greetings. I send her the greetings of my whole family, my whole tribe, the Kwakiutl, and of all the Indian people. We are honoured that she would accept this totem pole. Totem poles are things that we make — nobody else in the world makes them. We are happy Her Majesty will accept this pole and put it up in one of her parts in England. It will show what we are proud of.
>
> Your Honour — I have made many totem poles. I have carved totem poles for over 50 years. But this will be a very special one. I have never made one for such a high personage before. I am honoured that I was chosen to carve this pole, and that the work of my hands will stand in London for many years to come.
>
> This is a real totem pole. I designed this pole to show the family stories of my tribe, the Kwakiutl. This is the way we show our history. This pole shows the crests of ten tribes.
>
> Thank you for the honour of speaking to you and sending this message to Her Majesty the Queen.[61]

Centennial, 1958?), film transferred to videocassette, BCARS, V1986 64/8. The costs of the blanket and headdress were covered by the Centennial Committee, according to a Centennial Committee memo, which stated: "I am sending enclosed Mungo Martin's bill to cover the costs of replacement of the Indian ceremonial costume which was presented to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on March 23 at the ceremony marking the start on the Royal totem pole." BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, memo from Duff to Wallace, March 26, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[60] "Ceremony Marks Start of Totem Pole For Queen," *The Native Voice* 11, no. 4 (April 1957): 7.

[61] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, English translation of Mungo Martin's Speech, Ceremony to Mark the Commemoration of Carving of the Royal Totem Pole, n.d. [March, 1957?], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2, mimeograph.

The commencement ceremony was a great promotional success. Douglas J. Horan, Publicity Director for the Centennial, wrote to Willard E. Ireland, commenting: "...I am sure that we have received very valuable publicity from it."[62] The ceremony was covered on several local, provincial, and Canadian radio stations, as well as on Victoria's television station and the television news on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (C.B.C.). The C.B.C. footage was sent to Toronto to be included on a C.B.C. news magazine show.[63] *The Native Voice* covered the totem carving ceremony in an article that provided the English transcript of Mungo Martin's entire speech.[64]

L.J. Wallace wrote to Mungo Martin a week after the ceremony to thank him for his contributions. Wallace wrote:

> May I, on behalf of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, express our sincere thanks for the major role you played at the Totem Pole Ceremony in your Park on March 23, 1957.
> His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, was greatly honoured by the name you conferred upon him and he has forwarded to Her Majesty the Queen your greetings which you gave at that time.
> Everyone in British Columbia is looking forward to hearing of your success in carving Her Majesty's Totem, and I am sure that it will be greeted with honour when it is received by Her Majesty in England during 1958.
> Will you kindly pass on to your son, Mr. David Martin, your grandson-in-law, Mr. Henry Hunt, and your granddaughter, Mrs. Helen Hunt, our thanks for their assistance.[65]

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[62] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Douglas Horan to W.E. Ireland, Provincial Librarian and Archivist, April 2, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] "Ceremony Marks Start of Totem Pole For Queen," *The Native Voice* 11, no. 4 (April 1957): 7.

[65] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Chief Mungo Martin, April 1, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

On one level, Mungo Martin and his family's contributions gave the ceremonies the 'exotic' element they required to interest the public and the media. On a more profound level, Mungo Martin's contributions provided the sense of dignity and authenticity necessary for the Centennial Committee to ensure an accurate presentation of the project and to make the endeavour a success. In a 1959 article for *Museum News,* Wilson Duff reflected on Chief Mungo Martin and his contributions to the profile and success of this and the other public engagements he was involved in:

> Mungo has a direct and simple dignity that is always fitting to the occasion, whether it may be meeting a visiting dignitary or giving a speech in his native language. ... It is also evident whenever Mungo, resplendent in his button blanket and headdress, stands up to make a speech. On such occasions Provincial Government dignitaries in the audience have been observed to squirm somewhat uneasily in their seats, Mungo happily chooses not to stumble through 'a few brief words' in English, but graces the occasion with a proper oration in Kwakiutl. As it always comes out in Helen Hunt's able translation, Mungo was not demanding the country back from the white invaders after all, but was only saying the proper things in the proper way.
>
> .... Mungo's realistic mind is not burdened with the bitterness which many old Indians hold for the white men who have taken their country and destroyed their way of life. He regrets that the arrival of the new civilization had such destructive effects on his people and their culture but he accepts the situation as it is. Furthermore, he has assigned himself the task of preserving all he knows of Kwakiutl culture. In my view, this objective appraisal of the situation and his conscious dedication to preserve the culture of his people are Mungo Martin's clearest claims to true greatness.
>
> Mungo Martin has a secure place in the history of British Columbia.[66]

Wilson Duff's words demonstrate how Mungo Martin stood as a most suitable candidate for the government's project, both as an artist and as a moderate-minded spokesperson for the Native population of the province. He served as a suitable candidate on behalf of First Nations based on his great artistic talent, knowledge, and practice of traditions, although as Duff suggests, he may not have been as vocal an advocate for

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[66] Wilson Duff, "Mungo Martin, Carver of the Century," *The World is as Sharp as a Knife,* 39-40.

aboriginal rights as some of the other First Nations citizens who were involved with public events and the media.

On March 24, the day after the totem pole dedication ceremony, Barry Mather, Chair of the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee and well-known British Columbia writer, gave a telecast in observance of the Centenary. Mather described his light-hearted presentation, *1858 And All That*, as "a history of British Columbia comprising all we remember from school and as far from the truth as the part we have forgotten. Any resemblance to people living or dead is not only coincidental but also most heartening."[67] Based on a famous spoof of British history, "1066 and All That", the speech deliberately parodied facts, prejudices and stereotypes. Throughout *1858 And All That*, Mather made derogatory comments about several British Columbian cultural groups. These comments provide a sample of a sense of humor associated with the Centennial celebrations:

> ... British Columbia was first discovered by the Chinese in 458... The Chinese were looking for a North-East passage and they discovered British Columbia quite by Occident.
> However, the Chinese left the place to the Indians... a great fun-loving people. The Indians lived in British Columbia very happily and quietly for years, fighting each other in their canoes which were called the tepees because they tepeed over so easily. And in the winter, they spent a great deal of time keeping the wigwam warm.

Another example which demonstrates the tenor of this Centennial address and its use of stereotypes read:

> Under the terms of the Nootka Convention the Spaniards were allowed to go home and give the country to the Indians and the Indians were allowed to stay here and give the country to the English. These terms gave rise to the phrase—INDIAN GIVER!

The majority of the contents of the speech, which was well-received by the general public, playfully poked fun at British Columbia and its myriad of cultural contributors. Reading the speech today, it is easy to interpret prejudiced messages in its

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[67] The British Columbia Centennial Committee. *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 7. The Report includes a transcript of the full speech, pp. 7-13.

content that would not be accepted by a contemporary audience. However, Mather's concluding remarks, though still written in this mocking tone, provide a very clear message about the history of British Columbia's relationship with its Indian population and the changing roles that government and society saw First Nations playing in the future development of the Province:

> Keep this in mind ... our history is divided into two parts ... Firstly, the early days when we got the Indians to help us keep the Americans out of here, and secondly, in these later days when we've got the Indians to help us bring the Americans in ... and I make these statements with every Reservation ... goodnight![68]

Mather identified the Province's intentions to use First Nations people and culture to attract American tourists and development to the Province. Furthermore, his use of 'reservation' as a dual *entendre* here either intentionally or unintentionally raised awareness of the everyday life of British Columbia's First Nations by stating the otherwise unstatable. Aboriginal communities were struggling for equal rights, and for resolution of unaddressed land claims and treaty issues with the provincial and federal governments. Still trapped within the unfair government-imposed Indian reservation system, without settlement of their treaty claims, British Columbia's First Nations were being used to attract tourists and development to their traditional land.

The speech was a sensation with the Board of Directors of the Centennial and its Chairman. Wallace wrote to Mather following the broadcast praising that he was "... to be congratulated upon an excellent fifteen minutes. I have suggested... that this [the broadcast] be repeated at a future date."[69] He requested permission from Mather to reproduce limited numbers of the script, and reported that a number of the Directors wanted copies.

Following the official totem pole commencement ceremony, the carving project began. Wilson Duff estimated that the pole would take six months to carve. It appears

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[68] *Ibid.*, 13.

[69] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Mather, April 1, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

from the archival record that the costs for carving were split between the Centennial Committee and the Department of Education through the Provincial Museum. The Museum's archival records state that four months of carving in 1957 were paid by the Provincial Museum, and the rest by the Centennial Committee.[70] Mungo Martin was paid between $2.20 and $2.70 per hour, and Henry Hunt (and likely David Martin) were paid between $2.00 and $2.30 per hour for their work.[71]

In a scene from the British Columbia Travel Bureau motion picture documenting the totem pole carving, the film maker presents the day-to-day dynamic in which Martin and his assistants worked. These scenes show the transformation of the massive cedar log into a magnificent totem pole. Based on these scenes, visitors to the carving shed must have been amazed by the artists' great skill. The film's narrator romantically describes: "Visitors, from all over the North American continent came in thousands, to see this work of native genius, and as they watched, the men's implements carved and cut, as their graceful lines became more apparent."[72] The film shows young First Nations women, likely Mungo Martin's relatives, giving informational handouts to tourists circulating in

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[70] RBCM, Wilson Duff Files, Box M-2/Box 7; File M-2, COR; TBP-5, Mungo Martin and Thunderbird Park Programme file. The Record states that the carvers were paid through the Museum's special fund, the "Perpetuation of Totem Poles".

[71] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Wilson Duff, handwritten note, n.d., GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2. This note listed Mungo Martin at $2.20 and David Martin and Henry Hunt at $2.00. In the RBCM Records, Wilson Duff files, Box M-2/Box 7; File M-2, COR; TBP-5 Mungo Martin and Thunderbird Park Programme file, Mungo Martin is listed at the rate of $2.70 per hour, and as 'full time' since 1952; Henry Hunt is listed at the rate of $2.30 per hour, and as 9 months in 1955, 7 1/2 months in 1956, and 10 months in 1957. The following figures provide a sense of the comparative salaries of other staff employed in the Anthropology Department of the Museum. The Royal British Columbia Public Accounts records document the annual salaries for 1957/58 as follows: Wilson Duff at $5640; J.E. Michael Kew, assistant in Anthropology at $4125; Betty C. Newton, museum technician at $2904; Mungo Martin at $1994.70, and Henry Hunt at $1682. The number of hours worked by each is not given. Data from Frederike Verspoor, Museum Librarian, e-mail correspondence with the author, October 16, 1998.

[72] *The Queen's Totem,* film transferred to videocassette, BCARS, V1986 64/8.

Thunderbird Park to see the carvers at work. David Martin is shown working behind the open railing of the carving shed, like a living history display, while tourists observe his work. While the interaction with interested spectators must have been stimulating for the carvers, it must also have been both a distraction and an impediment for them to complete the pole in a timely way. The Provincial Museum and the Centennial Committee, however, benefited from continuous, first-hand public relations, promotions, and educational programming at no extra cost to them. In the Museum's 1957 Annual Report, this benefit is recognized by the statement: "The Centennial totem poles have brought the carving programme much additional publicity"[73], although the report noted that the related public relations work required time and effort on the part of Museum staff. Staff also participated in the writing of descriptive materials, assisted photographers, journalists and reporters, and contributed to the planning of the motion picture.[74]

One day in June, Promotions and Displays Subcommittee member Harry Duker stopped by Thunderbird Park to check on the totem pole's progress. His experience there, informed by his own belief in the tremendous promotional potential of aboriginal culture for British Columbia, prompted him to write to Wallace that same month:

> ... it was a surprise to me to see so many tourists standing around watching the Indian carvers, whereupon I took it upon myself to tell the people the story of this 100 foot totem pole that was going to be presented to Her Majesty the Queen of England. All of them were very interested in this fact.
>
> It occurred to me that a suitably sized sign, with appropriate wording, could be erected in an appropriate spot to direct visitors to Thunderbird Park. This would not only be an educational effort on our part but would be wonderful publicity for us; particularly if some wording could be inscribed on the bottom to the effect of requesting people to be sure to come next year to the Centennial.[75]

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[73] RBCM, *British Columbia Provincial Museum 1957 Annual Report*, C24, Wilson Duff Files, M-2/Box 8 TOT-21 Centennial Totem.

[74] *Ibid.*, C-24.

[75] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Harry Duker to Wallace, June 18, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2. Duker's letter was written on "Totem-Land" Society letterhead.

Duker's letter prompted Wallace to proceed with plans to have a story of the Royal Totem Pole that they had developed enclosed in a glass case at the site of the carving, along with appropriate signs.[76]

Behind the scenes, relations between the carvers were apparently strained at times. In June, Barry Mather wrote off-the-record to Wallace regarding a situation he had been informed of at a recent Promotions Subcommittee meeting:

> ... an additional point that will not appear in the minutes and is maybe of some concern... Tom Howarth and Guy Williams, members of my committee who were especially interested in the Totem Pole project and carvers for same, reported that one of the carvers, I believe it is Henry Hunt, is not satisfied with his pay and treatment on the carving job... The idea I got is that Hunt feels he is doing the carving and that Mungo Martin is doing too much of the tourist talking. Now I do not know if this is the case.... You are close to the situation there, of course, and will be able to find out. Our position in mentioning this and asking about it is that as the original sponsoring committee we would not wish to have the Totem Pole project be other than a satisfactory one in all respects, including the feelings of the carvers.[77]

Wallace replied to Mather by letter and described what he perceived to be jealous tensions going on between the carvers. He wrote: "Confidentially, I think you will always find a great deal of jealousy among the Indians. I think that Henry Hunt is jealous of the publicity which Mungo Martin is getting."[78] Unfortunately, Wilson Duff was away in the Queen Charlottes, and Wallace told Mather he would raise the issue with Duff upon his return. It appears that members of the Promotions Subcommittee wished to remain involved in the project they had initiated despite the fact that it now resided outside their responsibility. Wallace suggested in his letter to Mather: "You might mention, in your

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[76] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Reply letter from Wallace to Duker, June 24, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[77] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mather to Wallace, June 12, 1957, the Tourism Promotion & Hospitality Subcommittee Records, GR1448-9 C/T/1.

[78] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Mather, June 18, 1957, the Tourism Promotion & Hospitality Subcommittee Records, GR1448-9 C/T/1.

diplomatic way, to Tom Howarth and Guy Williams that this is a matter for Wilson Duff to handle as he employs the Indians. Henry Hunt is really an apprentice and should have a good future if he watches himself. We are also concerned about the spirit of the carvers and we wish to do everything possible to see that the ultimate project is completed. Again, I will look into it."[79]

Consequently, to provide the many tourists with the information they were seeking, and perhaps to quell rising tensions between the carvers, a descriptive handout was drafted. Although the author or authors are not recognized in the document, it was likely written by Wilson Duff, with detail provided by Mungo Martin. Interestingly, it appears that sections present in the draft version of the handout describing the tribal affiliations of the carvers and the significance of the pole figures to the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples, and the symbolic nature of the pole, were not included in the final handout. These omitted sections read:

> This is an authentic totem pole of the Kwakiutl tribe, designed and carved by the famous Kwakiutl carver Mungo Martin and his assistants. As on all totem poles, the figures represent the traditional ancestors of the tribe or mythical animal or spirit creatures which were in some way associated with the ancestors. They are regarded as family crests, displayed prominently as proof of important family background.
>
> This pole bears the crests of ten clans, one from each of the ten of the Kwakiutl tribes. Each of the crests has its own story. In nearly all cases the figure represents the original ancestor of the clan, who was created at the beginning of time at a known place, and founded the clan. In many cases this founder was an animal, who changed into a man, for this occurred in the mythological age before the Flood when such supernatural events occurred. The pole is meant to represent the whole Kwakiutl nation, and in a broader sense to stand as an authentic example of the art of the Indians of British Columbia and representing them all.[80]

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[79] *Ibid.* Henry Hunt came to be a very well-known and respected carver, taking Mungo Martin's place as chief carver at the British Columbia Provincial Museum after his death in 1962. He stayed with the museum until 1974, and was very involved with commissions for the 1966/67 and 1971 Centennials, working closely with his son, Tony Hunt. For a brief biography, see *The Legacy: Tradition and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art*, 183.

[80] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "The Centennial Totem Pole," draft of the final document, n.d., GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

The final handout went into great detail in its description of the pole *[Appendix 1]*. As with the motion picture, the focus of the handout was on the pole itself and not on the historical or contemporary situation of First Nations in British Columbia. The document started with an administrative request, likely intended in part to address the tensions observed between the carvers, and the concerns expressed by Howarth and Williams. It read, in capital letters:

THE CENTENNIAL TOTEM POLE
PLEASE DO NOT DISTRACT THE CARVERS. THIS SHEET WILL ANSWER MOST OF YOUR QUESTIONS.
KINDLY STAY OUT OF THE CARVING AREA

The handout named each of the figures on the pole, identified their Kwakwaka'wakw names, as well as their corresponding tribe, clan, English geographical name in some instances, and provided a brief description of the story behind each figure. The order of the ten figures was described in the handout as follows, from bottom to top: Cedar Man (Tseakami), Halibut Man, Sisutl, Whale, Raven, Sea Otter, Thunderbird, Old Man, Beaver, and Man with Large Hat. The document was extremely comprehensive in its descriptions, and respectful of traditional naming of each of the figures, places, and groups. Visitors who received copies of the handout would leave with a better understanding of the significance of British Columbia's gift.

While carving of the Royal Totem pole was underway, the second totem pole proposed for Vancouver was getting final approval. The Vancouver Centennial Committee and the Vancouver Parks Board agreed to strike a partnership to cover the costs of carving the pole, estimated at approximately $5000.00. The pole was to become part of Vancouver's new Centennial Maritime Museum project in Kitsilano. Wallace made it clear in a letter to Duff that this totem pole "should be a duplicate of the one presented to Her Majesty."[81] Replication of the Queen's totem would likely generate

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[81] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Duff, July 30, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

more interest among the general public and tourists than a completely different design, as the Queen's totem had generated such extensive media coverage. Mungo Martin and the other carvers were very familiar with replicating totem poles, since it had been the basis for many years of employment for them at Thunderbird Park and the University of British Columbia. The pole was carved between October 1957 and July 1958, following the completion of the Queen's totem pole.[82] It was officially erected at the Centennial Maritime Museum in Hadden Park on October 15, 1958, with Mr. and Mrs. Mungo Martin and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hunt in attendance[83] *[Figure 18]*.

The Royal Totem Pole Ceremonies

In July 1957, the Centennial Board of Directors considered a dedication ceremony in London at which the Royal Totem Pole would be presented to the Queen. The minutes of their July Committee meeting report: "The question was raised as to whether a member of the Indian carving tribes of British Columbia should be sent to England for the presentation and whether a representative of the B.C. Centennial Committee should be sent."[84] The Board decided it required more time and information to consider the dedication ceremony, British Columbian representation, and the kind of publicity desirable. At the recommendation of the Committee, the Chairman contacted C.M.G. W.A. McAdam, Esquire, the British Columbia Agent General in London, for his advice on "adequate ceremonies to be held at the time of the dedication."[85]

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[82] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from C.J. Cox, Office Manager, to Vancouver Centennial Committee, November 13, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2: Totem - Vancouver Project File.

[83] *British Columbia Provincial Museum Annual Report, 1958*, C25. Records of the Royal British Columbia Museum, Wilson Duff Files, M-2/Box 8 TOT-21 Centennial Totem.

[84] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Minutes of the 63rd Meeting, B.C. Centennial Committee, July 4, 1957, GR1448-4.

[85] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Duff, July 30, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

Wilson Duff wrote to Wallace in July confirming that the Vancouver totem pole was proceeding, and to express his opinions on a move by some local individuals to have Mungo Martin travel to London for the Royal totem pole ceremony. Duff wrote:

> ...I want to add my voice as strongly as possible to those who recommend that Mungo Martin be sent to London for the dedication of the Centennial pole. He could not go alone, and the question of who should accompany him should be given careful consideration. If the matter comes up for discussion I shall be glad to have the opportunity of making some recommendations.[86]

Once again, Duff expressed his opinions on what he perceived to be appropriate protocol for the totem pole project, so as to ensure respect for the artist, his work, and his cultural traditions. Wallace replied to Duff that the Committee appreciated his views on the matter, and requested that Duff draft some definite written recommendations for the Centennial Committee with regards to the dedication ceremonies for the Royal Totem Pole.[87]

As Duff had mentioned in his letter to the Committee, other groups were also recommending that Mungo Martin accompany the totem pole to London. The British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society, which aimed to promote interest in traditional Native arts, to assist in the marketing of their art,[88] and to promote genuine native art over imitations,[89] urged the Committee to enable Martin to make the trip. In September 1957, Violet E. Ashdown, Corresponding Secretary for the Society, wrote to Wallace to express its wish that a letter be sent to the Centennial Committee proposing that "Mungo Martin,

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[86] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Duff to Wallace, July 19, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[87] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Duff, July 30, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[88] BCARS, catalogue file card for Add MSS 2720, B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society Microfilm 1940-54.

[89] The B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society developed a badge with a Native copper design to distinguish original and genuine goods from imitations. *The Native Voice* 2, no. 3 (February 1948): 2.

accompanied by a qualified anthropologist [clearly Duff] be sent to England to present the totem pole to the Queen."[90] After several months had passed, Ashdown and the Society increased their pressure by sending a letter in April 1958 directly to Premier W.A.C. Bennett:

> We understand from the Centennial Committee that, although no firm decision has been taken in this matter, there is at present no plan either to send Chief Martin to England, or to enable him to take part in the ceremony. We still are hopeful that the Province will adopt our proposal, which we think would add greatly to the interest and the impressiveness of the occasion.[91]

While the government and the Centennial Committee considered their options, a private offer to send Mungo Martin was in the works. Mr. & Mrs. J.G. Nordal of the Embassy Court Motel in Victoria offered a contribution of $1000.00 to send Chief Martin to London. The British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society had heard of this proposal through earlier press reports, and mentioned the offer in its letter to Premier Bennett. It emphasized that if the Province were to accept the private offer to send Chief Martin to London, it hoped that proper recognition for the artist could be arranged at the ceremony. Ashdown's letter passed through the channels of government to L.J. Wallace, who was asked to respond. In his reply to Ashdown, Wallace wrote:

> Arrangements have been made for the presentation of the Pole by the Agent General in London on behalf of the Government of B.C. If Chief Martin is to be in London at that time, we shall endeavour to have him presented to Her Majesty or a member of the Household.[92]

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[90] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Violet E. Ashdown, Secretary, B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society (Victoria), to Wallace, Sept. 22, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[91] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Violet E. Ashdown, Corresponding Secretary, B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society, to Premier W.A.C. Bennett, April 28, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[92] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to C. Farquarson, Secretary, Minister of Industrial Development, Trade, and Commerce to Wallace, May 6, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2. Wallace wrote to Farquarson in reply to Ashdown's letter, which had been forwarded to him by Farquarson, who had received it from Honorable Bonner, Minister of Industrial

The issue of whether to support Martin's voyage was considered serious enough to warrant a discussion at the Board of Directors meeting held the day after this letter was written. The Board discussed "Indian rituals which should be observed, if any, in connection with the arrival and erection of the Totem Pole in England".[93] They recognized that his age and poor physical health (he was seventy-eight at the time) would make it next to impossible to travel alone. According to the minutes, there was "some doubt expressed whether the Board should accept the responsibility of the cost involved in sending a companion along."[94] When Wilson Duff's recommendations were considered, which stated that it "would be desirable for the Indian Chief to be present at the ceremonies in England,"[95] along with the fact that other individuals besides the carver and the donors of the passage money had offered contributions, financial and otherwise, the Board, in their words, "felt obligated" to cover the expenses of a companion for the long journey.[96] The Board moved to accept the $1000.00 private contribution to cover Mungo Martin's expenses, and authorized the Centennial office to cover the costs of a companion.

The British Columbia Government and the Centennial Committee were slow to seize the opportunity to send Mungo Martin to England. Their delays in decision-making and their mishandling of the situation resulted in poor publicity for the two organizations.

Development, Trade, and Commerce, who was asked by the Premier to address the issue.

[93] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Minutes of the Board of Directors, British Columbia Centennial Committee, 89th meeting, May 7, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] *Ibid.*

The *Native Voice* reported in June that credit was due to the Nordals for making Mungo Martin's trip possible, and "none at all to the B.C. government for refusing to do it."[97]

> It is entirely proper that the 100-foot royal totem pole, B.C.'s Centennial gift to Queen Elizabeth, should be raised by traditional ceremony. It is a decent reward to the man who has done so much to restore Indian craftsmanship to its present high role.
> And it's only mean cheapness which prevented the government of British Columbia from realizing that.

With Mungo Martin's travels confirmed by the Board, Wallace sent a letter to W.A. McAdam, Agent General for British Columbia in London.[98] He emphasized that it was the Committee's expectation that the actual presentation of the totem pole would be made by McAdam, "with Mungo Martin being there in his capacity as carver only." [99] From Mungo Martin's perspective, his attendance represented a much more significant presence. According to Helen Hunt, who was scheduled to accompany Martin to England, Mungo Martin broke the news of his voyage to his wife Abayah by stating: "I'm going to England. The Indians will be represented at the totem ceremony."[100] Evidence of Martin's belief in the importance of the occasion is supported by author Phil Nuytten, who quotes Martin as having said on July 16, "The Queen is bestowing a great honour on the Indians of British Columbia."[101] Thus over one year following the commencement of the carving project, Mungo Martin was on his way to deliver the pole to the Queen on behalf of British Columbia's First Nations and non-native citizens.

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[97] "The Chief Will Go," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 6 (June 1958): 6.

[98] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to W.A. McAdam, Esq., C.M.G. Agent General for British Columbia, May 9, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] B.C. Indian Arts Society, *Mungo Martin: Man of Two Cultures*, 23.

[101] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 105. Uncited source.

Windsor Great Park in Windsor, England, was selected as the location for the Royal Totem Pole. Situated at the head of an avenue of North American Douglas fir trees at Wick Pond, Virginia Water,[102] this location was particularly significant since it had been planted after World War I to commemorate the work of the Canadian Forestry Corps during the war.[103] Thus in the chosen site, the totem pole would serve as a commemoration of an earlier commemoration of Canadian citizens at the service of the British Empire. The natural setting, with its stand of British Columbian trees, was likely considered a sympathetic environment for placing the pole. Thus the pole and its locale would evoke in its British audience images of British Columbia that reflected both the natural and cultural environments unique to the most Western Canadian province, a juxtaposition much like that found on the design for the Centennial silver dollar by Stephen Trenka.

Promotions continued to raise the profile of the project and its impending departure from Victoria and dedication ceremonies near London. The Powell River Company, suppliers of the old growth log from which the pole was carved, dedicated a significant part of its January/February 1958 *Powell River Digester* to articles relating to the Royal Totem Pole and the Centennial itself. In an article called "A Totem Fit for a Queen," the author writes: "A TOTEM to the Queen's taste! That is how Mungo Martin of Victoria, B.C., most famous of all Indian totem carvers, describes the pole he has just completed."[104] After emphasizing the great skill of the carver, the article recognized Martin's importance to tourism in Victoria: "Mungo Martin and his totem workshop have

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[102] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, newspaper clipping, *The Express*, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2. This article may be from Powell River as it was clipped to the *Powell River Digester* 34, no. 1 (January - February 1958).

[103] "Queen Mother Accepts B.C.'s Monster Totem," *Victoria Daily Times,* July 19, 1958, 5. The above newspaper clipping from *The Express* states that the selected site commomorated more generally Canadian troops lost during the First World War.

[104] "A Totem Fit for a Queen," *Powell River Digester* 34, no. 1 (January - February 1958): 19. Located in BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

been among Victoria's greatest tourist attractions since 1952. He and members of his family have drawn an average of 20,000 visitors during the summer months." The article legitimized the talent of the artist by adding that "Museum anthropologist Duff Wilson [sic] considers Mungo Martin the greatest wood carver in Canada—a skilled and creative artist." However, it is evident from this *Powell River Digester* article that in the opinion of the Powell River Company, and likely in their readership's opinion as well, the Queen was receiving, equally importantly, a superior pole from one of the West Coast of Canada's finest lumber tracts, or as they stated, a "first-class specimen of British Columbia timber ornamented by one of the world's greatest Indian carvers."[105] Like the earlier pole they supplied to London for the 214-foot flag pole at Kew Gardens (which, according to the article, was still the tallest flag pole in the world), the Royal Totem pole signified British Columbia's vast and world-renowned forest industry.

On the British side of the Atlantic, plans were underway for the arrival of the pole. Representatives of the Queen were very interested in finding out information about the pole; they wished to secure a photograph of the pole, and to determine whether or not the pole would require any periodic repainting in the future.[106]

As plans for the departure ceremony in Victoria progressed, Barry Mather wrote to Wallace requesting that he include Guy Williams on the invitation list. Apparently, Mather had forgotten to invite Williams to the initial carving commencement ceremony, and had offended the Native Brotherhood executive and Promotions and Displays Subcommittee member. Mather emphasized his request by adding: "He is apt to resent any oversight such as this and I feel that if he were invited to the next appropriate

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[105] *Ibid.*

[106] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from C. Stein, Undersecretary of State to the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, January 17, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2. Stein wrote in response to a letter he received from the Private Secretary to the Queen.

ceremony it would be no more than right, and wise."[107] This brief note suggests the importance of the relationship established between the Centennial Committee and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. The guest list for the ceremony included several First Nations leaders and prominent figures in Native affairs, including: Mr. & Mrs. Robert Clifton, Native Brotherhood of B.C., Courtenay; Harry Duker, Secretary-Treasurer "Totem-Land"; Frank Calder, General Secretary, Native Brotherhood of B.C.; Professor C.S. & Mrs. Burchill, President of B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society; Mrs. Kitty Carpenter, Native Sisterhood of B.C., Bella Bella; Andrew Paull - Publisher, "Thunderbird"; Chief William D. & Mrs. Scow - Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs; Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Wilkinson, Publisher, Indian Times [Time]; Miss Joanna Wright R. - Secretary, Provincial Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs; W.S. & Mrs. Arneil, Commissioner for Indian Affairs in British Columbia; and chiefs from the Victoria and Saanich area, including Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Albany; Mr. & Mrs. David Elliott; Mr. & Mrs. Louis George; Mr. & Mrs. Richard Harry; Mr. & Mrs. Edward Jones; and Mr. & Mrs. Walter Williams.[108]

At the official ceremony held on May 7, 1958, to mark the departure of the Royal Totem Pole to England, the pole was moved from Thunderbird Park to the front of the Legislative Buildings *[Figure 19]*. These surroundings would have appeared more spacious and official for such a ceremony, and the move also served symbolically to pass the great pole over to the government that had sponsored it and the province it was intended to represent. Guests for the ceremony included Premier Bennett, Reverend Dr. Peter Kelly, other Legislative representatives, and over 500 school children who were excused from school to attend the event at the request of the Centennial Committee. A choir of school children sang during the ceremony, and a band played marching tunes.

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[107] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mather to Wallace, February 24, 1958, GR1448-9: Promotion & Displays / Tourism Promotion & Hospitality - Promotion & Displays C/P 2.

[108] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "List of Invited Guests, Royal Totem Pole Ceremony," n.d. [April, 1958?], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

The Premier publicly congratulated the carvers on their great achievement. Wilson Duff made a speech at the ceremony which described the organizers' process for selecting the artist and the design for the totem pole. He emphasized that the gift was an *authentic* Kwakiutl totem pole and that on a more general level, it represented the art and culture of all of the Indians of British Columbia. He went on to explain the figures on the pole, and their common link as crests signifying ancestor stories of the various clans. He described the pole as "the most massive totem ever carved, and the most spectacular."[109] Duff described Mungo Martin's artistic and tribal background, and ended by congratulating the artist on what he called Mungo's "greatest original work" and his "masterpiece".[110]

Mungo Martin, dressed in full ceremonial regalia, made a powerful speech in *Kwak'wala*. His speech was translated into English by Helen Hunt for the non-native audience:

> Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.
> Today I am a very proud chief. This totem pole was a great challenge to me, and for a while I doubted whether I could carry it through. Now today here lies my work. Never before has there been such a totem pole as this. It represents the native Indians of B.C. It represents British Columbia itself. Here is a story so that will never be forgotten.
> The Centennial Committee has done well to commemorate the history of the last century. We the people of British Columbia have good reason to be proud. Let us all join together. Indians and white people together, to celebrate the Centennial year. I am getting old now, and I will remember this day, and tell my grandchildren and great-grandchildren about this day. This totem pole was completed with all my wisdom and knowledge. The ten tribes on the totem pole are of my people. Their traditions have passed from generation to generation, to me. I have chosen the figures carefully and I know that Her Gracious Majesty Queen Elizabeth will be proud of this work that I and Henry Hunt have done.
> This is not the only gift my family has made for the Queen. My wife, who is sitting over here, made a beautiful Chilkat blanket which was given to Her Majesty by the Native Brotherhood on the occasion of her Coronation. I think it is wonderful that my wife and I have both made something as a gift to such a high person as the Queen.

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[109] RBCM, Wilson Duff's speech for the Royal Totem Pole departure ceremony, June 1958, Wilson Duff files, M-2 / Box 8 TOT-21 Centennial Totem.

[110] *Ibid.*, 2.

> I want to thank the people who originated the idea of this totem pole and who chose me to carve it. I am very sorry that my friend Mr. Tom Howarth did not live to see the totem pole completed.
> I also want to thank the people of Victoria for the kind way they have treated me and the members of my family ever since we arrived here.[111]

This speech reflected the dignity and dedication of Chief Mungo Martin, his untiring commitment to the perpetuation of First Nations art and culture, and his efforts to build relationships between the First Nations of British Columbia and its non-native citizens. At the end of his speech, Martin made a powerful gesture. He offered one of his coppers, a traditional symbol of wealth for the Kwagiulth, [112] to Queen Elizabeth II:

> I am sending this copper to Her Majesty along with the totem pole. This copper is one of my most valued possessions, and I am sending it because of my great respect for the new owner of the pole. It was the custom of my people to send a copper with the pole to its new owner. The copper and the dances make up the spirit of the pole. Without them the pole is not complete. And so I am placing this copper on the pole to go with it to the Queen.[113]

Chief Martin's presentation of one of his coppers signified the high level of prestige he wished to bestow upon the totem pole *[Figure 20]*. The significance of the copper will be discussed later in this chapter.

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[111] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, English translation of Mungo Martin's Speech, Ceremony to Mark the Departure of the Royal Totem Pole, n.d. [April, 1958?], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2, mimeograph.

[112] Norman Bancroft-Hunt, *People of the Totem: The Indians of the Pacific Northwest* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1979), 59-60.

[113] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, English translation of Mungo Martin's Speech, Ceremony to Mark the Departure of the Royal Totem Pole, n.d. [April, 1958?], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2, mimeograph.

Chief Martin, family members, and relatives then performed a traditional dance to send the pole properly on its way.[114] At the end of the ceremony, a Heany's truck transported the pole to the S.S. Pacific Unity, Furness Withy Line, for shipment to England *[Figures 21, 22]*. Later that day, Chief Martin and his family put on two dance performances for the public in the Kwagiulth ceremonial big house he had built at Thunderbird Park.[115]

Some of the media reports of the departure ceremony focused heavily on a romantic description of the artist and his culture *[Figure 23]*. The National Film Board (N.F.B.) produced a silent newsreel and accompanying press release for the occasion. In the release, Mungo Martin was described as "the last and greatest of the old-time artists of his people."[116] Following a description of the pole, and an account of Chief Martin's translated speech, the news release described how Mungo Martin placed a "copper family shield" on the pole. It explained: "No pole is ever given away without its copper and this shield is one of his most precious family possessions." As indicated by the sub-title of the news release, "Spirit World Indian Dance Protects Totem on Voyage", the document focused on the Kwagiulth cultural components of the departure ceremony, particularly on the dances performed in full regalia by Mungo Martin and his relatives. According to the

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[114] Royal British Columbia Museum Records, Wilson Duff's speech for the Royal Totem Pole departure ceremony, June 1958, Wilson Duff files, M-2 / Box 8 TOT-21: Centennial Totem, 3.

[115] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, English translation of Mungo Martin's Speech, Ceremony to Mark the Departure of the Royal Totem Pole, n.d. [April, 1958?], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2, mimeograph. Martin announced the two performances and invited everyone to come. Martin had built his big house, *Wa'waditla,* in 1953 as the house of *'Naka'pankam,* the name of the Mamtigila clan he had inherited from his uncle. He used this house to host an elaborate potlatch in 1953, only two years after the 1951 amendments to the Indian Act had removed the potlatch restrictions. For more information on Mungo Martin's big house, see Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers*, 86-99.

[116] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Royal Totem: Totem Masterpiece For Queen Elizabeth; Spirit World Indian Dance Protects Totem On Voyage," Victoria, National Film Board Release, Set up: Isobel Kehoe, Camera: Ross Beesley, Prod. No. 58-323-2, May 1958, GR345.

release, these dances led by Chief Martin were the "big attraction", as Martin "... kept the beat on his tom-tom drum". The release described how the group "danced and thanked the spirit world for this successful completion of the totem — their chief's greatest achievement." [117]

Though sensationalist at times in its account, the N.F.B. film release recognized the interconnection of the creation of the totem pole and the ceremony developed by Mungo Martin, his colleagues, family, as well as Centennial and government staff, to properly recognize Chief Martin's accomplishment. The newsreel and press release were distributed internationally to at least forty-five countries, in radio and television formats.[118] The final concluding remarks in the release fell back on the romantic notion of the "vanishing Indian" so prevalent in non-native society at the time:

> It is the most massive and spectacular totem ever carved and will be a lasting link between the original natives of British Columbia and the millions of Britons who will wonder at its beauty and ask the story of an almost lost Canadian culture.[119]

Locally, the *Victoria Daily Times* published a front-page article accompanied by two photographs — one of Mungo Martin, his assistants, and Helen Hunt seated during the ceremony — the other of members of the Kwagiulth Nation dancing in front of the totem pole. The opening paragraph characterized the ceremony as a "'whooping' send-off".[120] Again, the performances by the Kwagiulth dancers were seen by the reporter as the main attraction. He paraphrased Martin's comments regarding the symbolic value of

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[117] *Ibid.*

[118] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Isobel Kehoe, Newreel Producer, National Film Board, to Douglas Horan, June 10, 1958, GR345.

[119] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Royal Totem: Totem Masterpiece For Queen Elizabeth; Spirit World Indian Dance Protects Totem On Voyage," National Film Board Release.

[120] "'Spirit World' Thanked for Mungo's Masterpiece," *Victoria Daily Times*, May 7 1958, 1.

the pole for all British Columbians, both Native and non-native, although his rewording stated that the pole "represented the Indians *and people* [my emphasis] of British Columbia".[121] This perhaps unintentional change significantly altered Chief Martin's inclusive language and intent. The article did not include any quotes from Martin's powerful speech. It concluded with an excerpt from Wilson Duff's speech, described by the reporter as the anthropologist's explanation of the meaning of the totem pole for the children. Overall, the *Victoria Daily Times* was generous in the space it dedicated to the article covering the ceremony. However, the reporter did not praise the totem pole as a "masterpiece" as Wilson Duff had, nor did he include any personal interpretations of the pole. He relied on the authoritative opinions of the provincial anthropologist to speak for the significance of the gift.

By May 1958, the British Columbia totem pole project had become a fairly regular story in several of Great Britain's newspapers, prompted by the departure ceremony and the promotional campaign launched by the Centennial Committee. The British articles were brief and sometimes accompanied by photographs, particularly once the pole arrived on British soil. Several of the articles attempted to identify Mungo Martin's tribal affiliation, with mixed accuracy. The Kwaguilth (or Kwatkiutl) as they were referred to by non-native cultures, were misnamed everything from the "Kwatkiutl", "Kwakiuti", and "Kwakintl" in the British press. The papers focused on the dances performed by Martin and his family at the departure ceremony in Victoria, likely based on the footage provided by the National Film Board's news release. Some of the newspapers described "dances to drive away evil spirits". One such article titled: "The Thing is on its Way"[122] was accompanied by a photograph of the pole. It began with the

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[121] *Ibid.*, 1.

[122] "The Thing is on its Way," *Daily Mirror*, Tuesday May 13, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345. As most of the articles taken from the British Press were clipped without recording page numbers, page references are not always recorded in my notes.

ominous words: "No, you're not having a nightmare. The Thing with Staring Eyes above is a real, Indian-carved TOTEM POLE, now on its way to England from Canada."[123]

The *Manchester Guardian* published a fairly comprehensive article on the making of the pole, which began: "... No doubt our totem pole will come as a bit of a shock at first (writes a Victoria correspondent), but no doubt in time it will become as familiar as Cleopatra's Needle." [124] The piece continued by describing in considerable detail the various figures on the pole, British Columbia's coastal Native peoples, and the general development of totem poles. The article even provided one of Mungo Martin's Kwagiulth names, Chief *Naka'penkim.*[125] In contrast, other articles tended to focus on sensational points, with vastly varying degrees of accuracy. For example, one of the most substantive articles dedicated to the totem pole published in the *Windsor Express* began:

> **The Totem Pole is On Its Way**
> **Gift For The Queen From Indian Chief**
> In its hold is its strangest-ever load — a 100-foot long, gaily decorated totem pole. Carved with loving care by a British Columbia Indian chief, the totem pole is to be placed in Windsor Great Park.
> It is a gift from Chief Mungo Martin to "his Queen." Nailed to the colourful pole is a small copper plaque inscribed with Indian script. In effect, it signifies that Mungo Martin has given himself completely to the service of his Queen.[126]

This paragraph contains several inaccuracies which would likely have accepted as factual by their readers. Mungo Martin's great copper has become a small copper plaque with Indian script nailed to the pole. The reporter portrays Mungo Martin as subservient

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[123] *Ibid.*

[124] *The Manchester Guardian*, June 6, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] *Windsor Express*, May 30, 1958; *Daily Mirror*, Tuesday May 13, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

to the Queen of England, and the Royal totem pole as Chief Martin's one-man project to pay homage to the Queen. In fact, the article makes no mention of the contributions of the Centennial Committee or the Government of British Columbia. The article continued:

> What was started by Mungo Martin as a one-man labour of love, has today come to mean very much more in British Columbia, which is now celebrating its centenary.
> Mr. Geoffrey Try, managing director of Windsorian World Travel Ltd., who has just returned from an eight-day tour in and around Vancouver, says that people in British Columbia feel that Chief Martin's achievement in carving the pole from a giant tree, 'is the greatest thing that a man can do.'[127]

Other newspapers tended to focus on stories of what they perceived to be the bizarre or unknown qualities of the totem pole and its creator. These short articles were often filled with misinformation. For example, a reporter for the *Slough Observer* wrote:

> Most of its carving was done by an Indian chief, Mungo Martin, who asked to be allowed to come to England to present it to "his" Queen.... At first the British Columbia government refused to pay his fare, and the chief threatened to lay a curse on the pole if he were not present at the handing-over ceremony.
> But all would seem to be well — for two businessmen from Vancouver decided to pay his fare, and he will be present in Windsor Great Park next month.[128]

John Rolls, "Life in the Mirror" correspondent for the *Daily Mirror,* described the pole for his readers as "cut and shaped by Canada's most famous totem-carver, MUNGO MARTIN, a Red Indian Chief. His family helped him carve it."[129] In his article, Rolls interviewed Chief Officer Sidney Lavis, who had been involved in the shipment of the pole. He asked Lavis what he thought of the Queen's totem pole. Lavis replied:

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[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *The Slough Observer,* June 6, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

[129] *Daily Mirror*, Friday, June 20, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

"Personally, I think it is a monstrosity. But I will be sorry to see it go. Only once in a lifetime do you carry a cargo for the Queen."

An article in the *Northern Echo* described Chief Martin as somewhat of an artifact himself, and explained that Martin and the Queen had met in the past. It stated that:

> ...the pole is the work of Chief Mungo Martin, an ancient craftsman whom the Queen saw at work during her visit to Vancouver as Princess Elizabeth. ...He [Mungo Martin] is usually installed in the grounds of the University of British Columbia, where he is restoring such totem poles as still exist on the sites of villages of the Pacific Coast Indians. He has been called the last totem pole carver of the Kwatkiutl [sic] tribes. His son did not want to carry on the tradition.[130]

A substantial number of the British articles focused on the spectacle of the events surrounding the making and dedication of the pole, as well as on small inaccuracies regarding Mungo Martin and the Kwagiulth carving tradition. This last quote refers to Mungo Martin as part of an ancient ethnographic past, with his contemporary practise of cultural traditions perceived as a living exhibit. Martin was not "installed" at the University of British Columbia; he was employed by the University and chose to make his living completing the tasks asked of him by that institution. While the article described him as the "last totem pole carver of the Kwatkiutl", an image that supported the widely-believed notions of a dying race, Martin had just completed a pole with his son and Henry Hunt by his side as assistants, and Henry's son Tony Hunt on hand to learn the art of carving.

The Victoria departure ceremony had an impact on the official British plans for receiving the totem pole. The Queen's Representatives were very concerned by media reports that Mungo Martin intended to present the Queen with his copper. In a June 3 letter to Agent-General McAdam, Martin Charteris of Buckingham Palace confirmed the tentative schedule for the dedication ceremony, and raised the issue of Martin's plan to give the copper to the Queen. Charteris interpreted the significance of the gift through his

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[130] *Northern Echo* (Priestgate, Darlington), June 21, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

own British knowledge, stating that he understood the copper to be Chief Martin's "coat of arms." Charteris stressed that "Mr. Mungo Martin should not be allowed to do this unless he has previously sought permission to do so from the Governor-General."[131] At this juncture, two very different official gift-giving protocols came head-to-head — those practised by a high-ranking Kwagiulth chief, and those practised by the British monarchy.

Within two weeks, a letter was on its way to the Right Honorable Vincent Massey, C.H., Governor General of Canada, from British Columbia's Lieutenant-Governor Frank Ross. He requested that the Governor-General seek approval from Buckingham Palace for the gift of the copper, explaining that: "In order to endow the Royal Totem Pole with as much authentic prestige as possible and to show his great respect for Her Majesty, Mungo Martin decided to send his 'Copper' with the Pole."[132] The Lieutenant-Governor included a copy of a document entitled "Significance of the Copper" with his letter.[133] Undoubtedly written by Wilson Duff, with the assistance of Mungo Martin, "Significance of the Copper" provided background information for the Lieutenant-Governor, the Governor General of Canada, and for Buckingham Palace officials as well. The document read:

> "Coppers" were the most important objects of wealth that Northwest Coast Indians owned. They were shield-like plates of a distinctive shape, ranging in size from a few inches to three feet or more. The earliest ones were beaten out of native copper, but most were made of trade sheet copper. Often the upper portion was decorated with incised designs showing family crests.

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[131] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Martin Charteris, Buckingham Palace to Agent General McAdam, June 3, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[132] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia to His Excellency the Right Honouraable Vincent Massey, C.H., Governor General of Canada, June 18, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[133] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Significance of the Copper," June 18, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2. In the archival record, three copies of "Significance of the Copper" were attached to the letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia to Vincent Massey, Governor General of Canada.

> Among the Kwakiutl (Mungo Martin's tribe) coppers were sold and re-sold from chief to chief at ever increasing prices, so that their values often grew to several thousands of dollars. Important coppers had names of their own, and their histories were recited each time they were displayed or resold.
>
> A chief could show his stature and gain prestige by destroying property, and often when he erected a new totem pole he placed one of his coppers in the hole under the pole. By this act he emphasized the importance of the totem pole; the copper became the "soul" of the pole. If the erection of the pole marked the transmission of properties or other rights to another chief, the copper was an acknowledgment of the greatness of the receiver.
>
> In order to endow the Royal Totem Pole with as much authentic prestige as possible, and to show his great respect for Her Majesty, Mungo Martin decided to send his copper with the pole. The name of this copper is Nemskamustaleeth "only copper rising to such a high price", and it was purchased by Mr. Martin many years ago for a large price. He wants it to be displayed in a museum or other suitable place where its significance may be explained, rather than buried under the pole, after the old custom. In sending the copper with the pole, he is making the greatest gesture of respect possible for a chief of the Kwakiutl tribe.[134]

In order to convince Buckingham Palace and the Queen to accept the copper on such short notice, the Centennial Committee and the provincial and federal governments explained in detail the cultural significance of the copper, as well as the gift-giving protocol to which it belonged. This explanation also served to situate the totem pole more within its Kwagiulth cultural context, rather than as merely a gift from the province of British Columbia. The Centennial Committee's approach varied from its intentions for the motion picture project mentioned earlier in this chapter to limit the narrative to a "straight line story ... without any reference to other Indian art work, ceremonies, etc."[135] Although much of "Significance of the Copper" is written from an historical perspective, the document also emphasizes that these important cultural traditions continued to exist

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[134] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia to Vincent Massey, Governor General of Canada June 18, 1958. The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[135] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from McCance to Colby, Photographic Branch, B.C. Government Travel Bureau, February 26, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

within the contemporary context of British Columbia and its Centennial, albeit with changes from traditional Kwagiulth practice (Martin did not wish the copper to be buried, but instead to be put on display). Canadian officials further supported their request by demonstrating that the "authenticity" of the Royal totem pole would be increased by accepting the copper, and that the giving of the copper signified the great respect Chief Martin had for Her Majesty. On July 8, a reply telegraph was sent to the Lieutenant-Governor from the Governor General notifying the Provincial Government that the Queen would accept the copper.[136]

As the London dedication ceremony approached, a letter arrived from Agent-General McAdam informing Wallace that he and his staff would be too busy to show Mungo Martin around London. Fortunately, word of the arrival of the totem pole and Chief Mungo Martin reached the anthropological community in Great Britain. Mrs. H. Farrant Akehurst, a representative of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, wrote a letter to McAdam. She began her letter by recognizing McAdam's "interest in the Indians of British Columbia,"[137] and proceeded to offer her Society's assistance during Mungo Martin's stay in London. Members of the society felt that Mungo Martin's gift to the Queen of his copper was a "rare" gift and a "fine gesture". She noted the potential difficulties in arranging for a presentation of Chief Martin's copper to the Queen, and offered to assist with arranging a presentation ceremony at the Anthropological Institute, if the need arose.[138]

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[136] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Telegraph to Frank M. Ross from Lionel Massey, Secretary to Governor General, notifying the B.C. Centennial Committee that the Queen will accept the copper, July 8, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[137] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mrs. H. Farrant Akehurst, Honorary Secretary, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britiain and Ireland, to McAdam, June 9, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[138] *Ibid.*

On June 25, following its arrival in London, the totem pole was erected at Windsor Park by the Royal Engineers.[139] The procedure went smoothly, and the press seized the opportunity for newspaper and television reports, including segments on both the British Broadcasting Corporation (B.B.C.) and on independent television networks.[140] At this same time, the itinerary for Mungo Martin's visit was being finalized with considerable assistance from the Royal Anthropological Institute.

On July 17, Mungo Martin and Helen Hunt arrived in London and were picked up and transported to their hotel by a representative of British Columbia House, where they were greeted by a representative of the Royal Anthropological Institute. Also on this day, Buckingham Palace announced that Queen Elizabeth was suffering from catarrhal sinusitis,[141] and would be unable to attend the dedication ceremony. The Queen Mother would serve as the Queen's representative at the ceremony. Chief Martin and Helen Hunt's plans continued according to schedule, and on the following day, Martin met with Mr. Adrian Digby, Keeper of Ethnography at the British Museum, and attended a reception at the Royal Anthropological Institute.[142]

The British press was on hand for the arrival and visit of Mungo Martin and Helen Hunt. One of the more sensational press articles published to mark Mungo Martin's visit came from the Glasgow *Daily Record and Mail*. The author seemed most interested in the differences between what his British readers might expect a British Columbian Indian chief to be like, and what he learned from Mungo Martin. It read in part:

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[139] The totem pole was installed according to the contemporary Western engineering practices and did not follow traditional Kwagiulth practices.

[140] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from McAdam to Wallace, June 26, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[141] "Queen Mother Accepts B.C.'s Monster Totem," *Victoria Daily Times*, July 19, 1958, 5.

[142] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Itinerary of Mr. Mungo Martin and Mrs. Hunt while in London," 7 July 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

Heap big chief flies to Queen [newspaper author's emphasis]
"A HEAP big Indian chief came to Britain yesterday... 79-year-old bushy eyebrowed Mungo Martin.
He is the brave who carved the 100-foot totem-pole being presented to the Queen to mark the centenary of British Columbia, Canada....

But I am afraid that Mungo, who came by "Thunderbird" (Pidgin Red Indian for plane), will be a heap big let down for any schoolboy.
For under his Indian blanket, the chief wore a light fawn city style suit, white shirt, sober brown tie ... He also had horn-rimmed spectacles.
But then Mungo is no feathered Indian. I would prefer to call him feather-bedded.
It seems that his tribe have always lived in houses instead of wigwams. And the chief has worn "city" suits since he was a boy.
Lush conditions
Lieut.-Col. Harry Smith, Trade Commissioner in London for British Columbia, who met the chief, explained:
"His tribe are superior Indians. They have never been warriors because life in British Columbia is lush for Indians. They have never had to steal horses or squaws!"
I had a pow-wow with Mungo.
We talked totem-poles.
"It may be the last one I make" said the chief, who has carved them for 50 years.
He speaks English haltingly, so his granddaughter, Mrs. Helen Hunt, took over. She said: "The chief was initiated into totem carving when he was six months old.
Lost eyelashes
"Four of his eyelashes were pulled out and made into a paint brush for an Indian totem pole painter. He was never allowed to run around with other children. He had to spend his time learning to carve and paint."
It was mid-afternoon, and Mungo was feeling tired. He headed upstairs at his hotel to go to bed, and left an order for "heap big breakfast at 8 this morning."[143]

This article's tone reflected popular culture's tendency to stereotype indigenous cultures. It communicated a desire on the part of non-native society for aboriginal people to remain in the past and to follow the traditions and appearances that non-native society considered "authentic". The author employed pan-Indian clichés such as "Pidgin Red

[143] *Daily Record and Mail* (Glasgow), July 18, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

Indian" and "heap big chief" throughout the article to enhance the contrast between Mungo Martin's appearance and lifestyle, and that which non-native society imagined. While the author employed many stereotypical trappings of Indian culture such as the wigwam and squaw, some of the information he presented was specific to Mungo Martin's life. For example, the story of the eyelashes is also included in a press release on the artist found in the Centennial archives.[144] In the case of Mungo Martin's visit to London, the exotic British Columbia Indian sought out so often by tourists on their foreign adventures was brought directly to the British population from his foreign homeland.[145] Chief Martin, the exotic "other", turned out to possess many unexpected similarities to British culture such as wearing suits and living in houses.[146]

On the morning of Saturday, July 19, Mungo Martin and Helen Hunt joined the official ceremony at Windsor Great Park in full regalia. Canada's federal and provincial representatives in Great Britain presented the totem pole to the Queen Mother in front of

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[144] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Chief Mungo Martin," n.d. [before March 25, 1957], GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

[145] There was an extensive history of such "Indian" visits to England and Europe, sometimes through world's fairs and exhibitions. In *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, Francis recounts the Buffalo Bill Show's tour of England in 1887, where Queen Victoria attended two performances in which Native's played a major role in this popularized western variety show. Acclaimed Mohawk poet Pauline Johnson toured England in 1894 and 1906, performing selections from her writings in "Native costume". Francis, 90, 113-22. See also J.C.H. King, "A Century of Indian Shows: Canadian and United States Exhibitions in London 1825-1925," *Native American Studies* 5, 1 (1991): 35-42.

[146] Martin's adaptation to some of the traditions of non-native culture, which seemed to surprise the British audience, reflect a new paradigm of non-native awareness of Native culture. While the old paradigm saw "traditional" First Nations culture as frozen in the past in an "ethnographic present", and any changes to this "authenticity" as the diminishment of Indian culture under acculturation, new paradigm thinking recognizes that First Nations cultures, like non-native cultures, continue to change as they adapt to their external social, political, natural, and economic environments. See Sally Weaver, "A New Paradigm in Canadian Indian Policy for the 1990s," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 22, no. 3 (1990): 12.

an audience of more than one thousand.[147] In his introductory speech, the Honorable George Drew, High Commissioner for Canada, made historical parallels between the monarchy and the significance of the occasion. The first parallel linked Queen Victoria's reign and the creation of British Columbia; the second comparison united the origins of the great cedar tree and the reign of Edward II. As when the British Columbia Centennial Committee identified this link to British history in the earlier press release for the carving commencement ceremony, the High Commissioner offered no parallel comparison to British Columbia aboriginal history or ancestry. He did, however, point out the extensive history of First Nations in British Columbia when he stated: "The totem pole is a symbol of the family life of the great Indian tribes that have lived so long in British Columbia."[148]

The Agent General then requested the Queen Mother to unveil the commemorative plaque at the base of the pole *[Figure 24]*. McAdam read the following message from Premier W.A.C. Bennett:

> In the midst of the joyous festivities associated with our centennial celebrations the Government and the people of the Province of British Columbia wish humbly to reaffirm to Her Majesty our loyal devotion to her royal person and to assure her of the sincerity of our feelings of affection and respect. The presence in British Columbia at this time of Her Royal Highness the Princess Margaret and the unbounded delight with which her progress throughout this Province is being hailed, stand as a demonstration of the intangible bonds that unite the peoples of the Commonwealth.[149]

The plaque read:

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[147] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from McAdam to Wallace, July 21, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[148] *Surrey Herald* (Chertney), July 25, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

[149] "Presentation of the Centennial Totem Pole," *British Columbia Newsletter - Agent General for the Province of British Columbia*, August 1958. The subtitle of the newsletter states that it is "a monthly summary of affairs in Canada's Pacific Coast Province for all interested in its social and economic development". Located in BCARS, GR345.

PRESENTED TO HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II QUEEN OF CANADA
BY THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
AS A TOKEN OF THEIR LOYALTY AND AFFECTION AND TO PRESERVE IN MEMORY THE CENTENARY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA 1858-1958

The Queen Mother made a short speech which included the following statement:

> The art and skill of those who carved this tree have given it new life, and I hope it will live on here among these English oaks as a symbol of the affection and understanding between British Columbia and this country from which so many of those who founded the province have come.[150]

McAdam then presented to the Queen Mother individuals involved with the totem pole project and its erection. Representatives included individuals from the Ministry of Works; the Royal Engineers, Furness Line of Furness, Withy and Company; Crown Estate Office; Canadian Legion of Frontiersmen, and of course, Chief Mungo Martin, who was dressed in the Chilkat blanket his wife had made for him for the trip.[151] Chief Martin took this opportunity to present his copper personally to the Queen Mother. She graciously accepted the gift on behalf of the Queen *[Figure 25]*. Through Helen Hunt's translation, Martin explained to the Queen Mother that he was carving a replica totem to stand in Hadden Park in Vancouver.

Overall, the ceremony went smoothly, except for an early error when the Canadian High Commissioner referred to the day as "a great day for New Brunswick."[152] There were several reports of the ceremony in the British newspapers and on B.B.C. television. Many reports made mention of the spectacular costumes of the British Columbia Indian dignitaries. The newspaper articles that included mention of Helen

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[150] "Presentation of the Centennial Totem Pole," *British Columbia Newsletter*, GR345.

[151] B.C. Indian Arts Society, *Mungo Martin: Man of Two Cultures*, 30.

[152] "A clanger - on a Royal occasion, too," *Newcastle Journal* (Newcastle-on-Tyne), Peter London's Journal, July 21, 1958, BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

Hunt's presence listed her as either Martin's niece, wife, granddaughter, step-granddaughter, or daughter. A reporter named Peter London seemed most pleased about his opportunity to practise the small phrase of "Red Indian language" on Mungo Martin, which Gerald Gibson, the Deputy Agent General for British Columbia had taught to him just prior to the ceremony. The phrase that Gerald Gibson shared with the reporter was in the Chinook trade language that had been developed through contact between Europeans and the Chinook and Nuu-Chah-Nulth First Nations of the coast.[153] This jargon was picked up by dominant society, and used by organizations such as summer camps and universities to embellish their games and chants.[154] London wrote:

> "The 78-year old chief, who made the totem pole, was delighted when I said to him: 'Klahowya, tyee'- which is Red Indian language for 'Hullo, chief.' He replied with a beaming smile and a 'Klahowya, tillicum' - 'Hullo, friend.'"[155]

An article for the *Windsor Express* described the dedication as follows:

> ...The ceremony was held in a glade at the head of an avenue of Canadian trees where the totem pole blends its grotesque carvings with the glittering background of the lakes of Virginia Water.... When presented to the Queen Mother, the Chief gave her his "Copper" a very rare piece of West Coast Indian workmanship of crude copper on which the Chief's family crest was emblazoned.

The *Richmond Herald* of Surrey also reported on Martin's gift, but described it as Martin's personal "chopper".[156] Clearly, Chief Martin and Helen Hunt's participation in the dedication ceremony was a major focus of the press reports, more so than the British

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[153] Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 169-70.

[154] *Ibid.*, 170.

[155] "In the lingo," *Newcastle Journal*, Peter London's Journal, July 21, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

[156] *Richmond Herald* (Surrey), July 25, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

Columbia Centennial itself, and the visit of these colourful dignitaries would have been of great interest to the general public. The stereotyping of Indian culture employed by the British press suggests the biases that existed at the time. While these examples do not constitute appropriation, they do provide a window into how the British audience would have received the Province of British Columbia's gift to their country. These reports indicate that some members of the press were more interested in the curiosities of Native peoples and culture than they were on the significance of the totem pole as a gift from the province.

Chief Martin's and Helen Hunt's remaining days in London following the ceremony were filled with events, including sightseeing with a representative of the Royal Anthropological Institute, a recording session at the British Institute of Recorded Sound, and a television interview with the British Broadcasting Service.[157] At the Queen's Palace Museum, Helen Hunt was pleased to discover Abayah's Chilkat blanket presented to the Queen during Chief William Scow's 1953 visit for the Queen's coronation, to which Martin had referred in his speech at the totem pole's departure ceremony in Victoria *[Figure 26]*. Hunt also learned that both Mungo Martin's copper, and two miniature paddles which had been carved by her son Tony Hunt and purchased by a lady-in-waiting in Victoria as gifts for the Queen, would also housed there.[158]

Upon his departure from London, Martin described his impressions to reporters. One newspaper recounted Martin's and Hunt's comments:

> 'The English are a wonderful people' he told reporters after his return here by air. 'What impressed me most was the hospitality and kindness of the English. They respected and honoured the traditions of my people.' ... 'The Queen Mother was charming and kind.' said Mrs. Hunt. 'She took a real interest in the totem pole.'[159]

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[157] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Itinerary of Mr. Mungo Martin and Mrs. Hunt while in London," 7 July 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[158] B.C. Indian Arts Society, *Mungo Martin: Man of Two Cultures*, 25-6.

[159] *Bolton Evening News* (Bolton); *Evening Standard* (London?); and *Eastern Evening News* (Norwich), July 28, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

Upon her return, Helen Hunt spoke to the Women's Canadian Club of Victoria, and described the impact that the visit to London had on her. She told the audience: "I never dreamed in all my life that this could happen to me.... It has given me the courage to stand up for my people and tell my feelings. We shall never forget our trip to England."[160] While the trip was a significant moment in the lives of Martin and Hunt, it also made a significant impression on the British public and contributed to the success of the project. The trip brought Martin's role in the production and presentation of the Royal totem pole full circle and gave him the credit he deserved as both artist and ambassador of the Native and non-native people of British Columbia.

According to McAdam in a letter he wrote to L.J. Wallace following Mungo Martin and Helen Hunt's return to Canada, the dedication ceremony was a great success, and Martin and Hunt, "added to the splendour of the occasion in their ceremonial robes."[161] Wallace responded to McAdam's letter with his interpretations of Mungo Martin's and Helen Hunt's experience abroad:

> Their heads are still whirling with all they saw and did in England, and it is clear they were both genuinely thrilled with their wonderful reception. They gave an interview to the press here expressing their warm appreciation for the generous hospitality extended to them - a good deal of it, I gather, quite spontaneous and unexpected. I know the entire episode has been one that both Mungo Martin and his grand-daughter will cherish as a highlight of their lives, and I am very happy that it was made possible for them to have this experience.[162]

Three weeks following Mungo Martin's return, the British Columbia Indian Arts and Welfare Society again wrote to Wallace, informing him of a welcome ceremony they arranged at Beacon Hill Park for Mungo Martin and Helen Hunt. They stressed their

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[160] B.C. Indian Arts Society, *Mungo Martin: Man of Two Cultures*, 25.

[161] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from McAdam to Wallace, July 21, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[162] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to McAdam, July 28, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

belief that Chief Martin's visit "was one of the most satisfactory of the B.C. Centennial projects"[163], and urged him to take the seat they reserved for him on the stage. The B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society was not the only group that requested action from Wallace and the Centennial Committee following the dedication ceremony. The Vice-President of the Powell River Company was distressed to learn from one of its executives, who had made the effort to be on hand for the Windsor Park ceremony in England, that no mention of the origin of the tree nor of its donor had been made at the ceremony.[164] He asked Wallace to correct the situation and forwarded information to him on the trees. Wallace was quick to reply by letter to the Powell River Company executive explaining that pertinent information had been provided to the Agent-General, and that the omission was by no means intentional.

Mungo Martin also received a request following the ceremony. H.F.E. Smith, the Industrial and Trade Secretary for British Columbia, sent a letter requesting Chief Martin to send a small souvenir totem pole to the Royal Engineers detachment, in return for a carving of their badge they had presented to Martin while in London. Smith also recommended that Martin send a small totem pole as a gift to the Royal Anthropological Institute to thank them for the work they did for him.[165] He concluded his letter by praising Martin on the excellent job he did as an "Ambassador for our Province."[166] It is

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[163] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from C.S. Burchill, B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society, to Wallace, August 16, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[164] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from W.C. R. Jones, Vice-President, Industrial & Public Relations, Powell River Company Limited, to Wallace, August 12, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[165] In fact, in appreciation for the grand reception hosted by the Royal Anthropological Institute, Martin and Hunt gave a performance of "an old Indian song of thanks." Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 106. Uncited source.

[166] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from H.F.E. Smith, Industrial and Trade Secretary, Province of British Columbia, British Columbia House, to Mungo Martin, August 5, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

striking that Smith should ask such an ambassador to produce souvenirs at his own expense and that he did not consider Martin's work on the Royal totem pole enough of a gift for the people of Great Britain.

In 1959, Wilson Duff wrote an article for *Museum News* reflecting on Chief Mungo Martin and his personal relationship with the great carver. In the article, Duff described Mungo Martin's experiences with the Royal totem pole project:

> The days ahead were to bring great events in his life: the dedication ceremonies, the visit to England and presentation to the Queen Mother, the many occasions which brought public acclaim. He enjoys such events, they are now happy memories for him. But in addition to these memories he will always carry in his mind a deep satisfaction of the artist who has crowned his career with a great masterpiece.[167]

These very personal words were written by an individual who knew Martin well. Although written second-hand from a non-native perspective, these words provide convincing testament that carving the Royal Totem pole and accompanying it to London in a highly-publicized context was a positive experience for Mungo Martin. While the visit was personally rewarding for Martin and Hunt, it also served the promotional purposes of the provincial government and the Centennial Committee. They profitted immensely from the coverage that Martin and his totem pole generated, despite the costs of getting the carver and his granddaughter to England.

The Queen's Totem: The Motion Picture

The film "The Queen's Totem," produced by the British Columbia government's Photographic Branch following the recommendations of the British Columbia Centennial Committee, was completed once the footage from the London dedication ceremony had been developed. The film provides a useful tool for analyzing how the Queen's totem project was perceived by the government employees and the Centennial Committee members that assisted in its production, and how they presented the project within the

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[167] Wilson Duff, "Mungo Martin, Carver of the Century," *The World is as Sharp as a Knife*, 37.

film. Considering the great efforts and resources required to produce the motion picture, it is worth examining the film in detail.

The film sets the stage with a synopsis of British Columbia history and an explanation of how a totem pole came to be presented to the Queen. In the first scenes from the film, amongst images of snow peaks and blue lakes, the narrator states: "One hundred years ago, British Columbia was a land of mountain silence, snow gathered in high places, later to melt and form lakes." The scene switches to images of crooked, aged totem poles, as the narrator continues: "At that time, inhabitants were mostly Indians, whose totem poles reached into the sky." The film then switches to industrial imagery, scenes of downtown Victoria, and views of smelters and mills with smokestacks reminiscent of the totem poles used in the previous scenes. With the next scenes of a steel factory and buses driving along a coastline highway, the narrator explains:

> The white man was quick to realize the wealth of Canada's West. He planned, made cities, and utilized its resources. To mark the century's development, the Provincial Government appointed a Centennial Committee whose program of events would commemorate British Columbia's hundredth anniversary.[168]

The carved totem pole project is introduced through these few brief scenes. The giant cedar logs and their transport to Victoria begin the story of the Queen's totem. History in the film indeed begins one-hundred years ago, with a silent wilderness, bountiful natural resources, and a few Indians suggested only by a few decrepit old totem poles. Images of "progress," including industrial development, urban settlement, and transportation, illustrate the transition to the present day, while the narrator extols "white man's" virtues of ingenuity, planning, and utilization of resources. These carefully-chosen words manipulate the meaning of this difficult history. Using the same images, but replacing the commentary with a description of the white colonizers' exploitation and mistreatment of the province's natural resources and First Nations peoples, would certainly have provided a less comfortable historical context, and made the choice of the

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[168] *The Queen's Totem,* film transferred to videocassette, BCARS, V1986 64/8. Throughout the film, the narrator uses the term "white man" to describe the province's non-native residents, presumably limited to those of Caucasian descent.

Board of the Centennial Committee and the Government of British Columbia to use a totem pole to mark the Centennial seem ironic. Once again, by removing any First Nations historical context to the totem pole, the organizers appropriated the pole and exploited it for their own purposes.

The film then follows the "straight-line" story of the pole, from the commencement ceremony in March 1957, through the carving and painting of the pole, to the departure ceremony and shipment of the pole to England. In the film's final scenes of the dedication ceremony in Windsor Great Park, the Queen Mother and a Canadian representative look upwards, presumably at the pole *[Figure 27]*. The camera pans slowly up Martin's totem against a blue sky, and as it reaches the top figure, the narrator concludes:

> Afterwards, as she looked at the tangible evidence of a nation's regard and affection, the Queen Mother's regal smile signified her sincere appreciation of a gift that spanned a century of commonwealth understanding, and lasting goodwill.[169]

One measure of the film's public reception and impact came from the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee's 1959 Annual Report, which stated that over 4,000 people saw the film in 1959, a large number of them were Indians.[170] Joanna Wright, Director of the Indian Advisory Act, a position in which she worked closely with the Provincial Indian Advisory Committee, showed the film to many First Nations communities on her tours through the Province. She reported that "great pride was expressed in the fact that an emblem of British Columbia Indian culture was chosen as a

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[169] The narrator uses the term "nation" to describe British Columbia. It is not known whether the term was intentionally used to either refer to Canada, or to suggest an elevated status for the province, or whether it was an error. Jean Barman suggests that the province maintained an ambivalence towards the Canadian nation. She quotes 1872 to 1874 Premier Amor de Cosmos as describing himself as "a British Columbian first and a Canadian second," and Premier W.A.C. Bennett as saying "we're the only part of Canada that really could go it alone [as] the Dominion of British Columbia". *The West Beyond the West,* 359-60.

[170] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1959 Annual Report*, 22.

gift to the Queen on this occasion."[171] Undoubtedly, the film generated a level of interest and pride in the communities that had an opportunity to view the film. However, as the only source of information on the reception of the project, it must be acknowledged that Wright's account represents a non-native voice speaking about Native attitudes. Considering her position with the Indian Advisory Act, she had a strong vested interest in reporting on positive reactions to the totem pole project through the use of the motion picture. Her comments reflect those written in the Report of the Indian Advisory Committee the year prior, which stated that the "native citizens of British Columbia were justly proud when the Provincial Government paid honor to their aboriginal culture"[172] by presenting the Royal totem pole as a centenary gift to the Queen. While some Native individuals may have been thankful for the outside presentation of their culture, others may have been ambivalent or may have seen the display as an invasion of their privacy.[173] Unfortunately for comparative purposes, there were no reports of the film in the *Native Voice*, whose pages were full of articles which focused on events and issues that had greater direct impact on the lives of First Nations citizens.

In his speech addressed to Her Majesty the Queen at the totem pole carving commencement ceremony recounted earlier in this chapter, Mungo Martin explained the significance of the totem pole he was to create in the coming months: *"This is the way we show our history."*[174] Despite an obvious lack of British Columbia's First Nations representation in the publications and presentations of history created for the Centennial celebrations, and certainly in the composition of the organizing committees, it is clear

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[171] *Ibid.*, 22.

[172] *British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee 1958 Annual Report*, 5.

[173] Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, 56. Ames lists several "insider's" (First Nations) points of view that staff of the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology have learned from their interactions with First Nations. This idea from his list suggests that there is no one perspective to the "Indian point of view".

[174] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 104. Uncited source.

from Mungo Martin's words that perhaps an even more powerful history of aboriginal people was told through the production and presentation of the Queen's totem pole. Considering the cliché "a picture tells a thousand words", the Queen's totem pole spoke volumes on the history of British Columbia's First Nations. This powerful symbol of First Nations history and title represented a time period much longer than the single century since the creation of the non-native entity called British Columbia. While the British audience, as outsiders looking at the historical presentations of another culture, may not have understood the details of aboriginal history told through the pole, its presence as a continuing reminder of enduring First Nations culture and their link to British Columbia would have made a significant impression, nonetheless.

The question of who controlled First Nations cultural resources in the 1958 Centennial generates some surprising answers when considering the Queen's Totem Pole project. While, early on, it appeared that the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee would hold control over the totem pole project, its authority waned with the transfer of the project to the Museum and the hiring of Mungo Martin. Through his position with the Museum, Martin was able to maintain considerable control over the use of his cultural materials. He was aware of how the totem pole was to be used following his completion of the carving. He made decisions on what would be included in the design and how it would be depicted and arranged. While Wilson Duff had authority over the project and over Martin as an employee, and a handful of other organizers may have provided Martin with input, the artist clearly developed his final product. He combined his own contemporary artistic expression with traditional forms and stylistic conventions. He held the inside knowledge of the crests and their significance, and chose to share elements of this knowledge that he felt would appropriately contextualize the totem pole for an outside audience. As demonstrated by the ceremonies held in Victoria for the totem pole project, Martin played a significant role in the presentation of the totem pole to the public, and was able to follow some traditional protocols for the dedication of the pole. His role in these public ceremonies gave him a platform to express his belief that the totem pole served to represent all of the totem carving tribes of the province as well as his

own Nation. In this way, Martin capitalized on the Centennial ceremonies to promote his own meaning for the pole.

By releasing control of the carving to the artist, the Centennial Committee became involved in a relationship with Martin that extended beyond the simple carving of a work of art. To appropriate the Queen's totem pole as a symbol of British Columbia, the government had to recognize Martin's cultural protocols. While the organizers may not always have been aware of how Martin would choose to practise his cultural traditions (such as with his presentation of the copper to the Queen), they were obliged to comply with his wishes. In this way, Martin essentially appropriated the Centennial project to promote his own meaning for the totem pole. Martin's ongoing involvement with the project and its presentation was ensured by the efforts of several key advocates, including Wilson Duff, the Indian Arts and Welfare Society, the Nordals, *The Native Voice*, and the Royal Anthropological Institute. In this respect, these supporters also influenced the project and the use of First Nations cultural resources within the Centennial. Their actions helped pressure the Centennial Committee and the Provincial Government to continue Martin's involvement with the project once the pole was on its way to England. While project promotions and administration were coordinated by the Centennial Committee, final public coverage inevitably resided with members of the press. Their knowledge and respect for the integrity of the project varied considerably, as demonstrated by the range of articles and reports they produced.

The Royal Totem pole project yielded particular benefits for all parties involved in its realization. The totem was the most significant and internationally-publicized event of the Centennial, and as a result had immense benefits for the Centennial Committee and the Provincial Government. Their appropriation of a Kwagiulth totem pole served as such a unique promotional vehicle that it generated interest from around the globe. By associating the province so closely with the First Nations through the totem pole gift, the organizers succeeded in demonstrating a strong link to their province's land and its original peoples. The project and its promotions also served as fairly inexpensive international public relations for Native/non-native affairs within the province. While issues of land claims and self-determination remained largely unresolved between the

First Nations and the provincial and federal governments, the Queen's totem pole project sent a message to its audiences that the non-native majority of the province held great respect for the traditions and culture of the First Peoples of British Columbia. Due to the project's high-profile within the province, this message was received by non-native British Columbians and perhaps informed their evolving opinions of Native/white relations.

Wilson Duff and the Provincial Museum reaped benefits from their partnership with the Centennial Committee on the carving of the two totem poles. It raised the profile of their totem pole restoration program. The partnership also helped subsidize the Museum's carving program through the Centennial year and brought thousands of tourists to the site. The Museum's interactions with Mungo Martin, the Kwagiulth community, and other Native groups from the province through the project also served to increase their connection with First Nations. Their collaborations with the Royal totem pole project and other Centennial projects contributed to the subsequent 'renaissance' of Northwest Coast Native art practice, which at the time of the Centennial was seen to be disappearing.[175] The transportation and materials sponsors of the project received public relations value from their involvement with the initiative, although the Powell River Company expressed its disappointment at being left out of the London dedication ceremony.

The Queen's totem supported Mungo Martin and the other two carvers for a year, and raised national and international interest in their art. Thus the totem pole project contributed to the rebirth of First Nations production of large-scale totem poles, albeit in this case with non-native patrons. Unfortunately, the project did not generate a sufficient level of financial support to sustain their regular employment. Henry Hunt and David Martin were laid off once again; Hunt turned to carving souvenir totems and masks, and David Martin returned to commercial fishing.[176] In 1959, David Martin was killed in a

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[175] Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 59.

[176] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 108.

tragic fishing accident that devastated his father, Mungo Martin.[177] The Queen's totem experience had been empowering for Martin's granddaughter Helen Hunt, who told the Indian Arts and Welfare Society that the project had given her strength to "stand up" for her people.

Mungo Martin gained increased celebrity status from the Queen's totem project. Ironically, his popularity in the British Press as the creator of the totem pole seemed to have overshadowed the province's role in organizing and financing the project. Whether he intended to or not, Martin capitalized on his public coverage to demonstrate many of the dynamic cultural practices alive within his family and community. While Martin may have been simply following the protocols he knew were appropriate for the occasion, his actions and words served to demonstrate his agency as a respected artist, and the vitality of his culture, both for Native and non-native audiences.

[177] "Totem Carver David Martin Lost at Sea," *The Native Voice* 13, no. 10 (October 1959): front cover.

Chapter III

Secondary Centennial Projects and Events

While the Royal totem pole project was clearly the focus of Native participation and content for the 1958 Centennial program, several other projects were considered or undertaken during the year. Some of these projects were proposed and carried out by First Nations of the province, while others were suggested by non-native organizers. This chapter presents some of these projects to examine First Nations participation and to explore the scope of projects with aboriginal content that were considered for inclusion.

The Princess in Wonderland:[1] The Native Brotherhood Welcomes Princess Margaret

In parallel to the production of the Royal Totem Pole and the arrangements to send it and a First Nations representative to England, plans were underway on this side of the Atlantic to bring a Royal representative to British Columbia in celebration of the Centennial. Princess Margaret was to give a tour of the province in July 1958, like a living Royal artifact, meeting and greeting the province's citizens at countless ceremonies. As with the Royal Anthropological Institute's welcoming of Chief Mungo Martin on his trip to London, this Royal tour in British Columbia offered the First Nations of the province an opportunity to host an important dignitary in their own territories.

In January 1958, Guy Williams, then Public Relations Officer for the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, announced on behalf of Robert Clifton, President of the Native Brotherhood, an invitation to Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret to attend a Centennial feast and festival in Courtenay. The Native Brotherhood sent invitations to all British Columbia 'tribes' to send their representative hereditary chiefs to the event to

[1] "The Princess in Wonderland" was the title of a thirty-minute film produced by the Provinces's Chief Photographer, Mr. R.L. Colby, in commemoration of Princess Margaret's tour of British Columbia in 1958. See BCARS, V1986:42, film transferred to videocassette.

be presented to the Princess, "so that they could", according to a *Native Voice* report, "reaffirm their loyalty to the Crown."[2] *The Native Voice* reported on what it called the "Huge Indian Rally" planned by the Brotherhood to honour the Princess' visit.[3]

Enthusiasm for the Princess' visit stemmed in part from the link that many First Nations citizens identified between Princess Margaret and her ancestor, Queen Victoria, who had been well-respected by many First Nations individuals. An article in *the Native Voice* announcing the event explained this historic relationship:

> Pageantry and ceremonies will depict the age-old way of life which existed during the reign of Her Beloved and Revered Majesty, the late Queen Victoria, great great grandmother of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II and Her Royal Highness Princess Margaret, with colorful scenes and ancient ceremonial costumes.
> Her Majesty Queen Victoria is beloved and revered by all the Indians of Canada, who have been taught to love her by their fathers and grandfathers. They have been told of her anxiety and concern for the welfare of her Native subjects, and who with her ministers planned and desired that they should receive British Justice and fair treatment.... Although the day and name have been changed to Empire Day by the Whites, her loving Native subjects still celebrate the 24th of May in loving memory of their Beloved Great White Queen Mother beyond the Seas whom the old people have taught them to remember and love.[4]

President Clifton and Reverend Peter Kelly, Chairman of the Native Indian Brotherhood's Legislative Committee, wrote to Lyle Wicks, Minister of Labour, announcing their plans and requesting that the British Columbia Centennial Committee permit the Princess to attend their celebration in Courtenay. They outlined the proposed programme, which included:

1. Ancient Indian Customs. dances and songs for Royal reception
2. The beginning of civilization
3. The attainments up to present day

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[2] "Brotherhood Plans Huge Indian Rally to Honor Visit of Princess Margaret," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 1 (January 1958): 3.

[3] *Ibid.*, 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, 3.

4. Tea in the Native Sons Hall in Courtenay in the evening.[5]

At about the same time, Wilson Duff wrote to L.J. Wallace regarding the Princess's visit to recommend a suitable gift from British Columbians. He suggested a set of costume jewelry designed by Bill Reid. Duff supported his recommendation with the following argument:

> Mr. Reid is a trained jeweler and a superb craftsman who is partly of Haida Indian descent. His most striking work makes use of classic Haida art motifs adapted to modern forms of silver and gold jewelry and ornaments. A gift set consisting of gold lapel pin, bracelet, and earrings and using Haida motifs would be highly appropriate from several points of view. It would represent the distinctive Indian art which is part of the background of B.C., it would represent the "West Coast" school of contemporary craftsmen who are now producing distinctive work (mostly in Vancouver) and the gold would represent the history of the century that began with the gold rush of 1858.[6]

It does not appear that jewelry was commissioned from Bill Reid as a gift to the Princess. The Provincial Government chose not to use First Nations cultural imagery and instead commissioned an emerald brooch in the shape of a dogwood — the Province's official flower.

Anticipation of the Native Brotherhood's pageant was complicated by other events organized by the Centennial Committee to celebrate the Princess's visit. The British Columbia government planned to present to Princess Margaret, in commemoration of her visit and the Province's Centennial, a small Gulf Island named Portland Island, located in the straits between Victoria and Vancouver. The day before the presentation of the island, Chief Andy Paull of the Squamish Nation, President of the North American Indian Brotherhood, sent a telegram to Prime Minister John Diefenbaker

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[5] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from the Native Indian Brotherhood signed Robert Clifton, Rev. Peter Kelly, Chairman, Legislative Committee, to Lyle Wicks, Minister of Labour, January 17, 1958, GR1448-19 Project Files - Princess Margaret Project File Folio 1 P/P/8.

[6] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Duff to Wallace, January 22, 1958, GR1448-19 Project Files: Princess Margaret Project File Folio 1 P/P/8.

to protest the gift. Paull explained the situation to a *Scottish Daily Mail* reporter, on location in British Columbia for the Princess's visit, on the eve of the presentation of the island gift:

> We have no quarrel with Princess Margaret.... There are no more loyal subjects of the Royal Family than the Canadian Indians, but we feel it is an insult to the Princess to offer her something to which the Government has no right. It is stolen property.... The Government has persistently refused to comply with an order of King George III to we Indians in council and discuss ownership of the land. We would be delighted for the Princess to have an island, but we are the ones who should give it to her.[7]

This article, entitled mockingly: "Princess flies in to 'heap big row'" used the sub-headings "An insult" and "Ignored", to identify the issues, and reported that Canadian Indians claimed: "You can't give the island away. It belongs to us."[8] Another British newspaper reported that "the island was the property of British Columbia's Indian tribes."[9] Despite this bad press abroad, the presentation went ahead, and the island continues to this day to be used by the Royal Family as a private recreation site during their visits to the Canadian west coast. However, the protest may have raised awareness of land claims issues in British Columbia, which to this day remain unresolved.

The festival planned by Robert Clifton in honour of the Princess proceeded, despite an illness which kept the President in a Courtenay hospital and unable to attend. On the day of the event, the Princess made a special detour to the hospital to visit him.[10]

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[7] "Princess flies in to 'heap big row': Daily Mail Reporter Victoria British Columbia," *Scottish Daily Mail* (Edinburgh), July 1, 1958. BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, "Extracts from the British Press Relating to the Centennial Celebrations 1958. Section Two: The Totem Pole - Windsor Great Park," GR345.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *News Chronicle* (London), July 15, 1958. The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR345.

[10] "Princess Sees Potlatch, Visits Bob," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 8 (August 1958): 1.

According to reports published in the press, the Princess's attendance at the potlatch, as it was called by some reports, though limited to just under half an hour, was a great success. Several participants were dressed in their Nations' full regalia, and dances were performed to extend welcome to their guest.[11] Reverend Peter Kelly presented eight high-ranking chiefs to the Princess, on behalf of the incapacitated Robert Clifton. Chiefs presented included Chief August Jack Khatsahlano, Chief Billy Assu, and Chief Andy Frank of Comox. Dr. Kelly emphasized the loyalty of the Coastal Indians to the crown, and presented the Princess with two gifts for Queen Elizabeth: a yellow cedar Haida totem pole carved with a thunderbird and whale, and a one-foot argillite pole carved by an unnamed Haida artist from the Skidegate Mission.[12]

Robert Clifton's efforts to bring the Princess to the Courtney district were commended in the Comox and Courtenay papers. Other papers, particularly those abroad, focused on the 'otherness' of the event. The *Evening Standard* in London announced that the Princess "will meet Red Indians today when she is flown to a potlatch - a tribal feast for young chiefs - outside Victoria."[13] Clearly, the purpose of a potlatch was not understood here. Other papers captured photographs of the Princess greeting individuals from various First Nations in British Columbia and across Canada.[14] An article published

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[11] According to Judith Ostrowitz, "Happy Dances", adapted from the potlatch's *tla'sala* section, were performed by the Kwakwaka'wakw for this event. See "Privileging the Past: A Case Study in Contemporary Kwakwaka'wakw Performance Art," *American Indian Art Magazine* 20 no. 1 (Winter 1994): 58.

[12] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letters from Rev. J.R. Murdoch, Skidegate Mission and Jerry Mathisen, Recreation Consultant to Wallace, [June 1958?], GR1448-19 Project Files; Princess Margaret Project File Folio 1 P/P/8. An article in *The Native Voice* suggests that the yellow cedar totem pole was carved by Peter Kelly. *The Native Voice* 12, no. 8 (August 1958): 4.

[13] "Red Indian Feast for Princess," *Evening Standard* (London), July 16, 1958. The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR345.

[14] Examples include: "Princess Will Sign Red Indian Bible," *Nottingham Evening Post*, July 15, 1958; photograph of the Princess with a Nanaimo chief wearing a chilkat

in the *Canada Weekly Review* provided great detail on the event in its article, "Princess Breaks Protocol Stands to Greet Indian Chiefs". Although some of the details of the story were inaccurate, the gist of the article demonstrated the Princess's respect for the First Nations citizens of the province. The article explained that the Princess had accepted an invitation from the Native Brotherhood to join them in a "festival of 'joyous welcome'" and that, for weeks, Indians had been practising dances, repainting masks, replacing "pearl-button beads" on their ceremonial blankets. They came from afar, to join in the celebration. The article reflected on the small part this impressive event played in the busy overall visit of the Princess when it stated: "This was the Indians' day - at least for 23 minutes it was."[15]

In the sweltering heat, thirty leaders waited for the Princess, "changing from trim business suits and working clothes into heavy blankets and birch-bark [sic—cedar bark] headdresses"[16]. The article explained that owing to salmon fishing season, which so many families depended on for their livelihood, many dignitaries were unable to attend. It praised the rousing greeting Princess Margaret received upon her arrival at the potlatch, and contrasted it with what the article characterized as the quiet and restrained welcomes typical of the rest of her Canadian tour.[17]

Apparently, the Princess broke Royal protocol when the first hereditary chief, 88-year-old Chief Billy Assu, one of the most prominent Indian leaders on Vancouver

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blanket, in the *Sheffield Telegraph* (Sheffield), July 23, 1958; a photograph of the Princess with Chief Maquinna of Port Alberni in *The Times Weekly Review*, July 24, 1958; and a photograph from the Courtenay potlatch and pageant showing the Princess with a chief in the *Illustrated London News*, July 26, 1958. The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR345.

[15] "Princess Breaks Protocol Stands to Greet Indian Chiefs," *Canada Weekly Review*, Saturday, August 2, 1958, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, GR345.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

Island, ascended the platform to be presented. Chief Assu, described in *The Canada Weekly Review* as wearing "a weasel-skin war bonnet, ...dried bird beaks rattling on his leggings, and two medals from the white man's government on his brilliantly patterned blanket", faltered part-way up the steps. Princess Margaret arose and met him at the edge of the platform, ready to assist. They greeted one another from the edge. According to the article, "Margaret looked around, and B.C.'s Lieutenant-Governor Frank McKenzie Ross, stood up, too." The Princess greeted the remainder of the chiefs and leaders at the edge of the platform, "standing in deference to the dignity of a proud people."[18]

Recognizing the complex obligations and ceremonies inherent in a First Nations event involving protocols and traditions, the twenty-three minutes given in 1958 to British Columbia's First Nations to host a visiting representative of the Queen do not seem sufficient, despite the considerable demands that must have been placed on the Princess's time during her tour. Furthermore, thirty years after the Centennial Royal visit, the same miscalculations were made by an official British Columbian organizing body, as will be discussed in the next chapter. While the Native Brotherhood's celebration of Princess Margaret's visit in 1958 cannot be categorized as a project organized by the Centennial Committee to represent First Nations culture, it does provide an excellent example of a major event organized by representatives of several First Nations of the province to publicly present their culture.

Commemorating the Centennial Itself: Souvenirs

Accompanying the Royal Totem pole project were several initiatives for souvenirs. Mungo Martin and the other carvers were hired by the Centennial Committee to create four eighteen-inch totem poles bearing crests from the Centennial pole. Each pole was to have three figures on it, including *Tatensid*, the Man with the Hat figure on top of the pole.[19] The recipients of these totems are not recorded in the archival record, nor is there

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[18] *Ibid.*

[19] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Duff to Horan, Publicity Director, January 7, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

evidence that the numerous miniature souvenir totem poles suggested by Tom Howarth in 1956 were ever produced by the Centennial Committee.[20] Surely the tremendous workload involved in carving the Royal totem pole and its replica made the mass production of souvenir poles highly unrealistic.

In 1957, Harry Duker of the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee had an idea to create totem lapel pins. He believed that this initiative "would prove popular, and be good publicity for British Columbia."[21] Duker recognized that carving individual totem pins would prove too costly, and suggested they could be molded in plastic, "to sell at popular prices." He added: "Such items would, I feel sure, be most interesting to tourists."[22] Wallace wrote back to give his approval for them to go ahead, "as long as the work is of high quality."[23] Though Wallace recognized the importance of quality products, his decision seems to have had more to do with protecting the reputation of the Centennial than with protecting aboriginal arts and crafts against appropriation and mass-production. Otherwise, he would have discouraged the endeavour unless it was approved by and operated by First Nations manufacturers. There is no record of whether this initiative was carried out.

An examination of these Centennial souvenir initiatives raises the following question: were any First Nations artists involved in the design and manufacture of Native-inspired souvenirs? In Bill Reid's February 1957 letter to Larry McCance, described in Chapter I, the artist offered his services as a carver and designer in Indian motifs for the production of souvenirs. He informed the Centennial Committee:

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[20] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Promotions and Displays Subcommittee, Minutes of Meeting 1, April 5, 1956, GR1448-4 – Centennial Subcommittee Minutes.

[21] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Duker to Wallace, September 10, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Duker, September 13, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

> I would also be glad to collaborate on dewign [sic] with any manufacturer contemplating mass production of good quality items with an Indian motif, or in some cases, actually making the model or prototype. There would of course have to be some sort of royalty basis for such an arrangement.[24]

The Creative and Cultural Activities Subcommittee heard of Bill Reid's offer, and wrote to McCance to suggest that it could "use his design abilities as a collaborator and originator of some Centennial souvenirs."[25] The B.C. Centennial Arts and Crafts caravan, a touring project created by this Subcommittee, included Bill Reid jewelry, totem pole carvings by Ellen Neel and her son David Neel, and paintings by George Clutesi.[26] The Centennial Committee did not use the services of Reid for any major Centennial project or souvenir design, although Wilson Duff did suggest the Centennial Committee hire the artist to produce the Centennial gift for Princess Margaret to commemorate her visit.

An unusual Centennial product was proposed in September, 1957 by Miss J.E. Brown. In a letter from Barry Mather to Dr. Malcolm McGregor, who served on the Historic Sites, Films and Publications Subcommittee, Mather described Miss Brown's idea as "a sort of B.C. Indian banner tartan pattern."[27] The letter was forwarded to D.J. Horan, Publicity Director, who replied to Miss Brown informing her that they had no budget for the idea, but suggested she try the large department stores for purchase of the design for their fabrics. Earlier in the year, there had been a request to produce a Scottish-

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[24] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Bill Reid to McCance, February 7, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

[25] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Pat Woodward, Chairman, Crafts Committee, The Creative and Cultural Activities Subcommittee to McCance, February 20, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians. Woodward's letter was written on B.C. Arts and Crafts Centre Vancouver letterhead which used an unidentified native-design logo.

[26] "Ladysmith - B.C. Centennial Arts & Crafts Caravan," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 6 (June 1958): 4.

[27] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mather to Malcolm McGregor, Historic Sites, Films and Publications Subcommittee, September 27, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

style Centennial tartan. The Honorable Wesley D. Black, Provincial Secretary and Minister of Municipal Affairs forwarded Wallace files and samples from the proposal. The Centennial Board of Directors reviewed the proposal during one of its meetings. It rejected the idea, based on several reasons, two of which raise issues of cultural appropriation. These reasons were stated as follows: "Because of the ethics involved in invading the realm of an ancient and respected Scottish tradition.... Because it would relegate the traditional Scottish Tartan to rank commercialism during the Centennial year."[28] This case perhaps indicates a double standard placed on Native cultural resources: the Centennial Committee strongly opposed the appropriation of Scottish tradition, while a senior Centennial employee pointed the creator of an "Indian banner tartan" to 'rank commercialism' via the nearest department store. Of course, the Centennial Committee may not have seen this Indian tartan as an example of appropriation; they had authorized the production of similar appropriated interpretations of ancient and respected aboriginal traditions in some of its other Centennial promotional materials. The Centennial had in fact authorized the production of an official British Columbia Centennial signature fabric. Scattered around the fabric design were sketches of dogwood flowers, a logs and loggers motif, and a totem pole surmounted by a Thunderbird figure *[Figure 28]*. Once again, the Centennial incorporated a totem pole image to ensure the distinctiveness of the British Columbia design.

Late in 1958, a letter was received by the British Columbia Centennial Committee from A.B. Irwin, of Irwin Specialties Limited of Toronto. Mr. Irwin expressed his company's interest in producing a little booklet on the history and the "colourful background" of the Queen's Totem Pole. They also wished to obtain something from which to produce "an exact duplicate" of the pole to produce hand-carved miniatures of this "Canadian-made" totem pole. They were optimistic of the sales potential of "this

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[28] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to Hon. Wesley D. Black Provincial Secretary & Minister of Municipal Affairs, February 4, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

type of 'All Canadian' item."[29] Wallace's response to this request demonstrates that he, on behalf of the Centennial Committee, was sensitive to the significance of Mungo Martin's creation. He declined their proposal first on the basis that the original pole was now Royal property, and that permission would have to be obtained from the new owners to manufacture reproductions. He added that due to the complexity of the massive sculpture, a recognizable miniature version would be almost impossible to reproduce. Wallace's final point reflects his understanding of the unfair practices of appropriation of aboriginal designs and commercial mass-production of souvenirs:

> Actually, we have some general reservations about such a reproduction.... in all fairness to the native Indian craftsmen in this Province, there has been so much reproduction of what we consider to be of a shoddy nature that we are loathe to encourage still another project, unless the Indians themselves are responsible for the work or guarantees can be made regarding the quality of reproduction.[30]

Wallace's argument on behalf of the Centennial Committee opposes the mass-commercialization and appropriation of Native art. However, he seems to have been as much concerned with maintaining quality as he was protecting the rights of First Nations artists, or of supporting these artists as they struggled to make a living from their art. Copyright resides with the Royal Family, the new owners of the totem pole. Had the Province of British Columbia still been in possession of the pole, would it have recognized Mungo Martin's rights to maintain control of his intellectual and cultural property, as would be the case today?

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[29] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from A.B. Irwin, Irwin Specialties Limited Manufacturers and Importers, Toronto, to the British Columbia Centennial Committee, Oct. 3, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[30] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Reply letter from Wallace to A.B. Irwin, October 14, 1958, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

The Cunningham Collection

The Centennial Committee was not limited to accepting proposals generated by its own members. It was also responsible for reviewing suggestions brought forward by outside individuals and organizations. One such proposal came in 1957, when the Centennial Committee was approached to purchase a collection of fifty-nine argillite totem poles known as the Cunningham Collection. Good-quality argillite carvings, made of a black shale used by the Haida for carving since at least the 1820's,[31] were much sought-after items for museums and private collectors. Originally owned by Robert Cunningham, a trader and former missionary in Massett, and passed down to his half-Haida son George Cunningham,[32] a merchant and hotel keeper in Port Essington,[33] the Cunningham collection came into the possession of a relative, Mr. D. McAlister, a salesman from Victoria.[34] McAlister was very interested in selling what he described as "The World's finest collection of Argellite Totem Poles", which included numerous miniature totem poles as well as a ceremonial spoon and a small chest.[35] McAlister was asking $30,000.00 for the collection, a price well above its market-value. Wallace approached Clifford Carl of the Provincial Museum for his recommendations. Carl was

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[31] Peter Macnair and Alan Hoover, *The Magic Leaves: A History of Haida Argillite Carving* (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1984), 17. For more information on argillite, see Carol Sheehan, *Pipes that won't smoke; coal that won't burn : Haida sculpture in argillite.* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, c1981); Leslie Drew and Douglas Wilson, *Argillite: Art of the Haida.* (North Vancouver: Hancock House Publishers Ltd., 1980).

[32] Marius Barbeau, *Haida Carvers in Argillite,* Bulletin No. 139 Anthropological Series No. 38, (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, National Museum of Canada, 1957), 180-181.

[33] Drew and Wilson, *Argillite: Art of the Haida,* 269.

[34] Peter Macnair, interview with author, March 16, 1998.

[35] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from D. McAlister to Wallace, September 16, 1957, GR1448-7 General File - Indians.

aware of the collection as it had been exhibited at one time at the Provincial Museum.[36] He commented on its high quality in a letter to Wallace, but added that the collection was worth only about $15,000.00. Carl's estimation was a more accurate figure, given that several pieces in the collection, claimed by McAlister to be the work of "Charlie Edenshaw and a slave boy named 'Chapman'"[37] (the great carvers Chief Charles Edenshaw and Isaac Chapman) were misattributed[38], though Marius Barbeau also misidentified them in his 1957 book, *Haida Carvers in Argillite*.[39] Despite his concern for the inflated price of the collection, Carl recognized its potential value to the Museum. He added:

> We hesitate to make any recommendations because we are not sure how such a collection would fit into your planned activities for the Centennial year. But it would form an excellent basis for a display of the arts of 1858, perhaps as a travelling exhibit. We would certainly recommend its purchase if it could have some such use, and we would be most happy to receive it as a Centennial gift to the people of the Province afterwards.[40]

Despite Carl's supportive letter, the collection was never purchased by the Centennial Committee. Centennial Board member Willard Ireland also wrote to Wallace independently of Clifford Carl. Ireland, who had served on the Executive of the Indian Arts and Welfare Society, recognized the potential conflict in acquiring the collection on

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[36] Barbeau, *Haida Carvers in* Argillite, 180.

[37] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from D. McAlister to Wallace, September 16, 1957, General File - Indians, GR1448-7. In his letter to Wallace, McAlister draws on the romanticized stories from the writings of the Cunninghams, recorded in Barbeau's book, to describe the carvers and the collection. See Barbeau, *Haida Carvers in* Argillite, 180.

[38] Peter Macnair, interview with author, March 16, 1998.

[39] *Ibid.* According to Macnair, even when he appraised the collection in the late 1960s early 1970s, its value did not match McAlistair's $30,000.00 asking price.

[40] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Clifford Carl to Wallace, October 1, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

behalf of the Centennial Committee. He had these words of cautionary advice for Wallace on how the Board should proceed:

> I think we would be establishing rather a dangerous precedent if we were to start recommending purchase of collections of this sort by the Centennial Committee. It seems to me this is a straight matter for the Government to face as a purchase by the Province for the Provincial Museum, and I quite frankly see no reason why the Centennial Committee should be involved in a negotiation whatsoever.[41]

While there was clear interest on the part of the Provincial Museum in acquiring the collection as part of the Centennial celebrations, the proposal was not accepted. For the purposes of this thesis, the Cunningham Collection provides a revealing comparative example of how the Museum could have directly benefited from the Centennial had it purchased the collection. The proposal clearly fell outside of the scope of the other projects, in that it did not involve any particular community or living artist, either Native or non-native, nor did it produce any new work of art, but merely would have facilitated the acquisition of an impressive collection of artwork in trust for the people of the Province that otherwise could not have been purchased.

Tzinquaw

Another outside suggestion came forward to revive *Tzinquaw*, a successful Native opera that had toured the province in the early 1950s, as a 1958 Centennial performance. *Tzinquaw*'s script, musical score, and English lyrics had been written by Frank Morrison, the manual arts instructor at St. Catherine's Indian School in the Cowichan region.[42] Through co-operation with members of the Cowichan First Nation, Morrison based *Tzinquaw* on a Cowichan legend of the Thunderbird and the Killer Whale, and

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[41] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Willard Ireland, Honorary Secretary, Board of Directors, British Columbia Centennial Committee to Wallace, October 9, 1957, GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 2 of 2.

[42] Mildred Valley Thornton, "Tzinquaw: B.C.'s Indian Drama," *The Native Voice* 4, no. 12 (December 1950): 5. Thornton was captivated by the Native peoples of Canada, and painted, wrote, and performed her writings in Native buckskin costumes.

endeavoured to adhere to authentic tradition throughout the opera.[43] It was produced, designed, and directed by Cecil West, a retired actor and producer from Duncan, who regularly visited the Provincial Museum in Victoria to ensure accuracy in costumes and stage settings. The songs and dances were written by individuals from the Cowichan First Nation, and the operetta was performed by a cast also from the Cowichan First Nation.[44] In a review for *The Native Voice* of the performance in 1950, Mrs. Mildred Valley Thornton, a well-known Vancouver artist, writier and performer, described the operetta as "a combination of all the Indian arts, calculated to emphasize the dramatic gifts of our native people."[45]

> It is believed that this is the first time that music and drama indisputably 'Originally American' has been produced this way, and performed by Indian people. It will be a revelation to white people to discover how much talent is hidden away on reserves.[46]

Tzinquaw begins appearing in the Centennial record as early as January 2, 1956, when Cecil West wrote to the Premier. West characterized the opera as a "'box-office' success ... with the tourist dollar in mind in addition to its very real artistic merit."[47] He also described it as "unique in Canada in that it is completely of our province."[48] At the second meeting of the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee, a letter was read from Mildred Valley Thornton, in which she suggested that arrangements be made immediately to revive the opera to provide visitors with an opportunity to see this

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[43] *Ibid.*, 5.

[44] *Ibid.*, 5.

[45] *Ibid.*, 5.

[46] *Ibid.*, 5.

[47] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Cecil West to the Premier, January 2, 1956, General File - Indians, GR1448-7.

[48] *Ibid.*

"unique attraction". According to the minutes, her letter went on to recommend that a community house be built in Duncan to host the performances. She added:

> We should not forget that there is much native talent in other places along the coast. Colourful Indian dances in full ceremonial costumes should definitely be planned for. ...This would require the services of some one known and trusted by the Indians and familiar with their customs to make all the necessary arrangements well beforehand. Needless to say suitable financial compensation to the Indian would be required.[49]

The Promotions and Displays Subcommittee recommended the revival of *Tzinquaw* for the British Columbia Centennial, and that the Centennial Committee support the project financially.

In November 1956, Barry Mather of the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee received a letter from Doug Nixon, Regional Program Director for the C.B.C. His letter included an allegedly verbatim transcript of a conversation Nixon had had with Cecil West about re-offering *Tzinquaw.* West reported to Nixon that the Cowichan First Nations performers were extremely eager to present the opera for the Centennial. West added the following point, as Nixon reported:

> As far as behavior is concerned, the Cowichan people have behaved extremely well. I have had them in hotels in Victoria, Vancouver, New West., Alberni and Nanaimo, and the hotel managers have always said that they have behaved better than the average white person. This is a rather good point, and I want you to make this point when talking to your Committee. They are very well behaved and dependable.[50]

West and Nixon felt compelled to demonstrate to the Centennial Committee the responsible behaviour of the First Nations members of *Tzinquaw*; in fact, they presented the group's behaviour as superior to that of the "average white person." These comments

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[49] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Promotions and Displays Subcommittee, Minutes of Meeting 2, June 22, 1956, GR1448-4 1958 - Centennial Subcommittee Minutes.

[50] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter to Mather from Doug Nixon, Regional Program Director, C.B.C. November 5, 1956, GR1448-9 CP/2 Promotion & Displays.

stand out as peculiar. Why would the organizers include such a comment? West and Nixon likely emphasized this point to overcome the societal discrimination faced by First Nations in the province. Wilson Duff articulated the presence of such discrimination when he wrote in 1964 that "some degree of prejudice still operates to segregate the Indians socially."[51] Indeed, bias and segregation were still evident in British Columbia. For example, it had only been since the 1951 amendments to the Indian Act that Native citizens had been given the right to consume alcohol in public places, and restrictions on the sale of alcohol to Indians were not removed in British Columbia until 1962.

Wallace was also apparently supportive of the *Tzimquaw* idea.[52] In fact, he later proposed a suggestion based on an idea he had received from Mildred Valley Thornton, that *Tzinquaw* "might be a yearly attraction during the tourist season on Vancouver Island as well as being of great assistance to our native Indians."[53] The Native Indian Service Council based in Vancouver also endorsed the project.[54] Dr. W.G. Black, Regional Liaison Officer for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in Vancouver, wrote to Wallace to support the initiative. He felt that the production should be re-performed as a major Centennial colour and sound motion picture. He added a pessimistic prediction based on popular notions of the "vanishing Indian":

> Indeed, the opportunity ... is quite unique, as likely it will be very difficult, if not impossible, in the years to come, to obtain singers and actors such as Able Joe, the

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[51] Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man*, 105.

[52] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from H.C. Holmes (of Pemberton, Holmes Ltd.) to Cecil West, July 4, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[53] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Wallace to J.B. Creighton, Secretary, Duncan-Cowichan Chamber of Commerce, August 25, 1957. GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4. Wallace was replying to a letter sent to him from Creighton on August 15, 1957.

[54] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Mrs. Hugh MacPhail, Secretary, Native Indian Service Council, Vancouver, to Wallace October 3, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

> tenor who took the leading role and who still lives in Duncan. Likely too, in the years to come, it would be increasingly difficult to bring together Indian people of the old Indian traditions.[55]

One of the key advocates for the project was H.C. Holmes, of the real estate company Pemberton, Holmes Ltd. He felt that this "Indian opera", as it was often identified in the Centennial archival record, "could be a tremendous thing for Vancouver Island, the Province, the Dominion and the Indians."[56] He added in another letter in which he sought funding for the performance: "I believe Tzinquaw could be an excellent medium for publicizing Vancouver Island, apart from its other obvious and important merits."[57] Letters of support came in for the proposal, but without the funding attached to make the initiative a reality.[58] The Associated Chambers of Commerce of Vancouver Island sent a letter of support to Wallace in August, but without a financial contribution. Holmes was undaunted, and he wrote again to Wallace: "May I say how thoroughly convinced I am personally that the staging of Tzinquaw in 1958 must be of immense value and help for the perpetuation and development of Indian Culture throughout this Province."[59]

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[55] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Dr. W.G. Black, Regional Liaison Officer, Dept. of Citizenship & Immigration, Vancouver, to Wallace, September 18, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[56] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Holmes to West, July 4, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[57] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Holmes to Conway Parrott, "Glenairlie" July 4, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[58] The 1958 Centennial had implemented a per capita grant-in-aid programme of 40 cents per capita for each community centennial committee, and a further 60 cents per capita per 60 cents raised per person in project funding. Perhaps there was no community funding available for this project. See "The Per Capita Grant Programme, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 259-61.

[59] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Holmes to Wallace, August 15, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

Without financial progress, frustration appeared to be mounting within the Cowichan Valley Native and non-native communities. J.B. Creighton, Secretary of the Duncan-Cowichan Chamber of Commerce, wrote to Wallace in August to express concern over what they saw as an inequitable situation:

> Mr. Gordon Hilker, of the Vancouver office of the Centennial Committee, was in the office some time ago and the writer [likely Frank Morrison] learned from him that the Vancouver Festival Society had commissioned Mr. Lister Sinclair to write a play based on the legends of the Kyuquot Indians and would sponsor the play in Vancouver, while the British Columbia Centennial Committee would back a tour throughout the Province.
> Presumably this play will be acted by whites. "Tzinquaw" is an original and authentic Indian opera staged entirely with a cast of Indian people. It drew well when staged here previously and should prove a singularly attractive feature of the Centennial year.[60]

As Creighton reported, the Vancouver International Festival had selected "The World of the Wonderful Dark" by renowned Canadian playwright Lister Sinclair, as its feature performance for the 1958 year. The British Columbia Centennial Committee sponsored a provincial tour of the elaborate three-act play, through support from an impressive list of patrons which included the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, the Premier, the Attorney-General, the Minister of Education, and the Mayor of Victoria.[61] Directed by Douglas Seale, it ran in Victoria, Alberni, Abbotsford, Trail, Cranbrook, Nelson, Penticton, Vernon, Kamloops and Prince George *[Figure 29]*. Sinclair used British Columbia First Nations content as the basis for his play, which he said was based on actual nineteenth-century incidents rather than on myths and legends.[62] The musical score was based on "authentic" Indian music collected by Dr. Ida Halpern,

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[60] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Creighton to Wallace August 15, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[61] *The World of the Wonderful Dark* Programme (Victoria: Vancouver International Festival: 1958). The programme provides a listing of leading patrons titled "Under the Distinguished Patronage", and includes a note from the B.C. Centennial Committee expressing their pleasure at making the tour of the play possible.

[62] Lister Sinclair, "Notes on the Play," Programme for *The World of the Wonderful Dark.*

Anthropology Professor at the University of British Columbia. The people of the *Wonderful Dark* were according to Sinclair, "in some ways like the Tlingit, in some way like the Haida, and in ways like the Kwakiutl."[63] This pan-Indian amalgamation of appropriated cultural traits was played by a non-native cast. It is no wonder the grass-roots Cowichan-based organizers, supporters, and performers of *Tzinquaw* were disturbed by the sponsorship of the *World of the Wonderful Dark*, while their proposal waited in vain for support.

Later that same month, the Secretary of the Kiwanis Club of Victoria, who had funded the original Victoria performances of *Tzinquaw*, wrote to the Centennial Committee regarding the endeavour to resurrect *Tzinquaw*. His letter explained that while the Kiwanis Club recognized that *Tzinquaw* had generated for them some much-needed funds, it would not support it again:

> ... it wasn't until it was over that we realized how much of a risk it had been.
>
> Our experience at that time suggests the Indian cast were most unreliable. They are not subject to the discipline or standards of a professional cast and it was only by a streak of good fortune that we were able to present all the performances that we had advertised.[64]

The Secretary added that the Kiwanis Club was sponsoring a performance by the National Ballet during the Centennial year, and hoped that their initiative would be counted towards the cultural contributions of the Centennial. The Kiwanis letter must have shocked the Centennial Committee, as its opinions were so contradictory to the support they continued to receive for the project. In October, Joanna Wright of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee forwarded a letter from Agnes Beattie of CKLG Radio in Vancouver. Frustrated by the year-long delays for approving *Tzinquaw* as a British Columbia Centennial project, and for producing the operetta as a film, Beattie

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[63] *Ibid.*

[64] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from V.W. Shoemaker, Secretary, Kiwanis Club of Victoria, to Wallace, November. 4, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

remarked that she "would like to punch somebody right on the nose." She added that "Done properly, this film would find a place at the Film Festivals ... on television... oh, I can think of a million places to send it as an example of pure Canadiana - and it could be done to our financial advantage in the long run too."[65] However, at the sixty-ninth Centennial Committee meeting held on October 10, 1957, the Board of Directors decided that it did not have funds available for the *Tzinquaw* proposal, and the project was not realized.[66]

Few would argue that despite the inroads that had been made towards acceptance of First Nations people as citizens, a stereotype of Native peoples as lazy and irresponsible still existed at the time of the 1958 Centennial. The Centennial Committee endeavoured to include First Nations peoples in the celebrations and special projects, while offsetting non-native opinions that Native peoples' involvement would result in unsuccessful and incomplete projects. The unsupported *Tzinquaw* proposal reflects the dynamics that were at play in the local communities of the province. Whether the Kiwanis Club Secretary based his negative recommendations solely on an unbiased evaluation of the past cast as amateurs, or whether his opinions were guided by stereotypes regarding the reliability of First Nations citizens, is difficult to determine, but lead to very different conclusions. It is also difficult to assess the impact that the Kiwanis Club's evaluation had the Centennial Committee's decision not to support the project. It is clear, however, that H.C. Holmes did not find the Kiwanis Club's decision valid. He wrote to Wallace in November, 1957, after Wallace sent him a copy of the Kiwanis Club letter:

> Is it not only natural that any group of amateurs, including Indians, will act differently to professionals? But surely the point is that the shows were put on here,

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[65] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Agnes R. Beattie to Miss Joanna Wright, Secretary, Provincial Indian Advisory Committee, October 10, 1957, GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[66] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, British Columbia Centenary Committee Minutes 69st meeting - October 10, 1957, GR1448-7 - General File - Indians.

> and in fact Tzinquaw was played forty eight times. Naturally I think everyone interested in Indians will regret the Kiwanis decision.[67]

While it could be argued that *Tzinquaw* was another example of non-native appropriation of First Nations culture, it did appear to offer considerable benefit to members of the Cowichan First Nation. The failure of this community-driven initiative featuring Native culture and performance, which had the potential to economically to support a significant number of First Nations performers and technicians, was indeed a loss to the Cowichan Valley, the Cowichan First Nation, and the British Columbia Centennial Celebrations as a whole.

One final proposal serves as a point of comparison with the types of projects accepted for the Centennial. In June 1958, Courtney-resident Fred Olsen wrote to Barry Mather suggesting a possible Centennial project. Olsen provided some background on the origins of his idea:

> At the time when I was young and immoral, and I was searching for the grave of the famous chief Maquinna ... this one [cave burial site] I stumbled onto accidentally in 1926 at Nootka sound (what a locale!) and it was filled with crumbled coffins containing the remains of long dead Indians.[68]

His childhood experience prompted Olsen to suggest that a cave-digging expedition in Nootka Sound be arranged, perhaps accompanied by a promotional search for the mythical Sasquatch, as a Centennial project. He added some suggestions sure to secure the Nuu-Chah-Nulth First Nation's approval to unearth one of its significant sites:

> Understandably, the Indians don't much like the idea of lousy white men mucking about with the bones of their forefathers, but I can visualize a deal with them wherein the ancient bones are reverently carried to a new burial spot and interred with much ceremony, and the scientific work permitted to proceed. If the leaders of

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[67] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from H.C. Holmes to Wallace, November 14, 1957. GR1448-21 "Tzinquaw" File - PT4.

[68] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Letter from Fred Olsen, Courtenay, to Mather, June 3, 1958, Promotion and Displays Subcommittee Records, GR1448-9 C/P/2.

> the Native Brotherhood and the Catholic church on the west coast would co-operate, I imagine the objections could be overcome.[69]

While the project was not accepted (Wallace felt that it was more appropriate as a local Centennial project and should be pursued as such), and it seems inconceivable to us today, it presents another example of how First Nations culture could have been used within the Centennial. This proposal reflects the curiosity that some non-native individuals and groups held for archaeological research on First Nations remains. Had this project been accepted, Nuu-Chah-Nulth human remains would have been disturbed and excavated under the promotional pretense of a search for the mythical Sasquatch. The project would have resulted in an extreme example of the exploitation of First Nations culture for the Centennial's gain. In comparison, the variety of suggested, refused, and accepted projects selected by the various Centennial Subcommittees, and approved by the Board of Directors, generally focused more on living First Nations culture or on appropriated motifs. Taken as a whole, these Centennial projects reflect a non-native fascination with aboriginal culture, particularly with its cultural resources and its similarities to existing non-native stereotypes of the Indian.

To conclude these chapters outlining the 1958 Centennial projects, it is important to note that several British Columbia First Nations communities were supportive of the idea of the Centennial. While only six First Nations communities set up their own local Centennial committees[70], others organized community projects and celebrations of their own, in areas such as Alert Bay, Bella Bella, and Hazelton. One such event was the festival planned by Vancouver Island Indians and announced by Chief Elwood Modeste in *The Native Voice* in November, 1957. Modeste was a supporter of the centennial, and was reported as saying he was "'disgusted' by the lack of interest being shown in the centennial by many Indians.", and added: "It's the celebration of 100 wonderful years of

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[69] *Ibid.*

[70] *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 284.

development accomplished by whites and Indians."[71] James Sewid reported to *The Native Voice* that the Alert Bay Centennial project which oversaw the painting of all of the totem poles in its famous cemetery was expected to be "a good tourist attraction."[72] He added that he was "very proud of our young people for taking this step because we like to show the white people that we can still do our handywork." The Capilano Indian Band hosted its eleventh Pow-Wow as part of the Centennial Celebrations, hosted by Band Councillor Simon Baker and his Committee.[73] *The Native Voice* called the Pow-Wow "the most colourful Centennial celebrations of the year." Harold Sinclair reported in the same issue that Hazelton was building a replica of a traditional house for the Centennial called "The Traditional Treasure House of the Native People". He observed that while many government officials would be there for the opening, and would speak of their origins and progress in B.C., it was "like yesterday" compared to the history of the ancestors of the Native peoples.[74] The Cowichan First Nation restored the heritage stone church at Comeaken.[75]

These individual commemorations illustrate the desire on the part of many First Nations communities to seize the 1958 opportunities provided by the Centennial program to celebrate their living, dynamic culture and preserve the significant parts of their history for the benefit of their present and future generations. It appears that the Centennial Committee's choice to leave the creation of community Centennial projects in the hands of local groups allowed each First Nation band to make its own decisions on whether they wished to participate, provided that any projects they proposed were approved by the Centennial Committee.

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[71] "Centennial Festival Planned," *The Native Voice* 11, no. 11 (November 1957): 8.

[72] "Natives Plan Centennial Celebrations," *The Native Voice* 12, no. 4 (April 1958): front cover.

[73] "Capilano Pow-Wow Best Yet", *The Native Voice* 12, no. 9 (September 1958): 3.

[74] *Ibid.*, 8.

[75] *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 284.

This chapter has explored a variety of examples of projects either proposed and carried out by First Nations of the province, or coordinated by non-native organizers but with significant First Nations participation. It also presented some proposals that used Native cultural motifs or objects without evidence of any First Nations consultation or inclusion, including some which involved the production or proposal of souvenirs. This range of proposals reveals the Centennial Committee's role in evaluating project proposals and in supporting approved activities. It also demonstrated that regardless of whether First Nations consultation or representation was a part of a project, many initiatives went forward or were refused based on other criteria or circumstances, such as community support or conflicts of interest. In the end, the presentation of First Nations culture within the British Columbia Centennial through local and provincial events derived from a diverse range of sources to serve an equally diverse range of interests.

Conclusion

"From Wilderness to Wonderland": Reconciling the Irreconcilable

The Government of British Columbia, through the efforts of the 1958 British Columbia Centennial Committee, presented itself to its citizens and others as a virtuous, progressive, and industrially-superior province. Its approach reflected a world-wide pattern seen in the presentation of states at world's fairs and expositions.[1] While the specific images used by individual nations to symbolize their own values vary considerably, each nation shares a common practice of constructing their own national identity. The Government of British Columbia's sponsorship of the Centennial celebrations can be seen as an effort to promote itself and to express its own ideological views. The work of the organizers of the Centennial programme, despite their own opinions and approaches, reflected the broad philosophical perspectives of British Columbia's government, and contemporary society as a whole. Within the context of the Centennial celebrations, organizers attempted to interpret the past as well as the present. Their reconstruction of one hundred years of colonial history reflected their contemporary values more than it did accurately portray past events.[2]

The 1958 British Columbia Centennial Committee approved the use of commemorative images that were sure to symbolize British Columbia and convey the primary messages for the 1958 celebrations. The caricature of Century Sam, a congenial prospector from the British Columbia gold rush, served as symbol of the British Columbia Centennial Committee.[3] More profoundly, Century Sam reflected its emphasis on the pioneer history of the province. The Centennial crest symbolized the province's

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[1] Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 113.

[2] See David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[3] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 219.

natural environment and industrial resources through its depiction of trees, mountains, ocean and factories surrounding the provincial flag. But totem pole images used in several high-profile Centennial projects were perhaps the most powerful icon of the British Columbia Centennial. The totem poles portrayed in the silver dollar, in the totem pole poster, and in the Province's gift to the Queen reflected the exoticism of Canada's most western province. The totem pole was easily recognizable to both residents and tourists as a symbol or trademark of the province.[4] The Centennial Committee did not originate this association; they merely capitalized on an existing symbolic relationship promoted by the tourism industry and organizations such as the Totem-Land Society.

The prominence given to the totem pole image during the Centennial, particularly through Mungo Martin's project, favourably raised public awareness of British Columbia's First Nations. However, the widespread appropriation of the totem pole during the 1958 Centennial also reinforced, for both residents and visitors, its identification as a symbol of British Columbia. Indeed, considering the public impact of these commemorative events, the Centennial's use of the totem pole may have had negative repercussions for the struggle against cultural appropriation. While they did not go so far as to employ stereotypical caricatures of Indian people in their own Centennial promotions — except perhaps in Barry Mather's *1858 and All That* speech — the Centennial Committee used and condoned the use of Native resources such as totem poles and stories during the Centennial year. While it could be argued that this borrowing of images and ideas was being practised all around them by advertisers, artists, performers and writers, the Centennial's use of these same materials served to legitimate and entrench the practice.

The Province's identification with the totem pole was complicated by Canada's national associations with the image. In Vincent Massey's 1948 text *On Being Canadian*, the author provides a list of 'Canadiana', or items such as the Mountie and the beaver,

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[4] Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man*, 83. Duff states, "The totem pole has attained the status of the symbol or trademark of the entire area."

that suggest and contribute to Canadian identity. The totem pole stands as one of the few aboriginal symbols on this list, appropriated to signify part of what Massey describes as "the intricate pattern which *is* Canada."[5] Additionally, the totem pole served to symbolize the aboriginal population, either broadly as a "pan-Indian" reference, or more specifically as a symbol of the peoples from which the images and crests originated. The totem pole was a cultural resource belonging to some of the First Nations of British Columbia, many of whom saw these objects and images as their physical and intellectual property. As historical "texts", totem poles were expressions of First Nations cultural identity. Their many roles and functions held great meaning for the cultures that created them; whether illustrating lineage or rights, significant achievements or memorials, these monuments promoted their patrons' wealth and status to their audiences.[6]

Native and concerned non-native parties raised concerns when totem pole images were appropriated for advertising and merchandising by either the Centennial Committee or by private initiatives. This appropriation opened the door to inappropriate use of cultural resources and misinterpretation of particular imagery or crests. This misuse was particularly serious for some First Nations since traditional practice dictated that only certain individuals and their families had rights to display particular crests. In addition, this appropriation raised frustration since profits were made on products and tourism by non-native individuals and organizations at the expense of the cultural groups from which the images originated. In these ways, this unauthorized appropriation of culture had detrimental effects on First Nations' rights over their cultural identity and economic status.

The Centennial Committee, influenced by its members involved with First Nations issues and by the Provincial government, did in some instances attempt to include the participation of First Nations in the development of projects and to control the exploitation of Native imagery for profit by some individuals. In these ways, they helped to control the appropriation of aboriginal culture.

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[5] Vincent Massey, *On Being Canadian* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1948), 31.

[6] Hilary Stewart, *Looking at Totem Poles* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993), 25-6.

In an article in Janet Berlo's 1991 anthology, *The Early Years of Native Art History: Essays on the Politics of Scholarship and Collecting,* Aldona Jonaitis observes: "Museum displays are not simple presentations of attractive or interesting objects, but often expressions of relations of cultural power."[7] The 1958 Centennial program and its presentation of projects which incorporated First Nations culture were just such expressions of a power relationship. The one-hundredth anniversary of British Columbia signified on one level a century of colonial domination over all aspects of Native life. For First Nations in British Columbia and across Canada, this subjugation meant "an often violent process of assimilation, coupled with the marketing of superficial difference either for profit (the tourism industry), or political gain (official multiculturalism),"[8] according to video producer and writer Richard Fung in his 1993 *Fuse* magazine essay on cultural appropriation. Fung adds:

> Despite the rhetoric of various nationalisms, there are no unique, pure cultures today; people have steadily learned the ways of others and taken them as their own.... There are no clear boundaries where one culture ends and another begins. But while some of this fusion may be celebrated as exchange, a larger proportion is the result of domination. The task of establishing cultural hegemony in the colonial context, for instance, entails the supplanting or harnessing of the social,

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[7] Aldona Jonaitis, "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History," *The Early Years of Native Art History: Essays on the Politics of Scholarship and Collecting.* Janet Berlo, ed. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 26. Deborah Doxtator comments that for aboriginal culture to have survived in Canada, it had to be "somehow valued within Canadian society, which had complete control." She adds that the incorporation of aboriginal cultures into cultural institutions such as museums and world expositions made it possible for Euro-Canadians to value these cultures in a very safe environment. Doxtator, "The Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy," *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies Proceedings of a Symposium held May 16-18, 1994 at the University of Victoria* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization with the Commonwealth Association of Museums and the University of Victoria, 1996), 61.

[8] Fung, "Working Through Cultural Appropriation", *FUSE* 16, no.5 & 6 (Summer 1993): 18.

economic and cultural systems of the subjugated, by those of the dominant power.[9]

At the time that British Columbia celebrated its centenary in 1958, the relationship between British Columbia's First Nations and non-native citizens was complicated by many outstanding issues. Unlike the rest of Canada, with the exception of only a few small areas of the province, British Columbia First Nations had not signed treaties extinguishing title to their land; as a result, they believed that their land rights still existed.[10] When the province joined Canadian Confederation in 1871, the Native population and their reserves became a federal responsibility. Despite the federal government's efforts to encourage the province's settlement of aboriginal title through treaties, the provincial government resisted. Paul Tennant observed that as the decades passed without resolution, British Columbia First Nations developed a "well-founded conviction" that the original support for aboriginal title expressed by British colonial officials and the Crown had been betrayed by the federal and provincial governments.[11]

The unsettled issues around aboriginal land rights, government control over their lives, and the development of the province by its new non-native majority left many First Nations citizens with mixed feelings about the 1958 and subsequent centennials. Coast Salish Chief Dan George of the Burrard Band poignantly expressed these concerns during the 1967 Centennial celebrations. Chief Dan George made his now famous speech, "A Lament for Confederation", at a Centennial Celebration in front of 32,000 people at Vancouver's Empire Stadium on Canada Day, 1967. Although the speech responded to the second of the major British Columbia centennials, its meaning resonates for the 1958 Centennial as well. The *Vancouver Sun* published Chief Dan George's "A Lament for

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[9] *Ibid.*, 17-18.

[10] Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism," 14.

[11] *Ibid.*, 13-14.

Confederation" in full, describing it as a "moving – and bitter – soliloquy". In the speech, Dan George pondered Canadian history as experienced by its Native population:

> How long have I known you, Oh Canada? A hundred years? Yes, a hundred years. And many many *seelanum* more. And today, when you celebrate your hundred years, oh Canada, I am sad for all the Indian people throughout the land.... I have seen my freedom disappear like the salmon going mysteriously out to sea. The white man's strange customs which I could not understand, pressed down upon me until I could no longer breathe....When I fought to protect my land and my home, I was called a savage. When I neither understood nor welcomed this way of life, I was called lazy. When I tried to rule my people, I was stripped of my authority..... My nation was ignored in your history textbooks – they were little more important in the history of Canada than the buffalo that ranged the plains. I was ridiculed in your plays and motion pictures.... Shall I thank you for the reserves that are left me of my beautiful forests? For the canned fish of my rivers? For the loss of my pride and authority, even among my own people? For the lack of my will to fight back? No! ... Let me humbly accept this new culture and through it rise up and go on. ... I shall build my race into the proudest segment of your society.... So shall we shatter the barriers of our isolation. So shall the *next* hundred years be the greatest in the proud history of our tribes and nations.[12]

The Centennial offered a very public venue for Chief Dan George to express his strong reservations regarding the celebrations and contemporary societal inequities. While such an expression of struggle may not directly represent a benefit for First Nations from the Centennial, it does suggest that the centenaries served as stirring opportunities for the Province's aboriginal population to take action. Chief Dan George went so far as to suggest that First Nations adopt elements of white culture, "the instruments of the white man's success – his education, his skills", that would assist them to regain control of their affairs and contribute to the governance of their land.[13] Coast Salish Chief Ernest Campbell of the Musqueam Nation echoed Chief Dan George's

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[12] Chief Dan George, "A Lament for Confederation," *The Vancouver Sun,* July 2, 1967. Included in BCARS, Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee Clippings Book, May 23 - July 12, 1967, GR-0072 B382 – microfilm.

[13] *Ibid.* Chief Dan George States, "I shall see our young braves and our chiefs sitting in the houses of law and government, ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedoms of *our* great land."

sentiments in response to the 1986 Vancouver Centennial celebrations: "All the Centennial does is remind me that they've been sitting on our territory for 100 years without compensation."[14]

In contrast, for some aboriginal leaders and citizens, the 1958 Centennial celebrations brought a very different experience. The programs and funding made available to communities were perceived by some groups as an opportunity to express cultural pride and to feel a sense of belonging to the Province. For example, Chief William Scow is quoted in the British Columbia Centennial Committee's 1958 final report as saying: "The Centennial Year has been our best since the white man came and we are thankful for the opportunity of having been able to co-operate."[15] Although he was personally involved in the Centennial on many levels, his comments likely reflected those of at least some other individuals who participated in local or provincial Centennial events. Certainly the comments in the *Native Voice* made by representatives of communities such as Alert Bay that had completed centennial projects demonstrated the benefits they perceived to have gained from their experience. It could be said that the Centennial celebrations provided opportunities for First Nations to reflect on their own formation of identity, considering the positive and negative events of the past one hundred years, and contributed to their growing empowerment. While there are certainly fewer First Nations opinions recorded in the Centennial files than those of non-natives, the range of opinion reported demonstrates that the 1958 and later centennials affected First Nations communities in complex and different ways.

Despite a desire on the part of some Centennial Committee members to raise awareness and respect for First Nations, the 1958 Centennial's significant use of Native imagery also supported a societal fascination and demand for Indian cultural content fed

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[14] Interview by John Cruickshank with Chief Ernest Campbell, "Vancouver Hits 100: Hard-bitten Timber Town Evolves into Sophisticated City," *Globe and Mail*, April 5 1986, A1-2, as quoted in Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 120.

[15] The British Columbia Centennial Committee, *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 285.

by the media and popular culture. These Centennial objects and projects were measured in the minds of non-native audiences in relation to existing white stereotypes of the Indian. Remnants of these stereotypes are present in several of the press reports and newspaper articles which document the Centennial projects.

In his 1982 book *The Totem Carvers*, Phil Nuytten observes that "as gift to Britain from 'Totemland', a totem pole seemed particularly appropriate."[16] His remark confirms how automatic and ingrained the application of the stereotypical Indian icon was for many British Columbia initiatives at the time. The production of the Queen's totem pole complemented and strengthened the existing "Totemland" campaign. The totem pole's exoticism and authenticity may have, as Valda Blundell has argued in the case of souvenirs, "rubbed off," marking British Columbia as authentically "Other."[17]

The appropriation of such Native images is particularly common in tourism promotion, where "...minority ethnic symbols have become the manipulated 'totems' of touristic identity."[18] As anthropologist Valda Blundell points out, these images entice potential visitors in promotional materials, greet them in the souvenirs found in shops and at special events, and remind them of their experience in the souvenirs and postcards they take home.[19] Blundell describes the Indian totem pole as "surely the most ubiquitous 'borrowed Canadian symbol.'"[20] Writer Daniel Francis has recently commented on the extraordinary number of provincial examples which incorporate totem poles. In his 1992

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[16] Nuytten, *The Totem Carvers: Charlie James, Ellen Neel, and Mungo Martin*, 104.

[17] Valda Blundell,. "Aboriginal Empowerment and Souvenir Trade in Canada," *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993): 74.

[18] Abstract for Nelson Graburn, "The Evolution of Tourist Arts," *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 (1984): 396.

[19] Valda Blundell, "The Tourist and the Native," in *A Different Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective*, Ed. Bruce Cox, Jacques Chevalier, Valda Blundell, (Ottawa: The Antrhopology Caucus, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, 1989), 49.

[20] *Ibid.*, 49.

text *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture,* he states ironically: "While Native people venerate totem poles for social and historical reasons, many non-Natives apparently share a more superstitious belief that poles have the power to make people stop and spend their money."[21] This superstition was certainly practised by the members of the Tourism Promotion and Hospitality and the Promotions and Displays subcommittees. Harry Duker stressed to Chairman L.J. Wallace several times the significant promotional benefits of the totem pole project for both the Centennial and British Columbia.

Mungo Martin's Royal totem pole and the non-native representations of Indian culture (the silver dollar, the totem pole poster) signified to varying degrees 'authentic' Native culture to the non-native public. These examples symbolized the art and traditions of an exotic cultural group or, more accurately in the Centennial context, an amalgam of groups categorized as "British Columbia Indians". The general public in British Columbia, the other provinces, the United States, and Britain knew relatively little about British Columbia's First Nations. Promotions for the 1958 centenary and its projects avoided telling the story of a century of colonial oppression of the first peoples of the province, or of the contemporary struggles of First Nations communities. Promotions often focused on the specific context of each Centennial project, with little cultural background. By removing First Nations cultural context, the Centennial appropriated these objects for their own possession or reconstruction. For example, when the Royal totem pole motion picture was approved by the Centennial Committee, it specified that the film focus on the project alone, and not on the making of totem poles in general nor on the history of First Nations in British Columbia. While this approach simplified the objects and their context for a mass audience, it minimized the educational and moral impact the projects had on the public. As the advertising budget for these projects limited most promotions to press releases for local and international newspapers, the media were responsible for presenting the information to the public. The press did not always

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[21] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 186.

effectively communicate the projects and their context. In fact they sometimes incorporated stereotypes or focused on the more sensational aspects of each story. Such was the case with the coverage of the Centennial silver dollar.

Whose History Are We Celebrating?

The *Vancouver Province* published a cartoon on Saturday, January 4, 1958, based on the Centennial programme *[Figure 30]*. In the cartoon, a canoe full of hostile-looking Indians is positioned behind an unsuspecting pair of fishermen on their boat off a West Coast shoreline, complete with a Native village site and totem poles. The canoe and its sinister passengers are depicted entirely in black, dressed in a variety of stereotypical costumes and accoutrements; they wear feathered headbands or masks on their heads, and carry a variety of instruments, including Mexican-style rattles, "tomahawks", axes, and Native-derived paddles or weapons. In the caption, one fisherman comments to the other: "As a quaint centennial project, I hear they're going to re-enact the arrival of the white men..." While it is unclear in the cartoon whether the "they" in "they're going to re-enact" refers to the Centennial Committee or to the First Nations, the cartoon clearly depicts the First Nations group as a threatening force. The story could be interpreted as an ironic commentary on the harshness of life in the times of the early white settlers to the Province, in juxtaposition to the more 'white-washed' contemporary presentations of history presented it the Centennial events. However, if told from the perspective that the Indians were responsible for planning the "quaint" Centennial re-enactment, the cartoon could represent a paranoid fear of a vengeful attack by a group of Native citizens, in a reversal of the historic dominance of white settlers in British Columbia.

Interpreted either way, the cartoon comments upon the problems inherent in the re-enactment of history, and the many perspectives that demand to be presented in such endeavours. This perplexing scene reflects Chief Dan George's question about whose history is celebrated during the Centennial, and curator Scott Watson's question of "whose nation"[22] is presented through the national exhibition of First Nations art and

[22] Scott Watson, "Whose Nation?", *Canadian Art* (Spring 1993): 34.

culture. History, as presented in the colonial Centennial context, commenced with the first Western settlers and pioneers. As they struggled to settle the untamed West Coast wilderness — empty except for the presence of few 'unorganized' Indians — the history of the province began. However, this 1958 reconstruction of history left many questions unanswered, and tensions unresolved.

The Centennial staff, committees, media, and general public were very interested in the "authenticity" of the Native-related objects and events. Authenticity was used by Wilson Duff and his Committee as a primary criterion for selecting Mungo Martin and his design for the Royal totem pole. Martin's original totem pole was considered more authentic than the amalgamated design suggested by Tom Howarth, or a copy of an older pole by a contemporary artist. Concern for "authenticity" had been an integral component in non-native appreciation of First Nations art since the nineteenth century, when many objects were being collected from aboriginal communities around the world for museums and private collections. For contemporary objects to be accepted as authentic by non-native society, they had to reflect the traditional styles and materials of an earlier era. Furthermore, in order to be accepted as truly authentic, these objects had to be of high quality and be produced by Native artists.[23] Considering all these criteria, Mungo Martin's totem pole stood as the most authentic example of Native cultural production in the Centennial. This level of authenticity was deemed appropriate and even essential for a gift to the British Queen. However, the term was also applied to other non-native projects such as the silver dollar and the totem pole poster to promote the exoticness of the imagery. In these cases, the use of the Western construct of authenticity may have been more difficult to justify.

According to James Clifford, dominant non-native society's emphasis on authenticity "... has as much to do with an inventive present as with a past, its objectification, preservation, or revival."[24] Aldona Jonaitis supports this notion in her

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[23] See Karen Duffek, "'Authenticity' and the Contemporary Northwest Coast Indian Art Market," *BC Studies* 57 (Spring 1983): 99-111.

[24] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988), 222.

discussion of Virginia Dominquez's article, "The Marketing of Heritage". Jonaitis observes:

> ... [Dominquez] points out that it was the collectors and ethnographers, not the Indians themselves, who determined that these objects embodied Native American 'tradition,' and that such a notion of 'heritage' or 'tradition' was a nineteenth-century Euro-American invention. The entire process of collecting ethnographic objects, from the moment of acquisition to the time of display, despite the intentions of the collectors and the displayers, does not result in accurate representations of the 'Other' but in 'referential indices of the self.[25]

Sociologist and anthropologist Erik Cohen described modern non-native society as inauthentic, causing individuals to search elsewhere for authentic experience, often finding it in "the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity."[26] The 1958 Centennial organizers' desire to present authentic, traditional Native culture through images and objects reflects more the reality of the dominant white government and society at the time than it does that of First Nations. The Centennial Committee was obliged to present a positive and colourful history of the Province which would be alluring to tourists, and the First Nations images and objects they employed served as props towards achieving its goal. This was a difficult task; indeed, Canadians have had difficulty reconciling the First Nations and European histories into a coherent whole, as Michael Ames observes: "Canada begins as pioneer land without a past; it sees its future as its history."[27] Perhaps dominant white culture's concern for the "authenticity" of British Columbia's Native cultures was related to its lack of a real connection to the province or, as E. Relph describes, an "inauthentic attitude to place".[28] The presentation

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[25] Virginia Dominguez, "The Marketing of Heritage," *American Ethnologist* 13, (1986): 554. As quoted in Jonaitis, "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History," 27.

[26] Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 373-4.

[27] Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, 120.

[28] E.C. Relph, *Place and placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 82.

of Mungo Martin's totem pole to England served to authenticate and legitimize the non-native presence in British Columbia by establishing a link to the pre-modern, untouched and undeniably Native past. In fact, the Government's mere possession of this object and its ability to give it as a gift to the Queen established a level of authority to its claim.

To counter this lack of long-standing ties to the province back home, the Centennial celebrations were designed as a social, political, and cultural strategy to develop a deeper connection to the province for its citizens. From this view, a planned use of First Nations cultural imagery to generate unique and easily recognizable symbols of British Columbian authenticity seems a logical approach for the government and the Centennial Committee. While their choices may appear to exploit a minority's cultural resources to manipulate public perception, it must be remembered that these appropriated associations were already in place by 1958. The organizers merely capitalized on existing connections.

The 1958 British Columbia Centennial Committee's actions parallel those made by the organizers of earlier and later events and programs both on the provincial and national level.[29] Their choices also mirror an international phenomenon termed "borrowed identity" by anthropologist Nelson Graburn,[30] whereby indigenous cultural productions are appropriated as national symbols. Graburn states that anthropologist Dean MacCannell has best analyzed the nature of "the global village" and its repercussions on the Fourth World, or those cultures that have been overtaken by the conquering and colonizing First and Second Worlds.[31] Graburn paraphrases some of MacCannell's points,

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[29] For an earlier example, see David Darling and Douglas Cole, "Totem Pole Restoration on the Skeena, 1925-30: An Early Exercise in Heritage Conservation," *BC Studies* 47 (Autumn, 1980) 29-48.

[30] Nelson Graburn, as cited by Valda Blundell in "The Tourist and the Native," *A Different Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective* (Ottawa: 1989): 49.

[31] See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books), 1976.

including an insightful description of the meaning of aboriginal arts to the people that create them and to the settlers that have colonized their lands:

> Not only are they [the objects] a link to the nostalgically 'better' world of the past and the other, but often they are *theirs* [the Fourth World's], symbols of their ancestral villages, their relatives, and their places of origin, in a way that can never be felt by the members of the nations of the old industrialized First and Second worlds. At an intermediate point are some of the 'white' peoples of the conquering dominant classes, who patronizingly feel and state that, for instance, Aborigine, Maori, Eskimo, Quechuan, or Samek cultures are parts of *their* heritage in ways that cannot be true for visitors and tourists to their countries.... So the traditional and ethnic arts are encouraged as symbolic to the modern world of the 'pre-modern'.[32]

As we have noted, the 1958 Centennial group responsible for planning the Queen's totem pole considered recommendations for a design brought forward by the Promotions and Displays Subcommittee which combined the styles of several cultural groups. The planning committee decided against the proposal in order to maintain the pole's authenticity and integrity. A similar proposal came forward to celebrate the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Victoria. The Spirit of Nations Project, better known and marketed as the "World's Tallest Totem," was developed by Richard Krentz, a Coast Salish artist from Nanaimo.[33] Krentz developed this "icon and legacy of the 1994 Commonwealth Games" as a collaborative project designed to "bring all coastal native nations together".[34] Krentz's plan incorporated sections from each of the Vancouver Island First Nations, arranged on the pole according to their relative geographic location

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[32] Nelson Graburn, "The Evolution of Tourist Arts," *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 (1984): 411-12.

[33] Krentz's mother is Coast Salish, and he claims to be associated with the White family of Nanaimo. Bill White, University of Victoria's representative on the Board of the Native Participation Committee, and member of the Nanaimo White family, had never heard of Richard Krentz until this project was announced. Bill White, interview with the author, December, 1993.

[34] Richard Krentz, *Spirit of Nations Project* brochure, verso. Richard Krentz, in an interview with Catherine Kieran for the Commonwealth Games publication *Spirit* (Victoria: XV Commonwealth Games Society, 1993).

along the coast. Artists from each of these areas were invited to carve designs which represented their legends and culture. At the base of the pole, Krentz carved his own mother and child figure, which combined his own western and Coast Salish cultural traditions.

The Spirit of Nations project raised the ire of some members of the Island's First Nations. Krentz's proposal was rejected by the Native Participation Committee for its lack of traditional authenticity.[35] The Committee consisted of members of the Island Nations to encourage, coordinate, and promote First Nations athletic, economic, and cultural participation in the 1994 Commonwealth Games.[36] Despite its obvious aboriginal content and the fact that the project clearly fell within the mandate of the Native Participation Committee, the Commonwealth Games Board sanctioned the project for the Games itself. Together with the Ocean Pointe Resort, it supported the project and incorporated it as a major marketing scheme for the Games. Totem pole coordinator and

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[35] Danny Henry, interview with author, December, 1993. Henry served as Co-ordinator, Native Participation Committee. He explained that the pole was rejected, and a board member who wished to remain anonymous explained why it was rejected. Anonymous board member, interview with author, December, 1993.

[36] The Committee organized other projects which included the Queen's Baton, a traditional object of the Commonwealth Games. Working in partnership with the sponsoring B.C. Hydro Company, representatives of the three Vancouver Island Nations collaborated to create a unique sterling silver baton which used the traditional "soul catcher" form. The "soul catcher", used by First Nations shamans or specialists to search for and capture the spirit in times of illness, stress or accident in order to restore balance. Three Island artists incorporated imagery that represented the connection of Northwest Coast peoples to their homeland. Charles Elliott, member of the Tsartlip Band of the Coast Salish Nation depicted the frog and wolf symbols on the Baton to represent the Salish people. The frog "represents a herald, or, one who announces." The wolf is a "protector spirit", included to safeguard all participants of the Games. Art Thompson, member of the Ditidaht Band of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth Nation, chose the wolf symbol "one of the most prestigious prerogatives to represent the Nuu-Chah-Nulth people." Richard Hunt, member of the Fort Rupert Band of the Kwagiulth Nation, chose the symbol of the raven with a frog in its mouth, along with his personal crest, the *Kulus (kooloose)*, or immature thunderbird. The project received considerable positive and negative publicity. The three artists also designed the images found on the gold, silver, and bronze medals. To benefit aboriginal youth, the Committee was responsible for creating a Cultural Sport Development Fund legacy through funds from the Games.

artist Richard Krentz sold his own art at the carving site to help subsidize the project. Upon its completion, the pole was erected in front of the Ocean Pointe Resort, which stands on the Coast Salish traditional territory of the Songhees Band in Victoria's Inner Harbour. Because of its height, it was necessary to anchor the pole with metal supports, guy wires, and a flashing red beacon on top to alert incoming harbour planes. The pole was a popular broadcast image during the internationally televised Commonwealth Games. While the Spirit of Nations project was criticized prior to completion, following the Games it became the object of an ongoing media debate in Victoria. Henry Hunt's son Tony Hunt, carver of numerous totem poles including several for the 1967 and 1971 Centennials, criticized the pole for its failure to follow traditional practice. Hunt remarked: "The world's tallest totem - that's not a totem pole."[37] He told the Victoria *Times-Colonist*:

> the bands were not consulted for permission to use their crests prior to Krentz's pole project.... There were no meetings with chiefs or artists. That was the major mistake.... The pole was never correct from the very beginning. That's why there's been such a negative response all around.[38]

Hunt explained that he and twelve other Kwaguilth chiefs signed a statement saying they would not support such a project. He added that the two Kwagiulth artists that worked on that pole did not have permission to do so and that they didn't have rights to some of the crests they used. He believed that the Nuu-Chah-Nulth did not take part, either.[39] Hunt's comments suggest that the cultural resources of one Nation were appropriated by members of that Nation, as well as by the organizers of the project. Other voices (including those of some city councillors) complained that the pole was a hazard to air traffic and an eye-sore with its guy wires and sheathing. A local non-native artist wrote a letter to the *Times-*

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[37] Chief Tony Hunt, interview with author, October 17, 1995.

[38] Dirk Meissner, "Carver: Never worthy gift, pole ought to be cut down," *Times-Colonist*, March 16, 1995, B2.

[39] Chief Tony Hunt, interview with author, October 17, 1995.

Colonist in December 1994 arguing that the amalgamation of artistic styles was "an end-run around tradition."[40] He added:

> Seventeen volunteer carvers from various lineage groups worked together on the Tallest Pole. Their styles were federated. A tradition that defines a genetic social group was used to define a super-family overtop of the inherited identities.... In the context of the Commonwealth Games, the idea was a good one. The Games brought together many nations from around the globe and the World's Tallest Project brought together the local First Nations. Victoria had an upsurge of pride; the Games were a high point in city history. What about the history of the totem tradition? Can this be overshadowed by a brief event?[41]

Coast Salish Chief Norman George of the Songhees Band responded to the criticisms put forward by Howarth and others. He explained that the Songhees had welcomed the carving and raising of the pole on their traditional territory, "to present an open and friendly hand to all the overseas visitors."[42] He added that the carving of the pole followed traditional methods and protocols, and pointed out:

> Howarth is quite wrong when he states that the other chiefs in the North Island did not approve of the pole. Tradition would decree that they be informed of the pole, which they were, but as the pole was to raised [sic] on Songhees land they have no jurisdiction in the carving and raising of the pole.[43]

George concluded his reply with a call to his critics: "Our legacy is that we made many friends and we honored native protocol. We can hold our heads high. When the full story is told how many other groups will be able to do the same?"[44] The world's largest totem pole has since been dismantled, according to an agreement set up between the Songhees band, the artist, and the City of Victoria. Only the base section remains standing at Ocean Pointe; one section has been removed and installed on the Songhees

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[40] Glenn Howarth, "World's tallest spar rates scorn," *Times-Colonist*, December 3, 1994.

[41] *Ibid.*.

[42] Chief Norman George, "Pole's carvers stand tall, too," *Times-Colonist*, October 22, 1994, A5.

[43] *Ibid.*, A5.

[44] *Ibid.*, A5.

reserve, and the two others sections are being recarved.[45] The Spirit of the Nation project was criticized for its claim to the title of world's tallest totem, a title long held by the Kwagiulth of Alert Bay; it was also criticized for its lack of appropriate consultation and approval from appropriate chiefs and elders for use of some of the crests; it was also rejected for its hybridizing of the styles of several different artistic traditions. The decisions made forty years earlier by the 1958 Centennial Committee stand as a revealing comparison. For the 1958 project, parties involved struck a balance between following traditional approaches to totem pole carving and attempting to represent all the First Nations of British Columbia. In the end, while the Queen's totem pole may have followed the traditional style of only a single cultural group, it retained an authenticity and integrity that reflected the spirit of many Nations and did not suffer public criticism for ignoring tradition.

In his 1994 article, "The Politics of Difference: Other Voices In a Not Yet Post-Colonial World", Michael Ames notes that collaboration can be interpreted as another means of appropriation.[46] He paraphrases Métis film producer Loretta Todd:

> Western excursions into Aboriginal cultural territories mostly serve Western interests, Todd says. Whites seek to own difference, and with this ownership increase their own well-being (Todd 1990:30). 'Our cultural autonomy is too often ignored and our cultural uniqueness—our difference—is reduced to playing bit parts in the West's dreams...' (Todd 1992a:71-72.)[47]

By collaboration, Todd and Ames are referring to typical Western manifestations of partnership, where non-Western cultures are brought in and incorporated to play minor roles in the presentation of Western history. There is no actual negotiation; the chosen version of history has already been established by the Western organizers to meet their

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[45] Ocean Pointe concierge, conversation with author, December 3, 1998.

[46] Michael Ames. "The Politics of Difference: Other Voices In a Not Yet Post-Colonial World," *Museum Anthropology* 18, no. 3 (1994): 12.

[47] *Ibid.*, 12. The author cites Loretta Todd, "Notes on Appropriation," *Parallelogramme* 16, no. 1 (1990): 30, and Loretta Todd, "What More Do They Want?", *Indigena: Contemporary Native Perspectives* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 71-72.

own interests, and control remains firmly in their hands. Drawing on Todd's points, Ames observes that both modernism and postmodernism legitimate this appropriation through collaboration. Both seek to impose world views that assimilate others into their own, even while they preach liberalism and pluralism. The 1958 Centennial celebrations reflected many of the tenets of modernism: the dominance of man over the environment and the importance of science, industry, and invention.

Todd explains that cultural autonomy "...signifies a right to cultural specificity, a right to one's origins and histories as told from within the culture and not as mediated from without."[48] She adds that in the struggle against cultural appropriation, "The task for Aboriginal artists is to exercise Aboriginal title over cultural expression and language just as Aboriginal elders, lawyers and politicians assert title over land and resources."[49] In his 1967 Centennial speech, Chief Dan George reflected Todd's point as he spoke of asserting control over both realms. Her comments reflect the growing activism of many present-day First Nations artists in their efforts to control their cultural productions.

It is not surprising that British Columbia looked both to the United States and to England as its primary non-Canadian audiences for the Centennial celebrations. These countries served as partners in both the colonization of the Pacific Northwest, and in the subsequent development and exploitation of its natural and cultural resources. Jean Barman explains that by the time of the 1958 centenary British Columbia had established a dependency on the richness of its natural resources, both for its economic base and its tourist industry. This predicament continues today: the province is promoted as a vast land ready for resource extraction while simultaneously remaining wild and pristine. The present government struggles to survive in the competitive international forestry market

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[48] Loretta Todd, "Notes on Appropriation," *Parallelogramme* 16, no. 1 (1990): 24. Quoted in Michael Ames,"The Politics of Difference: Other Voices In a Not Yet Post-Colonial World," *Museum Anthropology* 18, no. 3 (1994): 11. Gerald McMaster articulates the principles of the 'Native perspective' (one of which is that there is a variety of perspectives present within indigenous North America). Gerald McMaster, "Indigena: A Native Curator's Perspective." *Art Journal* 51 (Fall 1992): 68-73.

[49] *Ibid.*, 11.

while balancing societal pressures calling for environmental protection and more sustainable resource extraction practices.[50] Simultaneously, the government strives to maintain its "Super Natural" tourist image with growing development and resource exploitation.

It also comes as no surprise that the province's First Nations continue to play a role in the image of 'Beautiful British Columbia' and 'Super Natural British Columbia', much as they did during the 1958 Centennial. Integral to the early success of this concept was the notion of First Nations as benign inhabitants of the province who remained, as Blundell puts it, "part of the natural world, along with Canada's other scenic wonders."[51] First Nations were valued for their distinctive cultural heritage which served a tourist marketing agenda. At the same time, it was essential that their image remain unthreatening to the development of the Province's "resource frontier".[52] Ironically, as non-native society's rapid modernization and industrialization increased the demand for natural resources, the pressures on unceded Native lands, and the imperative for First Nations to publicize these issues, grew accordingly.[53] Thus, the 1958 program organizers

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[50] Two excerpts from recent Annual Reports of the Ministry of Forests demonstrate its need to balance these issues. One statement reads: "The Ministry of Forests manages and protects British Columbia's forest and range land for the best short- and long-term balance of economic, social, and environmental benefits for all British Columbians." *Ministry of Forests 1993/94 Annual Report*, Government of British Columbia, Ministry of Forests website, *http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/pub/publctns/an_rpts/9394an/ann1.htm#mof.* Another statement reads: "Over time, the Forest Service's stewardship role has changed significantly. Today, fiscal responsibilities must be balanced against a complex range of other values, such as the need for sustainable forestry." *Ministry of Forests 1994/95 Annual Report*, Government of British Columbia, Ministry of Forests website, *http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/pub/publctns/an_rpts/9495an/part1.htm.*

[51] Blundell, "The Tourist and the Native," 53.

[52] Barman, *The West Beyond the West: a History of British Columbia*, 354.

[53] Harry Hiller, "The Issue of Ethnicity – Native-White Conflict," *Canadian Society: A Macro Analysis* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1986), 161-3.

needed to reconcile British Columbia's diversity of peoples and interests to the Centennial identity.

In his influential analysis of Indian stereotypes, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian From Columbus to the Present*, Robert Berkhofer, Jr., offers an explanation of how these contradictory images were rationalized in North American society. His explanation echoes the British Columbia Centennial context:

> What reconciled the ambivalent images of nature, the Indian, and the frontier was an ideology of social progress that postulated the inevitable evolution of the frontier from savagery to civilization. American nature was beautiful for its wildness, its great expanse, and its unspoiled picturesqueness, but it was equally or even more beautiful in the eyes of many Whites for what it promised to become—a land of farms and a treasure house of resources for exploitation. Regardless of whether the Indian was savage or noble, he would inevitably be replaced by White civilization and its benefits.[54]

This ideology of development guided the 1958 Centennial's approach to the commemoration of what L.J. Wallace called "British Columbia's first one hundred years of progress."[55] As the Province's "great pioneers" had moved into this "sparsely developed and peopled" land and "laid so firmly the foundation" for development, the province and its people moved "from wilderness to wonderland"[56]. Unfortunately, the existing Native population was devastated in the so-called triumph of civilization over savagery. First Nations were a casualty in what Wallace described as the early struggle of white men to "tame this wild and rugged land". Rather than dwell on the irreconcilable tragedies of British Columbia's progress, the Centennial committee chose to focus on its perceived great moments and successes. In the generalized history of the Centennial

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[54] Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian From Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Press, 1978), 92.

[55] L. J. Wallace, Letter to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council of the Province of British Columbia, Introductory piece in *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, I. The series of short quotes that follow in this paragraph come from this letter.

[56] *Report of the British Columbia Centennial Committee*, 6.

celebrations, representations of nature, the Indian and the Western frontier fall neatly into the chronicle of progress.

The Legacy of the 1958 Centennial

In their locally-based 1958 Centennial projects, First Nations communities had the freedom to develop projects that were relevant to their own community's needs and desires, and to present their culture in the manner they preferred. In the centrally-sponsored and organized projects that provided the meta-messages for the Centennial, however, First Nations did not have consistent input despite the considerable use of their cultural resources. They were treated as one of the many diverse cultures of the province and were thus not invited to have their own representation at the table. While First Nations representatives were at times present on committees, 'Native representation' was just as often filled by non-native individuals who through their involvement with the First Nations of the province were considered by the Centennial Committee to speak for the wishes of the Native population.

The problem of Native representation was addressed in the later centennial celebrations, thanks perhaps in part to the dissemination of new research on the state of the province's First Nations, growing pressures from Native communities, and to changes in public policy.[57] For the much-anticipated 1966 and 1967 Centennial celebrations, the British Columbia Centennial Committee approved the creation of a Native Indian Participation Subcommittee to encourage and manage First Nations participation in the Centennial. The main goal of the Subcommittee was to generate ideas on how the Native people of British Columbia might participate fully in the Centennial celebrations of 1966 and 1967. They aimed to encourage participation and to undertake local projects in Indian communities. Furthermore, the Subcommittee believed that "displays of Indian culture,

[57] Influential examples include Wilson Duff's *The Indian History of British Columbia Volume I: The Impact of the White Man* (1964), Harry Hawthorn's *The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment* (1958) and *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of British Columbia* (1966), and the backlash sparked by the 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969).

folklore and handicrafts should occupy a prominent place in the Province's celebrations."[58] The Subcommittee was composed of First Nations members although a few non-native citizens involved with Native issues held positions. These included Rod J. McInnes, Director of the Indian Advisory Act in Victoria, and Jefferay Vincent (J.V.) Boys, Regional Director of Indian Affairs for British Columbia and the Yukon. Several of the Native individuals involved with subcommittees or community-based projects for the 1958 celebrations served as part of the 1966/67 Subcommittee. The Chairman was Robert Clifton of Courtenay, past president of the Native Indian Brotherhood and the person responsible for the Courtenay welcome celebration for Princess Margaret in 1958.[59]

While Tom Howarth's earlier proposal to produce totem poles for the capitals of all of the Commonwealth countries was too ambitious for the 1958 celebrations, his idea may have influenced the projects of later Centennial programs. The 1966/67 Native Indian Participation Subcommittee's major project consisted of a series of totem poles carved by British Columbia First Nations artists and erected along the highway between Victoria and Port Hardy and at the ferry terminals in Nanaimo, Victoria and Tsawassen. The idea for the project came from Chairman Robert Clifton at the first Subcommittee meeting in Comox in October 1964. Clifton felt that this project "would keep the present

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[58] BCARS, Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, "Final Report," The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee, December 1, 1967, GR1598 Box 1 [1598-1] File 3, The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records.

[59] Subcommittee members included: Simon Baker of North Vancouver; Jefferay Vincent (J.V.) Boys, Regional Director of Indian Affairs for British Columbia and the Yukon, Jim Galli Gallic of Alberni; Lawrence Lewis of Alert Bay; Rod J. McInnes, Director of the Indian Advisory Act in Victoria, Department of Provincial Secretary; Ross Modeste of Koksilah; G.J. Pynn, of Victoria, and James Sewid of Alert Bay. Corresponding members included: John Alexis, Tachie; George Behn, Fort Nelson; Kitty Carpenter, Namu; H.G Cornwall, 150 Mile House; Mrs. J.O Decker, Pemberton; Wilson Duff, Victoria; Tommy Elkins, Alexis Creek; Mrs. M.Gottfriedsen, Kamloops; Clarence Jules, Kamloops; Mrs. Gertrude Guerin, Vancouver; Godfrey Kelley, Masset; Dr. Robert B. Lane, Victoria; Richard Malloway, Sardis; George Manuel, Duncan; Chief Gordon Robinson, Kitimat; Chief W.D. Scow, Alert Bay; Edwin Underwood, Duncan; and Frank Whitehead, Cranbrook.

carvers interested in their art and would also create more outside interest in Native Arts and Crafts."[60] Clifton assured Centennial Chairman L.J. Wallace, who served as liaison for the Sub-Committee, "that the Native Indians of British Columbia will do their utmost to make their part in the Centennial Celebrations a success."[61]

The "Route of the Totems" was likely influenced by the success of the 1958 Queen's totem pole project. Wilson Duff initially recommended the name "Route of the Haida" in commemoration of the canoe voyages made by the Haida from Haida Gwaii to Fort Victoria beginning in 1853.[62] Following criticism from prominent leaders such as the General Manager of British Columbia Ferries and Premier W.A.C. Bennett, the revised name "Route of the Totems" was eventually approved.[63] The Committee's choice for positioning the poles along the Island highway and at the ferry terminals was likely informed by contemporary government and tourism priorities. With a growing population

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[60] BCARS, British Columbia Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records, Minutes of the First Meeting, Comox, October 5, 1964, GR1598-1 File 3.

[61] BCARS, British Columbia Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records, Minutes of the First Meeting, Comox, October 5, 1964, GR1598-1 File 3.

[62] BCARS, British Columbia Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, Wilson Duff, "Marking the Haida Route", February 26, 1965, The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records, GR1598-1 File 3. Marking "The Haida Route" also told a traumatic story. In 1862, the Haida voyagers returned home from Victoria carrying a smallpox epidemic that decimated the population of Haida Gwaii. Jonaitis, "Franz Boas, John Swanton, and the New Haida Sculpture at the American Museum of Natural History," 31.

[63] BCARS, British Columbia Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, Letters to Wallace from MF. Aldous, General Manager, B.C. Ferries, May 31, 1965, and to Wallace from the Premier's Office, June 1, 1965, The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records, GR1598-1 File 3. Aldous was concerned that the term Haida "meant absolutely nothing" to people outside of the Coast of the province, and that if a nickname had to be used at all, particularly one with an Indian reference, it should be "Route of the Totems". Apparently, the Premier did not wish either Native name, and felt that a more descriptive slogan such as "Direct Route to Northern British Columbia and Alaska" would "sell more accommodation" than any other name.

and expanding tourist industry, the modern highways and ferries offered a more efficient and ordered transportation route through the developing Island landscape. How better to appreciate the scenery along British Columbia's coast, than with a series of monumental art works derived from the Coast's First Nations![64]

The project employed established and emerging artists from a diversity of First Nations communities, including Henry and Tony Hunt, Simon Charlie, and Sam Henderson. In total, eleven artists completed nineteen totem poles, each following the design specifications outlined by Wilson Duff. The poles were twelve feet high and, while each pole incorporated some of the legends of the local area where it would be placed, they all had to include a representation of the grizzly bear as a unifying motif. The project was a great success and contributed to the revival of aboriginal carving around the province. The Native Indians Participation Subcommittee produced an important and high-profile project and increased aboriginal participation in the Centennial celebrations. The number of local community committees rose to thirty-four from the six recorded for the 1958 Centennial.[65] The Subcommittee concluded its final report:

> The Indian people welcomed the opportunity to equally participate in Centennial celebrations alongside other residents of the Province, and many communities... undertook approved projects for the betterment of their Reserves.
>
> The Committee points out that both Indian and non-Indian cultures received substantial benefits from participation in Centennial celebrations.
>
> The festivities offered the two cultures an opportunity to learn a little more about each other and in doing so helped narrow the social gap between Indians and non-Indians.

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[64] A precedent had already been set for utilizing totem poles along a tourism route. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Canadian National Railway restored poles along its Skeena River route to enhance tourism and for use in its publicity campaigns. See David Darling and Douglas Cole, "Totem Pole Restoration on the Skeena, 1925-30: An Early Exercise in Heritage Conservation," *BC Studies* 47 (Autumn 1980): 29-48.

[65] BCARS, British Columbia Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, "Final Report," The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records, December 1, 1967, GR1598-1 File 3.

> Participation in joint celebrations and the undertaking of community projects helped improve the morale of the Indian people and the attitude of the individual Indian. Pride in Indian culture was revived; renewed confidence was instilled, indications were given that the Indian is most capable of carrying out progressive programmes; and the Indian citizens were drawn closer together as a united people.
>
> In many instances the public was made aware for the first time that the Indian people contributed greatly to the development of Canada during its 100 years and were made aware that the native Indian possesses many desirable skills.
>
> Aside from any material benefit which may have occurred from the co-operative centennial effort, the celebrations did much to increase mutual knowledge, respect and friendliness between the original and more recent settlers of the Province. Without doubt, this changed climate will reflect favourably in all future relationships.[66]

L.J. Wallace recently recalled the societal environment at the time of "Route of the Totems":

> I remember the philosophy of the time—people didn't think too much of totems... and then when we named it the Route of the Totems, there was some criticism, but there's none of that now. That shows you how in a short time, what changed.[67]

The comments made by the Native Participation Committee and Wallace suggest the changing social, political, and economic attitudes of the late 1960's. While the decade since 1958 had brought increased awareness of First Nations society and their issues, considerable progress still needed to be made to improve relations between Native and non-native citizens. The 1967 Centennial provided opportunities for such development, and strides were made by both First Nations and non-native populations.

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[66] BCARS, British Columbia Canadian Confederation Centennial Committee 1966-1967 Records, "Final Report," The Native Indians Participation Sub-Committee Records, . December 1, 1967, GR1598-1 File 3. In the British Columbia Centennial Committee's published Final Report, most of the references to equality or respect were removed. In fact, most of the text from "... for the betterment of their Reserves," to "... the native Indian possesses many desirable skills" was not included in the Centennial Committee's published record.

[67] L.J. Wallace, interview with author, February 9, 1998.

The 1971 centenary celebrated British Columbia's union with Canada. The organization of Native participation followed the model set out by the 1967 celebrations, and a Native Indian Participation Subcommittee was established under the chairmanship of James Sewid of Alert Bay. As a major project it commissioned a series of sixteen-foot totem poles for presentation to Ottawa and the provincial and territorial capital cities of Canada. This endeavour was sponsored jointly by the Native Indian Participation Sub-Committee and the newly-established British Columbia First Citizens' Fund.[68] The First Citizens' Fund also sponsored the commission of contemporary Indian artists to create "art objects reflecting their own culture", for display in a Centennial exhibit at the Provincial Museum entitled "The Legacy". Like the totem pole carving projects, "The Legacy" was designed to encourage the revival of Northwest Coast art.[69] This exhibit is a touchstone in the establishment of contemporary Northwest Coast art in the museum and commercial context.

Returning to the 1958 Centennial, the programme organizers' position of power made possible their control of First Nations cultural resources. They had access to the major repositories of Northwest Coast art such as the Provincial Museum and links to First Nations individuals, such as Chief Mungo Martin and Chief William Scow, who were willing to contribute their culture. Despite their position of authority, the organizers endeavoured to control the wholesale exploitation of Native culture. The 1958 Centennial celebrations and the relationships established with the province's First Nations demonstrated the need to recognize and respect Native cultural traditions and practices within the commemorative arena. The Queen's totem project required that governments and the Centennial Committee allot time and resources to allow for appropriate carving methods and for ceremonial recognition, including dances, speech-making, and gift-giving practices. Princess Margaret's visit to British Columbia prompted the provincial government to honour First Nations requests to host the visiting dignitary. The brief time

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[68] "Centennial Totem Carvings Commissioned," *British Columbia Centennial '71 Spokesman* Issue 8, August 1970, 2.

[69] *British Columbia Centennial '71 Spokesman* Issue 21, September 1971, 1.

given to the Princess's attendance at the Native Brotherhood "potlatch" in Courtenay reflects the issues raised by Pauline Douglas and Vera Manuel in their critical essay on Native participation in Expo '86 in Vancouver. They pondered:

> Considering that Expo does lie in Musqueam traditional territory, it is essential that they be in attendance as part of their sacred duty, to greet the Royals. Their welcoming party will consist of a respected elder... and the Musqueam singers and dancers in full traditional dress acknowledging that those who know the laws of this land have always maintained a respect for the traditional territory of others. With the Indian community, during gatherings that are performed outside of one's own territory, it is customary to thank the others for the privilege of bringing the people together on their land. It is also appropriate to welcome strangers into one's territory, especially when they have travelled a long way. These ceremonies are still carried on today ... in the same way that they were conducted hundreds of years ago. So it is understandable that the Musqueam Nation and Canada stand side by side on the shore when representatives of the Queen arrive to this celebration. But is the three minutes allocated to them enough to recognize the substance of their sacred duty, and their rights?[70]

In the case of the 1958 Centennial visit of Princess Margaret to British Columbia, the twenty-three minutes given to the First Nations to welcome the Princess (a generous amount of time, perhaps, on a Royal tour) was insufficient to allow all of these Nations to practise an appropriate welcome. It is revealing that thirty years following the Centennial Royal visit, similar decisions were made by the organizers of Expo '86 to compress the time for First Nations protocol and practice to fit an established promotional timeframe.

Perhaps as a result of lessons learned from such events, combined with a powerful Native Participation Committee, the Vancouver Island First Nations played a major role in the opening ceremonies of the 1994 Commonwealth Games in Victoria. A change in emphasis is evident in the words of C.B.C. television sports commentator Ron MacLean, as he describes the opening ceremonies as they are about to begin:

> It's a treat to see the Queen and all the pageantry... but much more than that in addition to being a welcoming to the world, this is to try and reflect what Victoria is about, and you say Victoria, it's obvious, Queen Victoria, the sovereign who in the nineteenth century led the Empire to its zenith, but it's much more than a British influence here. And having been here a while as we have, spiritually, you

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[70] Pauline Douglas and Vera Manuel, "The Show But Not the Substance - The Question of Native Participation," *The Expo Story* (Vancouver: Harbour Publishing,1986), 209.

> can really sense the Native participation, that'll be a huge aspect of the day here today. For before this was British Columbia and before it was Canada there were First Nations here on Vancouver Island - the Coastal [sic] Salish lived here, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth, and of course the Kwagiulth, and we'll hear one of their legends that's been entrusted to the organizers of this ceremony. It's a beautiful thing. We're asked to open our minds, to see with our hands, and I think you'll really be touched in a way that the 3400 athletes will be.[71]

The entire three-hour ceremony was conceptualized from a First Nations perspective. The "Welcome Ceremony/Witness Ceremony" was designed to offer traditional welcome, cleansing, and a validation of ancestry, hereditary rights, and honour.[72] Significant First Nations, federal, and provincial government dignitaries came together as witnesses of the event. The stadium was symbolically transformed to represent a Big House, and the opening ceremonies were developed as a potlatch.[73] Within the lengthy ceremony, which included considerable First Nations content, a full twenty-two minutes was dedicated to the telling of the Kwagiulth Legend of *Kawdilikala*, a creation story from the "Box of Treasures" of Chief Adam Dick, *Kwaksistala*.[74]

Mungo Martin's 1957 statement on the Queen's totem pole, *"This is the way we show our history"*, raises the notion that different groups choose to express their identity in very unique and culturally-specific ways. The Queen's Totem Pole communicated a version of history in a language that, despite the Centennial Committee's attempts at interpretation, remained largely untranslatable for a non-Kwagiulth, particularly non-native audience. Charlotte Townsend-Gault comments that cultural difference is best

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[71] Ron Maclean, Opening Ceremonies of the Commonwealth Games (Victoria, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, August 18, 1994), live television broadcast.

[72] City of Victoria Archives, Records of the XV Commonwealth Games, excerpt from *XV Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony binder*, VCG 520: Box 57, Welcome Ceremony/Witness Ceremony, Order 12.

[73] City of Victoria Archives, Records of the XV Commonwealth Games, excerpt from *XV Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony binder*, VCG 520: Box 57, Themes.

[74] City of Victoria Archives, Records of the XV Commonwealth Games, excerpt from *XV Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony binder*, VCG 520: Box 57, The Legend of Kawadilikala, Order 28.

articulated "not by attempting to find common ground, common words, common symbols across cultures...," but by recognizing these differences. She emphasizes the importance of "acknowledging a final untranslatability of certain concepts and subtleties from one culture to another."[75] One final quote that emphasizes the multiplicity of perspectives inherent in the telling of history comes from Daisy Sewid-Smith's narration of the Legend of *Kawadilikala* during the opening ceremonies of the 1994 Commonwealth Games:

> Each nation of this great land, has their own truth, its own reality. This is the legend of the beginning of time. This is from the box of treasures inherited by *Kwaksistala*, Chief Adam Dick, from the hundreds of *Kwaksistala* before him. This is our truth. We all have great gifts and ties to the sacred; this is what makes us brothers and sisters. We have different ways of celebrating; some more private, some more public. All are just as powerful.[76]

Undoubtedly, the stories of British Columbia's citizens will continue to be told in future public celebrations such as centennials, sporting events, and world expositions. The unique stories of the province's diverse communities, including those of its First Nations citizens, will be told within this context, as the history of this province continues to be reevaluated and represented. The questions of who tells these stories, why they are told, and how they are presented to the public will be negotiated individually by those

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[75] Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "Kinds of Knowing," *Land Spirit Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada*, 100-101.

[76] Daisy Seewid-Smith, Opening Ceremonies of the Commonwealth Games (Victoria, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, August 18, 1994), live television broadcast. The significance of the use of this Kwagiulth legend appear to have been lost on Michael Reid, reporter for the Victoria *Times Colonist* newspaper. Reid made the following comments on the opening ceremonies: "...the emphasis on aboriginal culture was evident at every turn—sometimes movingly, such as during the welcoming entrances, and sometimes overwhelmingly. ... *The Legend of Kawadilikala*, an overlong dramatization of a traditional Kwadiulth Nation legend ... almost brought the ceremonies to a halt. ... The problem was that this tale ... was more earnest than entertaining, and exemplified the top-heaviness of the show's native excess — as if the producers were attempting to make up for years of aboriginal persecution in one fell swoop.' Reid, *Times Colonist*, August 19, 1994, F4.

parties involved in each event. As this examination of the 1958 British Columbia Centennial demonstrates, the projects and promotions created by the organizers and participants in such celebrations provide powerful and thought-provoking symbols through which to explore the changing construction of British Columbia identity. In the case of the 1958 Centennial, this exploration reveals a paradox; while First Nations citizens were marginalized in contemporary society and in the planning and management of the Centennial, elements of their culture were appropriated to serve as major symbols for the 1958 Centennial celebrations and the province of British Columbia.

Figure 1

THE BRITISH COLUMBIA CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE

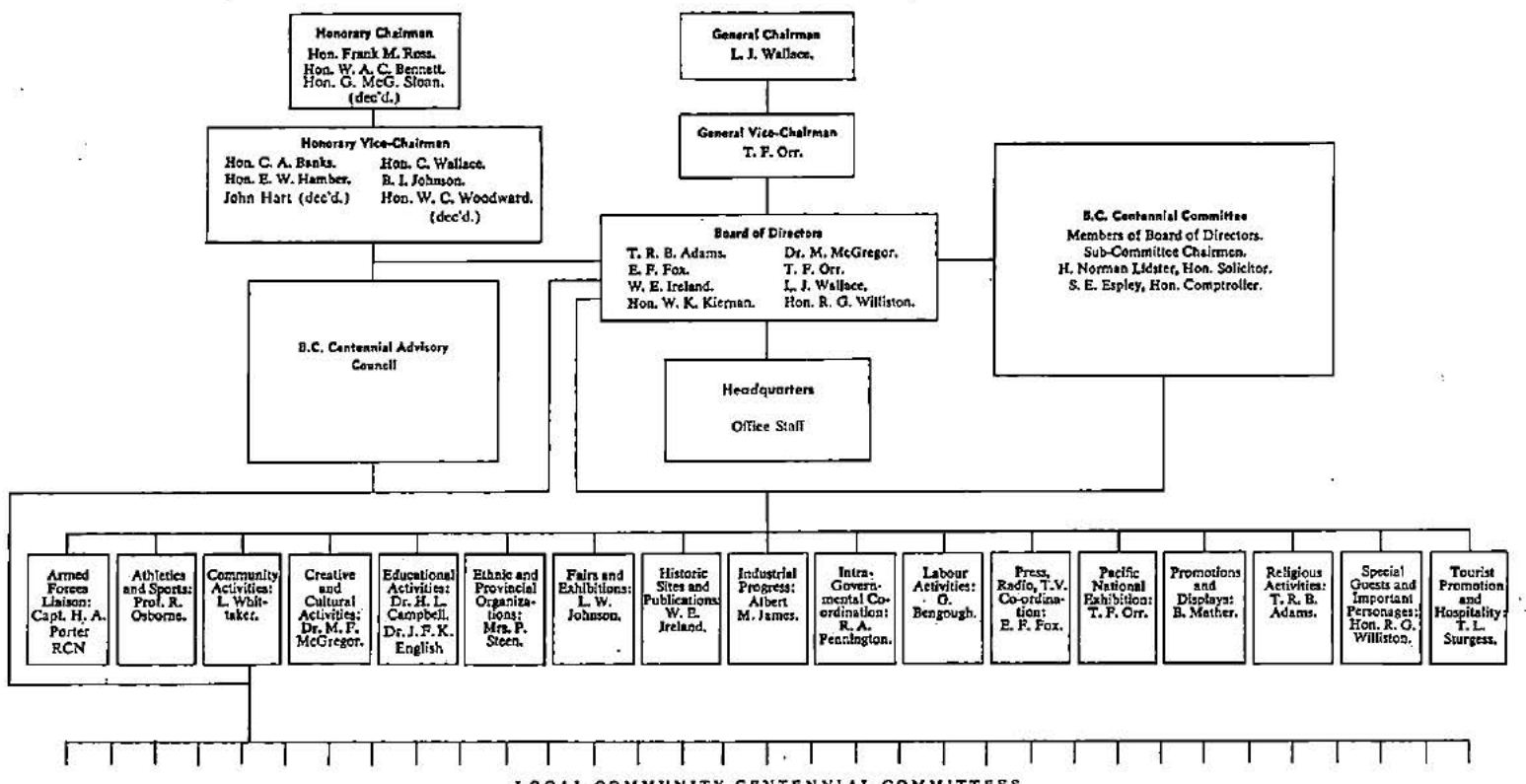
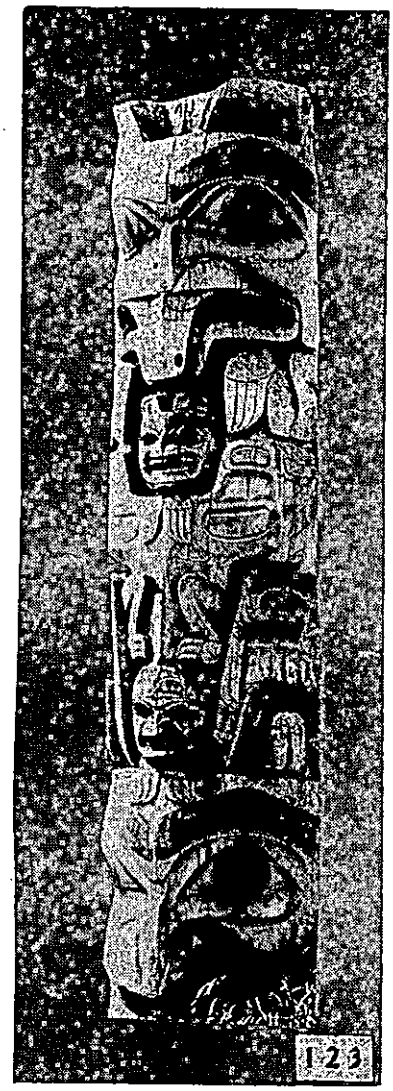


Figure 2

Figure 3



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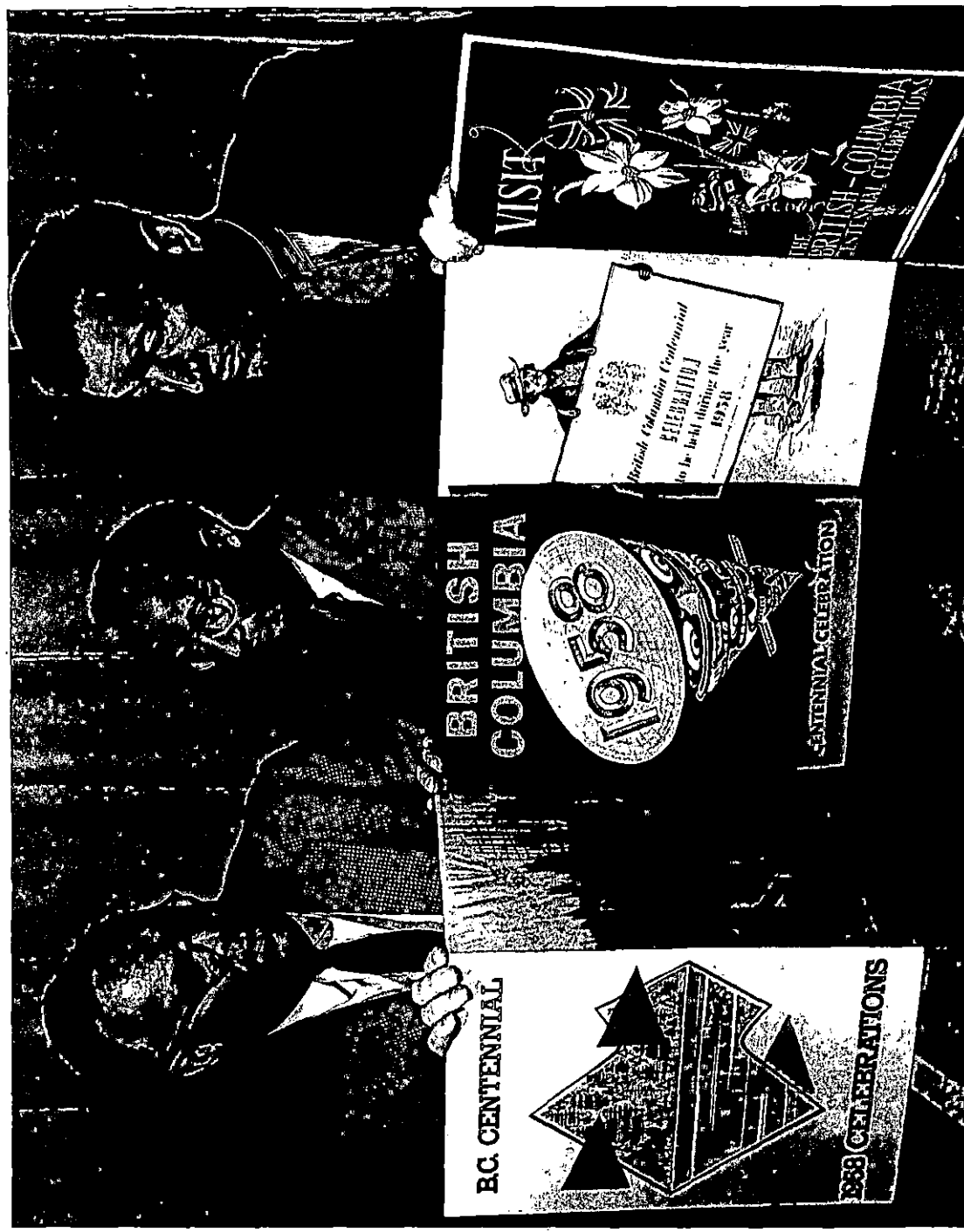
VISIT
THE BRITISH COLUMBIA CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS
BRITISH COLUMBIA
1858 1958
CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION
B.C. CENTENNIAL
1858 CELEBRATIONS 1958

Figure 5

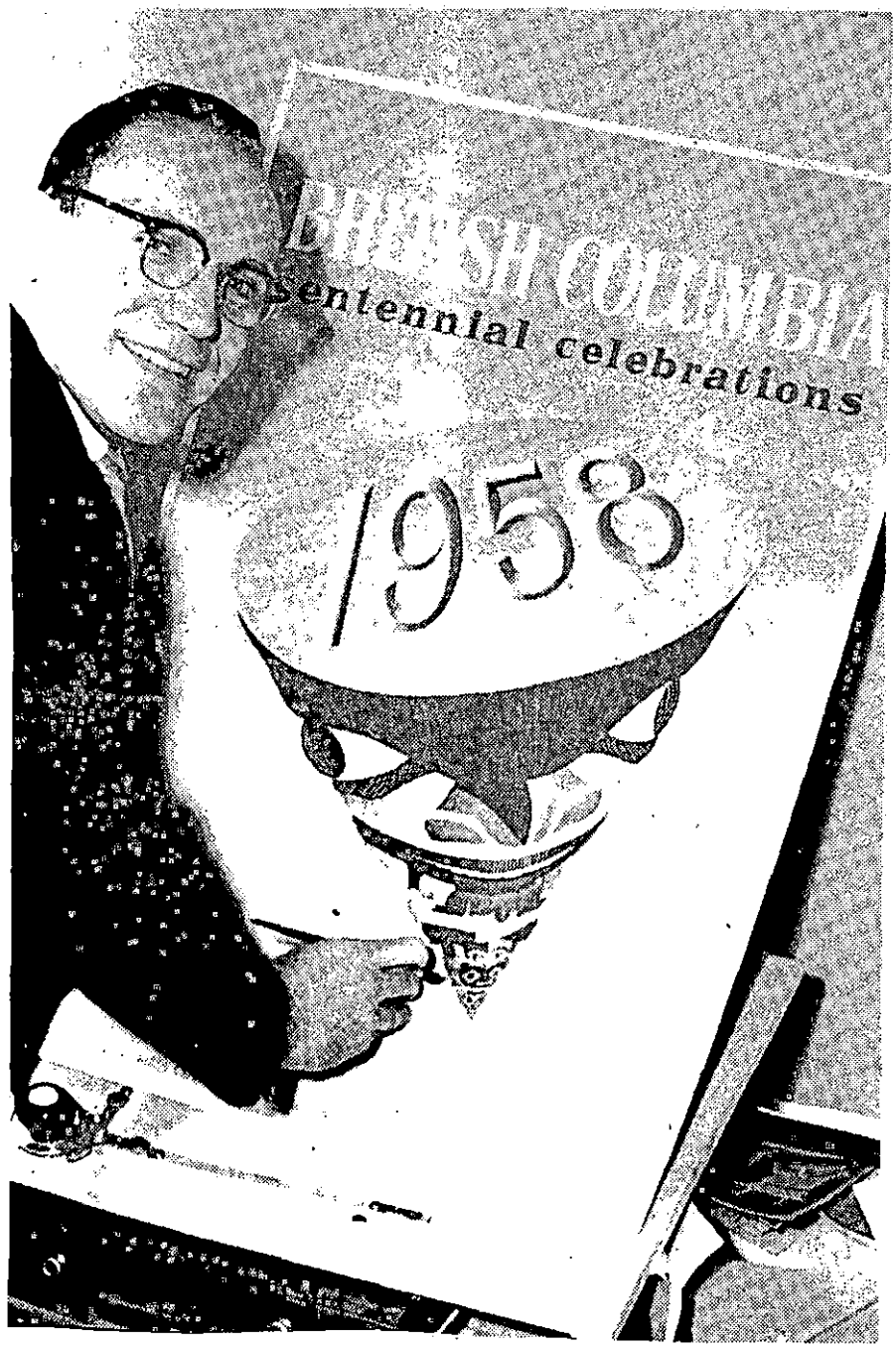

Figure 6


centennial celebrations
BRITISH COLUMBIA
centennial celebrations
COLUMBIA

Figure 7

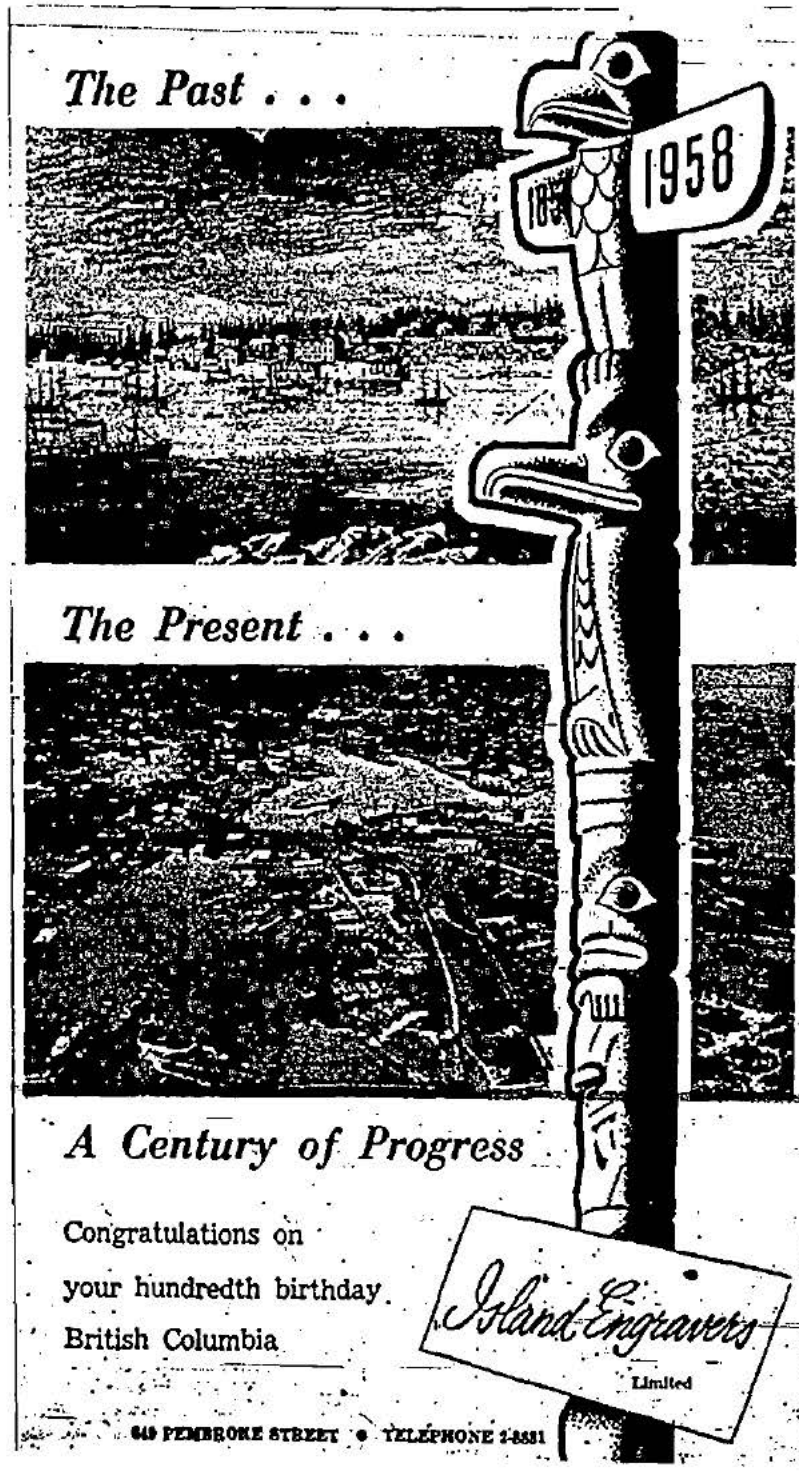
The Past . . .
1858
1958
The Present . . .
A Century of Progress
Congratulations on
your hundredth birthday
British Columbia
Island Engravers
Limited
649 PEMBROKE STREET • TELEPHONE 2-8831

Figure 8


ANACONDA
First in Canada for
COPPER, BRASS and BRONZE
Anaconda takes this opportunity to salute the people of British Columbia and to wish your great Province a happy hundredth birthday!
Congratulations, too, on the prospects of a future which in two decades, authorities predict, will rival the tremendous progress of the past century.
Since coming to Canada in 1922, we at Anaconda have witnessed the greatest development period in this nation's history—and have been inspired to keep pace! From a modest start in small quarters with about 300 employees, the plant has expanded until today it has a payroll of nearly 1,400 and covers 52 acres with self-contained mills—Sheet, Rod, Tube and Copper Bar & Strip.
The Company's policy has always been to use Canadian raw materials where possible. This includes zinc, lead and lumber from British Columbia, zinc from Manitoba, copper and nickel from Ontario. Many of the finest buildings and countless lumps in B.C. are protected inside and out by Anaconda Copper tube and sheet, and leading West Coast industries incorporate copper and copper alloys in their products.
Some time ago we established a Vancouver office with the sole purpose of providing customers with on-the-spot service. It is located at 1306 Buzzard Bldg., Telephone MCinil 3-7551. You are invited to drop in, phone or write for help and information on your metal problem.
The Eagle, representing one of the two great social divisions of the Haida people, is a familiar symbol in the art and legend of Northwest Coast Indians.

Figure 9


TWENTIETH
CENTURY
TOTEMS...
SYMBOLS OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA'S
CENTURY OF PROGRESS
BANK OF MONTREAL

Figure 10


Discover beautiful British Columbia this Centennial year!
Tour Vancouver Island and the Sunshine Coast - explore your Pacific frontier!
See the Parliament Buildings, Butchart Gardens, Thunderbird Park in Victoria. Head up-Island to friendly resorts, fabulous fishing spots at Parksville, Qualicum Beach, Campbell River. Take steamer trips up the B.C. coast, too!
Vacation in Vancouver and tour the Fraser Valley, too!
Take in Vancouver's beautiful beaches, parks and playgrounds. Enjoy "Theatre Under The Stars", Chinatown, shopping, floodlits, hiking. In the Fraser Valley, see the hot springs at Harrison, the Fair at Chilliwack.
Come to the Kootenays for the grandeur and the glories of an unspoiled vacationland!
Hunt and fish amid snow-capped mountains, lakes and streams. Take your pick of picnic and camp sites, hotels and motels. Explore Kootenay National Park, enjoy pageants and plays, barbecues and festivals from Trail to Golden!
Enjoy every adventure under the sun in the Okanagan and South Central B.C.!
Thrill to scenic splendours from roaring river canyons to blossom-carpeted valleys. Fish lovely lakes – relax on white sand beaches. And have the time of your life at special Centennial parties in every city, town and village you visit!
Roam the romantic Cariboo and see the West as it was!
See old coaches, old trail hotels and old-timers in a setting of rolling range and sagebrush. Stay in hotels, motels, dude ranches and real ranches. And have fun at parades and picnics, fairs and rodeos wherever you go in B.C.'s Cariboo-Chilcotin West!
Take a trip to the future - head north to Peace River and the Totem Route!
In this last frontier of mighty mountains, forests, plains and waterways, see the names in the news – Dawson Creek, Fort St. John, Burns Lake, Prince Rupert. And enjoy Canada's finest hunting and fishing, as well as salmon barbecues, canoe races, Indian ceremonials!
B.C. CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

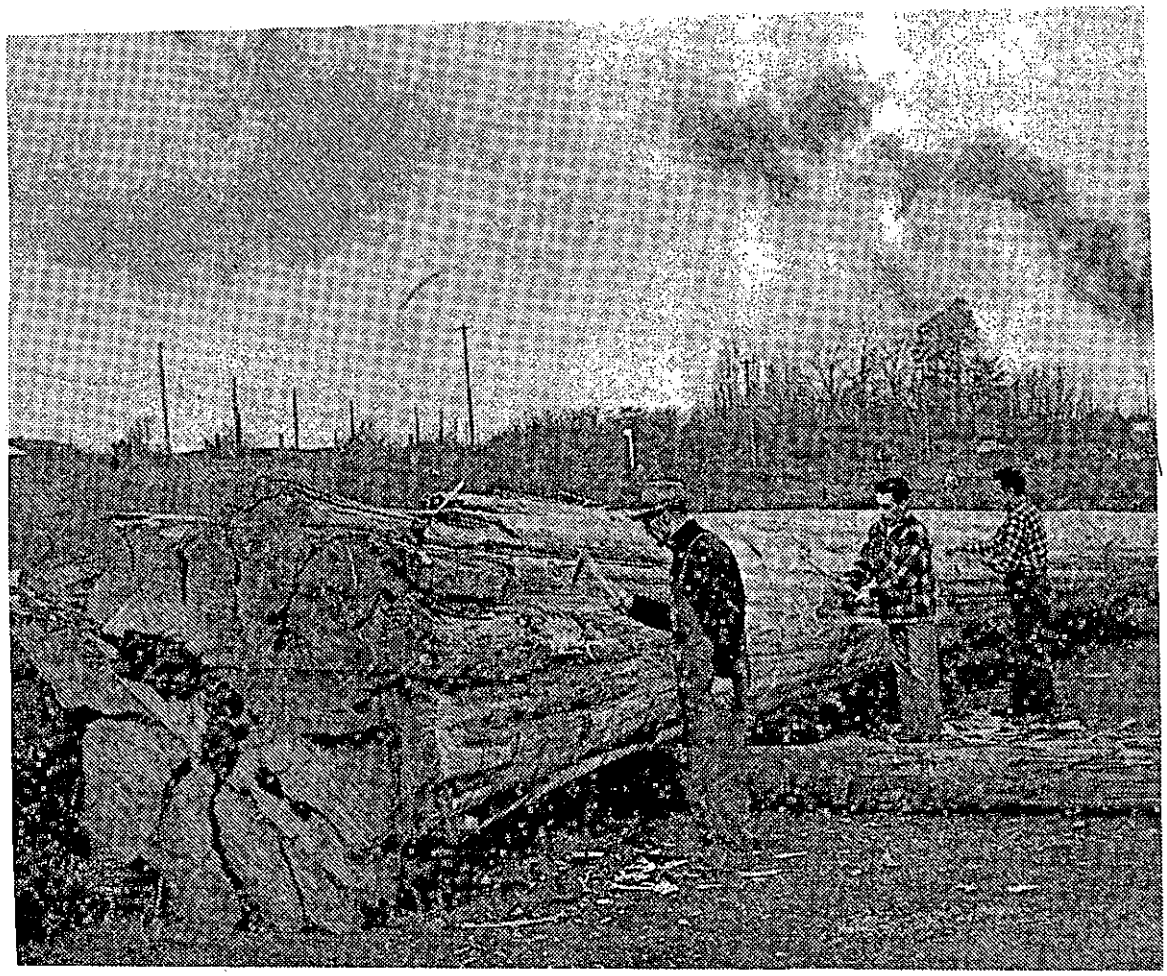

Figure 14

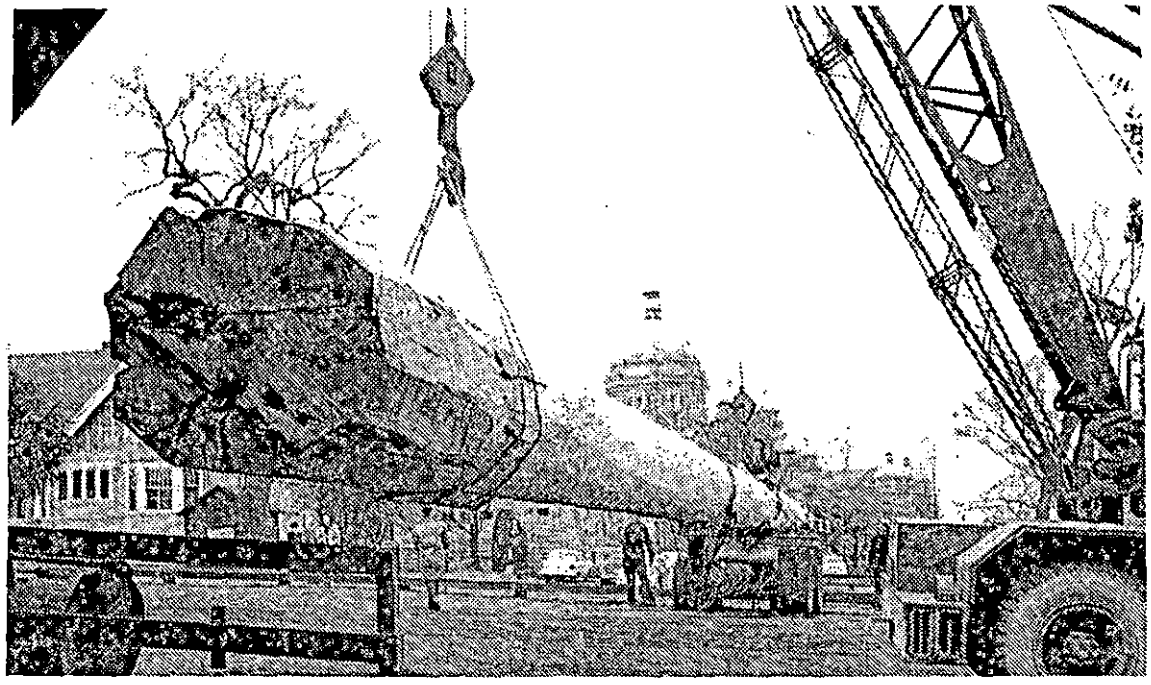

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Figure 18

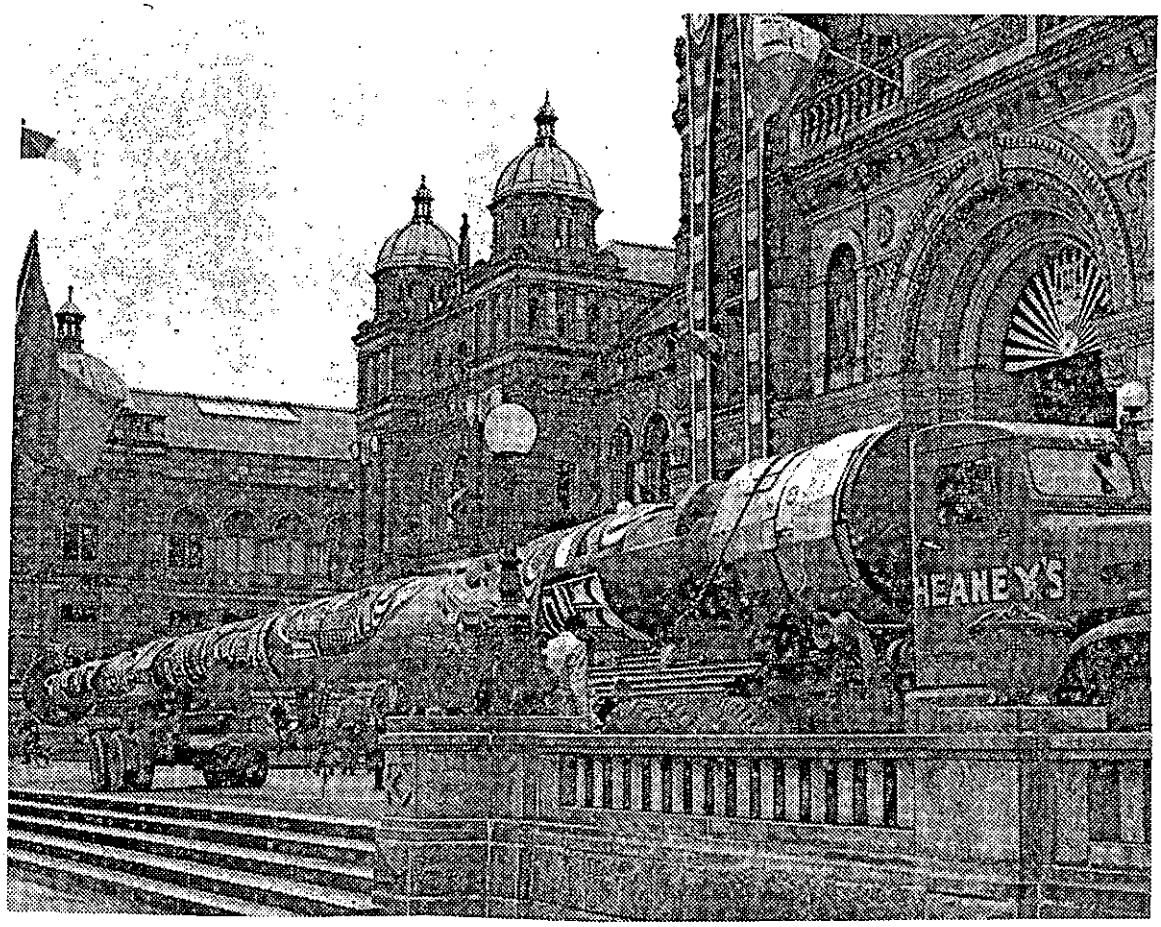


Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

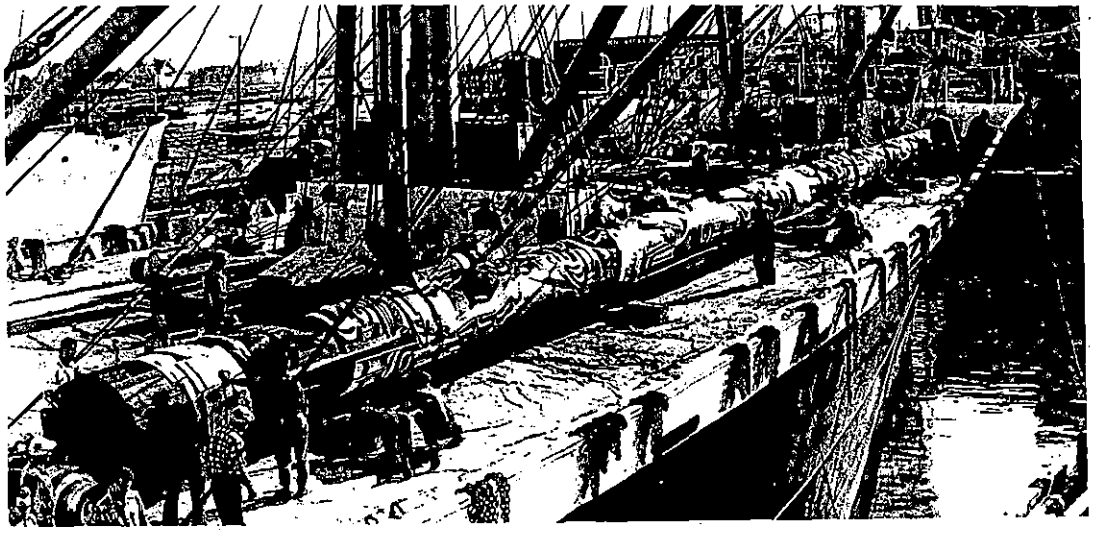


Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 25

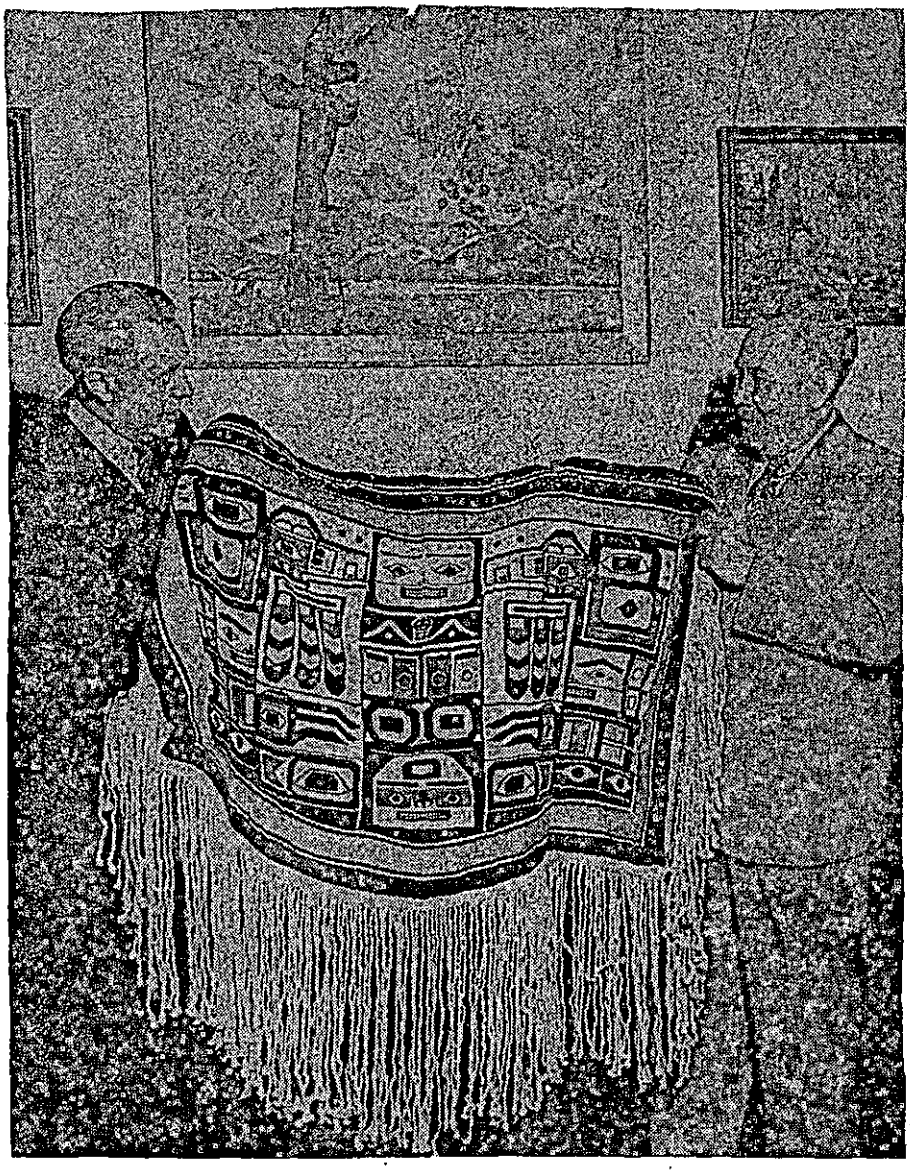
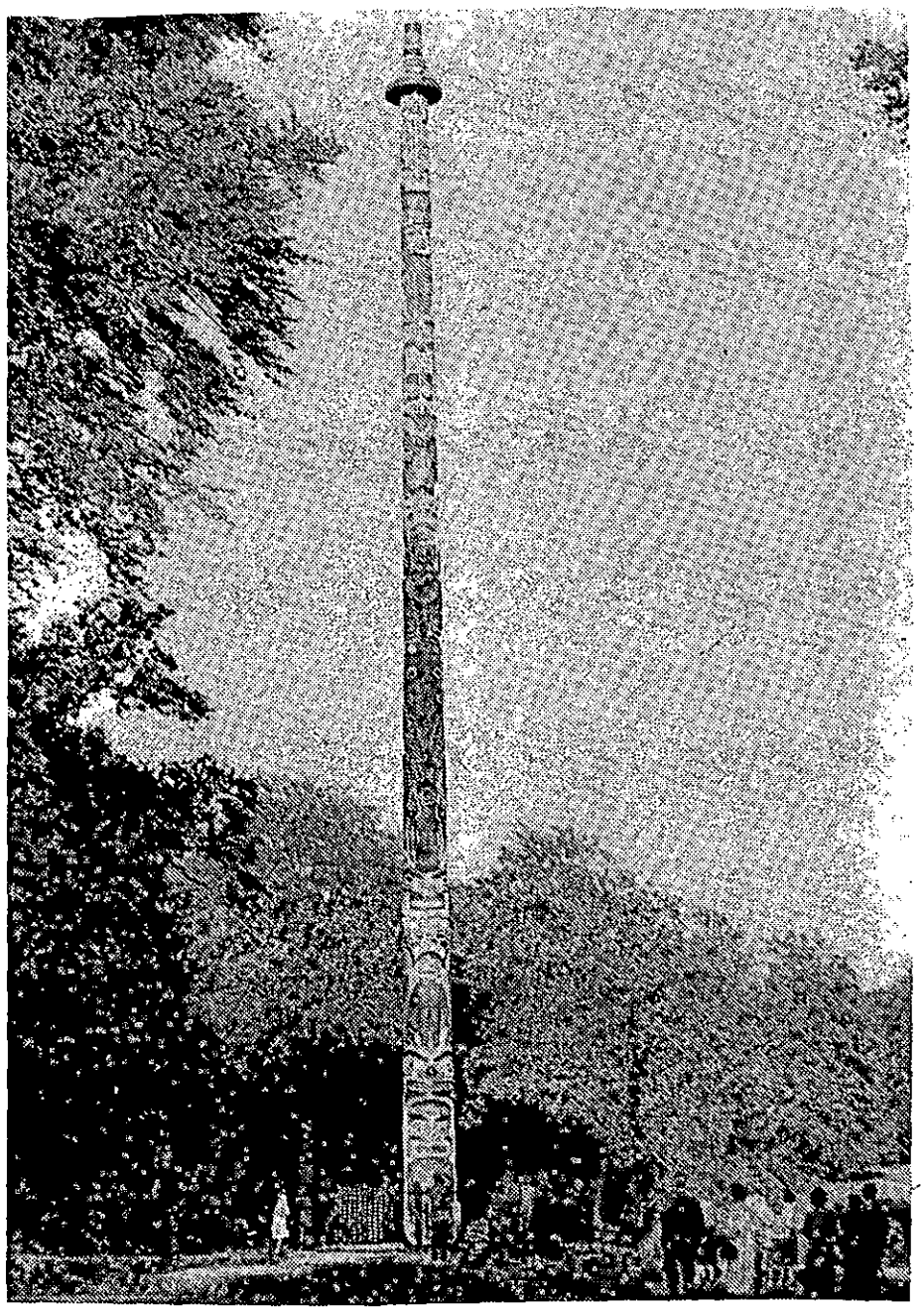


Figure 26



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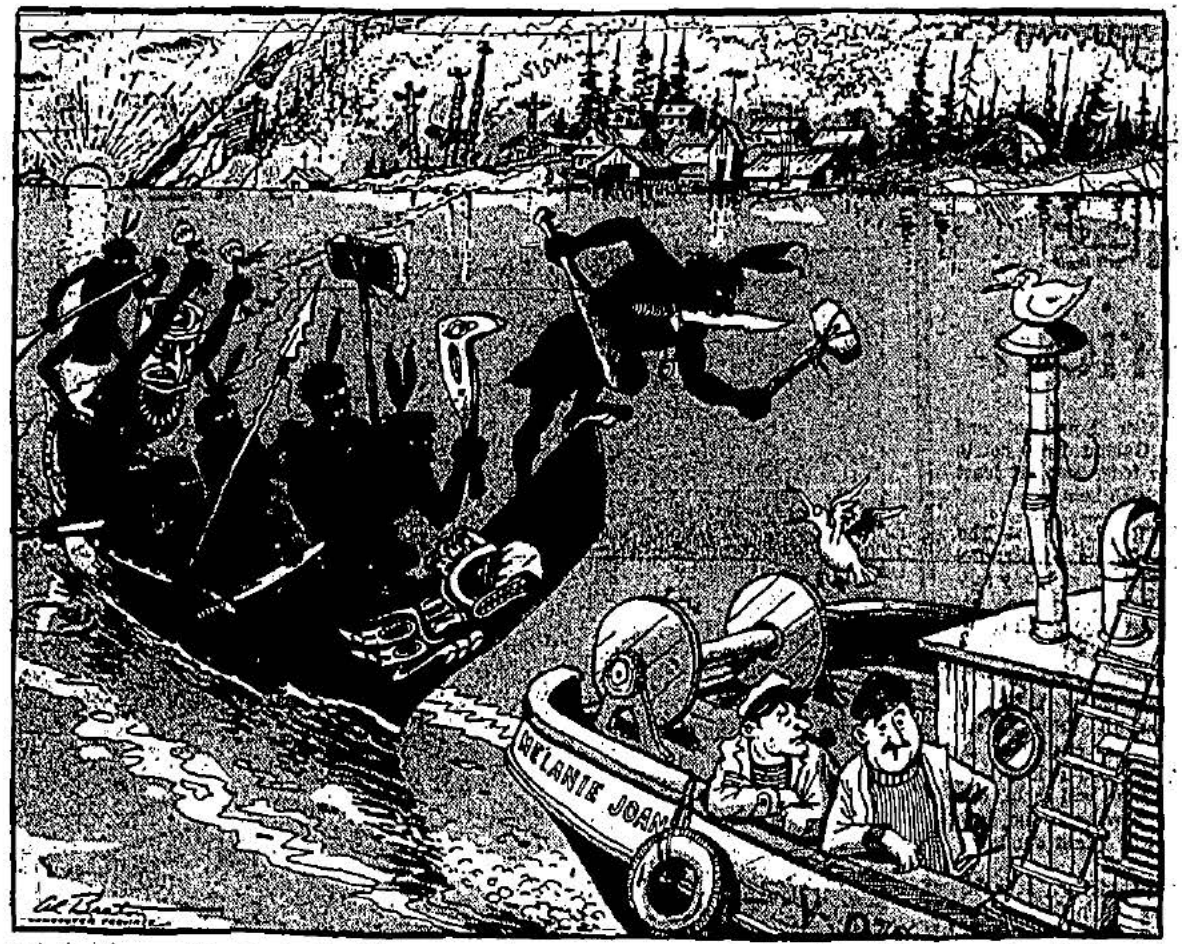

"As a quaint centennial project, I hear they're going to re-enact the arrival of the white men . . ."

Figure 30

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Appendix 1

THE CENTENNIAL TOTEM POLE

PLEASE DO NOT DISTRACT THE CARVERS. THIS SHEET WILL ANSWER MOST OF YOUR QUESTIONS.
KINDLY STAY OUT OF THE CARVING AREA

The Centennial Totem Pole is to be presented to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of British Columbia's Centenary in 1958. It will stand in London as an outstanding example of the carvings art of the Indians. It will bear 100 feet of carving. The carving was started during a special ceremony on March 23 when Lt. Gov. F. M. Ross made the first cut, and is expected to take six or seven months. The pole is authentically carved in the Kwakiutl style, one of the main native art styles of the Coast.

The Carvers

The chief carver and designer is Chief Mungo Martin of the Kwakiutl tribe (northern Vancouver Island), the last and one of the greatest old-time artists of his tribe. The younger carvers, also Kwakiutl, are Henry Hunt and David Martin.

The Log

The pole is being carved of an exceptionally fine log of Red Cedar, which is 106 feet long and five feet in diameter (trimmed), at the butt. It weighs about 27,000 lbs. The tree was 600 years old, and stood on the Queen Charlotte Islands, 500 miles north on the Coast. The log was donated by Powell River Company, Ltd.

The Design

The pole will display 10 figures, each of which is the crest of one of the Kwakiutl clans. Each figure represents the mythical ancestor of the clan, and often these are shown in the animal forms in which they were created before becoming men. The figures, from the bottom up, are:

1. Cedar Man (Tseakami)
2. Halibut Man
3. Sisutl (Double-headed snake)
4. Whale
5. Raven
6. Sea Otter
7. Thunderbird
8. Old Man
9. Beaver
10. Man with Large Hat

Among those contributing to the Royal totem project were the Powell River Company, Island Tug and Barge Company, Heaney Cartage and Storage Ltd., and Furness Withy and Company.

The Centennial Totem Pole

1 Man with Hat (Tatensid)

Tribe: Goasila (Smith's Inlet)
Clan: Gotlakdakw

The founder of this clan was created as a Raven (Gwawina) on Table Island at the mouth of Smith Inlet. Changing into a man, he took the name Tatensid ("something that provides shelter"). The name refers to the huge hat, woven of spruce roots, which it was his sole right to wear.
In the beginning, his people lived on the shellfish and marine resources of the island. They had no salmon. Tatensid had heard that sawbill ducks seek out salmon rivers, and one day he saw a family of sawbills, and launched his canoe and followed them. He went up Smith Inlet and to the narrows of Long Lake. Here he found Soogwilis, a man who had come overland from Mereworth Sound, roasting some salmon, "What are you doing in my river?" he asked. "It is not your river", replied Soogwilis. They argued, and agreed that whoever could make the best roast salmon should own the river. Tatensid won, although he had never roasted salmon before. He named his clan Gotlakdakw ("won through an argument") and settled here.

2. Beaver (Tsawi)

Tribe: Nakwaktakw (Blunden Harbour)
Clan: Kwakwegyuth

In the beginning, this "first man" was created as a Beaver (Tsawi), although he already had a human face. He lived at the head of Smith Inlet, and there he changed into his human form. He was visited by Soogwilis, who stayed with him a short time and then left him alone. From this incident he took his name Nemukwis "alone at the head of the inlet".

3. Old Man (Numas)

Tribe: Tlawitsis
Clan: Nunamasaqolis

Numas ("old Man") was created as an old man on Deer Island in Beaver Harbour, where he lived alone. Nearby, at the head of Hardy Bay, lived Maatagila, who had changed into a man from a sea gull. One winter Maatagila wanted to give a winter Ceremonial. Knowing that Numas was a song-maker, he invited him to take part.
He also invited Geeksem, from Bold Beach, who owned the right to use the sacred red cedar bark, and Geetlala from up Kwatsi River, a good carver of masks. When the ceremonies were over, Numas and Geetlala settled across Hardy Bay and formed a single clan "Those descended from him who was created as an old man".

4. Thunderbird (Tsoona)

Tribe: Awaitlala
Clan: Tsootsuna

Tsoona, with his wife and two children, flew down from the sky and landed on Kennedy Mountain, above Glacier Bay on Knight Inlet. Still in his bird form, Tsoona flew over to Cascade Point. The great supernatural transformer Tisemgit was passing in his canoe (which was a double-headed serpent), and decided to take the bird for a pet. Before proceeding far, however, the Thunderbird used his power to produce lightning, thunder, and a hailstorm. Four times he brought up violent storms, and Tisemgit, frightened, released him. Tsoona returned to his family, turned into human form, then led them across the inlet to hanwadi "the river of humpback salmon". Here he found three other men and their families, and asked permission to say and use a section of the river. Soon he took the name Hamalakyawi, and joined with the other families to originate the Tsootsuna clan "descended from the Thunderbird".

5. Sea Otter (Kassa)

Tribe: Gwawaenuk
Clan: Giagiakyala

This is not a "first-man" story, but an account of how a series of clan crests were obtained. Seweet, of the village of Hayakums near Watson Island, had lost a contest of strength with his friend, and he went into the forest early one morning to seek more power. He reached a small lake, and bathed in it. The Loon appeared and spoke to him. "I know what you want. Climb on my back while I swim under water". Again and again they dove and swam below the surface of the lake. On the fourth time, they stayed down, and swam out under the ocean. They stayed down four days — but in human time this was four years.

Seweet's father gave him up for lost, and moved to Trivett Island, but Seweet followed, wanting to return. His experience had given him the power to take several different forms. First he approached as Tsikw the Sea gull, then went down again. Next he came as Gwayim, the Whale; next as Kassa the Sea Otter (shown on the pole). Finally he returned as Koma, the tiny Bullhead. He approached the beach, where his younger brother was fishing with a small grass noose, and was caught. He spoke to his brother, telling who he was and saying that he would return home that night. In the night he assumed human form and walked up the beach. With him he brought a complete house, with three carved posts, to live in.

Seweet's father celebrated his return by giving a great winter ceremonial. On the first day, Seweet once more challenged his friend to a test of strength, and this time easily pulled him to pieces. He was now satisfied and remained in the village. His crests, which he passed on to his descendants, were the Seat Otter, Whale, Sea gull and Bullhead.

6. Raven (Gwawina)

Tribe: Tsawatenuk (Kingcome Inlet)
Clan: Lalawigila

Gwawina was created on Kingcome River, and turned into a man, taking the Lawagila "rescuer of those in trouble". Three other "first-men" also lived along the river, and one of them, Dabend, decided to invite them all to a feast. He boiled some dried mountain goat meat and put it in a feast dish. Since they had never been together before, he did not know who ranked the highest and should be served first. However, Lewagila leaped forward greedily, like the voracious raven, and served himself. Later, the four men returned to heir homes and founded four clans. But from that time on, Lewagila's clan is served first.

7. Whale (Walas) — Tribe: Mamalilikula
Clan: Walas

The founder of this clan was a man who had been transformed from a whale (Gweyim). He took the name Walas ("great"), which also became the name of his clan.

8. Double Headed Serpent (Sisutl) — Tribe: Tlitlekit (extinct)

At Robson Bight, on Johnstone Strait, the Sisiutl changed into a man, who took the name Wakabasu. He had a son and a daughter. One winter he moved to Tsukati ("sunshiny place") on Hardy Bay, and held a winter dance. The son was to be initiated into the Cannibal Society, and spent several month [sic] alone in the woods seeking supernatural power. When he obtained his power he returned, and the winter ceremonial was performed. Later, he returned to the woods to obtain more power, which he obtained from the Thunderbird. This time when he returned, he could produce lightning and hail inside the dance house.

9. Halibut (Nemkyalagyu) — Tribe: Nimpkish
Clan: Gigilgam

At Hweltkw ("log-wall") at the mouth of the Nimpkish River, a great Halibut swam slowly toward the shore. Standing on its fin was a man, who stepped ashore. His name was Nemukyustolis, and he founded the first clan of the Nimplkish, the Gigilham ("those who come first").

10. Cedar Man (Tseakami) — Tribe: Kwikwsutinuk

Tseakami was a great cedar tree before turning into a man, and is shown on the pole emerging from the tree. He was created at Simoon Sound, but soon moved to the head of Viner Sound, where Wolf was created. He asked for the hand of Wolf's daughter and settled there, founding the clan.[1]

[1] BCARS, The British Columbia Centennial 1958 Committee Records, Handout, n.d., GR1448-21: Totem Pole Files, Folio 1 of 2.

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