

Tradition and Modernity:
The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau

by

Andrew Nurse

A thesis submitted to the Department of History
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario, Canada

September, 1997

copyright © Andrew Nurse, 1997



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-22486-4

Canada

Abstract

Between the establishment of the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada in 1910 and the beginning of World War II, the practice of anthropology in Canada was fundamentally reorganized. The professional anthropologists who staffed the division introduced new research methods (intensive fieldwork), new modes of anthropological writing (the synchronic monograph, problem-centered essay, and compilation of primary documents), and a new emphasis on salvage ethnography as the primary focus of Canadian anthropology. Throughout the interwar era, the anthropology division provided a central direction to the development of anthropological discourse in Canada. Its staff conducted most of the research undertaken during these years, wrote most of the anthropological texts, advised the federal state on policy matters, created new guidelines for the conduct of research, and heavily influenced the public perception of anthropology in general and Amerindian and folk culture in particular.

As the most publicly prominent anthropologist of his generation, Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) played an important role in the reorganization of Canadian anthropology. Like his divisional colleagues, Barbeau conceived of his work as an anthropologist as a progressive, scientific development. His professional career illustrates the dynamics of modern anthropology as it evolved in Canada from 1910 until after World War II. He undertook two major ethnographic research projects in the course of his career and almost single-handedly established folk culture studies as a field of scholarly enquiry. More than the other members of the divisional staff, Barbeau also worked to demonstrate the cultural uses of anthropological knowledge and worked to diffuse professional anthropological discourse into the broader processes of modern culture in Canada.

Modern anthropology, as exemplified by Barbeau, was a deeply political process. The progressive, modern development of the science of anthropology was also deeply intertwined with, and part of, the cultural politics of modernity in Canada. In the context of modern Canada, Barbeau's anthropological work created new spheres of scholarly and cultural discourse, established criteria of cultural authority, refashioned images of "traditional" Amerindian and folk cultures, and became an important component of inter-ethnic and intercultural relations. Through the scientific discourse of an important human science, Barbeau helped to make the culture of modern Canada.

Acknowledgments

The creation of so individual a thing as a dissertation, to paraphrase Michael Carrithers, is really a social matter, "though," he remarks, "only the author takes the blame and gets the credit." There are many people who should "get credit" here: my close friends Phil and Cheryl, Troy and Christine, Jacqueline and Larry, and Bill and Norma. Thank you ... and I hope you know why. Thank you Mark, Tony and Kathleen, for your support. Genevieve, Benoit and Nicole for all their kind assistance. My parents, Gene and Joan, for everything. Ian, for your help, your advice and your guidance and for being there. And my family, Mary Ellen and Hayden, for enriching my life beyond measure.

As for the blame ...?

A Note on Spelling and Terminology

Some of the spellings and terminology used in this study differ either from current usages or the usages employed by Barbeau. First, following Olive Dickason I have used the word "Amerindian" to designate peoples variously called First Nations, Indians, Aborigines, and a myriad of other names. Second, I have used Barbeau's spelling of the word "Wyandot" throughout this study, to refer to both the people and the culture, instead of the now more common "Wendat". I have used this spelling because this was the spelling Barbeau used and because it was standard usage among anthropologists at the time of his career. For the same reason, I have employed the term "Huron-Wyandot" to refer to Barbeau's conception of Huron and Wyandot culture. Next, I have used the term "French Canadian" as a noun to refer to the French-speaking population of Quebec and as an adjective in my discussion of this people's culture. Barbeau used the term French Canadian in this very specific way. He did not, for example, refer to the French-speaking population of the Maritime provinces as French Canadians but rather used the word "Acadian". For the sake of simplicity I have followed Barbeau's usage of this term. Also: I have maintained what were at the time the most common anthropological spellings used to signify different Amerindian nations, cultures and languages, with two exceptions. I have altered references to Eskimo to Inuit because I felt particularly uncomfortable using the former term, and I have used the spelling "Tsimshian" to refer to these peoples, languages, and cultures instead of the "Tsimshyan" spelling employed by Barbeau. I have not followed Barbeau's spelling in this latter case because it was highly idiosyncratic: to my knowledge, Barbeau was the only major Canadian anthropologist who used the "Tsimshyan" spelling.

Finally, a word on the word "white". Barbeau and his contemporaries frequently used this word somewhat reductively to refer to non-Amerindians. I have adopted their usage in paraphrases of their work and in descriptions of past controversies because imposing a new vocabulary (e.g., European, Canadian, or non-native) entailed the risk of distorting the character of the cultural thought of the times.

List of Abbreviations

AGT	Art Gallery of Toronto
ANQ(M)	Archives nationales du Québec (Montréal)
BAAS	British Association for the Advancement of Science
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting System
CFMS	Canadian Folk Music Society
CNR	Canadian National Railway
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
CSL	Canadian Steamship Lines
DIA	Department of Indian Affairs
GSC	Geological Survey of Canada
IFMC	International Folk Music Council
MB-HWF	Marius Barbeau-Huron-Wyandot Files, Canadian Museum of Civilization
MB-NWCF	Marius Barbeau-Northwest Coast Files, Canadian Museum of Civilization
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NGC	National Gallery of Canada
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum
UBC	University of British Columbia
WAA	Women's Art Association

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Note on Spelling and Terminology	iii
Abbreviations	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Illustrations	vii
Introduction:	1
The Past In Ruins: Modern Anthropology and the Ideology of Salvage Ethnography	
Part I Making Modern Anthropology	65
Chapter I	66
The Making of an Anthropologist: Marius Barbeau in the Turn-of-the- Century Anthropological Milieu	
Part II The Practice of Anthropology	156
Chapter II	157
The Quest of Authenticity: Cultural Selection, Field Research and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography	
Chapter III	218
"But Now Things Have Changed": Huron- Wyandot Culture and the Politics of Ethnography	
Chapter IV	291
Folklore as Cultural Process	

Part III	Beyond Anthropology	342
Chapter V		
	A National Artistic Tradition	343
Chapter VI		
	Marketing <i>The Kingdom of Saguenay</i> : Writing Folklore in Interwar Canada	401
Chapter VII		
	The Value of Vanished Cultures	447
Part IV	Salvage Ethnography in Post-War Canada	513
Chapter VIII		
	The Cultural Work of Salvage Ethnography in Post-War Canada	514
Conclusions:		
	The Cultural Legacy of Salvage Ethnography	585
Bibliography		602
Vita		630

List of Illustrations

Figures

1. Barbeau with Oxford Faculty and Students
aged 27
2. Barbeau aged 25
3. Barbeau transcribing music
4. C.G. Seligman conducting fieldwork
5. Barbeau aged 73

Maps

6. The Beauce in Quebec
7. The Northwest Coast



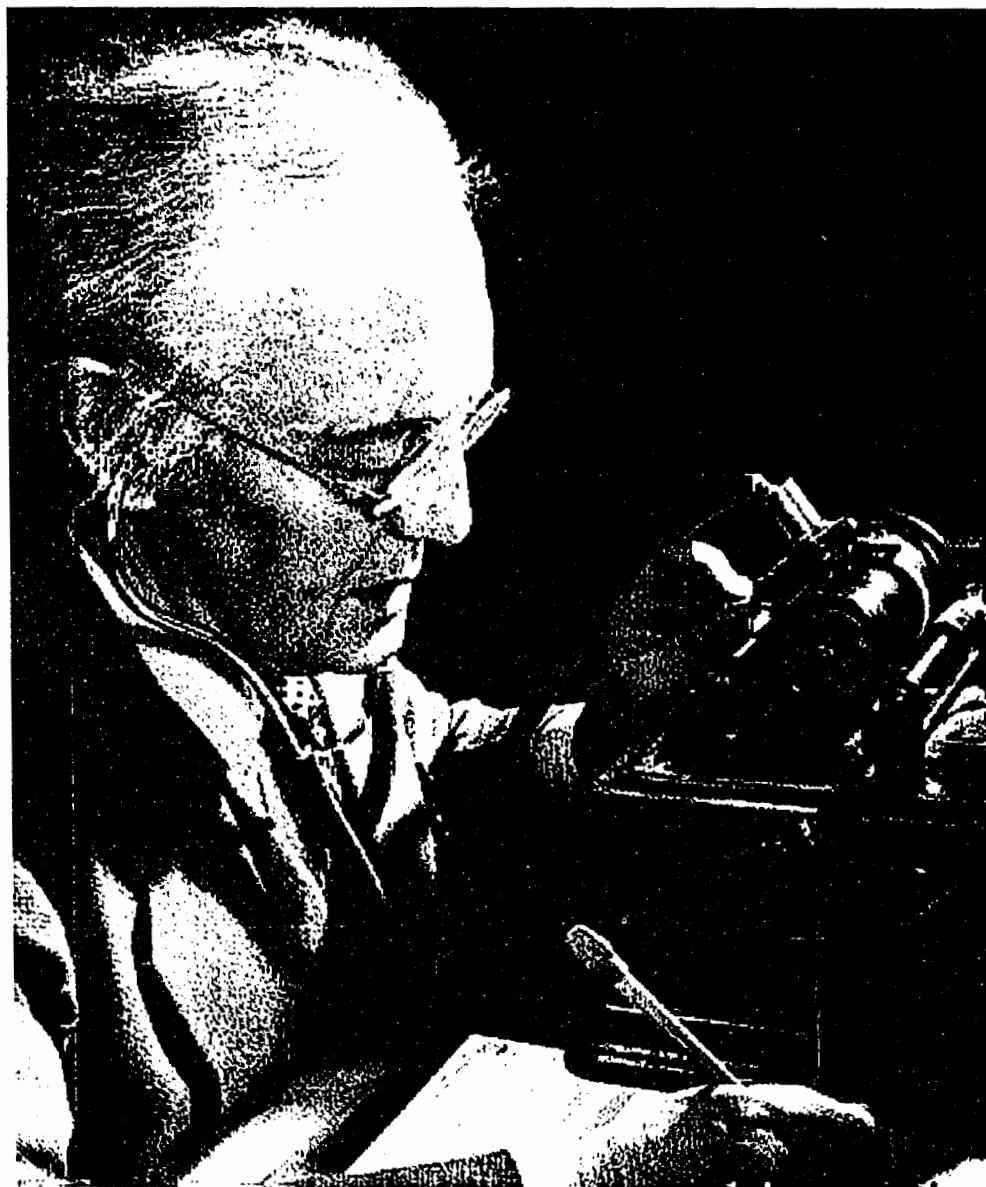
Number 1 - Barbeau at Oxford

From: Nowry, Marius Barbeau, plate 13



Number 2 - Barbeau at Twenty-Five

From: Nowry, Marius Barbeau, plate 12



*Number 3 - Barbeau:
The Anthropologist At Work*

From: Nowry, Marius Barbeau



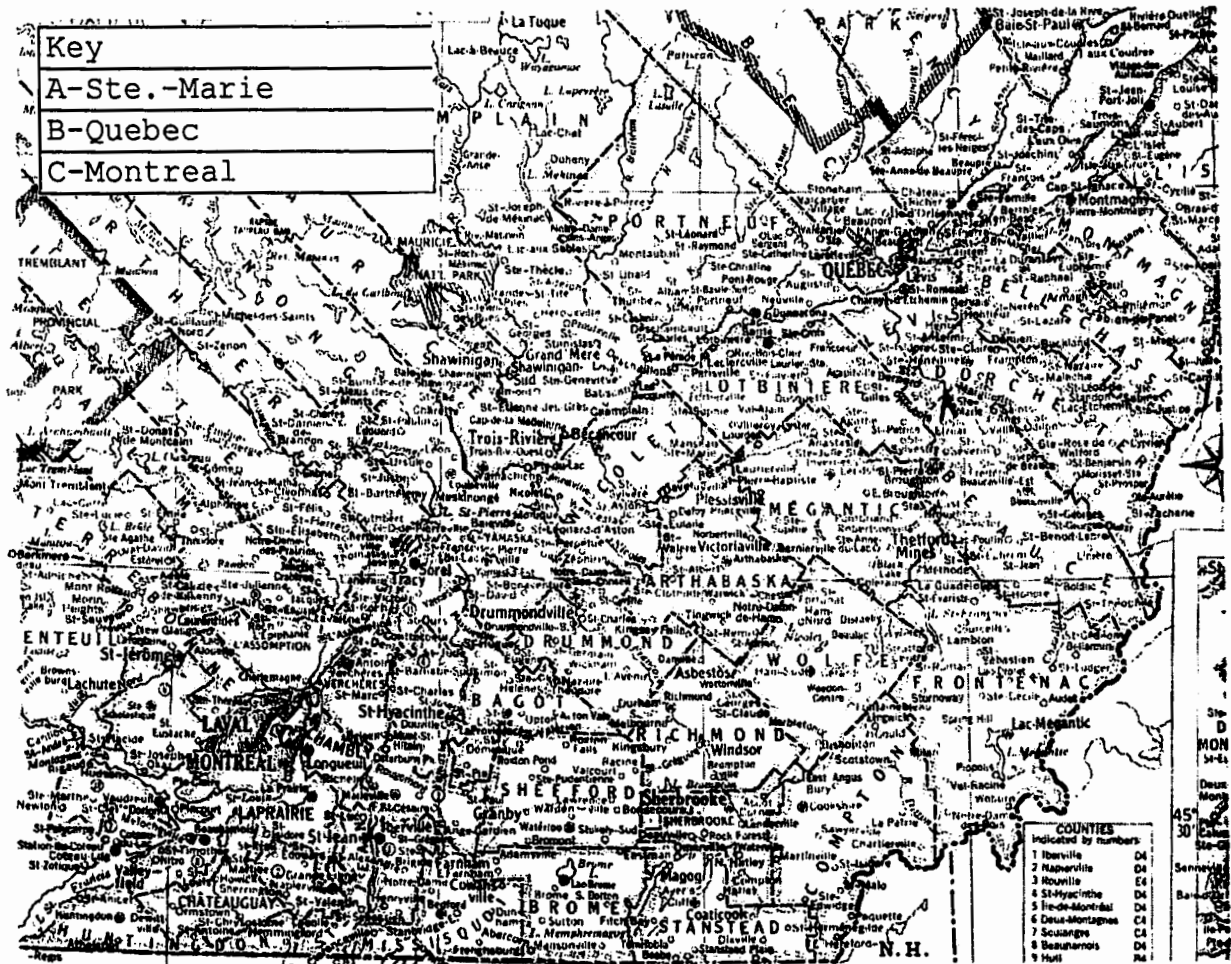
Number 4 - C. G. Seligman at Work

From: Clifford, "Notes on (Field) notes", plate 2

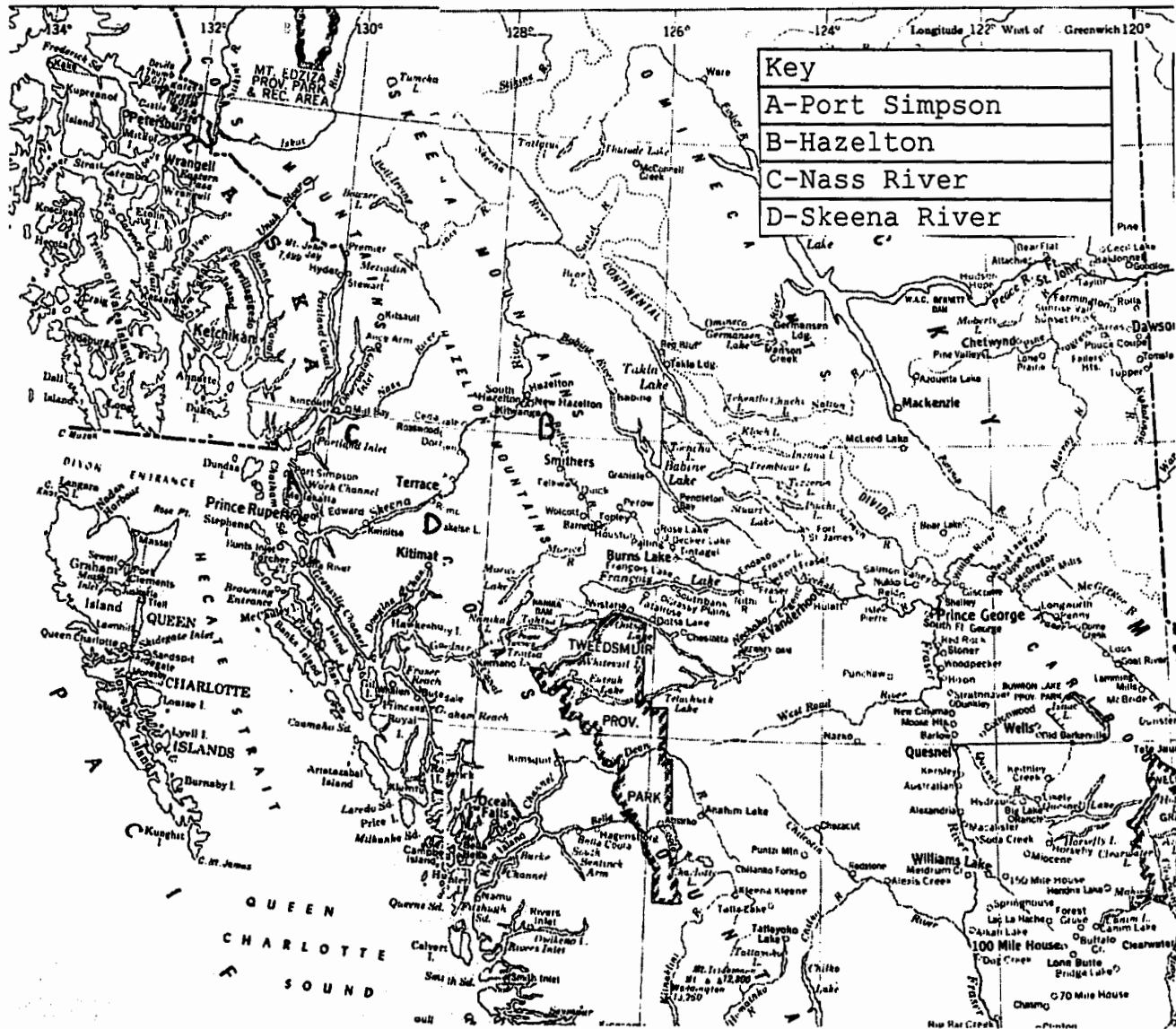


Number 5 - Barbeau at Seventy-Three

From: Nowry, Marius Barbeau, plate 50



Number 6 - The Beauce in Quebec



Number 7 - Northern British Columbia

Major Fieldwork Sites

Introduction

The Past In Ruins:

Modern Anthropology and the Ideology of Salvage Ethnography

Nor is it reasonable to regard culture ... as some kind of object to which people relate. This assumption has had a use in placing cultural representations in the foreground so we can begin to capture the distinctions between ways of life in an unambiguous way. But by restoring symbolic expressions to their [social] setting a finer pattern emerges: collective representations have significance in their use by people in relation to other people and none apart from such use. The importance of these restorations is that they remind us of a setting in which change might be thought of as natural, the setting of social life with all its fluidity, its laboriously achieved continuity, its planned and inadvertent innovations.

-Michael Carrithers (1992)¹

1. "Canada's Best Known Folklorist and Anthropologist"

In 1983, the Salon Marius Barbeau opened at the Canadian Museum of Civilization as a permanent commemoration of Marius Barbeau, "Canada's best known folklorist and anthropologist",² who had worked for the Museum's historical predecessors from

¹Michael Carrithers, *Why Humans have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Cultural Diversity* (Oxford: 1992), 36.

²Laurence Nowry, introductory remarks to "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by Laurence Nowry at the National Museum, 1965" TS transcribed by R. Landry (1982), 1. Cited hereafter as "Marius Barbeau Interviewed". A transcript of this interview is on file at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

1911 until his official retirement in 1949.³ Over the course of his career, and into his retirement, Barbeau did much to build the archives and material culture collections; since his death, these have become important to the Museum, confirming both its status as an important research center and its presence as a popular attraction for tourists and students. Designed to coincide with the one-hundredth anniversary of Barbeau's birth, the event was marked by a special exhibition, the production of a CBC documentary, and the publication of an edited version of a series of interviews with Barbeau as a special number of the Museum's "Oracle" series. Published under the resounding title *I Was a Pioneer*, the interviews were transcribed in 1982 by Renée Landry, Barbeau's former secretary, in preparation for the inauguration of the Salon. They had originally been conducted in private sessions with Laurence Nowry, his future biographer, over a four-day period in 1965 and had been used extensively only once before in a previous documentary Nowry had made on Barbeau for CBC radio.⁴

Even in this edited form *I Was a Pioneer* is an important historical source. It provides a frank and reasonably

³ After his retirement Barbeau continued to maintain his office and work for the National Museum in an advisory capacity.

⁴ Laurence Nowry, *Marius Barbeau: Man of Mana* (Toronto: 1995), 8, 10 and 386.

accurate outline of Barbeau's life and work as an anthropologist in the first half of the twentieth century. Barbeau describes the contours of each of the three major research projects he had conducted as an anthropologist: a survey of Huron-Wyandot ethnography, a more detailed and extended study of Tsimshian ethnography, and many studies reflecting his life-long engagement with French Canadian folk culture. In *I Was a Pioneer* we find Barbeau's assessment of his work and its significance. Because of his central position in constructing and popularizing anthropological discourse in Canada, this reminiscence has an unusual significance in Canadian cultural history. The interviews, conducted when Barbeau was eighty-two, were inevitably informed by hindsight. From the perspective of 1965 Barbeau could evaluate his personal history, emphasize the successes and minimize the failures of his anthropological and cultural work from 1911 until 1949 and after, and place his long career in some historical perspective.

I Was a Pioneer provides its readers with many interesting insights into Barbeau's career as an anthropologist. We can learn a bit about how Barbeau viewed his colleagues, his most important informants, and his work. What is most interesting about *I Was a Pioneer* is a textual silence: the absence of the standard single defining transformative moment which seems to have accompanied the

memories of so many modern anthropologists, the moment of disorientation and truth when in the course of fieldwork the anthropologist moved beyond his or her own culture-bound world to confront the confusing unfamiliarity of the cultural "other".⁵ Only once in *I Was a Pioneer* does Barbeau come close to representing such an epiphany. It occurred in 1914, on his first folklore collecting expedition, when he was so captured by the beauty of a folk legend that he thereafter made folk culture studies part of his life's work. With respect to Tsimshian or Huron-Wyandot cultures there was no such memory and no such moment of disorienting truth because there could not be. Unlike a host of other anthropologists, Barbeau never experienced the shock of the "other", because his approach to the "other's" culture insulated him from any sense of disorientation. The modern anthropology Barbeau pioneered in Canada was salvage ethnography. His task was not that of living in a dramatically different cultural environment but that of preserving the remnants of cultures which had once flourished, but existed no longer. Barbeau had no moment when he confronted a sense of disorientation, which in so many

⁵ Cf. Robert Thornton, "'Imagine yourself set down...': Mach, Conrad, Frazer, Malinowski and the Role of Imagination in Ethnography" *Anthropology Today* 1,5 (1985), 7-14. One such "moment of truth", in which an anthropologist metaphorically transcended the bounds of civilization, can be found in Diamond Jenness' depiction of his 1913-1916 expedition to the Copper Inuit. See Diamond Jenness, *The People of the Twilight* (New York: 1928).

cases accompanied twentieth-century anthropological field research, because in the course of his long career he never really left "civilization". He could not have done so, in his own mind, because he believed that all that remained of the cultural "others" he had studied throughout his adult life were the remnants of "vanishing races".

This is a telling silence which speaks to the larger historical development of anthropology and folklore in modern Canada and to Barbeau's place within twentieth-century Canadian culture. Anthropology, like any human science, is not simply a reflection of broader cultural patterns, but an active part of the on-going, uneven process of constructing culture. As "Canada's best known folklorist and anthropologist", Barbeau played an important, "pioneering" role not simply in the history of modern Canadian anthropology, but in the broader processes through which the culture of modern Canada was created. In Barbeau's case, the connection between his scientific work as an anthropologist and Canadian culture is more direct than that of other twentieth-century Canadian social scientists because he approached the relationship between "science" and "culture" differently than many of his colleagues. He believed that the study of traditional cultures could provide modern culture with important insights into its own development and goals. Through his popularly-oriented novels, participation in folk

music and handicraft revivals, the arts, and tourist promotion, Barbeau drew his own work as an anthropologist and folklorist to public attention and broadened the scope of his own cultural project beyond the boundaries of his discipline.

This introductory section will examine the ideological framework and historical context of Barbeau's kind of ethnography. It will analyze Barbeau's contribution to the evolution of modern anthropology in Canada, and describe the broader context within which he and his anthropological studies became so well known. It will finally briefly discuss Barbeau's place within the framework of Canadian cultural history.

2. The Ideology of Salvage Ethnography

Modern anthropology, as George Marcus and Michael Fischer point out,

is quite different from what it was in the mid- and late nineteenth century. Then, as a burgeoning field of Western scholarship in an era imbued with a pervasive ideology of social progress, it was dominated by hopes for a general science of Man, for discovering social laws in the long evolution of humans toward ever higher standards of rationality.⁶

⁶ George E. Marcus and Michael M.J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Chicago and London: 1986), 17.

By contrast, modern anthropology rejected the grand theory and metanarrative of the nineteenth century in favour of a more limited ethnographic method designed to understand different cultures as individual entities.

The creation of modern anthropology was a complex process fed by a variety of different intellectual currents: empiricism, hermeneutics, the discourse of science, liberal social philosophy, modern conceptions of economic and cultural development, and the antimodernist discontent which arose across the western world in the late nineteenth century in response to socio-economic modernization. In some places, such as in the United States, modern anthropology developed as a contested and radical break with the racist and evolutionary grand theories which had preceded it.⁷ In others, as in Great Britain, modern anthropology emerged as a series of gradual revisions which slowly reorganized the discipline, its research methods, central heuristic, and discourse.⁸ In Canada, both British and American influences were combined in a distinctive, state-centered program of anthropological research and popularization.

⁷ George W. Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: Phoenix ed., 1982), 234-307.

⁸ George W. Stocking, Jr., *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951* (Madison: 1995).

In Canada, modern anthropology came into being in 1910 with the establishment of the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC).⁹ The establishment of the Anthropology Division re-oriented anthropology in Canada, bringing with it new research techniques (intensive fieldwork), modes of writing, professional authority, and an institutional base, characteristics which elsewhere in the western world were the hallmarks of the modern discipline. Created by acting GSC director R.W. Brock and organized by the American anthropologist Edward Sapir to become a center of the most scientifically advanced anthropology in North America, the Anthropology Division was given a threefold mandate: to collect and preserve the Amerindian cultures of Canada in all their forms; to construct and maintain the ethnographic exhibitions of the National Museum; and to present the results of its work to the scientific community and the broader public.¹⁰ This was a scientific and educational mandate intended to preserve what Sapir and Brock considered the rapidly disappearing traditional cultures of aboriginal Canada

⁹ Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8,1 (1973), 33 and 44.

¹⁰ R.W. Brock to Edward Sapir, 3 June 1910, Edward Sapir Fonds, Canadian Museum of Civilization, box 425, file 44. Edward Sapir, "Anthropology Division" in *Summary Report of the Geological Survey of Canada for the Calendar Year 1910* (Ottawa: 1911), 284.

and to make the work of the division and knowledge of Amerindian peoples more widely accessible to specialists and the general public. The urgency of this mission was not lost on Sapir, the first head of the anthropology division. "In some cases," he noted in one early assessment of the significance of the division's work, "a tribe has already practically given up its aboriginal culture.... With the increasing material prosperity and industrial development of Canada[,] the demoralization ... of the Indians will be going on at an ever increasing rate."¹¹ The Anthropology Division's research project was broad. It encompassed the standard subdivisions of the modern discipline: linguistics, archaeology, and physical anthropology. Its most important work, however, was ethnography: the description of "other" (vanishing) cultures. Rescuing the shards of original culture from the ruins of aboriginal life constituted, in Sapir's opinion, the central and most immediate work of the divisional staff.¹² This objective became a dominant goal of anthropology in Canada from 1910 until after World War II. Its rationale and scientific significance were widely accepted by the professional anthropologists who staffed the anthropology

¹¹ Edward Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada" *Science* NS 34,884 (1911), 793.

¹² Sapir, "Anthropology Division", 284.

division from 1910 until the 1940s.

What Sapir was setting in place was a strategy of "salvage ethnography". Salvage ethnography, as James Clifford has pointed out, is less a theory of anthropology than a specific approach to the practice and writing of ethnography informed by a series of beliefs about the character of aboriginal culture in the modern age.¹³ In practice, salvage ethnography functioned through a conceptual framework which treated aboriginal cultures as entities which, in a sense, stood outside history; uninfluenced by modern western civilization, they existed in their pure forms. At the moment this pure culture interacted with western civilization and changed as a result of this interaction, it began to corrode, eventually to be replaced in its entirety. For salvage ethnographers, traditional cultures were imagined as pure, whole, and timeless entities which inevitably met their demise once they were drawn into the historical process. The task of the salvage ethnographer was to recover or preserve -- to salvage -- the remnants of a pure aboriginal culture before it was entirely effaced by modernity.

In recent years, salvage ethnography has been subjected

¹³ James Clifford, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm" in Hal Foster, ed., *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* (Seattle: 1987), 122. See also Virginia Dominguez, "The Marketing of Heritage" *American Ethnologist* 13,3 (1986), 546-55.

to searching criticism from anthropologists informed by two different strains of thought. First, anthropologists informed by marxist and post-structuralist theory have argued that salvage ethnographers failed to appreciate the mediated and historical nature of all cultures and thus reduced the aboriginal cultures they studied to an essentialist core which seemed to disintegrate upon interaction with the economic, political, and cultural aspects of modernity. Capitalist economic development, imperialist expansion, Christian evangelism, and other "modern" forces all doomed aboriginal cultures to extinction. In practice, salvage ethnographers conceptualized authentic traditional culture as one pole of a cultural binary opposition which made it the "other" of western modernity. Modern western cultures were literate, economically developed, historically dynamic, Christian, socially fragmented or individualistic, and oriented toward rational scientific modes of comprehension; authentic traditional cultures were oral, agrarian or nomadic, historically static, animistic or totemic, holistic, and oriented toward a mythological mode of understanding.¹⁴ Ethnography, post-structuralist critics have argued, should be evaluated through an analysis of the textual strategies

¹⁴ Clifford, "Of Other Peoples", 122. See also Carrithers, *Why Humans have Cultures*, 27-33.

anthropologists employed to create this binary opposition. As a series of literary texts, ethnographic representations were enabled by tropes of synecdoche (in which a part is made to represent the whole) and allegory (whereby the "unfamiliar" other is made meaningful through transformation into a more accessible or recognizable form). Both tropes marginalized the historicity and complexity of supposedly holistic traditional cultures.¹⁵ The physical manifestation created by the literary use of synecdoche was the artifact. This could be anything: a song, an oral tradition, bones, a piece of pottery, etc. Post-structuralist anthropology, following Jacques Derrida's meditation on signs and signifiers, treats artifacts as constructed texts which generate multiple and even conflicting meanings. Through the use of synecdoche, the salvage ethnographer stabilized the text, allowing it to generate only one meaning; through allegory, this singular meaning was translated to the ethnographer's modern audience.¹⁶

¹⁵ Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 20-5, 41, 55 and 95; James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory" in James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: 1986), 98-115.

¹⁶ Dominguez, Mihn-Ha, and Clifford, "Of Other Peoples", 131; George E. Marcus and Dick Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts" *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982), 25-69; Robert Thornton, "The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism" in George E. Marcus, ed., *Rereading Cultural Anthropology* (Durham and London: 1992), 16-33. In "Suppressing the Text: The Metaphysics of Ethnographic History in Darnton's *Great Cat Massacre*" *History Workshop* 31 (1991), 1-20, Harold Mah offers

Second, colonial discourse theorists have questioned the claims of anthropology in general, and ethnography in particular, to be disinterested sciences. In his well-known study of western Orientalism, Edward Said argued that throughout its history, western anthropology has been closely tied to an imperialist project. This tie has produced an anthropological discourse rooted in the cultural processes of imperialism which have often refracted ethnographic representations through the conceptual framework of western civilization.¹⁷ At its worst, anthropology has been actively complicitous in the imperialist project helping to structure, organize, and direct the processes of imperial expansion and control. Ethnography, Said and his followers have also argued, constituted a form of imperialist cultural control: through ethnographic representations the voices of subject peoples were appropriated and directed by western intellectuals.¹⁸

The history of salvage ethnography, Virginia Dominguez

a Derridian reading of ethnographic history.

¹⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage ed., 1979). See also Talal Asad, ed., *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (New York: 1973).

¹⁸ For additional commentary see C.S.L. Chachange, "British Rule and African Civilization" *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1,2 (1988), 199-223. For a different perspective see George W. Stocking, Jr., "Maclay, Kubary, Malinowski: Archetypes from the Dreamtime of Anthropology" in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge* (Madison: 1991).

has remarked, raises a series of important questions about the ways cultural differences have been, and are, conceptualized, the historical context in which modern anthropology emerged and functioned, its relationship to imperialism, and the uses to which anthropological knowledge has been put. For whom, Dominguez has asked, were these cultures salvaged? By what right and on whose authority? What were the political and cultural implications of ethnography? Who became the vanishing traditional "other" whose culture had to be salvaged? And how did anthropology relate to the broader dynamics of modern culture and to inter-ethnic and inter-cultural relations?¹⁹ It is the aim of this study to answer these questions in the specific context of modern Canada and with reference to the anthropology of Marius Barbeau.

3. Marius Barbeau

No single figure better exemplified the development of modern anthropology for many Canadians than did Marius Barbeau. Born in Ste.-Marie-de-Beauce in 1883, educated at Oxford and the Sorbonne, and appointed to the newly-established Anthropology Division in 1911, where he would spend most of the rest of his

¹⁹ Dominguez, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm", in Foster, ed., *Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, 131 and Dominguez, "The Marketing of Heritage", 548.

professional career, Barbeau rose to public prominence in the 1920s and remained the most recognized anthropologist in Canada until after World War II. Barbeau was not the most analytically sophisticated anthropologist of his generation, nor does it seem that his anthropological theories will have the lasting significance of the theories devised by certain of his contemporaries.²⁰ Nonetheless, in his day his work was well respected both in Canada and internationally and he was a culturally important and influential figure. In the course of his long career, which lasted from 1911 virtually until his death in 1969, Barbeau conducted three major research projects -- one each in the fields of French-Canadian folk culture, Tsimshian ethnography, and Huron-Wyandot culture -- the data from which continue to be used today. He almost single-handedly established folk culture studies in Canada. His *Totem Poles* (1950) is still the best-selling text ever published by the National Museum.²¹

It was, however, Barbeau's work in the "public sphere" which drew him to the attention of many Canadians. His first

²⁰For example, Diamond Jenness' Dorset culture hypothesis, in which Jenness became the first to suggest the previous existence of a pre- or proto-Inuit culture in the Canadian north.

²¹ George F. MacDonald, "Foreword" to Marius Barbeau, *Totem Poles* 2 vols. (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, reissue ed., [1950] 1990), v.

public interview, given in the United States, dates from 1915²² and thereafter he became increasingly involved with, and interested in reaching, a wide public audience. By the 1920s, Barbeau was actively seeking an audience beyond the range of professional anthropologists and was cooperating with a variety of different artists, writers, musicians, and culture industries to diffuse the work of professional anthropology into modern Canadian culture. He published popularly-oriented anthropology and folklore texts, organized folk music concerts, arts exhibitions, and historical reconstructions, and worked with such prominent cultural figures as Emily Carr, Médard Bourgault, the members of the Group of Seven, J. Murray Gibbon, and Ernest MacMillan. With Gibbon he organized the Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals of the late 1920s, the first systematic effort to promote a folk music revival in North America, and with the members of the Group of Seven he organized some of the most important exhibitions in Canadian art history, including the 1927 exhibition *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* at which Emily Carr was introduced to a central Canadian public. It would be difficult to overstate the cultural influence of Barbeau in interwar Canada.

This intense public involvement made Barbeau's work

²² "Says Indians Will Be Here for Years" *Omaha Daily News*, 16 April 1915. Newsclipping in Marius-Barbeau Northwest Coast Files, Canadian Museum of Civilization [hereafter MB-NWCF], B-F-608.

different from that of fellow members of the anthropology division during its early years. As he later remarked, his wide-ranging public activities caused some degree of friction between himself and colleagues who felt that his fascination with public culture and his close connection with the arts detracted from his status as a scientist.²³ If Barbeau's public involvement made him different from his colleagues and created his considerable public reputation, it is also an important part of the history of anthropology in Canada. Anthropology and anthropological knowledge in Canada were not confined to the professional anthropologists who, for the most part, worked for the Anthropology Division and the National Museum until the marked expansion of university-based anthropology in the 1960s.²⁴ In interwar Canada, Barbeau was quite simply the personification of anthropology for many Canadians.

He was as well-suited to public as to scholarly life. Energetic, curious, dynamic and charismatic in public (and both compassionate and vindictive in his personal life) Barbeau was never far from the limelight. An early picture, taken perhaps in 1910, shows him standing behind and to the

²³ "Profile-Dr. Marius Barbeau", CBC Kine Collection, National Archives of Canada [hereafter NAC].

²⁴ William K. Carroll, ed., *Fragile Truths: Twenty-Five Years of Sociology and Anthropology in Canada* (Ottawa: 1992).

left of his mentor, Prof. R.R. Marett of Oxford [figure 1]. Diamond Jenness, his fellow student and future colleague, stands in the center. This picture shows Barbeau in the company of other Oxford anthropology students and faculty. The slightly-built Barbeau wears a straight-faced, almost uncertain look which seems to contrast with his stylish apparel. Another picture of the same vintage shows a slightly younger Barbeau (his biographer gives his age in this picture as twenty-five²⁵), in a high-collared shirt, three-piece suit, and tightly-knotted tie [figure 2]. His dark hair is well kept and shortly-trimmed. On his face he wears the same unsmiling look, but this time gazes away from the camera, managing to look at once serious, sensitive, and pensive, as if his mind were elsewhere. These carefully posed representations of a youthful Barbeau (which surely reflect the preferences of the photographers as well as those of the subject) presented a stylish, serious young man who is perhaps still uncertain of his role in human affairs, but whose careful dress, serious intent, and situation among some of the leading intellectual figures of his day all suggest nonetheless that he will have a role.

These pictures contrast sharply with images of an older Barbeau, a mature scientist and committed cultural activist

²⁵ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, plate 12.

with a deep and passionate dedication to his work. One picture, reproduced in at least four sources,²⁶ shows an aging Barbeau, his greying hair combed back over a balding head [figure 3]. He now wears eye glasses which seem to complement the still present tie, three-piece suit, and aging but finely featured face. In this picture Barbeau gazes down toward a sheath of staff paper as he transcribes something (perhaps a song) he had recorded on an old-style Edison wax cylinder. The ear piece to the dictaphone machine looks something like a medical doctor's stethoscope, adding to the overall aura of seriousness conveyed by this image. A pencil, poised above the staff paper, is held in his right hand. We have here the anthropologist at work, preoccupied to such an extent that he does not notice the intrusion of the photographer. Here is an emblematic picture: the anthropologist surrounded by the tools of his science -- staff paper, pencils, recording machines -- working in solitary isolation as he transcribes so as to preserve the recorded culture of the vanishing "other". This is work which, in keeping with the general direction of salvage ethnography in Canada, occurred primarily in the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, front cover; C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, *Mythologie huronne et wyandotte* trans. S. Dupont (Montréal: 1994), interior title page; Carmen Roy, *An Introduction to the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies* National Museum of Canada, Mercury Series, No. 7 (Ottawa: 1973), [v]; Morris Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks: The Story of the Geological Survey of Canada* (Toronto: 1975), 280.

office, not in the field. This is not a romantic photograph. It does not take us into the jungle, with the anthropologist, clad in khaki, seated by his rough tent, with his field notes on his knee, heroically confronting the otherness of the dark-skinned natives around him. It is an image of the dignified seriousness and dedication with which Barbeau pursued his study of anthropology in his office. How many hours, one is drawn to ask, must he have sat exactly like this next to a dictaphone machine?

In a still later photograph we see Barbeau in a tuxedo giving what appears to be an after-dinner address to a middle-class audience. An elegantly dressed woman who is seated behind him stares intently at Barbeau; silver and flowers are visible on her table [figure 5]. He is now seventy-five, his hair is white, less kept, and frames his head like a Renaissance halo. Although clearly aged, he appears animated. Passion seems to fire in Barbeau's eyes as he stands in front of a microphone and behind a drum. He points into space, jaw clenched, a look of utter seriousness on his face. Now, in 1956, he is the elder statesman of Canadian anthropology. A newspaper account written ten years before this picture was taken described Barbeau's public persona as that of an "ancient bard"²⁷ and with this picture we can gain some sense

²⁷ "Le Beauce reste l'heureux pays des 'joueurs de tours' et des chansons" *L'Événement Journal*, 20 novembre 1946.

of the image which motivated that reporter's impression. In this photograph Barbeau has not only found his role, but also become comfortable in it.

4. Anthropology in Interwar Culture

Throughout his professional life, Barbeau worked to salvage traditional culture from its eclipse in time, to increase the public position of anthropology in Canada, and to promote the broader use of the materials he collected and stored in the National Museum. His scholarly and cultural accomplishments earned him two honorary doctorates, three Prix Davids, and honorary fellowships to Oriel College, Oxford (his *alma mater*) and the American Philosophical Society. He also won the Lorne Pierce medal, a range of other awards, and, shortly before his death, was made a companion of the Order of Canada. Although Barbeau spent most of his career with the Anthropology Division and the National Museum, he was also instrumental in bringing anthropology and folklore to a wider public. In a day when neither anthropology nor folklore had established strong bases in Canadian universities, Barbeau lectured widely to public audiences, helped organize public exhibition and concerts, wrote popular texts and a novel based on his ethnographic work, and advised the growing interwar

handicraft revival movement. In the 1940s he taught at the Université Laval and the Universities of Ottawa and Montreal, and in the 1950s served as founding president of the Canadian Folk Music Society.

The broad range of Barbeau's cultural activities and the seemingly single-minded determination with which he pursued them have earned him a prominent position in Canadian cultural historiography. Majorie Halpin and Israel Katz have described Barbeau as an insightful and dedicated anthropologist whose extensive field research preserved an ethnographically and historically valuable record of traditional French-Canadian and Amerindian cultures.²⁸ In his recent biography of Barbeau, Laurence Nowry portrays him as the "real founder" and "greatest practitioner" of Canadian anthropology who fought a life-long battle not only to preserve a record of Canada's vanishing traditional past, but also to interest Canadians in the richness and diversity of their cultural heritage.²⁹ And, in his recent study of the Group of Seven, Charles Hill presents Barbeau in a similar way. The members of the Group of Seven were Barbeau's close friends; he supported their work, publicized it, and shared their goal of creating a

²⁸ Majorie Halpin, "A Critique of the Boasian Paradigm for the Northwest Coast" *Culture* 14,1 (1994): 5-16 and Israel J. Katz, "Marius Barbeau, 1883-1969" *Ethnomusicology* 14,1 (1970): 129-42.

²⁹ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau, passim*. Citations at 102.

uniquely Canadian culture rooted in an art based on Canada's domestic traditions and landscape. For Hill, the emergence of a vocal, self-defined nationalist movement in Canadian arts in the 1920s signaled a shift in the historical development of art in Canada. Like the members of the Group of Seven, Barbeau's approach to Canadian culture was motivated by a reverence for a Canadian landscape conceived as raw, vibrant, rugged, masculine; and for an art that would be "Canadian" because it was rooted both in the landscape and historic folk traditions of the country. Hill views Barbeau as something more than an ally of the Group of Seven. His interest in the use of traditional culture in art added, Hill believes, a new component to the artistic nationalism of the 1920s which helped to restructure -- in Hill's opinion, perhaps even to create -- a truly Canadian art.³⁰

The story of Barbeau's anthropological and cultural work, told in different but similar ways by Halpin, Katz, Nowry and Hill, is a story of innovation, struggle, dedication, and accomplishment. Such elements are an important part of Barbeau's story. There can be little doubt that Barbeau saw himself in much the same way: as a pioneering anthropologist and cultural activist struggling, as he worked to legitimize

³⁰ Charles Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation* (Ottawa: 1995), 176-93.

the place of Amerindian and folk traditions in a negligent age, against the cultural inertia of early-twentieth-century Canada.³¹ In this sense, the images Halpin, Katz, Nowry and Hill have constructed of Barbeau remain faithful to his own image of himself, an image shared by many others as well.³² To focus a narrative of Barbeau's cultural work on his personal struggle to preserve and popularize traditional culture in the modern age neglects, however, the broader dimensions and politics of this cultural work.

What made the traditional culture of Amerindian and French Canada so significant to Barbeau? His views on traditional culture are difficult to reduce to a single coherent philosophical position and in this way differ from

³¹ Cf. Paul Gardner, "Marius Barbeau: Outdoor Man of the Month", unidentified magazine article [1950] in Fonds Marius Barbeau, Archives nationale du Québec (Montréal) [hereafter Fonds Barbeau ANQ], micro 5091, #M699.11; Marius Barbeau, "Why Canadian Should Be Interested in Their Handicrafts" TS (n.d.), National Library of Canada; Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 17 April 1941, Lorne Pierce Collection, Queen's University Archives [hereafter Pierce Collection], box 8, file 3.

³²Cf. A.Y. Jackson, *A Painter's Country: The Autobiography of A.Y. Jackson* (Toronto: 1958), 60 and 65; L. Hitschmanova, "Marius Barbeau: Ami de l'Habitant et du Sauvage" *Culture* 7,1 (1946), 66-71; Roy, *An Introduction to the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies*, 47-8; F.J. Alcock, "Folklore Studies at the National Museum of Canada" *Journal of American Folklore* 67 (1954), 99-101; Genevieve Bateaux to Marius Barbeau, 17 November 1947, Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of Civilization [hereafter Barbeau Fonds], box 3, Genevieve Bateaux file.

the extensive sociological studies of Canadian socio-economic modernization which run parallel to Barbeau's career, particularly in French Canada.³³ The common motif of modernization studies, as Marcel Rioux summarized them in the 1950s, was the progression of Canada from a traditional to a modern society.³⁴ With other like-minded ethnographers, Barbeau accepted the logic of modernization theory -- indeed, it provided the explicit covering explanation for salvage ethnography -- but he did not believe that Canada's transition to modernity had altered the cultural essence of the country which remained fixed even while its manifest forms became corroded or obscured by cultural and economic change. The cultural essence of Canada still existed and could still be found, Barbeau insisted, on what he took to be the margins of modern life: elderly Amerindian people living in remote sections of the country or descendants of early European settlers living in supposedly isolated rural communities.

Barbeau's interest in traditional culture has been seen

³³Cf. Léon Gérin, *Le type agricole et social des Canadiens, milieux agricoles des traditions françaises* (Montréal: 1948); Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago: 1943); and Herbert Guindon, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood* (Toronto: 1988).

³⁴ Marcel Rioux, "Folk and Folklore" *Journal of American Folklore* 63 (1950), 192-8 and Marcel Rioux, "Rémarques sur les concepts de folk-société and de société paysanne" *Anthropologica* 5 (1957), 143-62.

as an aspect of his personal history, in particular his childhood acquaintance with Amerindian culture and his family background in the Beauce,³⁵ a region of Quebec known for its folklore, dialect, and fierce local pride.³⁶ When he later reflected on the factors which had influenced his career, Barbeau always emphasized a connection between the cultural milieu of his youth and his adult career as an anthropologist and folklorist.³⁷ His interest in anthropology, the cultural uses of tradition and, perhaps more significantly, the popularity of his anthropological work can, however, also be seen as part of the broader currents of cultural and intellectual antimodernism in interwar Canada.³⁸

³⁵ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 30-3; Paul Carpentier, "L'art populaire et Marius Barbeau le populiste" in Pascale Galipeau, *Les Paradis du monde: L'art populaire du Québec* Musée canadien des civilisations, Centre canadien d'études sur la culture traditionnelle, dossier 68 (Hull: 1995), 78.

³⁶ Jean-Claude Dupont, *Le Monde Fantastique de la Beauce* National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Mercury Series 2 (Ottawa: 1972).

³⁷ Cf. "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 2; Marius Barbeau, "My Life with Indian Songs", 2 insert to Marius Barbeau, "My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore" (Folkways Records & Service Corps, FC 3502, 1957); Marius Barbeau, "Why I Publish Folk Songs" *Canadian Author and Bookman* 37,4 (1962), 9.

³⁸ Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Kingston and Montreal: 1995). Other studies of Canadian culture which focus on a similar theme but do not explicitly deploy antimodernism as a heuristic concept include Allan Smith, "Farms, Forests, and Cities: The Image of the Land and the Rise of the Metropolis in Ontario, 1860-1914" in Chad Gaffield, ed., *Constructing Modern Canada: Readings in Post-*

Antimodernism was a complex, multifaceted perspective, at times highly articulate, and at others almost reflexive. In its most extreme forms, antimodernism can be considered a cultural recoil from the economic, social, and cultural processes of modernity. On this reading, antimodernists recoiled from bureaucratization, instrumental rationality, cultural commoditization, industrial class conflict, changing patterns of gender relations, and a vague but pervasive sense of "weightlessness" or unreality. They believed that modern life had lost any grounding. Antimodernism was thus a rejection of the core of nineteenth-century western philosophy; in particular it was a retreat from the idea (and not just the manifestations) of progress -- from the conception that life was improving as well as from the social dislocation and social problems caused by industrial capitalist development.³⁹ An antimodernist cultural perspective has no inherent political home. In Europe,

Confederation History (Toronto: 1994), 4-27; Douglas Cole, "Artists, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13 (1978), 69-78; and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action française: French-Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: 1975).

³⁹ See T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: 1981); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: 1964); and Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York: 1991).

antimodernist perspectives infused a variety of political movements ranging from William Morris' well-known revision of Marxism to the proto-fascist policies of the fin-de-siècle Viennese Christian Socialists whose views had such an impact on Hitler.⁴⁰

In Canada, antimodernism rarely assumed either of these extreme forms. Most middle- and upper-class Canadians, the classes which constituted the main source of antimodernism in Canada and other countries, continued throughout the interwar era to accept nineteenth-century liberal conceptions of progress, economic development, capitalist market economics, and individualism. Even in French Canada, where antimodernism built on particularly strong conservative intellectual and religious traditions, the political discourse of antimodernism valorized both progressive economic development and traditional culture.⁴¹ In a Canadian context, antimodernism is best understood not as a cohesive ideological position, but as a diffuse, multifaceted "sentimentality" which expressed a range of different anxieties about the nature of modernity in

⁴⁰ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 59-96; E.P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (New York: Pantheon ed., 1976) and Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage ed., 1981).

⁴¹ Gilles Bourque et Jules Duchastel, *Restons traditionnels et progressifs. Pour une nouvelle analyse du discours politique: Le cas du régime Duplessis au Québec* (Montréal: 1988).

Canada.⁴² Canadian antimodernist criticism focused on a wide range of issues but its primary concern lay with cultural, as opposed to economic, social, or political, questions. Although different intellectuals who articulated antimodernist views criticized capitalist political economy, the leitmotif of Canadian antimodernism was a pervasive but often ill-defined sense of cultural loss which centered on an impression of modern culture as either artificial or in some other way lacking the authenticity of the premodern past. Unlike liberal or socialist critics of capitalist political economy, antimodernist intellectuals were not primarily interested in ameliorating the social and economic inequalities caused by the imperfect functioning of the capitalist economy to create a more just path to a progressive developing society.⁴³ The primary antimodernist concerns with the capitalist economy focused on the moral and cultural values it seemed to suggest, not the actual mechanisms by which it worked. For this

⁴² I take the word "sentimentality" from Christopher Lasch's more general discussion of anti-progress thought in western civilization. See Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven*, 17.

⁴³ Studies of liberal and socialist thought and social reform in Canada are legion, but see especially Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: 1985); Doug Owsram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: 1986); Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925* (Toronto: 1991).

reason, while most Canadian antimodernists criticized the capitalist economy in some measure, they supported at most liberal or social democratic economic reforms and worked with or through the existing market structures in an effort to attain their primary aim: to recover and maintain (or, in some instances, even to create) the lost values and authenticity of the past. No one who received a broad hearing in interwar Canada seriously suggested a fundamental reorganization of the capitalist market economy in the manner of some German antimodernists.⁴⁴

Marius Barbeau passionately disliked modern culture, which he associated with the destruction of traditions and assimilation into what he viewed as the mundane cultural uniformity of modern North America. "French Canadians," he told one interviewer in 1950, "are swiftly drifting away from their past. Assimilation is rapid. The old arts, crafts, folk tales are all vanishing almost too fast for us [folklorists] to record them. Today French Canadians all prefer Coca-Cola, the juke box and ornamental but style-less architecture."⁴⁵ Canadians, he wrote on another occasion, "forsook their heritage when they opened hot-dog and coca-cola

⁴⁴ Geoffrey Hawthorn, *Enlightenment & Despair: A history of social theory* (Cambridge UK: 2nd ed., 1987), 185.

⁴⁵ Gardner, "Marius Barbeau".

stands."⁴⁶ Barbeau's antimodernist perspective linked him, both personally and ideologically, to a series of other prominent Canadian antimodernist intellectuals, cultural producers and movements. The central themes and images of Barbeau's antimodernism were also evident, in different forms, in the art criticism of Walter Abell, the amateur folklore of Édouard-Zoatique Massicotte, the conservative clerical nationalism of other prominent French Canadian intellectuals such as the Abbé Lionel Groulx and the art historian Gérard Morisset, the pseudo-Amerindian animal stories of Grey Owl (an author Barbeau admired⁴⁷), the Nova Scotian folklore of Helen Crieghton, the art of the Group of Seven, the increasingly popular phenomenon of rural tourism, and the romantic vision of Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdeleine* (1911), which might be considered the archetypal French Canadian antimodernist text.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Marius Barbeau and Douglas Leechman, "Plan for an Educational Exhibition of Handicrafts for the YMCA War Services" TS (n.d.), 36 in Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 27, Douglas Leechman file.

⁴⁷ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 2 January 1936, Macmillan Company of Canada Records, William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University [hereafter Macmillan Fonds], box 72, file 7.

⁴⁸ See Smith, "Farms, Forests, and Cities", *passim*.; Cole, "Artists, Patrons and Public", *passim*; and McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*. Interwar clerical nationalism in French Canada is discussed in Trofimenkoff, *Action française*. In his study, "The Publication of *Maria Chapdeleine* in English" *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of Canada* 21 (1982), 50-9, Bruce Whitman charts the production and incredible popularity of this text, while I have discussed some of the antimodernist

The central theme linking the diverse different currents of interwar Canadian antimodernist thought was "tradition". In general, antimodernists understood "tradition" to refer to things rural and preindustrial. "Tradition" called to mind a better, more authentic, purer culture than that which existed in the modern age. "Tradition" was found in small communities, often among those fishers and farmers whose absence of formal education was compensated for by their deep worldly wisdom. It enveloped the material objects these "Folk" had made by hand with limited technology but innate skill. "Tradition" was also a complex signifier which carried a series of different, and in practice, conflicting meanings. It could mean simplicity, purity, an absence of artificiality, and cultural authenticity. It could also mean a more deeply religious culture or it could refer to what Barbeau called on one occasion "the true values of life": kindness, grace, charm, a concern for fellow human beings, hard work, fortitude, and a "proper respect" for art.⁴⁹ Frequently tradition signified a combination of these meanings, but while all Canadian antimodernists might agree that tradition was important, they

themes in Abell's art criticism in my master's thesis. See Andrew Nurse, "'A Confusion of Values': Artists and Artistic Ideology in Modern Canada, 1927-1952" (Queen's University: unpubl. M.A. thesis, 1991), ch. 2.

⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau, "Ile d'Orléans" *Queen's Quarterly* 39,4 (1942), 376-7.

did not all subscribe to the same understanding of Canadian traditions. For the art historian Gérard Morisset, locked in a long-running debate with Barbeau on what was in effect precisely this issue, the fundamental tradition of rural French-Canadian life was a pious, orderly Catholicism.⁵⁰ For Barbeau, an atheist who had drifted away from the Catholic Church as a young adult, the true French-Canadian traditions were found in preindustrial crafts and arts, oral traditions which periodically shocked Catholic clergy,⁵¹ folk music, and the carnivalesque spirit of the veillée.⁵² As an adult, he looked upon the Catholic Church as a powerful but foreign influence distorting the authentic traditional culture of francophone Quebec.⁵³ For some English-Canadian antimodernists, such as the members of the Group of Seven, true Canadian traditions existed only as latent essences found sporadically in Canadian cultural history, but which needed,

⁵⁰ On Morisset see Raymond Vézina, *Cornelius Krieghoff: peindre de moeurs (1815-1872)* (Ottawa: 1971), 54.

⁵¹ See "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 23, for Barbeau's recounting of one example of clerical dissatisfaction with French Canadian oral traditions.

⁵² Marius Barbeau, "The Blind Singer" in *The Kingdom of Saguenay* (Toronto: 1936), 99. The veillée was a spontaneous or semi-spontaneous community gathering replete with singing, music and story-telling.

⁵³ Marius Barbeau, "The Survival of French Canada" *The Canadian Forum* 15,176 (July 1935), 290.

really, to be created. One of the influences Barbeau exerted on the Group of Seven, Charles Hill argues, was to show them where on the margins of modern life this latent essence could be found.⁵⁴

The interwar antimodernist emphasis on tradition implied a particular, often implicit, reading of Canadian cultural history. Antimodernist readings of history tended to eschew grand narratives of national or economic development. Instead, they divided Canadian history into two great, chronologically ill-defined periods -- tradition and modernity. The first was a period during which the values of traditional culture had supposedly flourished; the later, a period of cultural decline. If antimodernists were relatively certain where traditional culture lived, they were often not specific about when it had flourished as the dominant culture of Canada. From today's vantage point, some antimodernist readings of Canadian history seem to be drawn more from the general reservoirs of western antimodernist motifs than from the Canadian past because, quite simply, they seem to bear very little relationship to any documentable history.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Hill, *The Group of Seven*, 193.

⁵⁵ For example, much of the art historical analysis of prominent critics such as Walter Abell bore little relationship to Canadian history. Abell periodically discussed the happy, colourful lives of pre-industrial "peasants" as a prelude to his critiques of contemporary Canadian art. See Nurse, "'A Confusion of Values'", ch. 2.

However problematic some antimodernist readings of history may seem today, antimodernists rarely "invented" history or traditions wholesale. Instead, they selected and emphasized certain aspects of the past while disregarding others. Like other antimodernist intellectuals, Barbeau's understanding of traditional culture was selective. On one level, he believed that traditional culture was irreducible: it could not be captured with a phrase or theory but only through an understanding of what he viewed as the rich diversity of Canadian traditions. Barbeau criticized what he considered the limited abstractions of sociological modernization theories because they neglected the "contents" of culture in favour of meaningless generalities.⁵⁶ On another level, Barbeau believed that there was an essence (or -- to cite one unpublished text -- a "soul"⁵⁷) to traditional culture. In his writings, the exhibitions and concerts he organized, he strived to capture this soul for his audience.

Tradition proved an effective tool for antimodernist analysis because one could, by characterizing them as modern or foreign, read out of traditional culture any particular

⁵⁶ Marius Barbeau, rev. of Raymond Tanghe, *Initiation à la géographie humaine* TS (n.d.), 2, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 91.

⁵⁷ Marius Barbeau, "In Search of Quebec" mss (n.d.), 4, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 91.

influences which did not conform to a predetermined conception of tradition. The antiquity of a cultural practice was not necessarily a guarantee of its worthiness as a bearer of tradition. Simply because a particular cultural practice had an extended history did not make it "traditional". Thus, Barbeau could read the long history of pastoral landscape painting out of Canadian art as a culturally distorting foreign influence.⁵⁸

Barbeau's understanding of traditional culture was an understanding created by a selective process. Like other antimodernists he chose certain aspects of French-Canadian and Amerindian cultural history to represent the true cultural essence of French Canada and Amerindian peoples. Today, few scholars would accept his definition of authentic traditional culture. His impression of Amerindian peoples as a vanishing race, based upon his understanding of authentic Amerindian traditional culture, has been almost completely transcended and his conception of traditional French-Canadian culture has been subjected to a series of similarly important revisions which amount to a rejection of his definition of the French-Canadian cultural essence.

Cultural selection, the choosing of certain aspects of

⁵⁸ On this long history see Colin Coates, "'Like The Thames towards Putney': The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada" *Canadian Historical Review* 74,3 (1993), 317-43.

culture in preference to others as true or authentic representations of that culture, may be an inherent aspect of ethnography. Indeed, it may necessarily characterize any representation of human activity, including history.⁵⁹ It may indeed be impossible textually to enclose what Michael Carrithers has called "the metaphoric flow of human social experience"⁶⁰ and it may be true that any effort to do so involves some distortion of human historical experience. The historical issue here is not so much the selective understanding of history, but how these selections were made, how they were presented to a broader public, the cultural authority which sustained them, and their political and cultural implications. In the case of Barbeau's anthropology, the selection and representation of cultures became a political act in two ways. First, its cultural significance extended far beyond the boundaries of Barbeau's actions as an anthropologist. On the most basic level, Barbeau was not acting alone; he was one member of a state-sponsored research institute whose work broadly reflected the general patterns of Canadian anthropology before World War II. His cultural work directed toward a non-anthropological audience tied him to a primarily middle-class, white audience and to professional

⁵⁹ Paul Rabinow, *An Anthropology of Reason* (Berkeley: 1995), ch. 1.

⁶⁰ Carrithers, *Why Humans have Cultures*, 146-7.

artists, journalists, musicians, and novelists. On a broader scale, Barbeau's cultural work can be seen as one instance of interaction between different cultures, ethnic groups and social classes in modern Canada. Through this interaction one social group, supported by the federal state, selected cultural phenomena which it found particularly meaningful and proclaimed them to be expressive of the authentic essence of the premodern "other" and hence of symbolic significance to the Canadian "nation". Because of the public importance of Barbeau's cultural work for modern Canada, his necessarily selective representations had a broader impact on how so-called traditional cultures were understood and approached by other Canadians.

Second, the culturally selective representations inherent in Barbeau's anthropology extended beyond ideology to practice. Barbeau's anthropology can be understood as an example of what David Whisnant has referred to as systematic cultural intervention:

By that I mean simply that someone (or some institution) consciously and programmatically takes action within a culture with the intent of affecting it in some specific way that the intervenor thinks desirable. The action taken can range from relatively passive (say, starting an archive or museum) to relatively active (like instituting a cultural revitalization effort). Its intent can be either positive (as in a sensitive revitalization effort) or negative (as in the prohibition of ethnic customs, dress, or

language).⁶¹

In one way or another, Barbeau was involved in all these different forms of cultural intervention. He helped create archives and museums, and to organize handicraft revitalization programs. He both encouraged and discouraged certain cultural practices. His systematic cultural intervention was part of the processes, at times fragmented and uneven, through which modern culture in Canada was created. On a primary level it involved the way in which Amerindian cultures were understood and what position they occupied in representations of Canada. On a more complex level, Barbeau's cultural activism involved an attempt to reorganize much of the culture of modern Canada.

The relationship between salvage ethnography and folklore and antimodernism could be a matter of dispute. The development of modern anthropology in the United States has been interpreted by its leading students as influenced by, and a part of, the reformulation of American liberalism in the early twentieth century.⁶² But, as George Stocking has noted, modern American anthropology was also influenced by other

⁶¹ David Whisnant, *All That is Native & Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region* (Chapel Hill: 1983), 13-4.

⁶² Carl Degler, *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Thought* (New York: 1991).

ideological positions.⁶³ If its intolerance of racism, embrace of pluralism, and concern for individual rights seemed to point modern American anthropology toward a twentieth-century liberalism, it was also influenced by romantic conceptions of traditional cultural holism and nineteenth-century scientific conceptions of objective analysis. Moreover, acceptance of cultural diversity did not always translate into acceptance of modern American middle-class culture, which a number of prominent anthropologists found artistically staid, sexually repressive, and bigoted. Different modern American anthropologists adopted different political positions. Franz Boas was a pacifist liberal who periodically toyed with socialism.⁶⁴ Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead perhaps best exemplify the anthropological embrace of cultural pluralism combined with a critical stance toward their own culture. In Europe the situation was even more complex. In France, Marcel Mauss, with whom Barbeau studied at the Sorbonne, was a socialist, while his close friend Maurice Leenhardt was a liberal critic of imperialism.⁶⁵ In Great Britain, liberal

⁶³ George W. Stocking, Jr., "Romantic Motives and the History of Anthropology" in Stocking, ed., *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility* (Madison: 1989), 5.

⁶⁴ Stocking, *The Ethnographer's Magic*, 104.

⁶⁵ James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World* (Berkeley: 1982).

pluralism, which formed one plausible ideological use of structural-functionalism, was awkwardly combined with anthropology's complicity in British imperialism, specifically the training of imperial administrators in the anthropology programs of Oxford and Cambridge. Throughout the modern age, evolutionary and racist perspectives have continued to influence the history of anthropology.⁶⁶ Racism took its most overt form in the eugenicist movement, but its legacy also persisted in a myriad of cultural stereotypes which were incorporated into modern anthropological discourse.⁶⁷

The practice of folklore has also proved amenable to a variety of different ideological emphases. In the United States, Boas promoted the professionalization of folklore studies from within the framework of his anthropological discourse, but in Britain the field was divided between William Morris's socialist perspective and Cecil Sharpe's cultural conservatism.⁶⁸ In interwar Canada, folklore was mobilized in support of a disparate series of political movements. J. Murray Gibbon drew on traditional culture to justify his liberal pluralism, while in Quebec students of

⁶⁶ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 42-68 and 234-69.

⁶⁷ Robert B. Edgerton, *Sick Societies: Challenging the Myth of Primitive Harmony* (New York: 1992), 33-5.

⁶⁸ Thompson, *William Morris and David Harker*, "May Cecil Sharpe Be Praised" *History Workshop* 14 (1982), 44-62.

traditional culture, like Morisset, referred to the traditional past to justify their conservative, Catholic social views.

The practice of salvage ethnography and folklore in Canada bore certain thematic affinities to antimodernism. The central motifs of pre-World War II Canadian anthropology -- the culturally disintegrating impact of modernity, the demise of cultural authenticity, the need for immediate action to preserve vanishing traditions -- would all have appealed to antimodernist sensibilities. This did not necessarily indicate an antimodernist cultural position on the part of any given anthropologist. Edward Sapir was more interested in the avant-garde than traditional arts and Diamond Jenness fashioned the discourse of salvage ethnography into a reformulated liberalism, similar in many respects to the ideological position staked out by Boas in the United States.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ There is, as yet, no detailed study of Jenness' anthropology or cultural ideology. Peter Kulchyski has begun the task in his essay "Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28,2 (1993), 21-51. A fuller understanding of Jenness' mature anthropological thinking and ideological subject position can be pieced together by reading some of his major works, especially *People of the Twilight; The Indians of Canada* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 65, Anthropological Series 15 (Ottawa: 1931) and *The Indian Background of Canadian History* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 86, Anthropological Series 21 (Ottawa: 1937). On Sapir's views on the arts see Richard Handler, "The Dainty and the Hungry Man: Literature and Anthropology in the Work of Edward Sapir" in George W. Stocking, ed., *Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork* (Madison: 1983), 208-31.

If the subject matter of Canadian anthropology could easily appeal to antimodernist sensibilities, this did not make Canadian anthropology an antimodernist science. The strong connection between antimodernism and anthropology which developed in interwar Canada was a connection which Barbeau, in many ways, forged himself.

Barbeau claimed no political affiliation and different commentators have variously described him as a devoté of Henri Bourassa's conception of federalism,⁷⁰ an entirely apolitical individual,⁷¹ and as a person who simply accepted, and worked with, the political status quo, whatever this might be.⁷² There was, however, a pattern to Barbeau's political statements, however minimal these were, which helps to situate his political position. As a government anthropologist, Barbeau was a public employee and therefore prohibited from taking a public stand on political issues, but privately he refused to support left-wing pacifist movements in Canada, was notable among antimodernist franco-Québécois intellectuals for his

⁷⁰ Carpentier, "L'art populaire et Marius Barbeau le populiste", 81.

⁷¹ Interview with Arthur Price. Transcript on file at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

⁷² Marcel Rioux, "Preface" de *Pantenteux de Québec* (Montréal: 1978). Cited in Galipeau, *Les Paradis du Monde*, 235 n.10.

support of Canada's war efforts, complained about the interference of radio unions in Canadian culture, and later privately endorsed the position of the Liberal Party on Cold War foreign policy.⁷³ In addition, his close friend Louis St. Laurent was a powerful minister in Mackenzie King's government and then prime minister. All these factors seem to indicate a loose allegiance to the basic policies and politics of the federal Liberal Party.⁷⁴

⁷³ Marius Barbeau to Mark Frank, 13 June 1950 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 8, Mark Frank file; Marius Barbeau to Patricia Fitzgerald (CBC Shortwave), 15 August 1952 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 7, Patricia Fitzgerald file. Barbeau was, however, no Cold Warrior. He agreed, for example, to permit the marxist periodical *New Frontiers* to use folk songs and other material from his collection. Margaret Fairly to Marius Barbeau, 24 April 1954, temporary box 6, Margaret Fairly file.

⁷⁴ There is some evidence that Barbeau had more than an ill-defined predisposition to vote Liberal. After his retirement, while he was functioning in an advisory capacity for the National Museum, some members of the Museum's staff were caught by newly-appointed Museum director Jacques Rousseau using Museum equipment to produce and distribute Liberal Party election propaganda. Rousseau ordered this activity stopped and complained (perhaps naively) to the federal minister, a Liberal, responsible for the Museum. This event, along with several other incidents -- including Rousseau's low evaluation of the scientific status of the anthropological staff -- prompted a crisis in the Museum which resulted in Rousseau's eventual dismissal and the resignation of one of his allies, Thomas Lee, who came to the Museum about the same time as Rousseau and was not part of its old guard. Although Rousseau never publicly admonished Barbeau, Barbeau was the leading figure of the Museum's established staff and became Rousseau's most vocal critic within the federal bureaucracy. Privately, Rousseau blamed Barbeau for his problems in a frankly disparaging way. All this suggests that Barbeau was either involved in the Museum's production of Liberal Party election propaganda, or knew of and at least tacitly condoned it.

Barbeau's loose allegiance to the Liberal Party did not mean, however, that he necessarily supported all Liberal policies, or was even concerned about them. Some issues, such as economic and social policy, quite simply did not interest him; others, such as cultural policy, did. Barbeau came to style himself as a "pioneer", a pathbreaker, and a bit of a cultural rebel,⁷⁵ but his rebellion was not a radical one. His cultural views combined many of the different ideological positions which infused modern western anthropological thought but, in keeping with the general tenor of Canadian antimodernism, avoided what would have been viewed as extremist positions. If Barbeau criticized the cultural impact of capitalist culture industries, as he did publicly at different points in his life,⁷⁶ he also worked with these industries throughout most of his career. While he produced conservative images of traditional French-Canadian family life, he also produced images of folk culture which annoyed conservative intellectuals because they illustrated the degree

Jacques Rousseau to Thomas McIlwraith, 3 June 1960, Thomas McIlwraith papers, University of Toronto Archives, box 79, file 4.

⁷⁵ "Profile -- Dr. Marius Barbeau".

⁷⁶ Marius Barbeau, "French and Indian Motifs in Our Music" in Bertram Brooker, ed., *Yearbook of the Arts in Canada 1928/1929* (Toronto: 1929), 127-8 and Marius Barbeau, "Are the Real Arts and Crafts Dying Out?" *Canadian Art* 5,3 (1947-48), 130.

to which many rural French Canadians did not conform to the images Morisset and others had painted of them. While he could condemn capitalism, he could also laud the virtues of entrepreneurs.⁷⁷ Moreover, Barbeau did not reject the ideal of progress per se. He was not, as were some antimodernists, a primitivist who longed to return to an imagined time of tribal life⁷⁸ and even while he celebrated the values of traditional culture, he himself was a professional social scientist, a very modern type of man. What animated Barbeau's cultural views was not a coherently defined ideological position, nor even a rejection of modernity, but rather a distaste for modern culture. Ideally, he seemed to have wanted to combine a modern society and economy with the values he selected as representative of premodern traditional culture.

Exactly how modern culture would be transformed remained for Barbeau, in the absence of a well-defined political or ideological position, a fairly open question. Early in his career he seems to have felt that modern culture could be changed by diffusing traditional culture into the matrix of modern life, but as he aged Barbeau became increasingly

⁷⁷Cf. Marius Barbeau, "Notre Tradition, que devient-elle?" *Culture 2* (1941), 4.

⁷⁸Cf. Modris Ekstein, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: 1989), 84.

suspicious of popular taste⁷⁹ and turned increasingly to view the state as an agent of cultural reform.⁸⁰ The ideological position Barbeau articulated, then, could be complex, but also narrow. While antimodernism could embrace different political positions ranging from socialism to an intense authoritarian conservatism, Barbeau's cultural praxis ultimately settled into a reformist middle ground which placed it both within the mainstream of Canadian antimodernism and within the parameters of liberal social reform. This is not surprising. If he had adopted another, more radical ideological position Barbeau would not have been listened to by so many Canadians.

5. Cultural History, Folklore and Anthropology

In their studies of the early history of anthropology in Canada, Douglas Cole and Regna Darnell have attempted to define a domestic tradition of Canadian anthropology.⁸¹ Cole

⁷⁹ Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 28 February 1946, Pierce Collection, box 13, file 5.

⁸⁰ Marius Barbeau, "Rhodes' Dreams Come True" TS (n.d.), 8, Barbeau Fonds, Lord Elton file and Marius Barbeau, "Summary of a Course of Lectures on the Human Geography of North America, or North Americans, Their Origins" TS (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, School of Social Science: 1944-45), 21-2. A transcript of these lectures are on file with the Barbeau Fonds, box 173.

⁸¹ Douglas Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology" 33-44; Regna Darnell, "The Uniqueness of Canadian Anthropology: Issues and Problems" in J. Freedman and J.H. Barkow, eds.,

and Darnell's emphasis on a "Canadian" tradition of anthropology reflects an older approach to the writing of Canadian cultural history, one concerned with national "essences" and character. The approach I have taken here is different. What makes Barbeau's cultural work particularly interesting is not how he does or does not conform to some essentially "Canadian" intellectual tradition, but how his work allows us to understand how the nature of "Canadianness" comes to be understood. The question, that is, is this: how does a particular discourse "naturalize" itself as "Canadian" when confronted with other, contradictory, discourses? National character, as Benedict Anderson has pointed out, is never a self-evidently given, transhistorical phenomenon which comes to be realized with greater or lesser perfection in the material world.⁸² It is, rather, a contested, historically multifaceted construction.

This does not mean that national identity and nationalism are in some way an elaborate deception. And it does not mean that the "nation", as a discursive construct, is unimportant. The long quest to uncover a Canadian "essence" and the

Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Canadian Ethnology Society 2 vols. Canadian Ethnological Service, National Museum of Man, Mercury Series Paper No. 28 (Ottawa: 1975), 399-416.

⁸² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: 1983).

continuing political crisis of the Canadian polity demonstrate just how important the ideal of the "nation" has been in Canadian history. It does mean, however, that as students of Canadian history we should treat the struggle over "national" identity as something more than a debate which pits defenders of the nation against its supposed detractors. It means that the very concept of the "nation" should be treated as a subject of study; that we should try to see how this concept has been developed and mobilized as part of the cultural dynamics of modern Canada.

What is true for the ideal of the "nation" is equally true for the concept of culture. "Culture", as Raymond Williams has pointed out, is a particularly difficult concept to define because it is amenable to a series of different, conflicting definitions.⁸³ Canadian cultural history is a vast, complex field of inquiry which has formed a pervasive subtext of much Canadian history writing which did not explicitly address "culture".⁸⁴ It has also been an often weakly theorized area of analysis which has failed to problematize the very concepts -- the nation and culture -- which have been under

⁸³ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Glasgow: 1976), 87-93.

⁸⁴ Kenneth G. Pryke, "A Profile of Canadian History" in Kenneth G. Pryke and Walter C. Soderlund, eds., *Profiles of Canada* (Mississauga: 1992), 39-42.

study.

In her recent examination of Canadian artistic institutions, Maria Tippett attempted to narrow the parameters of her own study by focusing on what she termed "self-consciously performative" cultural practices, by which she meant painting, drama, classical or symphonic music, literature and other high arts.⁸⁵ Her point was to draw a distinction between what is frequently called "high culture" and "popular culture". This may be an heuristically useful distinction but, as Michael Dorland has pointed out, it raises the question of what is and is not "high culture" or "popular culture".⁸⁶ Tippett's distinction suggests that media can provide the important principles of demarcation, but two contrasting "performative" cultural practices might be presented in the same medium (television, for example) with one still being considered "high" and the other "popular" culture. In the historical period through which Barbeau lived and during which he worked, the ability to make easy distinctions between art and popular culture based on media

⁸⁵ Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission* (Toronto: 1990), x.

⁸⁶ Michael Dorland, "Changing Theorizations of Cultural Production in Canada and Quebec: A Review of Some Recent Literature on the Culture Industries" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31,4 (1996-97), 179.

became particularly problematic. Barbeau disliked television and radio, which he believed were corrupting the purity of traditional culture, but he himself appeared on radio and television.

A second problem with Tippet's distinction is that all culture may be, in some way, performative, a point emphasized by interpretative anthropologists.⁸⁷ If this is true, the distinction upon which Tippet's narrative is constructed collapses because there is no *a priori* upon which "performative" culture can be distinguished from "unperformative" culture. What we are left with is a history of specific cultural practices -- painting, drama, literature, etc. -- which have succeeded in discursively constructing differences between themselves and other cultural practices. The real issue here may be how these differences are constructed, maintained, and function in society.⁸⁸ As Pierre Bourdieu has pointed out, what becomes important in cultural history is how spheres of authority are created and maintained against other, competing, authorities.

Bourdieu's analysis also suggests that we should view

⁸⁷ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Art and Literature* (Cambridge MA: 1982), 41.

⁸⁸ Laurence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge MA: 1988), 6, 8, 160, 164-5, and 229.

culture as something more than a realm of pure "performance" which can be appreciated for its own sake. Indeed, as Bourdieu has noted, the very idea of pure art is itself a very modern concept promoted by a specific group of people (professional cultural producers) to defend their work and authority against other cultural producers. The creation of a category of "pure art" is itself a category and discourse infused with power relations. A different approach to cultural history in Canada could begin, as does Bourdieu, by attempting to understand how these power relations function, not only within "the arts", but across the broader frame of society as well.⁸⁹

One potentially useful analytic tool that could be employed in an analysis of cultural history which allows us to assess power in the cultural field is Antonio Gramsci's concept of "hegemony". Like "culture", "hegemony" is a complex concept which has been used historically in different ways.⁹⁰ In brief, however, hegemony indicates a form of ideological leadership in a class-divided society in which certain contingent values, economic practices, beliefs, identities,

⁸⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (New York: 1993).

⁹⁰ Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci" *New Left Review* 100 (1977), 49.

etc., are naturalized, or made into an everyday common sense.⁹¹ In his classic analysis, Gramsci argues that hegemony functioned through social institutions such as the church, family, school system, and labour unions, which "educate" their members into a series of "common sense" beliefs.⁹² The operation of hegemony is a form of domination by which one class maintains its rule over society, but it is a form of rule that relies on negotiation and culture more than on direct force. To win the adherence of subject classes to its ideological leadership, a ruling class must make concessions. They must, in other words, not simply rule by force or guile. The operation of hegemony is produced, at least in part, by inter-class negotiations which see the ruling class compromise on certain points in order to win support for its broader ideology, for the values and beliefs which it has constructed as "common sense".

From a Gramscian perspective, culture is inherently political. It is an educational process, mediated by conflicting values and beliefs which becomes infused with "negotiated" agreements about the nature of social values and beliefs, and the policies of the state. Gramsci argues that "intellectuals" have played in a key role in the creation of

⁹¹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* eds. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith (London: 1972), 5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 323-34.

hegemony: they provide, in this sense, the intellectual leadership which allows for ideological leadership.⁹³ But Gramsci is also careful to distinguish between different types of intellectual activity. First, he argues that intellectual activity is the provenance of all human beings, in so far as the conduct of daily life requires intellectual effort.⁹⁴ Beyond this, there is a second category of intellectual activity which Gramsci called "good sense". By this, he meant the ability to recognize the contradictions and oppression inherent in class rule. Good sense, he argued, is a type of untheorized, unsystematized knowledge which can be potentially radical because it challenges the learned "common sense" of a particular time.⁹⁵ Third, there are "organic" intellectuals who articulate the social philosophy of a particular class and provide it with leadership. Organic intellectuals organize "common sense" for classes.⁹⁶ Finally, Gramsci notes that the modern age has given rise to a new class of "intellectuals" who might be called professional intellectuals or professional cultural workers.

This new class of cultural workers is not a "class" in

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 5-8.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 323.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

the marxian sense of the word, but they are produced by dynamics of a capitalist economic order. The extension of the division of labour separates intellectual activity from its direct place in the processes of material production. As it becomes further extended new specialized professions are created.⁹⁷ Anthropology, as the "science" of "culture", emerges as one of these new professions. Professional intellectuals are not the "organic" intellectuals of the ruling class, nor do they systematize "good sense" recognition of contradictions of class rule. In the modern era, they have not been tied directly to either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Yet, they have played an important role in defining, and mediating culture in the modern age. As the purveyors of a specialized knowledge, professional intellectuals have often created their own identity and exercised an important influence on the development of public policy and culture in Canada. Much of Barbeau's public activity demonstrates the broader importance of professional intellectuals in modern Canadian cultural history. Barbeau's cultural work had gained a greater historical significance because of the lengths to which he went to influence other people. It is also significant, as David Whisnant's work indicates for a different situation, as part of a process of

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12-3 and 26.

"cultural intervention". His cultural work was not simply a research project. He was not only selecting, preserving, and archiving "vanishing" cultures for posterity. He was also intricately involved in a series of processes and relationships which helped to organize the culture of modern Canada.

The broader implications of Barbeau's cultural work stem from his important role in the establishment of modern anthropology in Canada, his seminal role in the organization of folk culture studies, and his commitment to the broader cultural use of specialized anthropological and folklore knowledge. Barbeau constructed his cultural work at the juncture of tradition and modernity, Amerindian and white Canada, and culture and science. It is the nature of this juncture which a study of Barbeau's career allows us to explore.

Barbeau's unofficial role as a bilingual intermediary between French- and English-speaking Canada is also of historiographical importance. If an older tradition of Canadian cultural historiography accepted too easily the "nation" as an historical given, more recent historiography has followed an unofficial quarantine between French- and English-speaking cultural history.⁹⁸ There is no doubt that the

⁹⁸ Cf. Tippet, *Making Culture*, x.

cultural histories of French- and English-speaking Canada are distinct from each other. But, this does not mean that their evolutions have been uninfluenced by one another. The folklore revival of interwar Canada, in which Barbeau played an important role, is one example. Much of the folk culture which was "revived" was French-Canadian. A great deal of the revival work was done by English-speaking Canadians who drew on Barbeau's expertise. His folklore work provides an important case study of the interaction of French- and English-speaking Canada.

The folklore and ethnographic archives Barbeau created, his correspondence with other cultural producers, his numerous published texts and his work with culture industries speak to the complexities of these issues. His ethnographic and folklore files, retained by the Canadian Museum of Civilization, continue to constitute an important resource for folklorists, anthropologists and ethnohistorians. His extended professional correspondence is, however, as important as his research files because it can allow us to see how his archive was constructed and how he promoted "traditional" culture in the modern age. Many of these papers have yet to be catalogued and remain stored in their original folders in temporary boxes in the Museum's archive. Because of his extensive cultural work other collections of "Barbeau papers" are stored at other repositories across the country. Among

the most important of these are his correspondence with his publishers and with different art galleries. These constitute important sources which when pieced together can illustrate exactly how "traditional" culture was presented to the public.

What follows is not a biography of Barbeau, but rather a series of studies which examine different facets of his cultural work. It is divided into four parts, comprising nine thematic chapters roughly organized around the chronological development of Barbeau's career. The first part establishes the intellectual and professional context within which Barbeau began his career, the parameters of anthropological debate at the time he trained to become a professional anthropologist, and the organization of modern anthropological discourse in Canada. At the time Barbeau learned how to be an anthropologist, the discipline was in the process of re-codification.⁹⁹ Its central heuristic tool (cultural analysis), methodology (field research), and models of writing (compilations of primary documents, short expository essays, and descriptive monographs) were seen by Barbeau's mentors as defining aspects of the scientific discipline of anthropology. Professional disciplinary training, field research, and specific styles of writing were all important aspects of the modern anthropological approach which for Barbeau constituted

⁹⁹ Adam Kuper, *Anthropologists and Anthropology: The British School, 1922-1972* (London: 1973), 14-6.

his professional identity and conditioned the authority of his discourse.

The next three chapters explore some of the dynamics of the practice of anthropology in interwar Canada through case studies of Barbeau's fieldwork, ethnography, and the organization of folk culture studies. For salvage ethnographers such as Barbeau the central guiding theme of anthropological research was cultural authenticity. Field research was the primary means to secure authentic cultural information: it provided the anthropologist with direct access to the cultural "other" he would textually represent. For interwar Canadian anthropologists, field research was not an unproblematic enterprise; cultural authenticity could not be guaranteed by interviewing informants and collecting their impressions of their culture. The aim of salvage ethnography was to collect "authentic" culture traits; in the case of Amerindian cultures this meant prehistoric traits uninfluenced by interaction with white cultures, and in the case of folklore it meant a premodern culture uninfluenced by modern developments. Nineteenth-century Canadian anthropologists had generally trusted the accuracy of their informants' views.¹⁰⁰ Modern Canadian anthropologists believed that the impact of

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Horatio Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore. Cosmogonic Myths. The Good and Evil Minds" *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 3,10 (1890), 177 and 179-80; John McLean, *The Indians of Canada* (London: 3rd ed., 1892).

modernity had obscured their informants' impressions of their true authentic cultural identity. The anthropologist was the person who was professionally equipped to make this determination and a fundamental component of Barbeau's job was to establish a record of authentic traditional culture. In Barbeau's case, establishing authenticity required a specific approach to anthropological research which at once used the cultural immanence of field research to uphold his authority to speak about vanishing traditional cultures, but at the same time disregarded the voice of the informants on which this authority was based.

The next two chapters of this section explore the practice of anthropology in two different instances: Barbeau's Huron-Wyandot ethnography, on which he worked in the 1910s, and his involvement in the organization of folk culture studies after World War I. In each instance the cultural significance of Barbeau's anthropological work extended beyond the discipline of anthropology and became intertwined with the cultural politics of modernity. My study of Barbeau's Huron-Wyandot ethnography focuses on how the salvage emphasis on authenticity led to the construction of an image of "authentic" Huron-Wyandot culture which did not reflect the reality of any existing culture; it also takes up the political implications of this aspect of Barbeau's cultural work. In the case of folklore, Barbeau did not construct a new

image of authentic traditional French-Canadian culture. Rather, he worked with a series of different intellectual traditions which emphasized the value of popular rural life and culture. His primary contribution to folk culture studies was to draw elements of different intellectual traditions together into a specific way of seeing folk life. Through his seminal role in the establishment of folk culture studies in Canada, Barbeau turned this way of seeing into a research program which dominated the early history of what was in Canada a new social science.

The public uses of anthropology is the subject of the third part of this thesis. Through studies of Barbeau's involvement in the arts, his folklore writing, and Northwest Coast cultural work I hope to show both the range of public uses of anthropology in interwar Canada and the ways Barbeau's anthropological work contributed to (or was limited by) the broader cultural processes and politics of modern Canada. Charles Hill has argued that Barbeau's work in the field of the arts contributed to the development of a national Canadian artistic movement based on the domestic traditions of Canada.¹⁰¹ In chapter five I will look at this issue through an examination of Barbeau's promotion of the nineteenth-century painter Cornelius Krieghoff as a model for Canadian

¹⁰¹ Hill, *The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation*, 176-93.

art.

Folklore writing, the subject of chapter six, illustrates an alternative approach to the use of traditional culture in the modern age. Writing constitutes an important part of most anthropologists' work. Recent studies of anthropological writing have focused on what could be called the semiotics of ethnography writing: the way anthropologists constructed and organized their texts to present a meaningful, believable and cohesive description of the traditional "other".¹⁰² Colonial discourse theorists have argued that through their organization and descriptions of subject peoples, anthropological texts contributed to the construction of a discursive matrix through which the subject peoples of western colonial empires were organized and understood as part of the imperialist project.¹⁰³ In Canada, Barbeau's folklore writings served a similar function: they were part of the discursive matrix through which traditional French-Canadian culture, in particular, was organized and understood by a modern, urban, and frequently anglophone audience. However, in this chapter

¹⁰² Marcus and Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts", *passim*; Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 55-73; Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: 1988); and Thornton, "The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism", *passim*.

¹⁰³ See esp. Said, *Orientalism*, *passim*., from which most of the recent work has in colonial discourse theory has taken its cue.

I want to approach the cultural politics of folklore writing from a different perspective. Focusing on three texts which Barbeau came to believe were among his more significant folklore works, I want to show how the publishing process and reading market affected the making of these texts and how in turn the texts helped to restructure the place of traditional folk culture in the modern age.

The final chapter in this section examines Barbeau's anthropological work on the Northwest Coast as the work of a cultural intermediary and argues that it is best seen as part of the process of cultural interaction between white and Amerindian Canada. Like his folklore writing, Barbeau's Northwest Coast cultural work was embedded in the cultural politics of modernity and contributed to the reorganization of the place of Northwest Coast Amerindian culture in twentieth-century Canada.

Part four of this study looks at the eclipse of salvage ethnography in post-World War II Canada through an examination of Barbeau's efforts to reorient anthropology in Canada for a post-salvage age and the successes and failures of his continuing work in the fields of anthropological education, ethnography and folklore. In the final part I examine some of the ways scholars today have made use of Barbeau's cultural work and suggest what I feel is the most culturally profitable way to approach Barbeau's legacy.

This is an important issue. The continued use of Barbeau's archive by scholars of many stripes, and the persistence with which the material he collected figures in prominent exhibitions, makes it certain that he will continue to influence Canadian culture into the future. A persistent Canadian trend to antimodernism suggests that there will also be an audience ready to receive such work. The exact form that Barbeau's influence will take, however, will depend on the uncertain outcome of the debates generated by his achievements. These debates will determine the value contemporary and future Canadians find in his work.

Part I
Making Modern Anthropology

Chapter 1

The Making of an Anthropologist:

Marius Barbeau in the Turn-of-the-Century Anthropological Milieu

Anthropology has been invented.... It ... lives within a created, mutable, specific form of life; it too is part of the metaphoric flow of human social experience. On the scale of things it is a recent and a parochial set of institutions and ideas which took root in the late nineteenth century in Britain, the United States, France, and Germany, and flourished in the twentieth century. It is, in other words, very much a product of a particular setting in a particular time, the late colonial and neo-colonial societies of the North Atlantic rim....
--Michael Carrithers (1992)¹

At the time Barbeau became interested in anthropology, the discipline, both in Canada and internationally, was in the process of a fundamental reorganization. The turn-of-the-century era was a critical juncture in the history of anthropology. During this period, the discipline's modern heuristic framework and methodology, cultural relativism and field research, became firmly established as central components of anthropology. In Europe and the United States modern anthropology established itself through a protracted debate with older traditions of liberal human science. In Canada, modern anthropology was established through a

¹ Carrithers, *Why Humans have Cultures*, 146-7.

different process: from its beginnings, modern anthropology in Canada was organized under the aegis of the federal state in a manner similar to the way nineteenth-century anthropology was organized through the Bureau of American Ethnology in the United States.²

In a number of ways Barbeau typified the first generation of Canadian government anthropologists. His professional qualifications, his approach to the study of anthropology, and his conception of the discipline were all broadly similar to the other men who staffed the anthropology division between its establishment and the post-World War II years. The fin-de-siècle milieu in which he learned to practice anthropology and the disciplinary context within which modern anthropology was created in Canada heavily conditioned the way he approached its practice.

My aim in this chapter is to examine the intellectual context within which Barbeau became an anthropologist and the disciplinary parameters which shaped his professional identity. Barbeau was one of the beneficiaries of the establishment of modern anthropology in Canada. At a time when anthropology was not taught in Canadian universities and most anthropological research in Canada was sponsored by either British or American institutions, there were few career

² Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists*.

options other than government anthropology for aspiring professional anthropologists like Barbeau. But Barbeau was not simply a beneficiary of the establishment of modern anthropology in Canada. As part of a state-sponsored anthropological research "team"³ he also helped to construct its parameters. As a newly trained professional anthropologist Barbeau shared many of the goals of the other members of the division.

This chapter begins by examining Barbeau's family background, his personal intellectual development as a young adult, and his emerging outlook on culture. It next examines the intellectual context and central themes of the turn-of-the-century anthropological milieu in Britain (where Barbeau trained to become a professional anthropologist) and its impact on his anthropological thinking. Finally, this chapter examines the establishment of modern anthropology in Canada through an analysis of the research program established for the anthropology division by Edward Sapir and the role Barbeau played in its development.

1. Between High and Popular Culture

³ See Regna Darnell, *Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist* (Berkeley: 1990), 44-64 for a different discussion of the organization and personalities of the original members of the anthropology division research "team".

In the interwar years Barbeau became a prominent public figure: a recognized and honoured scholar, the leading Canadian authority on Northwest Coast and traditional French-Canadian culture, a prize-winning author, and the founder of folk culture studies in Canada. His scholarly and cultural accomplishments earned him two honorary doctorates, three Prix Davids, and honorary fellowships to Oriel College, Oxford and the American Philosophical Society, as well as a variety of other awards and distinctions. They were signs of a highly successful career that, given Barbeau's petit-bourgeois origins, his birth in a corner of rural Quebec, and the intentions of his parents (who had other ambitions for him), could not have been predicted in advance.

Barbeau was born in 1883 in Ste.-Marie-de-Beauce, a rural hinterland of Quebec City whose residents were known for their fierce local pride. The Beauce region, inland from the south shore of the St. Lawrence, had first been opened for settlement in second quarter of the eighteenth century to cope with the expanding population of the New France. Most of the first settlers, like Barbeau's family, came from small towns or rural parishes along the St. Lawrence river valley in the vicinity of Quebec. In the Beauce they established stable, generally modest, lives. With the completion of the Quebec Central Railway in 1832, the region became linked to Quebec City, developing into a rural hinterland of the city. Its

economy remained agrarian well into the twentieth-century. In 1881, less than three thousand people lived in Ste.-Marie. Most of these were farmers who grew hay as a primary crop for the Quebec urban market or logging camps.⁴

Barbeau was born into an established, locally prominent, but socially declining family. His childhood and youth provided what he later viewed as a rich background in traditional popular, or folk, culture. This background was complemented, however, by equally strong artistic concerns which derived from his mother. As Barbeau began to find his way in the late-nineteenth-century cultural world of the Beauce, he found himself forced to negotiate between the cultural alternatives offered by his parents. He was the first of four children of Charles Barbeau and Marie-Virginie Morency. His extended family included a former mayor of Ste.-Marie, church wardens, a real estate promoter and textile mill owner, and some of the richest people in the Beauce, but his own immediate family never attained this level of prosperity and financial constraints plagued Barbeau's life as a young adult. His father was a farmer, a descendant of some of the first eighteenth-century migrants from the St. Lawrence

⁴ Madeleine Ferron avec la collaboration de Robert Cliche, *Les Beaucerons ces insoumis: Petite histoire de la Beauce, 1735-1867* (Montréal: 1974), 57-9; Canada, *Census of Canada 1880-81* (Ottawa: 1882), I, table I, and II, table XIV.

heartland of New France to the newly-opened farmland of the Beauce, who maintained a passion for horse racing and a penchant for tourism and adventurous (if rarely successful) money making schemes. He was a pragmatic man who also loved to play Irish jigs on the violin and build furniture in his spare time. Although after 1914 Marius collected stories and songs from his father, and still later came to see him as the very personification of the folk, his youthful relationship with Charles Barbeau was tense. Father and son did not seem to understand each other well.

Much of what we know of Charles Barbeau's personality comes from his son's recollections of him and these reminiscences are not always favourable. Although Charles and Marius Barbeau did manage to patch up their relationship before Charles died, as Marius came to understand and respect his father, some of the earlier tension between father and son can still be detected in Barbeau's later memories. A sensitive child with little interest in the vigorous outdoor sports which interested Charles Barbeau, Marius was, he would later frankly confess, afraid of his father.⁵

For his part, Charles Barbeau also seems to have had trouble understanding his son. His son's inability to budget

⁵ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 3-4. Interview with Arthur Price.

his limited financial resources prudently struck Charles Barbeau as a symptom of frivolity; earlier Charles had refused to pay for Marius' piano lessons which he condemned, in his wife's words, as "useless".⁶ Although he later took considerable pride in his son's scholastic accomplishments, Charles Barbeau did not really support Marius's decision to obtain a formal education. When his son experienced some initial academic difficulties at university and turned to his father for support, none was forthcoming. What counted in life, Charles Barbeau told his son, were results, and he took his son's academic problems as indications of a failure of will. Charles Barbeau did not encourage Barbeau's brothers to attend university, and wanted Marius to become a stock broker in the United States where he believed an uncle could help him become established.⁷

A more significant and more enduring family influence on Barbeau's cultural outlook was exerted by his mother, Marie-Virginie Morency. The Morency family had immigrated from France to Ile d'Orléans in the seventeenth century. They remained on the island until the early nineteenth century when Marie-Virginie's grandfather left for the Beauce. Why he left Ile d'Orléans is, in the absence of sources, difficult to

⁶ Marie-Virginie Barbeau à Marius Barbeau, 1 février 1903, cited in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 45.

⁷ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 46-7.

determine, but most likely a lack of available farm land forced him to follow the already established migration route between the island and the Beauce. Whatever his exact reason for leaving Ile d'Orléans, migration to the Beauce proved economically successful. He established himself first as an inn-and-tavern keeper, then married a local woman and expanded his business interests, purchasing a small mill. When he died in 1858, Marie-Virginie's grandfather was worth over \$58,000, making him one of the richest men in the Beauce. This wealth allowed him to provide a stable, if not extravagant, economic environment for his sons. Marie-Virginie's father Jean was established on a St. Isidor farm while his two brothers followed their father into business, continuing to expand the family's economic holdings. The operations in which the Morency family were involved were typical of rural French-Canadian petit-bourgeois capitalism: farming equipment, small scale mills, inns and taverns, and retail merchandising.⁸ The family's economic ventures were not diversified, but they allowed the Morencys to maintain their position in the local elite across generations.

Marie-Virginie Morency's education was typical of that provided to the female children of petit-bourgeois French

⁸ Serge Courville, Jean-Claude Robert, and Normand Séguin, "The Spread of Rural Industry in Lower Canada, 1831-1851" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* (1991), 43-70.

Canadians. Designed to prepare young women for future lives as wives and mothers or in public service as a nun, the education of girls was devised for a family's accumulation of cultural capital, a form of symbolic authority based on an appreciation of the arts, literature and high culture which illustrated refined taste as a sign of social standing.⁹ She was enrolled in a convent school, adhering to a strict and religiously oriented routine, where in addition to standard subjects and religion she learned classical music, to play the piano, at least some art history, and English conversation. A diary Marie-Virginie kept at the age of fourteen reveals an already mature young woman with an eye for the artistic, romantic and spiritual dimensions of local life in the Beauce. "A dix lieues de la belle ville de Québec," she wrote in one passage:

nous voyons le village Ste.-Marie long d'un mille et demi enrichie de plusieurs édifices importants. D'abord l'Eglise chef d'oeuvre d'architecture gothique mire majesteusement son haut clocher dans les eaux transparents de la Rivière Chaudière. Ce temple du Seigneur peut être placé au rang des principaux édifices de Québec.¹⁰

At the age of fifteen Marie-Virginie entered the Hospice des Soeurs de la Charité as a novice, but although a devout

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* trans. R. Nice (Cambridge MA: 1984); Brian Young, *George-Etienne Cartier: Montreal Bourgeois* (Kingston and Montreal: 1981), 46-52.

¹⁰ Cited in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 25.

Catholic she does not seem to have intended to make the religious order her life's work. Shortly after becoming a novice she wrote her former parish priest in Ste.-Marie asking if he could find her a position as a "governess" in a "private family" or as a teacher in a local school.¹¹ It is likely, as Marta Danylewicz has pointed out with regard to the general popularity of religious orders among nineteenth-century French-Canadian women, that Marie-Virginie's decision to enter the Soeurs de la Charité involved a combination of religious and personal aspirations reflecting the career options available to young middle-class francophone women in nineteenth century Quebec.¹² Certainly she did not remain in the order, resigning shortly before her final vows. One year later she married Charles Barbeau and settled onto his Ste.-Marie farm. Marie-Virginie did not, however, become the typical habitant farming wife her son would later discover and idealize during the course of fieldwork on Ile d'Orléans. Throughout her life she maintained a love of classical music which she passed on to her son, taught music in the local school and played Mozart on the family piano¹³ -- an instrument

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Marta Danylewicz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: 1987).

¹³ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 2.

the Barbeaus undoubtedly acquired because of her.

Cultured, devout, educated, fond of reading, and professionally-oriented, Marie-Virginie provided what Barbeau later viewed as a counterweight to the rough, pragmatic, and commercial orientation of his father. There is no evidence that Marie-Virginie and Charles Barbeau's marriage was ever troubled. They seem to have loved, respected and supported one another. Yet, if there were no evident tensions between husband and wife, there were clearly demarcated and contesting sets of social values and cultural priorities. Charles Barbeau aspired to a commercial or farming career for his son; Marie-Virginie wanted him to become a priest. A sensitive, cerebral, artistic child, Barbeau was drawn to his mother. She educated him at home until the age of eleven when his father gave him the choice of following in his footsteps and becoming a farmer or going to school like his mother. This was, Barbeau later recalled, not a difficult choice to make.¹⁴ That fall he was enrolled in a local commercial college. Classical college followed as a prelude to further education and the priesthood.

As a student Barbeau achieved mixed success. He enjoyed commercial college, won a number of awards, and earned the praise of the local priest who encouraged his parents to send

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

their son to classical college. The college they selected, Ste.-Anne-de-la-Pocatière in Kamouraska county, was prestigious. Its classical curriculum was designed to prepare students for further professional studies in theology, law or medicine at the Université Laval. Barbeau found this environment physically demanding, mentally trying, and intellectually stifling. His grades sunk to the class average and he found his faith challenged by the strict intellectual regime of the clergy who taught and administered the school. In desultory moments he longed for escape from the college and before his religious beliefs collapsed entirely toyed with the idea of becoming an African missionary. He decided instead to abandon the road to priesthood entirely and study law.¹⁵

Law school at the Université Laval proved as academically challenging as did the Collège Ste.-Anne, but the atmosphere was different. Freed from what he saw as the overly regimented intellectual regime of classical college, Barbeau enjoyed himself at Laval and in Quebec City. For one thing, the cultural life was more exciting. He could attend parties, make new friends, live on his own, and control his own life. For another, he found the intellectual atmosphere more liberated; he could talk more freely to his friends about his own religious disbelief and the philosophical quandaries it

¹⁵ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 44-55.

brought in its wake. Louis St. Laurent, a life-long friend he met at Laval, later recalled a young Barbeau preoccupied with grand philosophical issues. His central concern was the nature of humanity.¹⁶

Barbeau's disbelief did not announce itself in a sudden crisis of faith. Rather, it seems to have developed as a slow personal distancing from the beliefs and teachings of his mother, the clergy and his college professors.¹⁷ He read voraciously, including books that had been placed on the index, but otherwise made little attempt to set his religious or philosophical views down in writing in a way which would allow us to explore them more fully today. While his friends found his developing atheism a little shocking,¹⁸ Barbeau seems to have done little more than discuss this matter with his friends. Like other French-Canadian intellectuals of this time who questioned Catholic teaching, it seems Barbeau kept his concerns to himself and those he could most trust.¹⁹ Most of his time as a student was spent preparing for his future

¹⁶Dale C. Thompson, *Louis St. Laurent: Canadian* (Toronto: 1967), 54.

¹⁷ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 5.

¹⁸ "Dean of Canadian Folklore" *The Ottawa Citizen*, 30 September 1958.

¹⁹ Cf. Donald J. Horton, *André Laurendeau: A French-Canadian Nationalist* (Toronto: 1992), 174.

career in the law. He studied, impressed his professors, clerked with a well-regarded firm, and made connections in elite political and economic circles: all necessary moves to advance a career within the interlocking patron-client networks dominating turn-of-the-century French-Canadian political and economic life.²⁰

One of the people Barbeau impressed was the Rev. O.E. Mathieu, Rector of the Université Laval, who nominated his student for a Rhodes Scholarship and lobbied the Canadian Rhodes committee on his behalf. The scholarship had initially been offered to St. Laurent, who turned it down because he was about to be married and wanted to focus on his own legal career. In his place St. Laurent suggested Barbeau who embraced the opportunity to go to Great Britain. Mathieu's nomination of Barbeau was a sign of his respect for his student. In Mathieu's opinion, an education in British law and the opportunity to learn English were crucial for Barbeau's success as a lawyer.²¹

Barbeau may have felt this way too but the opportunity to see Europe and to experience its high culture was another

²⁰ For a more detailed discussion of Barbeau's professional, cultural and educational activities while at Laval see Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 53-70. On the interlocking political and economic networks of the French Canadian elite see Young, *George-Etienne Cartier*, 12-26 and 111-8.

²¹ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 5.

attraction afforded by his Rhodes Scholarship.²² He left Canada early, allowing time to see Paris, Versailles, and London before settling into his Oriel College residence. He spent his off seasons variously touring Italy, France, the low countries and Germany. Barbeau's Europe was not the Europe of the upper-class flanneur or the provincial artists and intellectuals who flocked to the continent's great cities in the nineteenth century to transgress social boundaries or to make careers for themselves as professional artists and intellectuals.²³ Barbeau's Europe was a Europe of ancient sites, high culture and the opera. In London, he eschewed the East End working-class dance halls for the plays of Shaw; and in Paris he neglected the bohemian wards of the avant-garde for the *Comédie française*. While in Dresden in the late summer of 1909, Barbeau saw no less than twenty-six operas.²⁴ His taste ranged from conventional standards like Mozart's *La Bohème* and Molière's *La Maladie imaginaire* to the ultra-Romantic works of Wagner and the modernist compositions of Debussy, which he later confessed were "a little bit advanced"

²² "Profile -- Dr. Marius Barbeau".

²³ Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: 1992), 15-8.

²⁴ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 80.

for him.²⁵ The domesticated modernism of Strauss became his favourite.²⁶

Life at Oxford was appealing, intellectually liberating and comfortable for Barbeau. His scholarship afforded him, he explained to Mathieu, "the most complete independence"; he found the senior students and university officials courteous and kind (in marked distinction to his impressions of school authorities in Quebec), and his accommodations luxurious. He had, he told Rector Mathieu, "two delightful rooms, with windows encircled by red vines; at the far end is a fireplace which has a magic effect on me in the evenings when it blazes. We are settled like Princes, we eat like Vitellius and drink like Canadian codfish."²⁷ Barbeau joined campus clubs, took up rowing, made friends, and enjoyed his surroundings. The effect of attending Oxford and seeing Europe, he later told one interviewer, was to broaden his cultural horizons, to transform him from a Canadian into a "citizen of the world."²⁸

Oxford also provided the final step in Barbeau's movement away from Catholicism: at Oxford he began to construct the

²⁵ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 7.

²⁶ On Strauss see Robert Jones, *Richard Strauss* (Alexandria: 1977).

²⁷ Cited in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 80-1.

²⁸ Speaker's Choice Interview with Marius Barbeau, CBC Kine Collection, NAC.

alternative cultural views he would later promote and practise as an anthropologist. Barbeau came to Oxford to study jurisprudence, but he found the subject boring.²⁹ The degree to which he was actually committed to a legal career seems, in retrospect, questionable because he rapidly withdrew from his law courses. His real interests, he told his tutor (who had inquired about his future), lay in trying to resolve the philosophical quandaries generated by his rejection of the Catholic theology in which he had been raised. Barbeau ventured that sociology might be a potential alternative field of study; his tutor sent him instead to R.R. Marett, the head of Oxford's newly-established anthropology program.³⁰ Marett convinced Barbeau to enroll in anthropology which, even though the Rhodes Scholar had never heard the word before, appealed to his intellectual interests. For his part, Marett had his own interest in Barbeau. He liked Barbeau, with whom he felt a special kinship because of his own French ancestry; he was also looking to find students for the anthropology program he had just helped establish.³¹

²⁹ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 6.

³⁰ *Prince Rupert Daily News*, 19 January 1947; Marius Barbeau, "Marius Barbeau, Ethnologist, Folklorist, Musician and Historian" TS (n.d.), 2 in Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5084, #M699.4.

³¹ Stocking, *After Tylor*, 152.

At Oxford, the views of the young Barbeau suggested a complex blend of influences: the broad horizons of European "modernity", a de-Catholicized French-Canadian nationalism, and a provincial fascination with the acquisition of elite culture. As an inquisitive young commercial college student Barbeau had initially accepted his teachers' contention that Catholicism constituted the single, formative and defining aspect of French Canadian culture. His impression of French-Canadian culture as a student at Oxford, set down in an address he presented in 1910 to the Cosmopolitan Club, demonstrated the degree to which he had now distanced himself from this view. Barbeau's address was presented in response to another address, by a Mr. Soltau, who had contended that French Canada lacked a culture of its own.³² At the time he presented his address Barbeau was twenty-seven years old and about to become a professional anthropologist. Where a younger Barbeau might simply have refuted Soltau's argument by reiterating the position of his teachers, the maturing Barbeau attempted instead to wrestle with the sociological, psychological and cultural dynamics of French-Canadian historical development. This address represented his first

³² Marius Barbeau, "On French Canadian Psychology and Literature" TS (1910), A. A copy of this address is preserved in the Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5089 #M699.11. Barbeau paginated this address using both Latin letters and Arabic numerals.

sustained effort to grapple with and chart the course of French-Canadian cultural history.

Barbeau began by asserting that the historical development of French-Canadian culture was intricately "wedded together" with what he took to be the psychological development of the French-Canadian nation. He then surveyed the historical development of French-Canadian culture focusing on literature as an example which illustrated this point. Throughout his address Barbeau spoke of the French-Canadian nation as a unitary social entity which found itself in near-perpetual conflict with the British colonial administration. His narrative focused on the cultural damage effected by conquest, the British repression of French-Canadian national "liberty", and the struggle of modern art to emerge out this difficult set of colonial circumstances.³³

During the French colonial regime, Barbeau argued, no distinct national culture had existed in New France because its close ties with the mother country precluded its development. The French colonial administration brought French high culture into the colony, the presence of which was not eliminated immediately by the Conquest. "But of greater importance," in Barbeau's opinion, was "the fact that the severance from France gave rise to a feeling of national

³³ *Ibid.*, B and C.

solidarity, which was to grow into that of nationhood in the course of the long struggle for [national] liberty."³⁴ From the Conquest forward, the story of the French Canada was the story of a nation struggling against the oppression of a British rule characterized by the Decree of 1763, which reduced French Canadians to a "subdued people", and dramatized by the ill-fated 1837-38 Rebellions. The objective of the Rebellions, in Barbeau's view, had been to attain responsible government. They were caused by the miscalculations of a poorly-designed British colonial policy.

The revolt was the natural consequence of the error of British politicians, who imagined it possible to transport 'en bloc' into a colony with entirely different conditions, the aristocratic institutions of England. As a matter of fact, colonial feudalism was to be established, composed of a [British] aristocracy and a [French-Canadian] proletariat.³⁵

With the defeat of the Rebellion, the commissioning of Lord Durham's Report, and the 1841 Act of Union, Barbeau argued, the condition of the French-Canadian nation had worsened: emigration to the United States began, the economy declined, and a cultural pattern was established from which French Canada was only recently beginning to emerge.

In Barbeau's view, the cultural effect of these combined

³⁴ *Ibid.*, C.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

historical circumstances was to augment "a sense of unity and ardent patriotism" among French Canadians in response to British oppression and to produce a literary culture which was either inwardly-looking and pragmatically oriented toward the attainment of national liberty, or imbued with Francophilia as a counterweight to British policies.³⁶ French-Canadian poetry, prose and historical writing as evidenced in the works of F.-X. Garneau, Octave Crémazie, and Philippe Aubert de Gaspé celebrated the national heroes of French Canada and French-Canadian life in response to the assimilationist program of the British government.³⁷

For Barbeau, the central turning points in the cultural history of French Canada were the development of a style of historical writing which eschewed mythologizing for what he took to be the more mature scientific approach of Thomas Chapais, and the confederation of Quebec with other British North American colonies in 1867. Barbeau did not explicitly argue that Confederation had represented the attainment of national liberty for French Canada, but he did suggest that its cultural impact had been beneficial. Although, as his son-in-law Arthur Price noted, he rarely concerned himself

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5 and 10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

with formal politics,³⁸ throughout his life Barbeau remained a committed federalist and a pan-Canadian nationalist. At the time he addressed the Cosmopolitan Club in 1910 Barbeau claimed that Confederation had served to broaden the cultural horizons of French-Canadian writers, perhaps in the same way that his European excursions and Oxford education had broadened his own horizons. The result in both cases had been a loosening of introverted Roman Catholic nationalism and a heightened appreciation of modern literature and poetry. In Québec, the work of Gill, Lozeau, and Nelligan and the emergence of an art for art's sake movement, bore witness to this sea-change in cultural life.³⁹

Barbeau's cultural views were, of course, not unique in the early twentieth century and can be placed within a broader historical pattern. While in some measures idiosyncratic, Barbeau's narrative and its implied canon of significance would have been immediately recognizable to other young turn-of-the-century French-Canadian intellectuals who had turned away from the literary tradition of Gaspé and looked to

³⁸ Interview with Arthur Price.

³⁹ Barbeau, "On French Canadian Psychology and Literature", 12, 15 and 22.

Parisian modernism for an artistic model.⁴⁰ Barbeau's narrative told the story of artistic expression struggling successfully to free itself from the close connection to popular culture valorized by some mid-nineteenth-century French-Canadian intellectuals. In response to Soltau's challenge to the "cultural honour" of his people, Barbeau did not simply assert that French Canada had its own culture, but also argued that its culture reflected the most progressive artistic developments of Europe. After his return to Canada, Barbeau would reject this narrative and this cultural model, but in the early twentieth century his narrative of French-Canadian cultural development would have placed him within the ideological parameters of the most modern element of French-Canadian artistic thought.⁴¹

2. A New Science: The Contortions of Liberal Anthropology

The discipline into which Barbeau had been willingly recruited was a discipline in transition. Across the western world, the fin-de-siècle era provided a rich intellectual context within which the broad parameters of the human sciences were

⁴⁰ Réjean Beaudoin and André Lamontange, "French-Language Literature in Canada" in Pryke and Soderlund, eds., *Profiles of Canada*, 250.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

reconstructed in response to the late-nineteenth-century crisis of liberalism.⁴² From Vienna to Paris, London to New York, the basic framework of nineteenth-century liberal social science came under increasing strain as a series of western intellectuals rejected the ideal of social progress, explored the irrational dynamics of the human psyche, and generally challenged the epistemological framework which enabled liberal social science. Anthropology formed a central focus of debate in the turn-of-the-century era, inspiring the work of social scientists as diverse as Freud and Franz Boas. Some, if not all, of the issues attracting widespread anthropological attention across the western world affected Barbeau at Oxford.

At its basic core liberalism privileged the ideal of the individual: the stable, essentially rational ego, capable of knowledge, change, interaction in the market, and on a social level, progress. Within this framework have risen conceptions of individual rights, respect for difference, legal equality, and self and social improvement.⁴³ As Anthony Arblaster has

⁴² H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Re-Orientation of European Social Thought* (New York: 1958); Geoffrey Hawthorn, *Enlightenment and Despair: A History of Social Theory* (Cambridge : 2nd ed., 1987), 137-90; William McGrath, *Freud's Discovery of Psychoanalysis: The Politics of Hysteria* (Ithaca: 1986); and Carl Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage ed., 1981).

⁴³ Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: 1984); Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* trans. T. Burger (Cambridge MA:

noted, in the course of the nineteenth century the ideals of liberalism became widely diffused into a myriad of different, and at times competing, political ideologies.⁴⁴ The basic core of liberal social philosophy also became intricately intertwined with different political programs, such as imperialism, with which its core premises might seem incompatible. The liberal social sciences of the late nineteenth century, and in particular anthropology, are a case in point.

When Barbeau arrived at Oxford, British anthropology was splintered into several different schools each offering its own conception of the goals of the discipline and its appropriate research agenda. For early-twentieth-century British anthropologists, their discipline remained grounded in a liberal conception of social sciences. It was to be a overarching "science", methodologically modeled on the natural sciences, the goal of which was to produce general laws which explained the historical development of the human species toward rationality.⁴⁵ This conception of the discipline was,

1991).

⁴⁴ Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism*, 6.

⁴⁵ Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 17; Meyers Fortes, "Social Anthropology at Cambridge Since 1900" in Regna Darnell, ed., *Readings in the History of Anthropology* (New York: 1974), 428.

however, being increasingly challenged by different currents of thought which approached the practice of anthropology from different perspectives. The center of debate in early-twentieth-century British anthropology were the theories of James Frazer, disciple of the Biblical scholar and Cambridge Orientalist Robertson Smith, author of *Totemism* (a book which affected Barbeau deeply), and the living embodiment of a British anthropological tradition codified in the mid-nineteenth century by E.B. Tylor.⁴⁶ Tylor himself, the man credited with developing the culture concept as the core of modern anthropological study, still exercised a powerful presence over British anthropology. For anthropology, Tylor specified, "culture" should be understood as a complex structure which obeyed its own laws of dynamics:

Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind, in so far as it is capable of being investigated on general principles, is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action.⁴⁷

Although his claim to have originated the culture concept

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁴⁷ Edward Burnett Tylor, *The Origins of Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbook ed., 1958), 1.

may be tenuous,⁴⁸ Tylor provided British anthropology with a research program, a methodology, a defined statement of goals, and a broader theoretical framework within which the discipline codified itself as a science. Tylor's anthropology centered on a theory of human intellectual and cultural evolution. In concert with a series of other nineteenth-century social scientists,⁴⁹ he argued that human history could be written as a narrative of intellectual and cultural development: as the story of humanity gaining mastery over itself and nature and greater knowledge of the order of the world.⁵⁰ For Tylor, along with Huxley, Wallace and other British intellectuals,⁵¹ this narrative was primarily illustrated by technological development. But, Tylor argued, technology was not an independent force in history. Rather, it was a symptom of a tendency to intellectual advance which could, to a large measure, be described as an innate human capacity. For Tylor human beings were rational and could accumulate and use knowledge for their own intellectual and

⁴⁸ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 69-109 and 195-233.

⁴⁹ Hawthorn, *Enlightenment and Despair*, 51-136; J.W. Burrow, *Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory* (Cambridge: 1966).

⁵⁰ Tylor, *Origins of Culture*, 1-3.

⁵¹ Adam Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of a Illusion* (London and New York: 1988), 79.

cultural betterment. The progressive development of humanity was, therefore, an intellectual development which Tylor charted through a series of culture stages beginning with what he called animism, proceeding through monotheism and moving toward scientific rationality.

Tylor was specifically interested in animism, which he took to be the lowest stage of human intellectual development and the most primitive form of organized human culture. He understood animism as a form of primitive religion that could be construed as evidence of innate human rationality. Animism, viewed from this perspective, was (as Adam Kuper has suggested) a case of flawed primitive reasoning:

The earliest religion was based upon a series of intellectual ... confusions between the self and the other. In dreams people saw themselves roaming about in strange places, where they met other people, some of them long dead. This experience led to the belief that every man had a double existence, corporeal and spiritual. And, if people had spirits, why not animals, or even inanimate natural objects? The earliest form of religion was based on 'the theory which endows the phenomena of nature with personal life.' Tylor called it 'animism'.⁵²

In effect, animism signaled the birth of religion. To Tylor this "spiritual" development was a primitive attempt to comprehend humanity and the natural world which proceeded in the guise of religion. Animism was a process of incorrect

⁵² Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 80.

reasoning. Through a long process of continued reasoning (along with trial-and-error experimentation) animism duly gave way to the higher forms of reasoning and more rational forms of cultural organization embodied in monotheism and ultimately in science.

Frazer's anthropology followed Tylor's evolutionary theory. Working with the concept of totemism, first defined by the Edinburgh lawyer and amateur anthropologist John Ferguson McLennan and then further developed by Robertson Smith,⁵³ Frazer expanded and revised Tylor's basic theory. As it was elaborated in the last half of the nineteenth century, the concept of totemism brought a greater specificity to Tylor's evolutionary narrative and became one of the central points of debate in turn-of-the-century British anthropology. In brief, late-nineteenth-century British anthropologists contended that totemism had been an intermediate stage in the process of human cultural evolution between animism and monotheism. In a totemic culture, people had already discovered their double existence (or, more precisely, what they believed to be their double existence) as both bodily and spiritual entities. They had then hypothesized a similar double existence for animals and inanimate objects. The next stage in human development was to tie the worship of animate or inanimate objects'

⁵³ *Ibid.*

spirits to specific kinship groups and clans. This social organization of belief allowed the transmission of specific objects' spirits to future generations via the mother-line: the name and symbol, the totem, of the object became the clan's symbol, and clans came to believe that they were related to, or descended from, the totem they worshipped.⁵⁴

Frazer had first become interested in anthropology when Robertson Smith commissioned him to write articles on totemism and taboos for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He subsequently published a more extended version of his article on totemism as a monograph, *Totemism*, in 1887. This book was destined to become one of the most influential works in British anthropology, with many of its ideas transposed into Frazer's monumental evolutionary synthesis *The Golden Bough* (the text which made Frazer the most important British anthropologist between Tylor and Malinowski) and a more detailed four-volume treatise called *Totemism and Exogamy*. In *Totemism*, Frazer eschewed a specific discussion of the origins of totemism but did suggest its universality as a common stage of development through which all human societies passed as part of their cultural and intellectual evolution. His chief contribution was to refine the concept. "He distinguished," Kuper remarks, "different categories of totems": clan, sex, and individual,

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 82-8.

with clan totems being the most important. For Frazer, clan totems were at once a fundamental component of a cultural-religious system and a system of social organization. Totemism represented a system of exogamous matrilineal descent within which the clan and totem spirit were bound together in "relations of mutual respect and protection."⁵⁵ In the course of prehistory, Frazer hypothesized, the religious aspects of totemism became differentiated from the system of social organization within which it had first existed as newer systems of social organization evolved leaving totemism as a cultural survival from a more primitive time.

The theory of totemism, as a stage of human intellectual and cultural development, presented an influential evolutionary synthesis directing a specific research program. Tylor, Frazer, and other evolutionary anthropologists believed that their task as anthropologists was to chart the progress of humanity through its various cultural stages.⁵⁶ The central heuristic tool which made this charting possible was the comparative method. The comparative method in

⁵⁵ J.G. Frazer, *Totemism* (1997), 3. Cited in Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 89. See also Robert Alan Jones, "Robertson Smith and James Frazer on Religion: Two Traditions in British Social Anthropology" in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Functionalism Historicized: Essays on British Social Anthropology* (Madison: 1984), 31-58.

⁵⁶ Tylor, *Origins of Culture*, 1-3.

anthropology dated at least from the Enlightenment,⁵⁷ but its use was not widely accepted until Tylor resurrected the method to deal with what he viewed as the central problem of his evolutionary narrative: the absence of evidence which could sustain his argument. With the standard sources for historical reconstruction, written texts, being absent for primitive societies, how could one prove or disprove, say, theories of animism or totemism? The absence of written sources was not a problem, Tylor argued, because elements of more primitive stages of human evolution survived as cultural remnants into the modern age as the rituals of organized European monotheism, in Biblical accounts of pre-Christian Judaism, in the folk beliefs of the European and Asian lower classes, and (most crucially), in what Tylor called the "savage" people of the modern age: Africans, aboriginal Australians, and the Amerindian peoples of the Americas.⁵⁸

As used by Tylor and Frazer, the comparative method functioned as follows. The anthropologist accumulated masses of ethnographic data -- concerning folklore, material culture, rituals, and so forth -- and compared them with each other. Working from the assumption that human evolution proceeded from simpler to more complex technologies and from less to

⁵⁷ Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 26-7.

⁵⁸ Tylor, *Origins of Culture*, 97 and 112; Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 80 and 92-104.

more rational forms of culture, the assembled ethnographic data were arranged into hierarchical typologies reflecting their relative complexity and rationality. Such a hierarchical arrangement indicated the relative position of different cultures in the narrative of human evolution. In museum displays and anthropological texts material culture, systems of social organization, folklore, and rituals were organized into stages of development according to a relatively linear mode of emplotment: each stage (and each culture) formed a chapter in the story of humanity. Data derived from various "cultures" were important, not as evidence of those cultures in all their particularity, but rather as illustrations of universal processes of human development.⁵⁹

Marett, Barbeau's mentor at Oxford, did not directly align himself with Tylor and Frazer, but he accepted much of what they had to say.⁶⁰ His anthropology was, however, more diffuse and although he was interested in many of the same issues which pre-occupied Tylor and Frazer -- the nature,

⁵⁹ See William Ryan Chapman, "Arranging Ethnology: A.H.L. Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition" in George W. Stocking, Jr., *Observers Observed: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison: 1985), 15-48 and Nancy L. Fagin, "Closed Collections and Open Appeals: The Two Anthropology Exhibitions at the Chicago World's Columbia Exposition of 1893" *Curator* 27,4 (1984), 249-64 on the museological implications of the evolutionary narrative and comparative method.

⁶⁰ R.R. Marett, *Tylor* (London: 1936).

origins and development of religion and culture -- his approach to these issues was affected by different strains of anthropological thought emerging in the fin-de-siècle era which rejected the liberal social sciences of the nineteenth century.

By the early twentieth century, the evolutionary narrative of Tylor and Frazer had been subjected to concerted criticism from a variety of directions. The first challenge to Tylor's evolutionary theory came from racist anthropological thought, which ascribed cultural differences not to stages of human evolution but to innate biological differences that bounded the mental capacities of different ethnic groups.⁶¹ To this challenge Tylor responded by incorporating a modified Lamarckianism into his theory, positing that the intellectual development of some peoples (white Europeans) increased their actual mental capacity and gradually became their genetic property. This explained, he believed, what appeared to him as the inability of Africans, American Amerindians, and Australians to adapt to higher stages of evolution, by which he meant European civilization.⁶² Neither Marett nor Barbeau accepted the racist premises of

⁶¹ Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: 1991), 30-112.

⁶² Stocking, Jr., *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 115-7, 119 and 121.

this argument.

For Barbeau, the more substantive challenge to evolutionary theory came from the British diffusionist anthropology. (Marett did not himself adopt a diffusionist approach and was more affected by the development of the Durkheimian sociological theory emerging in France, but the diffusionist perspective as a critical appraisal of evolutionism formed one of the central dimension of fin-de-siècle British anthropology and clearly affected Barbeau's anthropological thinking.) British diffusionists questioned two of the key assumptions of evolutionary anthropology: the innate rationality of human beings and intellectual evolution as the primary explanation of cultural change. Instead, diffusionists argued that cultural change proceeded on a local level through a process of cultural borrowing. In place of the evolutionary emphasis on the rationality of culture, diffusionists argued that culture functioned as a series of rules which were the sum product of cultural borrowings over the course of history and which differentiated one people or culture from another.⁶³ By rejecting the idea of a relatively linear narrative of progress toward rationality, diffusionists were, at least by implication, rejecting a fundamental tenet

⁶³ Henrika Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge UK: 1991), 88-9; Johannes Fabian, *Time and The Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: 1983), 24.

of nineteenth-century British liberal anthropology. Although few diffusionists made this point expressly, the logic of their argument led away from the ideas of culture-as-continuum, cultural development as rational progress, and the west as the self-evident site of cultural superiority, and towards a reconstruction of humanity in which human history was represented as a series of local, idiosyncratic (potentially even irrational) cultural developments which could not be woven together into a metanarrative.

In place of Tylor's comparative method and evolutionary conception of culture, diffusionists offered a different conception of culture and a series of different approaches to anthropological research. There was no one single diffusionist research program, but rather a series of different and potentially overlapping programs. For A.H.L. Pitt-Rivers, a former evolutionist who became the leading advocate of diffusionism in Great Britain in the early twentieth century, the central research tool of diffusionist analysis was a modified variant of the comparative method from which he drew very different conclusions than did Tylor or Frazer. Pitt-Rivers argued that cultural change was best understood as a process of cultural interchange in which different cultures borrowed from each other. This created, in his view, broadly similar cultures across widespread geographic areas which were not related to any determinable evolutionary stage. According

to Pitt-Rivers, the task of the anthropologist was to examine different culture traits in order to isolate this process of interchange and determine the flow of influences from one culture to another. Other diffusionists designed their research programs around a genealogical method which focused on the collection of family histories and vital statistics. By examining these data, it was assumed that an anthropologist could chart changes in social organization for an individual culture and specify the exact historical moments of change on a local level.⁶⁴ In effect, the diffusionist research program was a program for cultural mapping. Its approach was geographic and ethnographic: its central concerns were the classification of peoples, cultures, culture traits, human migrations, and the dissemination of culture traits from one geographic area and people to another.⁶⁵

In a number of ways, Marett represented the older tradition of British evolutionary anthropology. He was more interested in the traditional issues of British evolutionary anthropology and his own anthropological writing continued to focus on culture stages and totemism. But he was also interested in the sociological approach to culture being

⁶⁴ Kuklick, *The Savage Within*, 121-3 and 140-9.

⁶⁵ Kuper, *Anthropologist and Anthropology*, 14; Fabian, *Time and The Other*, 19.

pioneered in France by Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss. Marett directed Barbeau toward both these interests -- French sociology and totemism -- by encouraging him to spend an academic year at the Sorbonne studying with Marcel Mauss. In his own published work, Marett aimed to re-examine the stages of cultural evolution first laid down by Tylor and then modified by McLennan, Smith and Frazer.⁶⁶ In his most daring thesis, published some years after Barbeau left Oxford, Marett reversed the metanarrative of evolutionary anthropology. He claimed to have discovered in the most primitive cultures a previously unknown stage of cultural development, and claimed to find in this stage a pure spirituality which stood at the root of all modern religions. In the course of the historical development of western culture, Marett argued, western religions had lost this pure spirituality and now existed as a pale reflection of this once existing prehistoric cultural state. This spiritual state, Marett later argued, could still be found among those human societies evolutionists had believed were the most primitive, such as the Inuit of the Canadian arctic.⁶⁷ To what extent Marett communicated this

⁶⁶ Robert Ackerman, "Frazer on Myth and Ritual" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36,1 (1978), 128-9.

⁶⁷ For a discussion see Brigitte Sonne, "In Love With Eskimo Imagination and Intelligence" *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 12,1-2 (1988), 23-4.

acutely antimodernist conception of human evolution to Barbeau, or to what extent it was even fully formed in his mind during Barbeau's tenure at Oxford, is difficult to determine.⁶⁸ Barbeau's own antimodernist perspective placed less emphasis on the spiritual matters which interested Marett, than it placed on a series of other concerns such as art and cultural vitality. But like Marett, Barbeau did combine his critical assessment of modern culture with a vigorous defense of anthropology as a modern science. For both Marett and Barbeau, anthropological science, a distinctively modern form of cultural authority, was used to support distinctly antimodern conceptions of cultural development.

The exact influence of Mauss on Barbeau is equally difficult to specify. Like Marett, Mauss subscribed to the theory of evolutionary cultural development, but where the logic of Marett's cultural thought led toward some form of antimodernist perspective, Mauss continued to believe in progressive development and as a committed socialist saw the development of a socialist society as the next logical stage of human evolution. Socialism was not, however, a political

⁶⁸ When he later discussed his Oxford education, Barbeau emphasized his professors's general conception of anthropology as a precise, logical science, as opposed to any particular aspect of his anthropological training. See "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 7.

position which attracted Barbeau and when he later criticized the development of capitalist modernity in Canada he did so from a very different perspective. Barbeau later remembered Mauss not as a socialist but primarily as a cultured, artistic man who took a sympathetic interest in his student's development as an anthropologist.⁶⁹

The one aspect of Mauss' anthropological thinking that did have a direct impact on Barbeau was his theory of "the gift". While this influence would fade over time to be replaced by other concerns, the influence of this theory is evident in Barbeau's early thinking on totemism. In the theory of "the gift" Mauss argued that exchanges of goods in primitive societies were not the same as the market exchanges of capitalist society. In a capitalist society, Mauss argued, goods were produced to further the accumulation of capital, but in primitive societies accumulation was secondary to the social function of exchange, which in his view was reciprocity. Beginning from the assumption that primitive societies were actually a composite of segmented social units such as clans, tribes and families, he contended that the exchange of a wide variety of goods ranging from dances to people established a unifying system which transcended social

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

units and thereby created a broader social solidarity.⁷⁰

Marett and Mauss in combination pushed Barbeau to explore totemism, a subject which remained one of his passions throughout his life and to which he devoted his senior thesis. In fact, the very idea for the thesis, Barbeau later noted, was Marett's.⁷¹ It was written to fulfill the requirements of his degree and bore all the marks of fin-de-siècle anthropology. It was a "library thesis", written without the benefit of fieldwork, focusing on totemism on the North Pacific Coast. Its ten-page introduction and almost 100 pages of text drew on an already extensive Northwest Coast ethnographic bibliography, particularly the work of Franz Boas, to provide a cultural and social cartography of Pacific Northwest Amerindian peoples, a synthetic treatment of their central cultural institutions, and a discussion of the historical evolution of totemism within these cultures. The entire thesis was designed, as well, to engage the sociological evaluations of totemism Barbeau had learned in France. At the time Barbeau completed his thesis, it was viewed by Oxford anthropologists as a significant contribution

⁷⁰ For Mauss, one of the goals of a socialist society was dialectically to recover this lost sense of reciprocity which he believed had been destroyed by the emergence of a capitalist economy.

⁷¹ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 8.

to the study of totemism comparable to Frazer's 1887 text.⁷² Throughout his life Barbeau viewed his senior thesis as an important statement of his thinking on totemism. He included substantial excerpts from it in a report on the potlatch he prepared in 1921 for the Department of Indian Affairs,⁷³ and as late as 1958 was still toying with the idea of publishing it.⁷⁴

Barbeau's thesis is best understood not as a mature analysis of Northwest Coast totemism, but as a preliminary statement reflecting his thinking on this subject at a specific point in his professional development. It begins with a geographic and ethnographic descriptive map of the Northwest Coast before proceeding to an extended discussion of totemism. For Barbeau, the central problem of Northwest Coast ethnography was the inability of ethnographers to specify the exact relationship between totems, totemic symbols, personal names and social units.⁷⁵ In other words, they had failed to

⁷² Edwin Pratt, "Marius Barbeau" unidentified newsclipping in Barbeau Fonds ANQ, micro 5086, #M699.6.

⁷³ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "The Potlatch among the B.C. Indians and Section 149 of the Indian Act" TS [1921?], Records of the Department of Indian Affairs [hereafter DIA], NAC, RG 10, volume 3631, file 6244-X.

⁷⁴ "Man In Search of Folklore" *The Star Weekly Magazine*, 20 December 1958.

⁷⁵ Marius Barbeau, "The Totemic System of the North Western Indian Tribes of North America" (Oxford University: unpubl. B.Sc. thesis, 1910)., A. A copy of Barbeau's thesis is on file at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. For his thesis Barbeau lettered the pages of the introduction, but used

specify how Northwest Coast totemism functioned as an holistic cultural system. To address this issue, Barbeau argued, it was necessary to analyze the historical evolution of Northwest Coast totemism as a system of cultural integration and class power. He argued that totemism functioned as a result of misperceptions on the part of Amerindians. These he apparently traced to what he took to be their primitive stage of cultural development. In a totemic ritual, a tribal chief attired in totemic dress assumed the identity of a totemic spiritual entity and for the course of the ritual became that entity. "It is easy to ascertain," Barbeau wrote, "that in the mind of the natives, the manitou is not the animal whose physical appearance has been assumed, but a human being who, in certain circumstances, transforms himself into an animal, vegetable or inanimate object by putting on emblematic garments."⁷⁶ The same relationship did not hold for the relationship between the "manitou" and totemic symbol. The link between symbols and "manitous" was, Barbeau believed, purely symbolic.⁷⁷ The point of this argument was to detach

Arabic numerals to number the body.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, D.

⁷⁷ On this point, Barbeau was closely following Franz Boas' ethnographic conclusions. Cf. Franz Boas, "The Decorative Art of the North Pacific Coast" [orig. 1897] reprinted in Margaret Mead and Ruth L. Bunzel, eds., *The Golden Age of American Anthropology* (New York: 1960), 306-17.

North Pacific totemism from its association with the evolutionary conception of totemism. North Pacific totemism appeared to Barbeau as a system of cultural control which was maintained to uphold the authority of elite sections of Amerindian society.⁷⁸ A ritual he described as the Kwakiutl ghost dance had, in his view, a similar purpose. "Among the Kwakiutl," he wrote, "the ghost dance is a remarkable instance of the deceits practised on the credulous spectator in order to give weight to the legends of a totemic character."⁷⁹ In 1910, Barbeau believed that the adherence of Northwest Coast Amerindian peoples to these rituals admitted of only one rational explanation:

The only way of understanding the attitude of the natives toward their manitous is to consider the totemic ancestors, their pretended helpers, and their present day representatives (the nobles) as forming, above all, a class of superior and privileged people, to whom the lower class have recourse in a formal manner to obtain favours and upon whom depend the leadership and welfare of the community. Apart from this, the only possible interpretation of the natives' behaviour and attitude, toward the totem, is that it is inspired either by inscrutable and mysterious motifs or is the product of unreasoned delusion.⁸⁰

Barbeau's thesis went on to address the vexed question of

⁷⁸ Barbeau, "Totemic System", E.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 63-4.

the potlatch. Anthropologists had long been fascinated with this ritual, part of the elaborate cultural life of North Pacific Coast Amerindian peoples. A giving-away and feasting ritual held to mark important moments in an individual life but with a broader social significance, and normally reserved for a person or person of high rank (although also open to those aspiring to such status), it has also been associated with the redistribution of material wealth and the pursuit of prestige on the part of particular communities. The ritual itself could last for several days and was accompanied by singing, dancing, and the recital of family names and oral traditions. Many North Pacific Amerindian peoples considered potlatching one of their central cultural institutions and mounted strong defenses of the institution after it was banned by the federal government in the late nineteenth century. In addition to its specific functions, the potlatch served, Amerindian peoples argued, a variety of social functions, including entertainment, social welfare, and capital investment.⁸¹

Following Mauss, Barbeau read the potlatch as a functionally integrative ritual which helped to maintain a value structure necessary for the material survival of

⁸¹ J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: 1989), 140-1.

primitive societies. It had first emerged, he wrote, as a primitive form of contract "which by means of public ceremonies, creates and discharges definite obligations, between two parties, belonging to different totemic social units."⁸² As the potlatch developed, it came to occupy a more central position in the economic life of Northwest Coast nations. It sustained, Barbeau believed, the "moral qualities" necessary for the functioning of the pre-historic Pacific coast economic system: "thrift, in accumulating property, forethought in its investment, liberality in hospitality, and ... fundamental solidarity and communal responsibility of all the members of the group...."⁸³ For Barbeau, the significance of the potlatch was its economic function. It sustained an economic order which was, almost, the order of his own father.

Like the impersonation of totemic spirits, then, the potlatch served a functional purpose in a class-divided society. Notwithstanding this "functionality", however, Barbeau located the potlatch in a social system which, he believed, was heading toward disintegration. This disintegration, he argued, was most evident among the southern North Pacific nations and resulted from the emergence of a

⁸² Barbeau, "Totemic System", 90.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 91.

middle class based in secret societies. Along the northern Northwest Coast membership in a secret society was by hereditary right, but in the south membership was based on class standing and had detached itself from the clan structure. This signaled, he believed, the emergence of a middle-class element within these societies.⁸⁴

At Oxford, then, Barbeau's approach to anthropology drew together a series of different intellectual traditions in an unstable amalgam. His primary anthropological interest, totemism, reflected the centrality of this concept in the broader currents of turn-of-the-century anthropological debate. Using a modified version of Mauss's theory of "the gift", he explained the functioning of totemic culture on the Northwest Coast and the primacy of central institutions like the potlatch. These rituals functioned effectively because of the incredulity of the mass of primitive Amerindian peoples but, he believed, Northwest Coast Amerindian culture was historically evolving toward a different cultural form which would fundamentally alter, if not destroy, the rituals of existing totemic culture.

After his appointment to the Anthropology Division, Barbeau continued to see the Amerindian cultures of the Northwest Coast as historically-changing and adaptive. He now

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 13-6.

saw the process of historical change would be far more pervasive and far less internal to these cultures than had before been the case. It would not be the internal evolution of Northwest Coast society which brought the totemic system to the point of destruction, but the "vanishing" of Amerindian peoples in the modern age. In 1910, Barbeau still saw the historical changes he believed transpiring in the "totemic system" of the Northwest Coast as promising some progressive results, in this case "democratization". As his views later became more antimodernist, historical change promised nothing but cultural disintegration.

3. The Salvage Paradigm and the Organization of Canadian Anthropology

In the fin-de-siècle era, North American anthropology passed through a process of reorientation similar to the reorientation of British anthropology. Turn-of-the-century American anthropology was likewise riven with debate.⁸⁵ The context and content of debate was nonetheless quite different. This debate was exemplified by Franz Boas, a political liberal, who struggled against the racist and evolutionist

⁸⁵ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 161-307.

premises of nineteenth-century anthropological thought in the United States.⁸⁶ Boas' anthropological program largely conditioned the development of American anthropology until after World War II,⁸⁷ and was incorporated into Canadian anthropology in 1910 through the appointment of his student Edward Sapir as head of the newly established Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC).

The development of Boas' anthropology is already so well known that we need concern ourselves here with only a brief outline of its leading features. When Boas began anthropological studies in the United States the dominant analytic paradigm was similar to British evolutionary anthropology, but more explicitly racist.⁸⁸ While Boas initially accepted the premises of the evolutionary approach, his personal aversion to racism, egalitarian liberal intellectual background, and extensive field and experimental studies led him over a period of years to formulate an alternative conception of anthropology. Two points were

⁸⁶ Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*.

⁸⁷ George W. Stocking, Jr., "Ideas and Institutions in American Anthropology: Towards a History of the Interwar Years" in Stocking, *The Ethnographer's Magic*.

⁸⁸ Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage ed., 1979), 55-61; Reginald Horsman, "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" *American Quarterly* 27 (1975), 152-68.

central to Boas' anthropological theory. First, he argued that the human mind functioned in basically the same way across history and ethnicity and that what had been described as evolutionary or immutable biological differences were in actuality the result of different cultural influences.⁸⁹ Second, Boas argued that available ethnographic evidence simply could not sustain the idea of linear cultural progression. His field research, he contended, indicated that cultural development proceeded along a myriad of different lines and that no single course of historical progression could be determined.⁹⁰ In place of the idea of cultural evolution, Boas organized different "cultures" into what later came to be called the "culture area" model, by which artifacts were grouped together according to their origin in a specific culture as opposed to their place in an evolutionary typology. This returned, Boas contended, artifacts to their "holistic" setting within which it became easier to understand their intrinsic meaning.⁹¹

Although Boas is often considered a "culturalist" because of the importance with which he viewed culture as a

⁸⁹ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 161-94.

⁹⁰ Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (New York: 1968); Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 135-51.

⁹¹ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 205.

fundamental determinant of subjectivity,⁹² he cannot be neatly placed on either pole of a "culturalist/scientific" dichotomy. One of the strengths of his anthropology, in the context of turn-of-the-century American social science, was the way he defended his position using the language of science. He carefully emphasized professional training as one of the key qualifications for anthropology, phrased his most damaging critiques of racism and evolutionism as hypotheses drawn by deductive logic from an empirical base, and asked his opponents to produce evidence which could withstand scientific scrutiny in support of alternative hypotheses.⁹³ Boas was also careful to construct an alternative approach to anthropological research centering on intensive fieldwork among specific cultural groups which aimed to understand the internal dynamics of other cultures.⁹⁴ It would be difficult to overestimate Boas' impact on American anthropology. Few of the ideas Boas promoted were new⁹⁵ but he brought these ideas together into a new synthesis which fundamentally restructured the discipline of anthropology in the United States. More than any other figure, Boas helped to transform American

⁹² For example, see Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 20.

⁹³ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 161-94.

⁹⁴ Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 64.

⁹⁵ Hinsley, *Savages and Scientists* and Fagin, "Closed Collections and Open Appeals", 256-7.

anthropology into a professionalized discipline with its own methodology (intensive field research) and heuristic theory (cultural determinism).⁹⁶

Boas' primary influence on Canadian anthropology came in the person of Edward Sapir, one of his doctoral candidates at Columbia University, who, after consultation with Boas, was recruited by acting GSC director R.W. Brock to organize the Survey's new Anthropology Division in 1910.⁹⁷ Brock, like Boas, was committed to scientific methodology. When he took charge of the GSC in 1907 he immediately began a series of institutional reforms designed to modernize what he viewed as the antedated scientific procedures of the Survey.⁹⁸ The GSC, founded in 1842 to encourage the development of Canada's mineral industry, had been throughout the last half of the nineteenth century an important center of geological and natural science in Canada, whose staff had garnered

⁹⁶ Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 63 and Carrithers, *Why Humans have Cultures*, 16.

⁹⁷ R.W. Brock to Edward Sapir, 3 June 1910, Edward Sapir Fonds, Canadian Museum of Civilization [hereafter Sapir Fonds], box 425, file 44.

⁹⁸ Unless otherwise noted data on Brock and his career are drawn from Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks*, ch. 13.

international reputations in their fields.⁹⁹ However prestigious the work of some of its nineteenth-century staff, by the early twentieth century the GSC's methodology had become, in Brock's view, out-dated and he engineered its complete reorganization, introducing new divisions (one of which was anthropology) and appointing new staff.¹⁰⁰ The close association between the human and natural sciences in the nineteenth century, the particular interests of some of its staff members,¹⁰¹ and the simple fact that there were few other people prepared to do the work, combined to turn the Survey

⁹⁹ W.A. Waiser, *The Field Naturalist: John Macoun of the Geological Survey and Natural Science* (Toronto: 1989); Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: 1987).

¹⁰⁰ *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Department of Canada for the Calendar Year 1906* (Ottawa: 1906), 4-5.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Douglas Cole, ed., *The Journals of George M. Dawson: British Columbia* (Vancouver: 1989); and for an overview of early ethnographic collecting in Canada Judy Hall, "Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada" *American Indian Art Magazine* (Winter: 1983), 50-9 .

into an ethnographic as well as geological institution.¹⁰² In 1872, the federal government officially made ethnographic collecting one of the GSC's mandates, but before Sapir's appointment in 1910 the GSC had never hired a trained anthropologist, nor appointed a staff member to work specifically in the field of anthropology.

Like Barbeau, Sapir was a professionally-trained anthropologist.¹⁰³ He viewed the establishment of the Anthropology Division as "[a] step forward in the development of anthropological studies in [North] America...." After surveying the state of Canadian anthropology he noted that "[t]o many it will seem that much has already been done in the study of Canadian ethnology" and conceded that "relative to other parts of the world that may seem true." Studies by Boas, George M. Dawson, and Clark Wissler had provided effective ethnographic descriptions of some Northwest Coast cultures,

¹⁰² The interest of natural scientists in the human sciences was, as Susan Sheets-Pyenson notes, "a concern with the question of the antiquity of man...." The implications for the understanding of human history of the general transition from a biblical chronology to the more extended geological chronology of natural history stimulated ethnographic collecting across the western world. See Sheet-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums during the Late Nineteenth Century* (Kingston and Montreal: 1988), 31-2. See also Carl Berger, *Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: 1983), 16 and 61-6.

¹⁰³ Unless otherwise noted biographical data on Sapir is drawn from Darnell, *Edward Sapir*.

Blackfoot, and Inuit peoples, but Sapir contended that there was still much to be done and what had already been accomplished -- other than the work of the specific anthropologists he named -- was of questionable scientific validity: "[r]elative ... to the standard that must be set for ethnological work both in completeness and thoroughness, the work already accomplished represents a small fraction of what students of primitive culture would like to see done."¹⁰⁴ Barbeau agreed with Sapir. By the standards of turn-of-the-century anthropology, the work undertaken before the division's organization seemed empirically massive and theoretically incomplete. Like Sapir, Barbeau complained about the incomplete character and the questionable scientific status of most existing Canadian anthropological writing: "[t]he list of monographs drawn by experts ... is small, and hardly any tribe may boast of a fairly complete record of the various aspects of its anthropology." Available data, he concluded, were "anything but adequate" especially when such "important tribes as the Nootka, the Tsimshian, the Bella Coola, and some of the coast Salish have been neglected on the whole."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Edward Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada" *Science* N.S. 34,884 (1911), 789-90.

¹⁰⁵ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "The Indian Tribes of Canada" *Man* 13 (1913), 123-7. Citations at 123.

Both Barbeau and to a lesser extent Sapir viewed this work as "pioneering": they were undertaking the establishment of anthropology in Canada. While Sapir acknowledged the work other American Boasians had done in Canada and Barbeau respected the work of the amateur anthropologist George Mercer Dawson and the archaeology of David Boyle, they both agreed that the history of anthropology in Canada was limited before the creation of the division. This is, as Douglas Cole has pointed out, far from true.¹⁰⁶ In the mid-nineteenth century an alternative tradition of anthropology had established itself in Canada. Cole has argued that this tradition was defined by a number of characteristics: the amateur status of its practitioners; the absence of central institutions providing direction to the general development of anthropological discourse; a thematic focus on linguistics, evolutionary development through a series of culture stages, the capacity of difference "races" to evolve and to adapt to the environmental conditions of Canada; and a disdainful attitude towards aboriginal cultures that entailed a belief in

¹⁰⁶ Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910", 33-44. See also Bruce Trigger, "The Historians' Indian: Native Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present" *Canadian Historical Review* 67,3 (1986) and Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston and Montreal: 1985), ch. 1.

their eventual extinction.¹⁰⁷

The parameters of nineteenth-century Canadian anthropological thought were, in fact, quite broad. Its two leading practitioners, Daniel Wilson and Horatio Hale, both of whom were ignored by or unknown to Sapir and Barbeau, earned international reputations as important scholars in their respective fields. Wilson, a Scottish immigrant, friend of Tylor's (with whom he co-authored a book), and professor of history and literature at University College in Toronto, worked primarily on prehistoric culture.¹⁰⁸ Wilson had initially developed an interest in prehistoric archaeology in his native Scotland where, according to Cole, "he had published a major compilation of prehistoric remains."¹⁰⁹ When he immigrated to Canada, Wilson continued to work on prehistoric archaeology and anthropology publishing a series of papers on racial "hybridity" and cultural evolution. In his most extensive work, *Prehistoric Man* (1862), he expanded a thesis about cultural evolution set forth in earlier essays,

¹⁰⁷ See also John J. Van West, "George Mercer Dawson: An Early Canadian Anthropologist" *Anthropological Journal of Canada* 14,4 (1976), 8-9. On "race" in late-nineteenth-century English-Canadian cultural thought see also Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free" in J.M. Bumsted, ed., *Interpreting Canada's Past: After Confederation* (Toronto: 1986), 157-74.

¹⁰⁸ Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology", 33-4; and Bruce Trigger, "Sir Daniel Wilson: Canada's First Anthropologist" *Anthropologica* N.S. 8 (1966).

¹⁰⁹ Cole, "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology", 33.

arguing that the level of technological sophistication of Canadian aboriginal peoples was precisely analogous to that of prehistoric Europeans. North American aboriginal cultures were, in Wilson's view, the living European past and further anthropological study could therefore provide important clues about European prehistory. Wilson did not believe that all "races" had the same level of mental capacity which would allow for their eventual evolution to higher developmental stages. Some peoples, such as Iroquoian peoples, had, he argued, virtually the same level of intellectual capacity as whites and had had their own advance toward civilization disrupted only by the arrival of Europeans in their lands. Other unnamed "savage" peoples lacked the same capacities and were, therefore, destined for eventual extinction. In the case of North American aboriginal peoples, Wilson did not see extinction as the final result of the influx of European civilization on the continent, but rather argued that the less socially evolved peoples of North America would be "absorbed" into the white European race in the same way that primitive European Celts had evidently been absorbed into a conquering Germanic race.

This process of migration and absorption was, Wilson argued, part of a broader historical process leading to the formation of new races and he was fascinated by the possibility of a new race being created in North America.

Drawing on Enlightenment environmentalism and rejecting the idea of immutable biological differences as the defining character of race current in American anthropological thought, Wilson suggested that he and his audience were living through an important moment in the racial history of humanity as European-Amerindian hybridization and the transformative impact of the North American environment constructed a new race.

Hale's concerns were different from Wilson's. Born in the United States and educated at Harvard, Hale worked as ethnologist for the Wilkes Pacific Expedition from 1837 until 1842 when he moved to Clinton, Ontario, to make his home and set up a law practice. For the next thirty years Hale practiced law before returning his full attention to anthropology, writing extensively on Iroquoian cultures and helping direct Franz Boas' Northwest Coast research for the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). In the 1880s Hale became a prominent figure in Canadian anthropology, earning the respect and praise of his colleagues.¹¹⁰ His central anthropological concern was linguistics which, he argued, provided the key to ethnological analysis. While living in Clinton, he studied Iroquoian

¹¹⁰ Cf. Daniel Wilson, "The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a Typical Race of American Aborigines" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* Sec. II (1884), 57, 79-80 and 90.

languages at the nearby Six Nations reserve in Grand River, expanding his research to the Huron in the 1870s whom he studied at the Anderdon reserve, near Amherstberg, Ontario.¹¹¹

Hale's interest in the Huron language derived from his belief, based on a comparative analysis of Huron and other Iroquoian languages, that Huron was the most archaic form of Iroquoian speech. He visited Anderdon twice, in 1872 and again in 1874, to record mythology from reserve chief Joseph White and P.D. Clarke, a nineteenth-century Huron-Wyandot historian. In keeping with his emphasis on the importance of linguistics, Hale's research focused on unraveling the meaning of Huron mythology by decoding the constituent parts of myths.¹¹² In his opinion, Huron mythology, like the mythology of other peoples, was a linguistically distorted record of either real historical events or metaphysical principles. Huron myths were, in other words, either an oral record of past events or remnants of a philosophy¹¹³ which had become distorted by the nature of its oral transmission, in Hale's

¹¹¹ Horatio Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore. Cosmogonic Myths. The Good and Evil Minds" *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 3,10 (1890), 177.

¹¹² Horatio Hale, "'Above' and 'Below': A Mythological Disease of Language" *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 3,10 (1890), 176-81.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 181. See also Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore. Cosmogonic Myths.", 183 and Horatio Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore. The Story of Tijaiha, the Sorcerer" *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 2,7 (1889), 254.

view an inherently unstable form of communication. In fact, Hale argued that distortion was built into mythology itself: all mythology was an oral commentary on either historic events or metaphysical principles, prone at least to some distortion over time. The unstable process of retelling a myth did not distort (or, in his words, "pervert") a true original myth. Because all myths were oral commentary no true original existed. His task as an anthropologist, he believed, was not to recover (salvage) the original true myth from the distorting impact of time, but to decode an inherently unstable commentary to determine the principles or events which had given rise to it.¹¹⁴

What was new with the Anthropology Division in 1910 was not, therefore, "anthropology" itself, but rather a different organization of anthropological discourse. After 1910, the

¹¹⁴ Hale, "'Above' and 'Below'", 177. For this reason Hale did not privilege written over oral sources (which he then made into written texts). In his various published essays on Huron mythology, Hale noted discrepancies between the mythology he recorded from his informants and similar myths he could obtain from printed sources, such as the *Jesuit Relations*. In cases of discrepancy Hale faulted the printed source which he considered biased by the Euro-centric perspective of its author(s). From a methodological perspective, however, there would be no reason why Hale should have privileged an older written source even if it were able to report a myth accurately (which he believed it could not do). It could not bring him closer to a true original culture trait because the inherent distortion of oral communication (retelling a myth, for example) from the beginning denied the possibility of a pure, undistorted encounter with culture.

Anthropology Division provided a central direction to the development of anthropology in Canada that had been lacking in the nineteenth century. It employed the country's most prominent anthropologists, introduced new standards of professional qualification as a precondition of anthropological research, and reorganized, through the display of collections in schools, other museums, and other venues, the visual representation of Amerindian cultures. The Division served as a national and international cultural archive and research center, and through its newly established publication series, the lectures and other publications of its staff, created a public anthropological discourse.

The Anthropology Division was created in response to long-standing, persistent demands from Canadian, British and American anthropologists concerned about the "disappearance" of aboriginal cultures in the modern age.¹¹⁵ Its mandate was scientific, educational and cultural: it would preserve the aboriginal cultures of Canada for the benefit of future generations of Canadians and the anthropological community. As R.W. Brock explained in 1909:

Very little investigation has been made in Canada of the native races, and what has been done has mostly been under the auspices of foreign

¹¹⁵ George Grant MacCurdy, "Anthropology at the Winnipeg Meeting of the British Association" *American Anthropologist* N.S. 11 (1909), 457 and 466.

institutions. The opportunities for such studies are fast disappearing. Under advancing settlement and rapid development of the country, the native is disappearing, or coming under the influence of the white man's civilization. The older people who are familiar with the folklore or traditions of the tribe are dying off, and the rising generation under changed conditions is acquiring a totally different education.

If the information concerning the native races is ever to be secured and preserved, action must be taken very soon, or it will be too late. It is a duty we owe to the Canada of the future to see that such material is saved.¹¹⁶

Sapir shared Brock's view. "In some cases," he explained shortly after his appointment, "a tribe has already practically given up its aboriginal culture.... With the increasing material prosperity and industrial development of Canada the demoralization ... of the Indian will be going on at an ever increasing rate."¹¹⁷

Since the 1880s, British anthropologists had been pressing Canadian authorities to establish an ethnographic survey of Canada similar to the ethnographic survey of Great Britain but focusing only on Amerindian peoples. The central goal of this survey, in the view of British authorities, would be to establish an ethnographic map of aboriginal

¹¹⁶ *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines for the Calendar Year 1908* (Ottawa: 1909), 9.

¹¹⁷ Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada", 793.

cultures in Canada.¹¹⁸ Also incorporating ideas from Boas, Sapir's plan for the Anthropology Division can be seen as a modified version of this goal. In a paper given at the 1909 Winnipeg meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Boas supported the establishment of an ethnographic survey of Canada and issued his own programmatic statement for its operation. In his view, the extant literature on Canadian aboriginal peoples already constituted an effective "general reconnaissance" of the field. The time had now come, he explained, "to concentrate on specific [understudied] regions and [contested theoretical] problems." "Many of the general problems" of Canadian anthropology, Boas continued, "embrace[d] the whole of the western hemisphere" in that they were problems common to anthropology more generally. He suggested that work should be done on the development of corn agriculture, the diffusion of artistic motifs, the limits of pottery production, and the causes of cultural similarities between North American Amerindians and the indigenous peoples of Africa and Australia.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ For a fuller discussion see Gale Avrith, "Science on the Margins: The British Association and the Foundations of Canadian Anthropology, 1884-1910" (University of Pennsylvania: Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss., 1986).

¹¹⁹ Citations from MacCurdy, "Anthropology at the Winnipeg Meeting of the British Association", 466-7, reporting on Boas' paper.

In his own programmatic statements, Sapir echoed Boas' concerns. In addition to completing ethnographies for all Canadian aboriginal peoples,¹²⁰ the division should also, Sapir believed, direct its research towards specific anthropological controversies, such as the cultural relationship between different Eastern Woodlands peoples or the evolution of social organization on the Northwest Coast, which were currently matters of debate among North American anthropologists.¹²¹ The most effective way to address these issues, he felt, was through intensive field research on individual nations. "It is felt," Sapir explained, "that to make the work of the division of lasting scientific value the problems must be studied intensively. Thus extensive bodies of myths, songs, personal and clan names, religious beliefs, decorative arts, and a host of other cultural elements are to be collected and systematized."¹²² Once collected and systematized, this

¹²⁰ Sapir was particularly concerned about what he viewed as the underdeveloped state of Eastern Woodlands ethnography: "[t]here is almost nothing published of great merit on the ... Nascopie, Montagnais, Malecite, Micmac, Abenaki, Algonkin, Ottawa, Cree ... [and] [e]ven the Iroquois have been neglected to a most astonishing extent." "In the Plains region," he contended that the situation was similarly bad: "the Sarcee and Western Cree are hardly as yet more than mere names, [while] [t]he Assiniboine have not yet been exhaustively treated." Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada", 791.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 791-2.

¹²² Edward Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology of the Dominion Government" *Queen's Quarterly* 20,1 (1912), 63-4.

material would then be published, making it available to the international anthropology community.¹²³

Sapir believed that the work of the Anthropology Division could be successfully carried out only by professionally-trained anthropologists. He urged Brock to expand the division's staff and appointed a number of his American colleagues, also Boasians, to the division. Dividing the division's work into four departments (archaeology, museum preparation, ethnography and linguistics, and physical anthropology), Sapir organized Canadian anthropology into what had become the standard sub-disciplinary structure of American anthropology. Harlan Smith, an American, was hired on Boas' recommendation¹²⁴ to take charge of the division's archaeology program, Sapir himself supervised ethnography and linguistics, while F.W.S. Knowles was recruited from Cambridge to work seasonally on physical anthropology.¹²⁵ In the immediate term museum preparation work was shared among the permanent staff (Sapir, Barbeau and Smith), until F.W. Waugh, a Canadian

¹²³ Edward Sapir, "Anthropology Division" *Summary Report of the Geological Survey of the Department of Mines for the Calendar Year 1910* (Ottawa: 1911), 284.

¹²⁴ "Les mémoires de Marius Barbeau" TS enregistré par Carmen Roy (1957-58), 3. A transcript of Barbeau's memoirs, dictated to Roy, is on file at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Cited hereafter as "Mémoires".

¹²⁵ Edward Sapir to R.W. Brock, 5 December 1911 and 16 March 1912, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 44.

amateur anthropologist, was given this position. From the United States, Sapir contracted Paul Radin to study the Assiniboine, Canadian Sioux, Ojibway and western Cree, A.A. Goldenweiser to research the social organization, religion and culture of Iroquois Confederacy peoples, Frank Speck to study Algonkian culture, and W.H. Mechling to focus on the Micmac and Malecite. The McGill literature professor Cyrus MacMillan was also contracted to work on Micmac culture. Barbeau's Oxford classmate Diamond Jenness was appointed to the Canadian Arctic Expedition to research the Inuit of the Northwest Territories before becoming a member of the division's permanent staff, while Barbeau's first research project focused on the Huron of Quebec's Lorette reserve. Sapir himself began by studying the Nootka people of the Northwest Coast.¹²⁶

Barbeau was appointed at the rank of assistant ethnologist, becoming a member of the permanent staff. His job was to help complete the research program Sapir was to establish as the central work of the division. Initially, this began with field research at the Lorette Huron reserve in Quebec. Following this he worked on the Northwest Coast among the Tsimshian-speaking peoples of northern British Columbia.

¹²⁶ "Summary of fieldwork undertaken by the Division of Anthropology, September 1st, 1910 to May 7th, 1911" TS; Edward Sapir to R.W. Brock, 5 December 1911, both in Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 44.

In Sapir's absence, Barbeau looked after the general office routine, reviewed the material submitted by other staff members for publication, and supervised the organization of the Museum collections for which divisional staff were responsible.¹²⁷

Initially, it seems that Sapir planned to exclude Canadian amateur anthropologists from the division; he then found that some amateur assistance was required to expedite its work. James Teit, a long-time resident of British Columbia who had previously worked with Boas and had already published one anthropological monograph, was hired to collect ethnographic data in that province¹²⁸ and Waugh was originally hired to assist Goldenweiser's research at the Six Nations reserve.¹²⁹ The editor of the Toronto trade paper *Furniture Journal*, Waugh had long nurtured a passion for Amerindian culture and in a series of letters to Sapir had intimated strongly that he would accept a position with the division if

¹²⁷ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 4 October 1913, 17 December 1913, 15 January 1914, and 5 July 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

¹²⁸ On Teit see Peter Campbell, "'Not as a White Man, Not as a Sojourner': James A. Teit and the Fight for Native Rights in British Columbia" *Left History* 2,2 (1994), 37-57.

¹²⁹ Edward Sapir to R.W. Brock, 7 December 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 44.

one were offered.¹³⁰

Waugh's first task was to collect Iroquois material culture, work Sapir closely supervised. An active member of a local folklore society in Toronto Waugh seems to have discovered the work of the division when Barbeau gave a talk to amateur anthropologists in Toronto.¹³¹ Thereafter he wrote Sapir asking if any of the material he had already collected might be of value to the National Museum.¹³² Sapir approached Waugh's offer cautiously, first inquiring if he was familiar with the standard anthropological works on Iroquoian culture -- Morgan, Beauchamp, Parker and Harrington -- and then explaining his own philosophy of ethnographic collecting:

it seems important to me to keep very clearly distinct that part of Iroquois material culture which may with some degree of certainty be called aboriginal, and that part which has grown up only secondarily through contact with whites. I do not for a moment deny the right to be interested in such handicrafts as modern wooden butter bowls, hammer handles, axe handles, straw hats, and so forth, but such objects are hardly what our museum would be particularly interested in. While a technological study of the Iroquois might well be merely descriptive ... nevertheless the aboriginal element should always be carefully peeled out.

Sapir conceded that "this is not always an easy task" because

¹³⁰ F.W. Waugh to Edward Sapir, 24 November 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 430, file 62.

¹³¹ "Mémoires", 11.

¹³² F.W. Waugh to Edward Sapir, 28 August 1911 and 1 October 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 430, file 62.

"even the older Indians are not quite clear ... as to what is merely comparatively old and what is thoroughly aboriginal." He doubted, for example, "that any Indian today could give information in regard to aboriginal pottery that is worth anything." As a guideline he suggested that Waugh concentrate on bows, arrows, silver broaches, wampum, and corn husk and wooden masks.¹³³ Sapir also explained that as head of the division he had little use for accumulating masses of aboriginal artifacts for their own sake. This was particularly true of oral information. "You understand," he told Waugh, "that publication is what we chiefly look forward to and that the accumulation of manuscript data is in itself but a necessary step toward [that] end."¹³⁴

In this letter we find a more general indication of the anthropological plan designed by Sapir for the Anthropology Division. Professionalized ethnographic field research was designed both to map prehistoric aboriginal cultures in Canada and to focus on specific, contested issues in anthropology. The divisional staff's work was to collect and preserve those elements of aboriginal culture which they determined had been uninfluenced by white society. In this regard, divisional

¹³³ Edward Sapir to F.W. Waugh, 3 October 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 430, file 62.

¹³⁴ Edward Sapir to F.W. Waugh, 15 February 1912, Sapir Fonds, box 430, file 62.

research differed considerably from the program of nineteenth-century Canadian anthropology. Where the leading practitioners of anthropology in nineteenth-century Canada had focused on racial "amalgamation" or linguistics and viewed cultural change as part of the process of history, divisional anthropology focused on salvaging pure cultures which were supposedly "vanishing". The ultimate aim was to complete a systematic survey of all aboriginal cultures, focusing first on those peoples understudied from a Boasian perspective (specifically, those who might illuminate particular contested issues in anthropology) and those deemed to be the "most primitive" of contemporary Amerindian peoples. Primitiveness was important because, Sapir believed, it brought anthropologists closest to the prehistoric aboriginal cultures they wanted to map and study, and in the process provided the best chance of illuminating the contested issues within anthropology.¹³⁵ The end goal of the anthropology program he established was thus not the accumulation of culture for its own sake (i.e., the preservation of aboriginal culture for future generations of Canadians, as Brock had indicated), but rather a carefully organized research program designed to salvage a vanishing past. The record of this past would then be presented to the scientific community in published form.

¹³⁵ Edward Sapir to William McInnes, 23 December 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 428, file 1.

To attain these aims, Sapir focused divisional research on specific groups of people for specific reasons: the absence of extensive ethnographic literature on a particular people, their perceived degree of primitiveness, and the extent to which ethnographic study of them could contribute to the development of anthropology as a discipline. The collection of material culture, which proceeded parallel with the collection of oral information, was to focus on establishing a "representative" collection for the National Museum. Field research and monies would first be directed toward those cultures poorly represented in the extant holdings of the Museum. The Northwest Coast, Sapir believed, was already well represented but other cultures required sustained work: the Inuit and Iroquois collections needed to be expanded along with those from Plains and Algonkian cultures.¹³⁶

In normal circumstances, ethnographic collecting was the work of divisional staff employing the principles Sapir had explained to Waugh, but occasionally opportunities presented themselves to purchase extant collections which might be used to fill gaps in the division's prehistoric cultural cartography of Canada. When a private ethnographic collection

¹³⁶ *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines for the Calendar Year 1911* (Ottawa: 1912), 379.

became available (often on the death of the owner) it would be evaluated by a member of the permanent staff who then recommended a price. As Sapir explained to Brock with regard to the purchase of a privately-owned collection of Inuit artifacts, the museum would purchase a collection only if it met certain criteria:

It should be, as far as possible, an all round representative collection, that is, it would be preferable to have a fairly large group of objects illustrating as many sides of Eskimo life and thought as possible, rather than merely a few particularly fine specimens, such as richly embroidered clothing, which would of course be so expensive that little funds might be left for other classes of objects.

A good collection, he continued, should embrace men's clothing and women's clothing, and, among other objects, weapons, canoes and other forms of transportation.¹³⁷

The central ethnographic exhibitions of the Museum were organized along the culture area model favoured by Boasians. Each area display was intended to demonstrate the life of prehistoric aboriginal peoples through the careful presentation of artifacts. Rather than depicting artifacts as aesthetic objects, displays were designed to illustrate how people in these cultures organized their lives. Complementing the culture area displays were a series of exhibition cases in

¹³⁷ Edward Sapir to R.W. Brock, 9 April 1912, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 45. See also Edward Sapir to T.J. Fleetham, 17 October 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 97.

which Sapir and Waugh arranged a variety of crafts: blankets, mats, baskets and a display of Plains area artifacts.¹³⁸ Each object on display was carefully labeled to ensure that the viewing public understood exactly what it was viewing. When Diamond Jenness succeeded Sapir as chief anthropologist after 1925, he continued Sapir's policies, augmenting Museum collections of under-represented peoples, expanding the number of display cases to include displays of cradles, musical instruments, and games, and overseeing the installation of habitat groups complete with mannequin figures.¹³⁹ A Sarcee habitat group installed in 1927, for example, showed the visitor "a Sarcee tipi or tent, fully furnished, with two men painting a record of war exploit on a blanket."¹⁴⁰

Divisional anthropological writing was also organized on a Boasian model. As chief anthropologist, Sapir oversaw the establishment of the GSC's anthropological publication series which put into print monographs based on field research. Shorter pieces were published in the *Annual Reports* of the GSC

¹³⁸ Edward Sapir to Duncan Campbell Scott, 27 July 1917, Sapir Fonds, box 429, file 57.

¹³⁹ Diamond Jenness, "Division of Anthropology" National Museum of Canada, *Annual Report for 1930 Bulletin No. 68* (Ottawa: 1932), 8; Diamond Jenness, "Division of Anthropology" National Museum of Canada, *Annual Report for 1927 Bulletin No. 56* (Ottawa: 1929) [hereafter Jenness, "Division of Anthropology (1927)"], 5.

¹⁴⁰ Jenness, "Division of Anthropology (1927)", 5.

and the National Museum; with the approval of the chief anthropologist, staff could also publish material based on their field research in other venues. Studies of pre-World War II Museum publishing in Canada have focused on bureaucratic interference with anthropological publishing and how the conservative cultural views of the Museum's administrators obstructed supposedly frank descriptions of Amerindian sexual life.¹⁴¹ This description of the cultural views of the Museum's administrators is almost certainly correct, but it obscures the more significant aspect of museum anthropological publishing: the creation of a central forum for anthropological discourse in Canada organized around a specific conception of anthropological writing.

The making of anthropological texts was, in fact, central to Boasian anthropology. For Boasian anthropologists, one of the central aims of field research was to collect materials -- oral traditions, languages, craft designs, recipes -- which could then be compiled and published as collections of primary documents.¹⁴² The Boasian model of anthropological writing has been subjected to extended historical analysis and cultural critique. George Stocking, the leading scholar of Boas, has

¹⁴¹ John Barker, "T.F. McIlwraith and the Nuxalk (Bella Coola Indians)", introduction to T.F. McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians* (Toronto: Reprint ed., 1992).

¹⁴² Stocking, *Ethnographer's Magic*, 91.

argued that Boas' own approach to writing combined his commitment to a scientific literary mode and a cut-and-paste approach to composition which saw him re-use his own previously published material in only slightly modified forms in different contexts and texts.¹⁴³ As Regna Darnell has pointed out, however, Boas' approach to anthropological writing and publishing was designed to serve a further aim. Long collections of primary documents were one of the defining models of Boasian text-making. He intended these collections to provide for the anthropology community the evidence from which he drew his ethnological conclusions and publicly to present in an unmediated form the Amerindian cultures he studied.¹⁴⁴ To attain this aim, Boas stripped his compilations of primary documents of editorial commentary, providing only a brief introduction which usually noted only when, where, and from whom the published material was collected. The body of the text consisted of an extensive collection of primary documents with no further commentary on its potential significance.¹⁴⁵

Sapir incorporated this model of text-making into the

¹⁴³ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 196.

¹⁴⁴ Regna Darnell, "The Boasian Text Tradition and the History of Anthropology" *Culture* 12,1 (1992), 39-48.

¹⁴⁵ For example, see Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology" *Thirty-First Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, 1909-1910* (1916).

program of the Anthropology Division. As a member of the permanent staff, Barbeau himself followed both Boas and Sapir in making the compilation of primary documents one of the primary foci of his anthropological writing. He considered the collections of songs, oral traditions, and arts and crafts he published to be among the more important aspects of his anthropological work. Like Sapir and Boas, Barbeau believed that these collections provided his reading public with an unmediated, "authentic" traditional culture,¹⁴⁶ but as George Marcus and Dick Cushman have pointed out, this strategy of minimized editorial intrusion could not produce the unmediated culture of the traditional "other".¹⁴⁷ Barbeau's compilations, like all texts, were edited; the material they presented was collected in a specific historical context; it was selected from a range of other possible choices; and it was organized thematically, chronologically, topographically, or in some other way by Barbeau. Consequently such texts were, in one way or another, a product of his cultural work and cultural

¹⁴⁶ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology, with an Appendix Containing Earlier Published Records* Geological Survey of Canada Memoir 80, Anthropological Series No. 11 (Ottawa: 1915), xiii; Marius Barbeau, *Tsimshian Myths, Illustrated* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 174, Anthropological Series 51 (Ottawa: 1961), v; Marius Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives in Translation and Native Text* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 165, Anthropological Series (Ottawa: 1960), 1.

¹⁴⁷ Marcus and Cushman, "Ethnographies as Texts", 25-69.

biases. Like Boas in his collections, Barbeau specified his informants but otherwise made few or no editorial intrusions. His collections, however, were organized to present a static, synchronic representation of authentic traditional culture. In his collections of Amerindian oral traditions, Barbeau presented the primary documents he had collected as *the* authentic culture of Amerindian peoples. He made no references to historical changes in their cultures except to note their immanent demise.¹⁴⁸ His collections of French-Canadian folk songs noted different variants of songs he had collected, but treated these variants as distortions from a pure, stable, and (thanks to him) well-recorded base song. Authentic traditional folk culture was, like authentic traditional Amerindian culture, presented in these collections as a static culture which could only be distorted by the processes of history.¹⁴⁹

A second form of anthropological writing employed by divisional staff was the short problem-centered essay designed to illuminate a specific aspect of a particular culture: educational systems, puberty rituals, social organization, economy, etc.¹⁵⁰ The central literary tool employed in

¹⁴⁸ Barbeau, *Tsimshian Myths, Illustrated*, v; Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 1.

¹⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, "Introduction" to Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada* (New Haven: 1925), xx.

problem-centered essays was allegory, which were deployed to translate the cultural practices of the "other" into terms easily comprehensible by a modern audience.¹⁵¹ Because Barbeau's antimodernist dispositions were far stronger than those of other members of the divisional staff, his use of allegory differed from theirs. In his shorter essays, particularly those on folk culture, Barbeau tried to convey a sense of the "otherness" of the "other". Where Diamond Jenness and Sapir often focused on the similarities between western and traditional Amerindian cultures, Barbeau worked to highlight their respective differences. In the 1930s, Barbeau incorporated this model of writing into a series of essays he published for a non-anthropological audience through semi-academic journals like the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, *Culture*, and *Queen's Quarterly*.¹⁵² In the 1940s, he used a

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Diamond Jenness, "The Ancient Education of a Carrier Indian" *National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1928* *National Museum of Canada Bulletin* No. 62 (Ottawa: 1929), 22-7; Diamond Jenness, *The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life* *National Museum of Canada Bulletin* No. 78, *Anthropological Series* 17 (Ottawa: 1935); Paul Radin, "Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibway"

¹⁵¹ Cf. Jenness, "The Ancient Education of a Carrier Indian" 22-7; Edward Sapir, "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes" [orig. 1915] in A.L. Kroeber and T.T. Waterman, eds., *Source Book in Anthropology* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation ed., 1959), 317-20 and 322.

¹⁵² Cf. Marius Barbeau, "Ile d'Orléans" *Queen's Quarterly* 49,4 (1942), 374-84; Marius Barbeau, "Gaspé Folk" *Dalhousie Review* 20 (1939-40), 335-46.

slightly modified version of this style in a series of inexpensively produced booklets (which were part of Ryerson Press' Canadian Art Series) which aimed at a still broader audience.¹⁵³

The final model of anthropological writing followed by the staff of the anthropology division was the ethnographic monograph, presenting an extended and detailed treatment of an individual culture. Like the compilations of primary documents, monographs were written in a synchronic mode, generally eschewing sustained historical analysis.¹⁵⁴ In practice, extended monographs were not frequently written by Canadian government anthropologists. The multiple demands on the time of divisional staff, the expense of publishing, and the absence of participant-observation field methodology -- which flourished only after Malinowski made the synchronic monograph a staple of British anthropological writing -- combined to limit the ability of Canadian anthropologists to produce work in this form. The production of a major monograph was nonetheless a goal toward which the permanent staff were supposed to work. Barbeau frequently referred to

¹⁵³ Cf. Marius Barbeau, *Painters of Quebec* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1946).

¹⁵⁴ Diamond Jenness, *The Life of the Copper Eskimo* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918 (Ottawa: 1923); McIlwraith, *The Bella Coola Indians*.

his longer texts as monographs, but they do not conform to the current ethnographic definition of the word. Barbeau used the word "monograph" to refer to his published collections of primary documents which contained ethnological analysis; but he also used it to refer to texts published under his name which were collections of primary documents containing no analysis.¹⁵⁵ In the texts in which he included analysis, Barbeau briefly described his thesis and then described masses of primary documents to illustrate this thesis. Primary documents occupied about half of these texts with the remainder made up of description or analysis.¹⁵⁶ During the course of his career Barbeau wrote a wide range of different types of texts from catalogues raisonnés to histories to novels but, despite his intentions, never wrote a text which would qualify as an ethnographic monograph as academics today would understand this term.

After 1925, when Sapir resigned and Diamond Jenness became chief anthropologist, the division's research program and approach to writing continued to adhere closely to the anthropological program established by Sapir. Jenness

¹⁵⁵ For example, see Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 1.

¹⁵⁶ John J. Cove and George F. MacDonald, "Preface" to Marius Barbeau and William Beynon, cols., *Tsimshian Narratives* 2 vols., Canadian Museum of Civilization, Mercury Series Paper No. 3 (Ottawa: 1987), vi-vii.

continued to resist the division's use of amateur anthropologists except in an auxiliary role as field assistants; worked to complete the cultural mapping of prehistoric Canada and to establish closer connections between Canadian government anthropologists and professional anthropologists in other countries; and continued to emphasize the educational mandate of the National Museum. If anything, Jenness took these matters more seriously than had Sapir. He repeatedly lobbied the Museum's administration to provide funding to enable divisional staff to attend international conferences. Otherwise, he noted in one memo on the subject, the professional standing of the division's anthropology would be compromised.¹⁵⁷ He also oversaw the introduction of antiquities legislation for the Northwest and Yukon Territories which made it illegal to conduct archaeological research in the Canadian Arctic without the approval of the Anthropology Division's head. Jenness designed this legislation, which he believed would prevent the intrusion of amateurs and curio hunters into an archaeological valuable terrain, and encouraged Thomas McIlwraith, an anthropologist with the Royal Ontario Museum and the University of Toronto

¹⁵⁷ Diamond Jenness to W.H. Collins (acting director, National Museum of Canada), 12 May and 24 December 1927, and 23 June 1928 (copies), Diamond Jenness Fonds, Canadian Museum of Civilization [hereafter Jenness Fonds], microfiche.

who had previously worked for the division, to lobby the Ontario government for similar legislation in that province.¹⁵⁸ For Jenness, the primary qualifications for archaeological research in Canada were the presence of a trained, reputable archaeologist in the research party and an assurance that any recovered artifacts became the property of an established, reputable anthropology museum which allowed scholars access to the material.¹⁵⁹

Barbeau's role in the organization of modern anthropology in Canada was both important and secondary to the roles played by Sapir and Jenness. He was, in one sense, part of the process through which modern anthropology in Canada was created, rather than an individual who defined the precise directions this process took. His professional qualifications, for example, were, Brock pointed out to him in 1910, the primary reason he was hired.¹⁶⁰ As a neophyte anthropologist, Barbeau constructed his anthropology within the disciplinary parameters created by Sapir and he worked to

¹⁵⁸ Diamond Jenness to Thomas McIlwraith, 26 May 1939, Thomas McIlwraith Papers, University of Toronto Archives [hereafter McIlwraith Papers], box 79, file 3.

¹⁵⁹ Diamond Jenness to Thomas McIlwraith, 1 November 1939, McIlwraith Papers, box 79, file 3; Diamond Jenness to O.S. Finnie (Director, Northwest Territories Branch, Department of Indian Affairs), 12 March 1929 (copy); Diamond Jenness to W.H. Collins, 3 May 1927 (copy), Jenness Fonds, microfiche.

¹⁶⁰ R.W. Brock to Marius Barbeau, 27 December 1910, Marius Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3527.

achieve the goals Sapir set for Canadian anthropology: he conducted field research, organized and catalogued artifacts, labeled ethnographic displays, wrote anthropological texts on Boasian models, and prepared a bibliography of extant ethnographic literature on Canada which allowed the division to better establish its research priorities.¹⁶¹ In Sapir's absence, he also oversaw the general routine conduct of the division and, because of Sapir's influence, began to study linguistics.¹⁶² These were all important functions in the early organization of modern anthropology in Canada which in turn became central constitutive elements of Barbeau's professional identity.

In at least one instance, Barbeau affected the discourse of another anthropologist by the Museum's blocking publication of an anthropological text. After completing a collection of Micmac and Malecite oral traditions in the 1910s, Cyrus MacMillan submitted it to Sapir who then asked Barbeau to review the text before publication. Barbeau's review was not favourable and he told Sapir not to have the text published because MacMillan had included a number of oral traditions taken from the previously published work of Silas Rand. It did not, in his view, meet the division's standard of authenticity

¹⁶¹ "Mémoires", 6.

¹⁶² Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 2 May 1912, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 20.

because this material had not been collected in the field and it therefore could not appear under the imprint of the Museum.¹⁶³

In some ways, Barbeau may have learned his lessons too well. He came to see field research, for example, as so central to the authority of his discipline that he came to question any anthropological work, including Sapir's, which was not based on extended, comprehensive fieldwork. Sapir believed field research was important but, in Barbeau's view, he did not believe it was important enough. The aim of field research, Sapir believed, was to establish a representative record of traditional culture; for Barbeau it was to establish a comprehensive record designed to produce as complete an archive of traditional culture traits as possible. Barbeau later saw his colleague's failure to emphasize comprehensive research as a significant weakness of Sapir's work which made its scientific value questionable.¹⁶⁴ In this way, Barbeau may, in fact, have been closer to Boas' model of anthropology than was Sapir. Sapir's emphasis on representative research and theoretical analysis were already

¹⁶³ "Mémoires", 4.

¹⁶⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge: Ethnologie de notre habitat. (Résumé d'une série de conférences servant d'introduction à l'étude de l'anthropologie, à l'Université de Montréal.)" TS (août, 1945), 49-50 and 64, MB-NWCF, B-F-566. See also "Mémoires", 28.

leading him away from the empirical, comprehensive research Boas had pioneered in the United States and toward a different, more conceptually-oriented style of anthropology which came to dominant the disciplinary research after Boas.¹⁶⁵ Barbeau made almost the reverse development. Beginning his anthropological education with a theoretical issue -- totemism -- he would increasingly become an empirically-based salvage ethnographer.

Barbeau thus did not "create" modern anthropology in Canada. In some ways his own approach to his discipline differed from that of the other members of the division. He nonetheless made a major contribution to the discipline's emergence and was unquestionably pivotal to its popularization: and these activities in turn contributed to and shaped the making of his professional identity.

The Anthropology Division into which Barbeau was appointed and for which he worked for almost the rest of his life was a complex, multifaceted institution. Its pre-World War II staff was entirely male, with women employed only in support services (as stenographers, secretaries, and librarians). It became the primary center for the collection and dissemination of anthropological knowledge in Canada and provided a central direction to the development of Canadian

¹⁶⁵ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 30-2.

anthropology until after World War II. It was organized on a specific anthropological model (Boasian culturalism) and the discourse its staff created -- through written texts, lectures, films, slides, displays, and other media -- followed the same model. Its research program, salvage ethnography, was also premised on a specific conception of anthropological research and of authentic traditional culture which found the Amerindian cultures it was mandated to collect and study in the past, existing in the modern age only as remnants of a previous time.

The professional anthropologists who staffed the division were, in many ways, much like Barbeau. For the most part they came to the Anthropology Division from a university-level education. Although the specific components of their education differed they were all products of the turn-of-the-century cultural milieu which dislodged evolutionary and racist perspectives from the forefront of western anthropology. In terms of their cultural backgrounds, the division's staff also bore strong similarities to one another. Both Sapir, the son of Lithuanian Jews, and Barbeau, a French Canadian, were cultural outsiders in the institutions where they trained and worked. Jenness, a native of New Zealand, came closest to typifying the British Protestant elites of Canada and Oxford, but he found Canada an unfamiliar, and at times physically unfriendly, environment. They all, however,

adapted with more or less individual success to their new cultural surroundings.¹⁶⁶ Barbeau, Jenness and Sapir, the core of the permanent staff before World War II, all came from petit-bourgeois backgrounds -- Jenness' father was a small-town jeweler, Sapir's a rabbi and teacher, and Barbeau had his family legacy in the Beauce elite. All were, by the standards of their day, very well-educated and all were interested in the arts. All became, in Gramsci's words, "intellectuals", professional cultural workers supported by, and working within, the evolving matrix of the modern state.

Being a government anthropologist in pre-World War II Canada could be a lonely, unrecognized job. "Here in Ottawa," Jenness told Thomas McIlwraith in 1928, "one meets no one from one year's end to another who has the least interest in anthropology."¹⁶⁷ And Sapir's biographer reports that he was

¹⁶⁶ In his memoirs, Barbeau noted that Sapir's Jewish background and the appointment of several Jewish friends -- also students of Boas -- to the divisional staff caused some friction at the National Museum. It would be an overstatement to say that Barbeau harboured anti-semitic prejudices, but he did seem to subscribe to many at-the-time common Canadian stereotypes of Jews. He believed, for example, that Jewish people were introverted, artistic, and associated primarily with other Jews. This may have been one source of friction between Sapir and Barbeau which prompted their falling out in 1924. The primary opposition to Sapir's appointment of Jewish anthropologists appears to have come from further up the bureaucratic ladder. Barbeau tells his side of this story in Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 50.

¹⁶⁷ Diamond Jenness to Thomas McIlwraith, 24 September, McIlwraith papers, box 79, file 2.

periodically depressed by the lack of public interest in anthropology.¹⁶⁸ As heads of the division, Sapir and then Jenness waged a continual battle to expand federal expenditures on anthropology. The American Boasians Sapir hired to conduct field research in Canada were never, despite his intentions, appointed to the permanent staff;¹⁶⁹ staff members who resigned, retired, or, in one case, disappeared under mysterious circumstances, were not replaced; and the economic constraints of the 1930s and then World War II brought divisional research almost to a halt. Barbeau suffered less from the sense of isolation which affected Jenness and Sapir because he had friends in Ottawa, was almost totally devoted to his work, and worked to broaden his own audience and relations with Canadian artists. But he, too, periodically became frustrated with what he viewed as the failure of the federal state to support anthropology properly and the indifference of the Canadian public to his work.

These circumstances drew the Anthropology Division's permanent staff together, at least for a time. Their close working arrangements in the National Museum, and common interests and aspirations made them, Barbeau later noted, not

¹⁶⁸ Darnell, *Edward Sapir*, 189-90.

¹⁶⁹ Edward Sapir to R.W. Brock, 5 December 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 44.

only natural allies, but also close friends.¹⁷⁰ The establishment of modern anthropology in Canada lacked, however, the type of grand founding myths of American Boasian anthropology (the battle against racism and evolutionism) or that which slightly later underscored Malinowski's "revolution" in British social anthropology (the fieldworker's battle against the mere "literary researcher"). In place of these myths, the foundational discourse of modern anthropology in Canada was a discourse of professionalism, of science, and of pioneering a new field of inquiry. This discourse became central to Barbeau's anthropological work as it evolved during and after World War I.

¹⁷⁰ "Mémoires", 26 and 29.

Part II

The Practice of Anthropology in Interwar Canada

Chapter 2

The Quest of Authenticity:

Cultural Selection, Field Research and the Methodology of Salvage Ethnography

*Le folkloriste et l'ethnographe vont constamment à l'école
de la préhistoire.... Leur maître est le passé....*

-Marius Barbeau (1945)¹

*To those who claim that some form of symbolic violence was
not part of their own field experience, I reply simply
that I do not believe them.*

-Paul Rabinow (1977)²

When R.W. Brock appointed Marius Barbeau to the anthropological staff of the Geological Survey of Canada, the central core of the division's work was ethnography: the collection, preservation, and description of traditional Amerindian culture.³ Although Harlan Smith, W.J. Wintemberg and Diamond Jenness excavated archaeological sites and Sapir published his first major theoretical treatise under the auspices of the National Museum,⁴ ethnography remained a

¹Marius Barbeau "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques et folkloriques dans l'Amérique du nord depuis 1911. Résumé d'un cours donné à la Faculté des Lettres, mars-octobre 1945)" TS (1945), 42. Barbeau Fonds, box 173.

² Rabinow, *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*, 130.

³R.W. Brock to Marius Barbeau, 27 December 1910, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3527.

⁴ Edward Sapir, *Time Perspectives in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method* Geological Survey of Canada Memoir 90, Anthropological Series No. 13 (Ottawa: 1916).

defining characteristic of government anthropology in Canada until after World War II.⁵ For Barbeau ethnography became the heart of anthropology: it provided an empirical base against which anthropological theory could be evaluated and established a cultural archive where the traditional past could be preserved from the disintegrating impact of modernity. In the archive of the National Museum, the records, and indeed (for Barbeau) the reality of traditional culture survived for the use of scientists, cultural producers, and the general public.⁶

Ethnography became central to anthropology with the establishment of the modern discipline. Promoted in the late nineteenth century by Boas, and in the early twentieth century by Evans-Pritchard and Malinowski, cultural description was transformed from one subfield of anthropology into its most recognizable component. If nineteenth-century anthropology aimed to produce a generalized science of humanity, the rise of ethnography shifted the focus of the discipline toward descriptions of cultural particularities.

For Barbeau, the aim of ethnography was the accumulation

⁵ There is no extended analytical narrative of Canadian anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century, but for general overviews see Tom McFeat, "Three Hundred Years of Anthropology in Canada" *Occasional Papers in Anthropology* Saint Mary's University 7 (1980), [7-10]; Darnell, *Edward Sapir*, 44-64. Note also Carroll, ed., *Fragile Truths* for the post-World War II era.

⁶ On ethnography as empirical theory testing see Barbeau "Enquête de connaissances anthropologiques", 56. On archival creation see "12,000 Folklore Songs in Ottawa" *Sarnia Observer*, 27 October 1956.

of authentic traditional culture, which he equated with cultural survivals from a premodern age. "Toujours il faut rechercher l'authentique, le mieux conservé, le plus riche, sans prendre de détours," he explained on one occasion.⁷ The separation of the authentic from the inauthentic, the truth of culture from misconception, involved Barbeau in various research strategies. He utilized information drawn from other anthropologists, archaeological evidence, art, linguistics, material culture, archival documents, physical anthropology and the published accounts of European explorers, missionaries, and early travellers. Notwithstanding such a diversity of sources, for Barbeau the primary source for anthropology was oral tradition, and its primary research tool, ethnographic fieldwork. As an anthropologist and folklorist Barbeau conducted twenty-eight different field expeditions, including nine to the Northwest Coast, eleven to rural Quebec, four among the widely-diffused descendants of the Huron Confederacy, two among the Iroquoian peoples of the Six Nations Reserve, and one to the Assinboine and Cree cultures of the Rocky Mountains.

This was work in which he took considerable pride and which has earned him a prominent position in the history of Canadian anthropology and folklore.⁸ During the course of

⁷ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 33.

⁸ For assessments of Barbeau's field research see Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 102-4, 106-26, 155-62, 193-224 and 228-30; Halpin, "A Critique of the Boasian Paradigm for Northwest Coast Art", 5-16; and Katz, "Marius Barbeau", 132.

his career, Barbeau spent over 2360 days in the field, or almost six and one-half years.⁹ His longest field trip occurred in 1920 when he spent 206 days among the Tsimshian-speaking peoples of northern British Columbia. His shortest was an eighteen-day folklore collecting expedition to Quebec which he undertook on his own initiative during his vacation.¹⁰ It is, in fact, difficult to determine precisely the number of days Barbeau spent in the field because he was, in one sense, always conducting fieldwork. During the depression, when financial constraints limited Anthropology Division field allocations, Barbeau collected folklore in the Ottawa Valley within commuting distance of the National Museum. He recorded information from Amerindian delegations to Ottawa,¹¹ or when the opportunity presented itself while he was away from Ottawa to deliver a lecture or work on some other project in another city.¹² After World War II, he supervised the work of a team of folklore field researchers

⁹ My estimate is derived from the biographical chronology provided in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 397-403; "Field Trips Undertaken by C.M. [Marius] Barbeau" TS (copy) in Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 51, Edward Sapir file; Marius Barbeau to Stan Rough, 31 December 1963 (copy), MB-NWCF, B-F-614; and the annual reports of the anthropology division and the National Museum.

¹⁰ "Mémoires", 33-4.

¹¹ Marius Barbeau, "My Life with Indian Songs" insert to Marius Barbeau, "My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore" (Folkways Records & Service Corp., FC 3502), 4.

¹² "Ballad Hunter Bags 10 More Old Folk Tunes" *New York Herald Tribune*, 28 March 1937.

in Quebec for the National Museum.¹³ At the time of his death in 1969, one obituary listed Barbeau's musical archive alone as comprising almost 11,700 different song texts recorded primarily in French, English, Inuit, Tsimshian, Wyandot and Cayuga.¹⁴

When Barbeau first began field research his methodology was nebulous: it comprised a series of unspecified, loosely articulated assumptions about the character of authentic traditional culture. During the course of his career, Barbeau came to write more frequently on methodology and although he never wrote a detailed statement of his methods, the way in which he conducted his field research, his various methodological commentaries, and his surviving correspondence all suggest that field methodology was an important and considered component of his anthropology. The determination of cultural truth and the recovery of authentic culture required a series of research tactics and methods which structured the ethnographic encounter.

Barbeau's ethnographic and folklore collecting, like all ethnography and folklore, was necessarily selective. "Ethnographies," Marcus and Fischer have noted of those based on the participant-observation method

have...rarely reported what ethnographers actually see of the present in the field. There is a gap between the contemporaneity of fieldwork, during

¹³ "National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1946-47" in *Annual Reports of the National Museum 1939-1947* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 112 (Ottawa: 1949), 95.

¹⁴ Barbeau's obituary in *Ottawa Citizen*, 4 March 1969.

which the ethnographer and his subject share the same immediate present, and the way these same subjects are temporally distanced from the back-home world of the ethnographer in his account derived from field research. This gap [is] linked to the distorting conventions that ethnographers have long adopted to represent their subjects in writing....¹⁵

In Barbeau's case the gap between "experience" and description was magnified by the imperatives of salvage ethnography: his aim was not to describe an actually existing culture, but rather to distil authenticity from the distorting influences of history. Barbeau's ethnography was designed to be selective. For him field research was a quest of authenticity; methodology was the means to this end. As David Whisnant has noted for a parallel American case, ethnographic cultural selection is not an ideologically neutral process. "It involves presuppositions and judgements about the relative worth of disparate cultural systems; the selection of certain cultural items in preference to others -- frequently in accordance with an unspoken theory of culture...."¹⁶

My aim in this chapter is to examine the presuppositions, judgements and cultural preferences which informed Barbeau's quest of authenticity. I will do this by first outlining the goals and parameters of Barbeau's own research program, paying particular attention to the elements

¹⁵ Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 96.

¹⁶ Whisnant, *All That Is Native & Fine*, 126. See also McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 99-100.

he felt made for effective fieldwork. Next I will examine how Barbeau selected and interacted with his informants, and structured the ethnographic encounter. Third, I will explain the empirical method Barbeau used to test the authenticity of material gathered in the field, and finally I will conclude by assessing the way in which Barbeau's methods mediated his field experiences.

1. Organizing the Field Experience

Field research, Barbeau believed, was not always possible. He felt that some aboriginal cultures had undergone such fundamental changes since contact with European culture that field research could no longer collect authentic traditional culture because it no longer existed. Field research in this context could only confuse the cultural record: recent adoptions from modern European cultures or cultural distortions caused by oral transmission were taken to be authentic traditions, at times by informants themselves. In this situation, Barbeau relied on archival sources, missionary reports, and travel and exploration narratives.¹⁷ But where field research was practicable Barbeau believed that it provided ethnographers with insight into traditional

¹⁷ Cf. Marius Barbeau, "Indian Trade Silver" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Sec. II* (1940), 30-1; Marius Barbeau, "The Native Races of Canada" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Sec. II* (1927), 52 and 53 and Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, "Preface" to Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada* (New Haven: 1925), xx.

culture which could be gained through no other means. It provided a direct, unmediated access to traditional culture which allowed an ethnographer to generate what Barbeau called "first-hand" cultural knowledge and permitted ethnographers to know traditional culture on an empathetic level. As he once remarked, close and frequent work with informants could create an emotional unity between researcher and informant which allowed the researcher to know how his informants thought.¹⁸ In his own ethnographic and folklore writing, Barbeau frequently emphasized the "first-hand" nature of the cultural materials he collected and presented, and his understanding of traditional culture.¹⁹ Direct, unmediated contact was not, however, a sufficient basis upon which an understanding of traditional culture could be built. Anthropology, Barbeau held, was a science:²⁰ field research reached its full potential only when aided by the science of anthropology. Cultural observations, even those produced by individuals who had sustained contact with traditional

¹⁸ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 19-20.

¹⁹ Marius Barbeau to Canadian Social Science Research Council, 3 April 1952 (copy) in Pierce Collection, box 21, file 1; Marius Barbeau, "Mountain Cloud: Plan and Summary" TS in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 3; Marius Barbeau, *The Downfall of Temlaham* (Toronto: 1928), 247-8; Marius Barbeau à Jean-Paul Pinsonneault (Director littéraire, Les Éditions Fies), 14 mars 1967, Fonds Barbeau, ANQ, 14 mars 1967, micro 5081 M#699.1.

²⁰ Marius Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge: Ethnologie de notre habitat. (Résumé d'une série de conférences servant d'introduction à l'étude de l'anthropologie, à l'Université de Montréal.)" TS (août, 1945), 1. MB-NWCF, B-F-566.

culture, remained either incomplete or fundamentally incorrect unless the observer had received a proper anthropological training.²¹

For Barbeau, effective fieldwork was a combination of preliminary preparation, care, concentration, the economical use of time, and narrowly focused research. Because field research took ethnographers into cultural environments with which they were unfamiliar, it was necessary to structure a research program in advance. The aim was to define the specific culture traits on which one would focus in the field. Prolonged expeditions to distant regions or poorly known cultures could require a broad knowledge of the various subdisciplines of anthropology (ethnography, anthropometry, and archaeology as well as linguistics), but Barbeau believed that in most other cases the increasing specialization of anthropology in the twentieth century made this type of broad disciplinary knowledge unnecessary. As an instructor at the Université Laval he urged his students to focus their attention within the frontiers of their own specialization. Barbeau's own field research usually focused on oral traditions, social organization and material culture. Although he usually combined the collection of material culture with the collection of oral information, Barbeau normally divided these two goals into distinct stages of his

²¹ For example see Barbeau criticisms of one observer he considered to be untrained in Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 24 June 1944, Pierce Collection, box 10, file 5.

field research. He focused first on collecting oral information, waiting until this task was complete before he negotiated purchases of material artifacts.²²

After determining the focus of fieldwork, the researcher's next step in an expedition was to select a site for research. Information which was already available through written sources, other ethnographers, or previous informants could help to determine this site, but Barbeau also believed that successful fieldwork required flexibility. Mobility was one of his more important research tools. The aim of fieldwork was to collect authentic culture and if this were unavailable in one region, the fieldworker should feel free to shift his or her research site in an effort to find better material. "S'il ne s'agit que de ceuilletes fragmentaires, de types intéressants," he explained, "il convient de trouver les districts où les matières abondent et sont représentatives."²³

Once in the field it was important to concentrate on the task at hand: fieldworkers should ensure that they were familiar with all their equipment, that it was in working order and that they were ready to begin work immediately. Mechanical instruments were always to be used in the exact same manner so that through frequent repetition their use became an automatic process. The researcher's mind would thus be freed to concentrate on his or her informants. Small

²² Barbeau, "En quête de connaissance anthropologiques", 47.

²³ *Ibid.*, 45.

interruptions, such as having to look for film, in Barbeau's view, distracted the fieldworker and disrupted the flow of information. The same thing applied to cataloguing material, oral, or textual artifacts. Precision was another important aspect of anthropology for Barbeau. He believed that the annotation and registration of information was a matter of vital importance for the authenticity of information gathered in the field. Only by knowing the provenance and location of ethnographic evidence did it gain scientific value. "Un oubli peut nuire à la valeur documentaire du morceau," he later warned his students.²⁴ For information he collected, Barbeau noted the geographic location where it was collected, the informant, the information's provenance, and, if an element of material culture or a work of art, its maker or composer. By always registering documentary information in the same manner, Barbeau felt that he not only ensured precision of his own annotations and thus guaranteed the scientific validity of the material he collected, but also turned documentation into an automatic process which allowed him to keep his mind focused on his informants and the information they were providing.²⁵

2. Structuring the Ethnographic Encounter

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

Because the value of fieldwork lay in the accumulation of authentic information, it was of paramount importance for Barbeau to select trustworthy informants. As a way to introduce himself to an unfamiliar cultural territory Barbeau asked local residents to recommend potential informants, but he did not feel bound by this advice. Some advice could be useful. Barbeau met his first Tsimshian informants by asking the crew of the coastal steamer which transported him from Victoria to northern British Columbia for the names of potential informants.²⁶ In other circumstances local advice could be misleading. White people who had lived for an extended time among Amerindians were often the first source of information available to early-twentieth-century Canadian government anthropologists, but Barbeau tended to question the reliability of any information they provided because he believed their cultural prejudices and class position prevented them from truly understanding authentic traditional culture: "[u]n étranger résidant dans l'endroit, quand même depuis longtemps -- curé, médecin, agent des Sauvages, missionnaires, et tout personnage qui se considère de rang supérieur -- le plus souvent ne connaît pas assez ses clients ou ses ouailles pour bien guider un ethnographe ou un folkloriste en quête d'informateurs," he explained.²⁷ For similar reasons he avoided educated informants. "Un Sauvage

²⁶ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 27 December 1914, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

²⁷ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 33.

instruit a négligé de connaître les Peaux-Rouges de sa parenté," he told his students, "bien qu'il puisse être beau parleur, ses récits sont à peu près toujours imprécis et enjolivés à sa manière: ils ne sont pas tout à fait authentique."²⁸ The most accomplished singers of traditional songs were avoided as well because Barbeau felt that they, too, had most likely received some education.

As he himself acknowledged, Barbeau's refusal to accept the authenticity of accomplished singers and educated informants often meant that he was disregarding the cultural judgements of the people he was studying in his quest for their authentic culture. "On peut dire," he later explained to students at Université Laval

'Un tel est chanteur sans pareil, un conteur extraordinaire; il sait tout.' Ne soyez trop sûr de cette affirmation. Sitôt que vous consultez ce chanteur, vous découvrez probablement, qu'il est grand parleur, qu'il fait beaucoup de bruit, qu'il est peut-être vantard, et qu'en somme il ne peut guère utile. Sur cinq personnes qu'on vous recommande ainsi de consulter, il n'y en a peut-être qu'un qui vaille la piene, que vous retiendra plus d'une demi-heure.²⁹

In a number of circumstances, Barbeau found that his judgement as an anthropologist about the value of an informant was the exact opposite of the people whose traditions he was researching. "Très souvent," he once explained, "un excellent chanteur ou conteur à votre point de

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

vue peut bien n'avoir aucune réputation comme tel...."³⁰ Barbeau spelled out no definitive way to determine the ethnographic value of informants before speaking with them. He nonetheless specified a number of characteristics of the ideal informant: "[i]l faut surtout avoir bonne mémoire, posséder beaucoup de souvenirs, bonne diction ou bonne voix à l'ancienne, et posséder l'intelligence de son sujet."³¹ In other words, he looked for knowledgeable but old-fashioned people. As a guide he focused his attention on the elderly, especially those "sans pretensions", of the lower classes; among Amerindian peoples, he sought those whom he judged had had the least contact with white culture.

While he believed these groups provided the most authentic information, they also presented problems: they were often unaccustomed to public speaking, were quite possibly unaccomplished singers or story-tellers, and were often equipped with fading powers of memory. To counteract these problems Barbeau assumed a more active role in the fieldwork process. Several recent studies in the history and theory of ethnography have emphasized the active role of the ethnographer in the production of ethnographic knowledge. The point raised in these studies is that an ethnographer does not, and cannot, passively reflect (in textual form) an unmediated culture conveyed by informants; rather,

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

ethnographic representations are always mediated processes in which the ethnographer plays a crucial role refashioning, structuring and generating the words, thoughts and potentially even the culture of his or her informants.³² Barbeau's approach to his role as a field researcher was different. Although he believed it became necessary to assume an active role in the research process, he did not believe that this stance affected the authenticity of the material he collected. It remained an unmediated reflection of traditional culture. He believed his role as a field researcher was to facilitate the collection of authentic information and there were several tactics he followed to attain this aim.

First, Barbeau tried to develop a dynamic field persona. He tried to convey a sense of enthusiasm to his informants and, at the same time, was persistent in his efforts to obtain information from the recalcitrant among them. When informants experienced the enthusiasm of a field researcher, he believed, they in turn became enthusiastic and this led to the production of more authentic information. If a field researcher was enthusiastic, he held, informants treated their own recollections more seriously and counter-checked the information they were providing with family and friends. He noted:

³² Rabinow, *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*, 118-9, 133 and 150-3; Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 68-71 and 96 and Thornton, "The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism", 16-33.

Sur une bonne piste, il faut être bonne chien de chasse, avoir du flair, de la persistance, de l'enthousiasm. Votre enthousiasm se communique à ceux que vous consultez. Ils s'appliquent au jour le jour, en consultant leurs contemporaires, à reveiller leur propre mémoire, on à rendre plus fidèles leur récits.³³

Second, Barbeau usually attempted to work with informants individually, rather than in groups. When working with his informants Barbeau tried to direct the exchange between himself and his informants, keeping them focused on the objective of field research and keeping distractions to a minimum. It was important, he felt, to create an atmosphere in which the informant felt comfortable, but it was equally important to maintain an environment in which the exchange of information could proceed rapidly. To make informants comfortable, he tried to work alone because he believed that assistants might intentionally or inadvertently interfere with the work of collection or intimidate an informant into silence. Clergy, he believed, made particularly poor assistants because they frequently condemned the un-Christian aspects of authentic traditional culture. Other educated assistants, such as school teachers, who might mock the beliefs of uneducated informants, could have the same effect. Barbeau also believed that field researchers should not act in superior fashion vis-à-vis their informants because this might alienate the very people on whom they relied for information. Nor should they engage

³³ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 34.

in long conversations unrelated to the objective of field research. Although long conversations might have helped put informants at ease, Barbeau tried to avoid these because he considered them a waste of time. As a salvage ethnographer, he was interested not in the current opinions of his informants, but rather in the cultural memories existing in their minds.³⁴

For Barbeau, the one situation in which it was necessary to have an assistant present occurred when an informant spoke a language other than French or English. This situation occurred frequently during his fieldwork on the Northwest Coast because he preferred to work with informants who spoke Tsimshian, a language he himself never learned to speak. Like most ethnographers of his day, Barbeau believed that information conveyed in an aboriginal language was more authentic than information conveyed in a European language.³⁵ While researching Huron-Wyandot culture in 1911 at the QuaPaw government agency in Oklahoma, for example, Barbeau was overjoyed to encounter informants who did not simply speak Wyandot, but who struggled to express themselves in English.

³⁴ The artist Jori Smith, who accompanied Barbeau on at least one folk culture collecting excursion he made to Charlevoix country, characterized his interaction with informants as devoid of interest in their individual personalities. "Man as an individual," she wrote, "didn't interest him at all, unless he could share or contribute with and to his passion. ... [F]or Marius it was strictly business.... No personalities please...." Jori Smith, "Souvenirs of Charlevoix County" TS (n.d.), 53. Jori Smith Papers, NAC, volume 12.

³⁵ Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 55.

One of his informants in Oklahoma, a man named Smith Nicholls, was, he believed, particularly valuable because of his inability to communicate effectively in a language other than Wyandot.³⁶

An interpreter, then, had to be present when Barbeau interviewed informants who did not speak French or English. Because the presence of an interpreter changed the dynamic of field research, it was necessary to control carefully the way in which interpreters interacted with informants. During the work of collection, the informant and ethnographer were to be, in his words, "les deux principaux acteurs." The task of the interpreter was only to translate the ethnographer's requests for information and the replies -- usually to recite traditional songs or legends -- thereby elicited. Barbeau then wrote out his informants' responses phonetically while mechanically recording them. Once phonetic transcriptions and recordings were completed, the role of the informant receded as Barbeau worked with the interpreter to produce a literal transcription of the phonetic text. After this was finished, the final stage of an interpreter's work was to provide a figurative translation, paying particular attention to what he or she judged to be the text's central themes and significant elements. Under normal circumstances, Barbeau tried to select and engage persons to work specifically as interpreters. Informants could act as their own interpreters

³⁶ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 22 September 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

if they were bilingual, but he wanted his interpreters to possess other qualities as well and he tried not to have informants act as interpreters. In his interpreters, Barbeau looked for intelligence, a knowledge of grammar, and a personal interest in his work.³⁷

Informants, Barbeau discovered, were also curious about him and his culture and were often not simply the passive receptacles of tradition. Once they became interested in the work of ethnographic collection, informants often conceived of their work with Barbeau as a cultural exchange and wanted to ask, as well as answer, questions. Barbeau tried to discourage this type of interaction. Field researchers, he once explained, should "efface themselves" and focus on accumulating as much data as rapidly as possible. Here the constraints of government anthropology affected his approach to field research. The Anthropology Division fieldwork season usually ran from the summer to the late fall of each year with the remainder of the year devoted to office and museum work and writing up the results of field research. The site and focus of fieldwork along with expense allowances were prepared during the winter for inclusion in government estimates for the up-coming fiscal year.³⁸ Field research proposals included estimates for expenditures required to pay

³⁷ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 48.

³⁸ For example, see L.L. Bolton to Marius Barbeau, 29 May 1925 (copy), Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 25.

informants and interpreters, and to collect material culture. While in the field a government anthropologist had to find informants and interpreters, conduct interviews, make photographic and phonographic records, and evaluate and purchase material artifacts. Time itself, Barbeau believed was his most valuable asset, "le temps" was "précieux, dans le rendement des recherches. Il n'y a que d'heures, de jours, ou de semaines, pour l'ensemble de reconnaissances. Chaque moment compte; il [le temps] peut utilisé. C'est de l'économie d'argent, d'énergie, de production."³⁹

Other than avoiding long conversations unrelated to the research and discouraging informants from asking questions, Barbeau believed that the most efficient way to keep informants focused and to make the most economical use of his time was to ask directly for specific information:

Arrivé sur les lieux, en présence du sujet on des personnes à consulter, les préliminaires doivent être brefs; il faut aller au but. Les longues conversations sont en pure perte. On m'a fait remarquer -- à moi qui pratique cette économie -- comme je prends peu de temps à me mettre à la besogne. Je cherche des chansons, je demandes aux gens: 'Savez-vous telle complainte? Telle tortillion? Connaissez-vous le Roi Renaud, Lahaut sur ces montagnes?['] On repond Oui ou Non. Si c'est Oui, Qui ici peut la chanter? -- Le grand-père -- Très bien[.] [C]hantez-la!⁴⁰

Barbeau also believed that he should not waste time recording material that was not authentic: "Si la chanson qu'on vous

³⁹ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 48.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 46.

offre sort des livres," he explained to his students at Laval, "rejetez-la en disant: 'Ah! non, c'est du neuf, ça sort des livres, d'un journal; il ne faut que du vieux, appris les anciens, par coeur.'" This sort of direct intervention was economical in another way: it allowed informants to become aware of the type of material for which he was looking and thus made it easier for them to produce it. "On saissait votre idée et on cherche à s'y conformer," he explained.⁴¹

For the collector of Amerindian culture and folklore, this type of intervention served to stabilize traditional culture as specific sets of songs, legends, and so forth, which could be dated to the pre-modern era both by excluding more recently learned material from the collection process and by suggesting a specific song-model to informants. In Anglo-American folklore scholarship, the Child ballads, published in 1898 by Francis James Child, served as the standard against which folksongs collected across the Anglo-American world were measured. For many interwar anglophone folklorists, the Child ballads became *the* authentic folksongs and an important goal of collecting was to discover ballads from Child's collection in different parts of North America.⁴²

Barbeau drew on no single source to establish the authenticity of the folk songs and legends he collected, but he was clearly interested in something thematically similar

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 46-7. See also "Mémoires", 31.

⁴² McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 18-20.

to the material Child had published and his method of interacting with informants was designed to elicit this type of material. He was looking for songs which could be traced to at least the medieval age and which had been learned through oral transmission. Material with references to kings, queens, knights, dwarfs, ghosts and the like particularly appealed to him, perhaps, one suspects, because he took these references as signs of extended age.

Finally, Barbeau believed that an ethnographer should establish a research headquarters away from direct interaction with his or her informants. There were, he felt, ethnographic benefits to living among one's informants: in particular, it allowed for a closely detailed observation of traditional life, and permitted potential informants to become personally acquainted with the researcher which in turn made them more willing to provide information. "Au point de vue des résultats à obtenir, dans le pays sauvage," he once noted, "il serait bon de vivre chez les indigènes, à leur manière, pour mieux les observer."⁴³ Descriptions of aboriginal life made by early fur traders and missionaries were valuable ethnographic sources for exactly this reason: they were written by individuals with an extended first-hand knowledge of aboriginal culture developed through long term association. But, in his view, there were also problems with this type of ethnographic observation. One problem occurred

⁴³ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 39.

on a personal level. Once an ethnographer had adopted an Amerindian way of life it became, Barbeau believed, difficult for them to return to white society. Complete cultural immersion, he seemed to believe, could completely transform an ethnographer's subjectivity. Where the later advocates of the participant-observation method of fieldwork saw this as the aim of ethnographic research -- such immersion was the basis of the authority for the ethnographer's ability to speak about the "other's" culture as a supposed insider⁴⁴ -- it was for Barbeau a problem because it resulted in the abandonment of what he viewed as "civilized" life: "c'est un cas," he remarked, "où la civilisé cesse de l'être."⁴⁵

For Barbeau, however, there was a more fundamental problem with participant-observation: he believed that for many subjects in Canada it was no longer possible. Authentic Amerindian cultures existed, he believed, but they existed primarily (if not completely) in the remnants of material culture and in the fading memories of the elderly. This made Barbeau's work among Amerindian people different from his folklore fieldwork in Quebec. Although European-Canadian folk cultures, threatened by modernity and perhaps never to be found in their "pure" state, had been marginalized in modern Canada, they still did exist. In rural Quebec, for

⁴⁴ Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 55; and Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 34.

⁴⁵ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 39. See also Marius Barbeau, *Mountain Cloud* (Toronto: 1945), 283 and 290.

instance, one could still personally experience traditional French-Canadian folk culture.⁴⁶ Traditional Amerindian cultures, by contrast, existed only in the minds of the aged; when these people died even these remnants would cease to exist. Barbeau's best Amerindian informants were all older because he considered this a crucial component of their authenticity. Isaac Tans, Charles Mark, and Peter John, three important Tsimshian informants from whom Barbeau obtained material used in his Prix-David-winning *The Downfall of Temlaham*, were all elderly men who died before the text was published; Mountain, whom Barbeau considered one of his more valuable Tsimshian informants, was over eighty when Barbeau collected information from him in 1920. Smith Nicholls and Mary McKee, two important Wyandot informants interviewed by Barbeau in 1911, were also of advanced age and died soon after he had met them.⁴⁷

But even if he had believed participant-observation were possible in modern Canada, Barbeau would most likely still not have adopted this field methodology. "Aujourd'hui," he once explained, "il n'est pas aussi utile de pratiquer l'abnegation pour mieux observer la vie primitive."⁴⁸ The

⁴⁶ For example, see Marius Barbeau, "Gaspé Folk" *Dalhousie Review* 19 (1939-40), 335-46.

⁴⁷ Barbeau, *The Downfall of Temlaham*, 248; Barbeau, *Totem Poles*, I: 57-8; Marius Barbeau, "On Huron Work, 1911" in *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines for the Calendar Year 1911* (Ottawa: 1912), 381-6.

⁴⁸ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 39.

time-efficient conduct of field research necessitated a certain distance from informants and their lifestyles. Because of the time constraints of government anthropology, Barbeau believed that concentration on the part of the researcher was essential. Anything -- such as odd diets or strange living arrangements -- which interrupted concentration or disrupted the collection of ethnographic evidence became, therefore, a problem. To counteract the unusual circumstances he encountered in the field, Barbeau tried to maintain his normal diet and at least some of the normal comforts to which he was accustomed.⁴⁹

Establishing his research headquarters apart from his informants had other advantages as well. If he lived with his informants all manner of usual and unusual daily activities became interruptions which impeded the flow of information. "Dans la maison [des informateurs]," he later explained to anthropology students at the Université Laval, "quelquefois remplie du monde qui jase, rit, claque des portes," proper interviewing became impossible. "[O]n doit être capable d'entendre promptement, sans interruptions, sans faire répéter, sans trop questionner, tout ce qui est chanté, raconté."⁵⁰ When he began his Tsimshian fieldwork in 1915, Barbeau established his research headquarters at a Port Simpson boarding house; and later, especially when his

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

family accompanied him, he used hotels.⁵¹

A separate research headquarters also prevented interference with the collection of material in another way. On at least one occasion Barbeau used a separate research base to collect ethnographic material which otherwise would have been denied him. In September 1924, while conducting research in Gitksan country north of Kitwanga on the Skeena River, Barbeau found himself in a delicate position. Concerted opposition to his research had developed within the local band which, he reported to Sapir, "was almost constantly in council to discuss our work". While he initially succeeded in isolating the opposition and winning the band's approval, the situation remained uneasy. After one particularly disturbing evening, which he described as a "grand howl all night," Barbeau retreated down the Skeena to establish a research headquarters in a more "peaceful location." His plan, which he assured Sapir was working well, was to bring informants down river where they could be interviewed in a less tension-filled atmosphere where they not have to fear reprisals from other band members should they divulge information the band wanted to be kept in confidence.⁵²

The one circumstance in which Barbeau did not operate

⁵¹Smith, "Souvenirs of Charlevoix County", 49; "Mémoires", 58; Marius Barbeau, "The Lure of the Unknown: Anticipation" mss (n.d.), 1, MB-NWCF, B-F-202.60.

⁵² Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 September 1924, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 24.

from a separate, insulated research base occurred when potential informants proved unwilling to keep appointments. The unwillingness of some Amerindian people to act as informants confused Barbeau; he found the reticence of some elderly people, in whom he placed his greatest ethnographic hopes, particularly frustrating. At Wyandotte, Oklahoma, in 1911, his inability to convince one man to keep appointments disturbed him so much he wrote Sapir for advice. The problem, Sapir told Barbeau, was simply part of "Indian" nature and he was "merely learning what every one that has much to do with them learns sooner or later. When you want them the most, then they discover that they are 'very busy'." Sapir counselled patience, but suggested that Barbeau not take potential informants' refusals to work with him seriously: "I presume that when your Wyandots are 'very busy' they hang around the store and gossip."⁵³

Barbeau arrived at a somewhat different opinion. Some recalcitrant informants, he concluded, were simply "blockheads" whom he could not trust, but in most circumstances he felt that the failure of potential informants to assist his work did not result from either stupidity -- their failure to recognize its importance -- or any principled opposition to it. Some informants were simply shy; they agreed to be interviewed to please the fieldworker

⁵³ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 5 October 1911 (copy), Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

but had no intention of keeping their promises. In other circumstances the problem was one of cultural values: some Amerindians or "même des blancs relativement primitif" maintained a different system of cultural values relating to time. In traditional cultures, he held, time was not rigidly scheduled as it was in modern society; this caused informants to miss appointments inadvertently because they did not understand the significance of being on time. If this situation occurred there was no other course but to find these informants at their homes so as to make sure of "leurs services."⁵⁴

3. Authenticity and Informants

Because good informants -- those who could provide authentic information -- were difficult to find, it was important to maintain a good relationship with them: an anthropologist did not want to alienate his or her best sources. In most circumstances, Barbeau believed, a good relationship emerged naturally out of the process of field research. "It's easy to make friends with Indians," he explained to Laurence Nowry

especially when you work with them and get their story.... The Tsimshyan and others ... when you work with them as I have, one tribe after another, one family after another and they know each other

⁵⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19 for a description of one recalcitrant informant as a "blockhead" and Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 38-9 for a general discussion of Barbeau's views of the problems of recalcitrant informants.

... [and] that I'm recording their story[,] [that] I'm interested in what they think ... in their own happiness, in their dirge songs, in their morality, in their art, in their carving, when they know that you are one with them....⁵⁵

For Barbeau, it was relatively easy to establish a good relationship with his informants because he did care about their lives and their traditional cultures. To help establish such close relationships he also subscribed to a series of personal guidelines which he believed should regulate his conduct in the field. It was important to deal honestly with informants, to avoid making extravagant promises in exchange for information or to acquire information or artifacts by deception. One was also wise to respect Amerindian property and culture and to carefully guard one's behaviour and language in the field. In the course of field research, Barbeau later explained, he became aware of information which other informants might find embarrassing. For example, violations of rules prohibiting marriage within a clan among Northwest Coast Amerindian people still embarrassed the older informants with whom he preferred to work, even while younger people no longer adhered to these rules.⁵⁶ Potentially embarrassing information of this sort, Barbeau later urged his students, should be kept in strict confidence, but it was equally important to refrain from making any comments about

⁵⁵ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 19-20.

⁵⁶ On this point see Marius Barbeau, "Totemic Atmosphere on the North Pacific Coast" *Journal of American Folklore* 67 (1954), 105.

informants which could be construed as unfavourable. Interaction with female informants required special attention. For example, Barbeau specifically warned his students "[n]e pas dire d'une personne, surtout d'une femme qu'elle est vieille..."⁵⁷ even though this was almost certainly the reason any particular person had been selected as an informant.

Barbeau also came to feel that ethnographers should avoid intervening in local controversies or matters of state administration. Anthropology, he felt, could have important uses in the formulation of state policies as they applied to aboriginal cultures, or even modern society. He approved of the anthropological training given to British imperial administrators at Oxford and Cambridge which he considered an illustration of the positive role anthropology could play in administrative matters. As we will see, he himself periodically advised the Canadian government on its Amerindian policies.⁵⁸ The problem with intervention in state administration or local affairs was thus not that anthropology could not in principle aid in the formulation of more efficient policies. Rather, the primary objective of ethnography was to salvage authentic culture -- to collect

⁵⁷ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 35.

⁵⁸ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 26; Marius Barbeau, "Prospective Monograph on Native Property Rights and Transactions (Potlatch) among the Indians of British Columbia" TS (n.d.), 2 MB-NWCF, B-F-330.10.

rapidly disappearing traditional cultures -- and all other activities or views, regardless of their validity, had to be subjected to this aim. Intervention ran the risk of alienating "les gens même dont il [l'ethnographe] attend des services" and thus might impede the primary work of ethnography.⁵⁹

The best way to ensure a good relationship with informants was to pay them. For Barbeau, the first rule of ethnographic research was that one received "nothing for nothing." His most important informants were often poorer working people and he felt it unreasonable to expect them to give up their time without remuneration. If an informant refused payment, he offered a small gift "en marque de gratitude."⁶⁰ Barbeau took this matter seriously. He worked hard to maintain good relations with his informants and generally seems to have been well liked.⁶¹ His son-in-law, Arthur Price, remembered numerous occasions when Barbeau purchased gifts for French Canadians from whom he collected folklore. A set of dishes for an informant's child about to be married, Price recalled, was a common (and not

⁵⁹ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 36.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* "Nothing for nothing" is my translation.

⁶¹ "I have not found a single man whose face did not light up when I mentioned your name, Indian or white," Diamond Jenness remarked to Barbeau from Hazelton, B.C. while conducting field research in an area Barbeau had already canvassed. Diamond Jenness to Marius Barbeau, 29 October 1923, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Diamond Jenness file.

inexpensive) gift.⁶² Because the resources allocated by the Anthropology Division to pay informants were often small, Barbeau periodically had to work out special arrangements to secure information he considered ethnographically valuable. At Lorette in 1911, for example, he worked out a deal with the Huron band members who were the subject of his research according to which he agreed to purchase artifacts if they provided oral information without charge.⁶³

Payment facilitated field research in other ways as well. It compensated informants for their time, but also, he felt, solidified their loyalty and commitment to his work, and stimulated the interest of other potential informants:

le paiement ou salaire a pour avantage d'assurer la bonne volonté de ceux qui entrent en services; aussi il prépare le terrain pour tous autres qui aimeraient aussi à gagner le salaire; ce travail est d'ailleurs considéré comme peu fatigant, et il ajoute au prestige des personnes consultées.⁶⁴

While the prestige and possibly the lure of a salary did encourage other informants to come forward with artifacts and information,⁶⁵ Barbeau was wary of those potential informants who seemed simply interested in the money: "ceux-là ne sont pas toujours les meilleurs [informateurs]." ⁶⁶

⁶² Interview with Arthur Price.

⁶³ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 23 April 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19. Barbeau does not seem to have followed this practice while researching on the Northwest Coast.

⁶⁴ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 33.

⁶⁵ For example, see Constance E. Cox to Marius Barbeau, 9 February 1922, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5645.

The imperative need to collect authentic traditional culture before it disappeared did, however, sanction the transgression of many of these rules of conduct. Generally, Barbeau operated within the parameters of field conduct he established for himself, but he also found himself forced by what he viewed as the pressing needs of salvage ethnography to step outside his own guidelines. In the field, Barbeau discovered that he could use his discretionary control over part of his federally allocated research funding to accomplish research goals he could not obtain by persuasion. Although the level of state funding for anthropology was ultimately determined by the divisional chief and deputy minister, operating within their own budgetary regimes, a government anthropologist was expected to exercise some autonomy within these constraints, exercising, for example, the final determination over which specific informants to use and which artifacts to purchase. Although he seems to have reserved this practice for interpreters, whom he could replace more readily than good informants, Barbeau threatened not to rehire certain Amerindians for later research in order to coerce greater immediate cooperation with his work. On at least one occasion during his Northwest Coast fieldwork, Barbeau refused to rehire his best interpreter for the next season specifically, he told Sapir, to teach this man, who did not want to work on Sundays, a lesson.⁶⁷ And while

⁶⁶ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 33.

⁶⁷ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 213.

Barbeau did deal honestly with his informants, he also took advantage of adverse economic circumstances to negotiate lower prices for material artifacts he wanted to collect.⁶⁸

On one occasion, he also defied his own injunction to respect aboriginal property and culture. In 1920, when a Tsimshian band in northern British Columbia refused to allow him to witness a traditional healing ceremony, he risked jeopardizing his relations with them by resorting to spying in order to record its details. His informants would have undoubtedly viewed this as a clear breach of proper conduct, an indication of a disrespect of not only their wishes but their culture. On another occasion he photographed totem poles in the early dawn hours before his informants awoke because he was having a difficult time securing their cooperation with his research.⁶⁹

Nor, to cite a second instance of Barbeau defying his own injunctions, did he always find it necessary personally to collect information that would later be presented as "first-hand". In the nineteenth century western anthropology functioned through a division of labour: anthropologists, living in metropolises or working at universities, analyzed data collected for them by travellers, missionaries, and

⁶⁸ Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Vancouver: 1985), 268.

⁶⁹ Hugh Kemp reported these incidents in a celebratory essay on Barbeau in which he treated them as amusing incidents in the life of a devoted anthropologist. See Kemp, "Top Man in Totem Poles" *Maclean's* (1 May 1948), 7-8 and 56-9.

imperial administrators. The modern ethnography of Barbeau, Boas, Sapir and other professionally trained anthropologists sought to combine the two tasks of research and analysis as a means to produce more accurate ethnographic descriptions. Professional anthropological training, Barbeau believed, was necessary for effective field research, while anthropology uninformed by personal field research lacked an intimate understanding of the cultures it attempted to describe. It degenerated into speculation and produced cultural descriptions which were, Barbeau explained, nothing more than "castles in the air."⁷⁰ Most early-twentieth-century ethnographers, however, continued to rely heavily on field assistants to collect information for them. "[O]ne should by not means underestimate the usefulness of an intelligent native or half-breed in recording material," Sapir advised Barbeau after he began his Northwest Coast field research.⁷¹

Throughout his career Barbeau relied on the work of assistants to build the archive of "first-hand" information stored at the National Museum. His folklore field research in Quebec was assisted by a number of people who submitted copies of material they had collected or found among their possessions to the Museum. É.-Z. Massicotte, an archivist and amateur historian with a passion for folklore, became a

⁷⁰ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 57; and Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 24 June 1944, Piece Collection, box 10, file 5.

⁷¹ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 1 February 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

frequent contributor to the National Museum collection. Massicotte alone collected 1727 song texts, recorded over 1300 melodies on phonograph, and took 141 photographs for the Anthropology Division between 1917 and 1920.⁷² Adélard Lambert donated 141 song texts in 1920 and fifty-six songs texts and phonograph records to the National Museum in 1928, and in 1929 J.M Lemieux donated his collection of fifty song texts from Gaspé county.⁷³ Lorraine Wyman, an American professional singer who performed at a number of folk concerts Barbeau later organized, collected material for him at Percé in the Gaspé.⁷⁴ In addition smaller miscellaneous numbers of photographs, song texts, folk-tales, and artifacts were donated by a wide range of people.

On the Northwest Coast Barbeau's ethnography was heavily supplemented by William Beynon, a bilingual Nisga who had grown up in Vancouver and worked in the coastal salmon industry.⁷⁵ In early 1915, soon after he started Tsimshian fieldwork, Barbeau met Beynon, whom he initially regarded

⁷² C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "Folk-Lore" in *Report of the Department of Mines for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1921* (Ottawa: 1921), 24.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 24; Diamond Jenness, "Division of Anthropology" in *National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1928 Bulletin No. 62* (Ottawa: 1929), 10; Diamond Jenness, "Division of Anthropology" in *National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1928 Bulletin No. 67* (Ottawa: 1931), 12.

⁷⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 12 May 1919, Sapir Fonds, Box 425, file 22.

⁷⁵ Majorie Halpin, "William Beynon, Ethnographer: Tsimshian, 1888-1958" in Margot Liberty, ed., *American Indian Intellectuals Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society* (St. Paul: 1978), 141-54.

with skepticism. As an informant, Beynon was of little use to Barbeau because "he is not versed in Indian matters, being young and having lived away from here...." He proved, however, a good interpreter, interested in traditional culture, and a quick study.⁷⁶ Barbeau taught Beynon how to write phonetically and soon had him recording myths independently. "The work," he told Sapir, "could not be done better if I were working with him."⁷⁷ Beynon continued to assist Barbeau, and a number of other prominent anthropologists including Franz Boas and Philip Drucker, until his death in 1958. He recorded oral traditions, songs and family genealogies. The material he gathered, in both Barbeau's view and that of later scholars, was of high quality. Much of it provided the empirical "first-hand" base for Barbeau's Northwest Coast ethnographies.⁷⁸ Material collected by Beynon figured prominently in a number of texts published under Barbeau's name: eight of the twenty-eight legends used by Barbeau in the *The Downfall of Temlaham* (1928) were recorded by Beynon as were twenty-one of the thirty-two "substantial" detailed narratives in *Totem Poles* (1950), twenty-three of the thirty myths presented in *Haida*

⁷⁶ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 9 January 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

⁷⁷ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 23 January 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

⁷⁸ See Halpin, "William Beynon", *passim.*; and Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 159-61 for assessments of Beynon's ethnographic work.

Myths (1953) and three of the four myths used in *Medicine Men of the North Pacific Coast* (1958).⁷⁹ Beynon's greatest contribution to Barbeau's anthropological writing was a posthumous one: all fourteen myths included in Barbeau's 1961 collection *Tsimshyan Myths* were recorded by Beynon, whose work as "the author's native assistant since 1915" was acknowledged in the preface.⁸⁰

Barbeau was, as a general rule, circumspect in his use of Amerindian assistants. The value of an Amerindian assistant, in Barbeau's view, related to both his or her position within their traditional culture and the methodology employed to record material. While accepting the contribution Boas had made to an anthropological understanding of Northwest Coast cultures, he questioned the general value of the ethnographic material gathered by Boas's field assistant George Hunt. Hunt had recorded material among a culture not his own, had not been trained in the "scientific methods" of anthropology, and had recorded material as he afterwards recalled it, rather than having it dictated by informants.⁸¹ The use of Amerindian assistants, Barbeau later told his students at the Université Laval, had to be strictly controlled because they could collect poor material unless they were properly directed. "L'achat de

⁷⁹ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 161.

⁸⁰ Barbeau, *Tsimshyan Myths*, v.

⁸¹ Marius Barbeau, review of Franz Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology* in *American Anthropologist* 9,4 (1917), 548-63.

spécimens par un commissionaire," he noted, "au moins une fois, causa de l'ennui. Rendant quelque temps les résultats étaient très satisfaisant, mais un jour le prix à payer un 'charme' était exorbitant."⁸²

A second problem was that Barbeau did not entirely trust even his best Amerindian assistants. While some assistants, such as Beynon, did good work, they were also difficult to control at a distance and did not always respect the anthropological conventions. Despite his important work assembling Barbeau's Northwest Coast archive, Barbeau later warned Boas that while Beynon was a valuable assistant, his work had to be closely monitored. What troubled Barbeau, who interpreted them as indications of irresponsibility, were Beynon's personal habits. "He is," Barbeau told Boas, "given to drink, and nothing stands in the way when he has money." Beynon's refusal to work for salary -- instead of on a per item basis -- indicated to Barbeau an "attitude" problem and he was also troubled by the possibility that the native might collect oral traditions for Boas which had already been collected by Canadian government anthropologists. For Barbeau, Beynon's problem was that he did not pursue the work of collection with due seriousness and diligence. Barbeau told Boas that, had Beynon worked for salary, his services would have been employed more frequently and to greater

⁸² Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 35.

effect.⁸³

In practice, Barbeau did not even insist that the "authentic" traditional culture of a particular ethnic or cultural group be collected from members of that group. In 1914, during his first French-Canadian folklore collecting expedition, he collected authentic traditional French-Canadian folk legends from Huron residents of the Lorette reserve, near Quebec City.⁸⁴ And some of the traditional English-Canadian folk songs he collected were obtained from French-Canadian and Amerindian informants.⁸⁵

Ultimately, Barbeau's guidelines for conduct in the field and his research tactics were precisely that: guidelines. In the best circumstances, they produced a closely structured ethnographic encounter intended to detach informants from the conditions of their modern lives so as to recover a traditional past no longer present. The conduct of the field research and his personal involvement in fieldwork were important aspects of Barbeau's ethnography which upheld the scientific authority of anthropological discourse, but in practice "first-hand" experience was not essential. Material collected under less-than-ideal circumstances could retain

⁸³ Marius Barbeau to Franz Boas, 4 December 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2810.

⁸⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 25 August 1914, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

⁸⁵ Marius Barbeau, Arthur Lismer, Arthur Bourinot, *Come-a-Singing! Canadian Folk-Songs* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 107, Anthropology Series 26 (Ottawa: 1963), 1-2, 27-8 and 41-2.

its value if subjected to a specific analytic method. Owing to constraints of time, the carefully structured organization of field research might even have to be abandoned entirely. As a fieldworker, Barbeau believed that he simply had to record whatever material might be available to him. He did not, for example, necessarily have to disregard educated informants; the information they provided could be recorded as well and at a later date Barbeau sorted through it, separating the authentic from the inauthentic. This separation of material was, Barbeau believed, the final and absolutely necessary stage of ethnographic research.

4. The Methodology of Authenticity

Despite the various tactics he employed to ensure what he considered to be the highest levels of authenticity in the ethnographic material he collected, Barbeau believed that cultural authenticity was still not guaranteed. He believed that this was particularly true of the surviving remnants of traditional Amerindian culture he collected in the field. All ethnographic evidence, Barbeau concluded, was a potential amalgam of authentic traditional culture and inauthentic modern adoptions which deceived even his best informants and made it impossible to trust even this source:

The intrusive materials are so interwoven in the

fabric of aboriginal culture that it is impossible to unravel intuitively the puzzle of their texture and to trace their proper historical sources.... [T]he ethnologist is a fool who so far deceives himself as to believe that his fieldnotes and specimens gathered in the raw from half-breeds or [the] decrepit survivors of a past age, still represent the unadulterated knowledge or crafts of the prehistoric races of America. What is aboriginal and what is European are questions that incessantly crop up.⁸⁶

How, then, could an ethnographer make such distinctions? If even the elderly informants in whom Barbeau placed his deepest ethnographic faith were in reality the "decrepit survivors of a past age", where and how did an ethnographer begin to establish the true authentic culture which must once have existed?

Barbeau had two answers for this question. First, he argued that the experience of the ethnographer could serve as a guide. Barbeau, as we have seen, ostensibly scorned the power of intuition. Yet he believed that, over the course of a prolonged experience with a traditional culture, an anthropologist might attain an intuitive understanding of that culture which could be effectively used to determine the authenticity or inauthenticity of its artifacts. Barbeau did not write at length on the use of intuition in the science of anthropology, but it clearly formed part of his field methods. When he collected folksongs in Quebec he used his intuition to determine the authenticity of some songs he collected on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River in

⁸⁶ Barbeau, "The Native Races of Canada", 52-3.

1916. The songs he heard were unfamiliar to him, he later recalled, but he was immediately certain of their authenticity because they "had the familiar ring of true folk songs, to which I soon grew accustomed."⁸⁷

The use of intuition allowed Barbeau to evade some of his own research guidelines. It allowed him, for example, quickly to disregard supposedly non-traditional songs offered him by informants and it allowed him to make use of a wider range of informants than he would have otherwise considered ideal. One such informant, with whom Barbeau worked extensively during his Northwest Coast fieldwork in the 1910s and 1920s, was Constance Cox. Cox, the white daughter of an Indian Agent, was a model of the type of informant whom Barbeau thought best to treat with considerable circumspection. Yet she provided him with various legends and he seems to have had no difficulties working with her until she annoyed other informants.⁸⁸ When she lived in Port Simpson, Cox also facilitated Barbeau's Northwest Coast fieldwork by translating materials for him and acting as his intermediary during the late 1910s and early 1920s.⁸⁹

More importantly, experienced intuition could be needed

⁸⁷ Marius Barbeau, *Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec* (Toronto and Princeton: 1962), xviii.

⁸⁸ Barbeau, *The Downfall of Temlaham*, 248; Marius Barbeau, fieldnotes, MB-NWCF, B-F-69.3-69.5, B-F-69.10, and B-F-94.3.

⁸⁹ Constance E. Cox to Marius Barbeau, 9 February 1922, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5645 and Constance E. Cox to Marius Barbeau, 22 February 1922, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5646.

to decipher the cultural meanings of Amerindian phenomena. Intuition was, according to Barbeau, particularly valuable when one came to consider Amerindian legends. "Pour l'interprétation de ces récits," he explained, "il faut de l'expérience, c'est là que la science d'ethnographie ... [entre] en jeu."⁹⁰ In Barbeau's case, however, the use of experienced intuition as an interpretive tool involved more than the intuitive insights drawn from extended research on Amerindian cultures. It required, as well, the manipulation of the texts which recorded his informants words.

No single legend became more important for Barbeau's Northwest Coast ethnography than the Salmon-Eater tradition, on the basis of which he constructed a narrative of Northwest Coast prehistory.⁹¹ During the course of his Northwest Coast fieldwork Barbeau accumulated, either personally or through Beynon, several different versions of this tradition.⁹² The version he analyzed at greatest length was one he had collected on the Nass from Mountain in 1927.⁹³ The octogenerian Mountain epitomized the type of informant with whom Barbeau preferred to work: he was aged, a cultural insider (from the Salmon-Eater "group"), and "owned the tallest totem pole known in the Northwest Coast" which

⁹⁰ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 19.

⁹¹ Wilson Duff, "Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology" *Anthropologica* N.S. 6 (1964), 73.

⁹² Barbeau, *Tsimshian Myths*, v.

⁹³ Barbeau, *Totem Poles*, I, 32.

illustrated "the story of his clan."⁹⁴ The authenticity of this legend was, then, almost assured because of Mountain's age and cultural affiliation. He appeared to Barbeau to be the keeper of his clan's history.

The Salmon-Eater tradition itself gives an extended account of the origins of the Salmon-Eater, or Girrhwain, clan. The tradition itself is both long and complex. It begins with a description of Salmon-Eater's journey across the "foam" in which Salmon-Eater becomes separated from his party and eventually floats ashore in a territory with which he is not familiar. There he meets other people, who were already living in this land, learns a new language, and establishes a village in which he and his family live. After a time, the chief of a neighbouring village arranges a marriage between one of his relatives and Salmon-Eater's niece. The chief's relative, however, proves to be a poor husband who mistreats his new wife which calls down the wrath of the Salmon-Eater clan on his village. War ensues, many people die, but little is resolved. The bridge runs away and is transformed into a statue. Still later, some young men from Salmon-Eater's village, while on a camping trip, disobey taboos against by swimming at a certain beach and by mistreating an animal (identified by Barbeau as a frog), whereupon the statue comes to life as a flaming spirit and chases the disrespectful young men. The men, however, are

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 57-8.

protected by a sea-monster spirit who then becomes the guardian spirit of the Salmon-Eater clan.⁹⁵

The truth of this legend, Barbeau held, was not immediately evident from a literal reading. In the form told by Mountain, Barbeau argued, the tradition appeared as little more than an imaginative story. Its truth could only be produced through an interpretative method. The first step in this process was to strip the tradition of the imagery and embellishments added by individual interpreters. Once this process was completed, a coherent narrative emerged: "[i]t is obvious that native accounts are coloured with individual interpretation, yet their contents convey a story of capital importance to those who can strip it of its imagery and mysticism."⁹⁶ The narrative he produced by removing the "imagery and mysticism" which surrounded Mountain's recounting of the Salmon-Eater tradition constituted, Barbeau believed, its primary component; all other aspects of the tradition -- for example, imagery -- were secondary or derivative components which distorted the true narrative. This narrative was neither fantasy (a story told for entertainment) nor primitive philosophy as Frazer had contended; it was a representation of real events. In Barbeau's view, it could not be otherwise: "[t]he details of the narrative were not made out of whole cloth; they could

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-24.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

not have come down from generation to generation without reflecting some actual experiences somewhere."⁹⁷

Even on the basis of these assumptions -- narrative as the primary component of the tradition and legends as distortions of real events -- Barbeau seemed to recognize that his reading of the Salmon-Eater tradition remained problematic. Not all oral traditions could be interpreted in this way. The Myth of the Bear Mother, he argued by contrast, did not represent real events but was, rather, an illustration of a Marettesque type of longing for spiritual immanence with a divine power. As Barbeau read the Myth of the Bear Mother, it was really about a deep spirituality -- something Marett might have regarded as the pure spirituality of the most primitive cultures, but which Barbeau interpreted as a common characteristic of the human psyche. "At this stage of development [of the myth], we reach the threshold of the temple, altar, symbolic sacrifice, confession, and communion in a world-wide belief that embraces primitive and civilized man alike, in a sweeping upsurge from daily reality to spiritual idealism and worship."⁹⁸

Why then should the Myth of the Bear Mother represent spiritual longing, a metaphysical state of being and the Salmon-Eater tradition a real migration? If the narrative of the Myth of the Bear Mother represented a longing for a

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 193.

metaphysical journey, it seems equally plausible that the story of Salmon-Eater's journey could refer to the same thing. To support his reading of the Salmon-Eater tradition, Barbeau accumulated circumstantial evidence which, as Wilson Duff has noted in an extended review of Barbeau's Northwest Coast ethnology, was both ambiguous and open to other equally plausible interpretations. Such evidence, one might also add, acquired its significance within a grid of interpretation, heavily influenced by Barbeau's initial assumptions, which themselves were never put into question.⁹⁹ For example, Barbeau argued that the word "foam" (in his view a direct translation into English of his informant's words) did not really mean "foam", but instead "sea", a large body of water. Salmon-Eater's journey across the "foam" (which could signify any number of things) thus became a journey across the "sea".¹⁰⁰ Barbeau also changed the word "toad" as it occurred

⁹⁹ Duff, "Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology", 71 and 75. As two, among other examples, Duff notes first that Barbeau shifted the supposed initial setting of the Salmon-Eater narrative from the Northwest Coast to the Kodiak Islands. Why? Because this narrative was a reality-based migration account of movement from Asia to America and therefore the initial setting could not have been the Northwest Coast, allusions to which in the narrative must be a derivative embellishment added by individual interpreters. Thus after shifting the initial setting of the narrative, Barbeau could use it as evidence which confirmed his reading. Second, Barbeau used the diffusion of a legend cycle from Tlingit to Bella Coala culture as corroborative evidence of a general north-south migration pattern. But, Duff asked, why should we assume that this legend cycle diffused in a north-south pattern when diffusion from the south to the north seemed equally plausible? For Barbeau the answer was that his reading of the other evidence indicated a north-south pattern and thus his entire argument became circular.

¹⁰⁰ Barbeau, *Totem Poles I*, 57.

in Mountain's recital of the narrative to "frog" -- an animal he did not believe was found on the Northwest Coast. Its mention in the narrative therefore illustrated the Asiatic origins of the tradition.¹⁰¹ The reasoning behind these changes was as follows: the word "foam" must mean "sea" because this was a reality-based narrative and therefore "foam" was simply an embellishment or imagery added by his informant. Similarly, the original legend, as opposed to Mountain's recounting of it, must because of its Asiatic origins have referred to "frogs" and the word "toad" therefore was also a embellishment added by his informant which could be reversed to reconstruct the pure narrative. Once made, however, these alterations were used to confirm his original reading of the tradition: this must be a reality-based narrative of migration from Asia to America because it refers to a journey across the sea and to animals not found on the North Pacific Coast.

Barbeau's interpretive method, which in the seminal case of the Salmon-Eater tradition produced the truth of history, relied upon a process of circular reasoning which required the manipulation, as well as the interpretation, of the text. Corroborative evidence was generated from an initial premise, amplified by his experienced intuition, then used to confirm the initial premise. Barbeau's reading of the Salmon-Eater tradition asked his readers to accept the primacy of a

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

reality-based narrative as the central component of this tradition, but not other traditions. The authority on which this determination was finally based was the authority of his ethnographic "experience" which in turn sanctioned alterations to the tradition and changes in his informants' words.

The second methodological tool Barbeau employed to determine the truth of culture was a modified version of the comparative method which he believed provided an empirical foundation upon which distinctions between authentic and inauthentic traditions could be made. Proceeding from the assumption that culture evolved from simple to complex forms, nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropologists had used comparative analysis to arrange cultures into a hierarchical typology signifying stages of human cultural development.¹⁰² In the late nineteenth century the comparative method came under criticism from a variety of perspectives. In Great Britain, diffusionists and proto-structural-functionalists developed holistic conceptions of culture which questioned the ideal of linear cultural progression as the mechanism of cultural change, while in the United States Franz Boas used the intensive field methods adopted by Sapir for the anthropology division to empirically question the evolutionist paradigm. In practice, British diffusionists, as we have seen, continued to use cultural comparisons but with

¹⁰² Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 27, 114-5, 225 and 228.

a different aim. Instead of erecting evolutionary typologies into which different cultures could be placed, diffusionists compared ethnographic data from a given geographic area in order to isolate basic similarities between different cultures. Once similarities had been isolated, diffusionists next aimed to determine a flow of influence from one culture to another which explained these similarities.¹⁰³

Boas also believed that cultural diffusion provided a more effective explanation of cultural similarities than did the evolutionist assumption of a common pattern of human cultural development, but he moved his argument further toward structural-functionalist cultural holism than did British diffusionists. Boas argued that while diffusion most likely accounted for cultural similarities, similarities in themselves meant very little. First, he argued that cultural similarities did not necessarily indicate cultural diffusion because different and unrelated historical processes could produce similar cultures. Second, Boas questioned the ability of white anthropologists to determine what constituted cultural similarities. Traits that seemed similar to white anthropologists visiting a culture might not seem so to informants within that culture. Language, he believed, caused particular problems because white anthropologists were frequently unfamiliar with Amerindian languages. Their way of hearing was so conditioned by their

¹⁰³ See Stocking, *After Tylor and Kuklick, The Savage Within*, 121-3 and 140.

own culture that isolating linguistic similarities became particularly problematic. Finally, the diffusion of cultural elements did not in itself say anything about the meaning of similar cultural traits (say, a legend) in different cultures: the meaning of a common cultural trait could be markedly different for different cultures. This could only be determined through intensive local field studies of the type he had pioneered in the United States and Sapir had integrated into the organization of the anthropology division in Canada.¹⁰⁴

Barbeau agreed with much of what Boas had said. He supported the ethnographic method of intensive field research, rejected the evolutionary theory of Tylor and Frazer, looked for alternative explanations of cultural change, and felt that the meaning of cultural traits was far from self-evident. His approach to cultural analysis nonetheless came much closer to the British diffusionists' approach than it did to Boas's tentative functionalist formulations. Where Boas argued that the key to cultural ethnography was intensive fieldwork designed to comprehend the intrinsic meaning of culture traits, Barbeau was interested in a different series of issues. At Oxford Barbeau had argued that the cultural history of the Northwest Coast could be written in terms of the internal dynamics of these

¹⁰⁴ Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 156, 159, 204, 207-11 and 225-9 and Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 132-40 and 142-8.

societies. His field research and efforts to locate authentic culture led him after his return to Canada to a series of different propositions.

A modified version of the comparative method became the central tool of Barbeau's quest of authenticity. While Boas had argued that cultural similarities did not in themselves signify anything, Barbeau, like the British diffusionist school, took it as a matter of fact that cultural similarities proved cultural diffusion. For the British diffusionists, cultural comparison was a way to reconstruct the prehistory of traditional cultures in the absence of written sources. Barbeau agreed with this research method, but he also argued that within the framework of salvage ethnography, cultural comparisons could be used to distill authentic traditional Amerindian cultures.

Barbeau's comparative method, like that of the British diffusionist school, began by isolating similarities between different cultures and then went on to determine a flow of influences that explained these similarities. When he compared cultural similarities between European and Amerindian cultures, for example, Barbeau had no doubt about the direction in which influence flowed. "The aboriginal arts and crafts [of North America]," he told the Royal Society of Canada in 1927, "could not withstand the impact of the trade articles of the White Man. They belonged to the stone age and had little chance on their own." All similarities between Amerindian and European cultures became signs not

simply of European influences or cultural borrowings, as the details (if not necessarily the logic) of Boas' argument suggested, but of the displacement of authentic Amerindian culture by European culture. They were adoptions which obscured authentic culture and which Amerindian people themselves had come mistakenly to accept as their own.¹⁰⁵

Barbeau recognized that his comparative method required at least one substantive epistemological assumption. He had to disregard the possibility, raised by Boas, that cultural similarities could result from causes other than diffusion.¹⁰⁶ In his one clear statement on this issue, Barbeau dismissed this possibility by reducing it to what appeared to him as a reiteration of evolutionism,¹⁰⁷ a doctrine Barbeau could not accept. For him cultural similarities became proof of diffusion. To determine authentic Amerindian culture, Barbeau examined different cultural elements (artistic motifs, totemic crests, religious practices, material culture, oral traditions and so on), compared these with similar elements from European cultures, and eliminated from authentic Amerindian culture those elements for which he found European parallels. What was left was authentic Amerindian culture. Barbeau, even in the absence of direct

¹⁰⁵ Barbeau, "The Native Races of Canada", 48. See also Barbeau, "Indian Trade Silver", *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ Franz Boas, "The Limits of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" [original 1896] in Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture* (New York: 1940), 270-80..

¹⁰⁷ Barbeau, "'Totemic Atmosphere'", 103-4.

evidence could use the comparative method to provide an empirical foundation for a salvage ethnography freed from reliance upon his informants' voices. One no longer had to trust the beliefs of the "decrepit survivors of a past age"; rather, the reconstruction of authentic culture could proceed on the evidently sounder empirical foundation provided by anthropological science.¹⁰⁸

Barbeau's own preconceptions about the character of traditional Amerindian culture permeated this empirical foundation of fact. As he compared and eliminated different cultural elements from authentic Amerindian culture some of the implicit assumptions upon which he based the conclusions derived from his empirical method became evident. Barbeau rejected, for example, the idea that the Micmac hero-deity Gloosecap could have been an element of authentic Micmac culture -- a culture he had never studied intensely -- because, he argued, no authentic Amerindian culture was monotheistic and Gloosecap was for him clearly a representation of a monotheistic god. Therefore, he reasoned, Gloosecap was not authentic and had more likely been diffused into Micmac culture from either early Christian missionary teaching or even Viking sources.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the

¹⁰⁸ Marius Barbeau, *Assomption Sash* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 93, Anthropological Series No. 24 (Ottawa: facsimile ed., 1972 [1938]), 1-2, 18 and 25.

¹⁰⁹ Marius Barbeau, "Summary of a Course of Lectures on the Human Geography of North America, or North Americans, Their Backgrounds" (University of Ottawa, 1944-45), TS 47. Barbeau Fonds, box 173.

cross motifs found among the Algonkians -- another culture he had never studied intensely -- could be derived from no other source than early French explorers because the cross was a European religious symbol.¹¹⁰ Amerindian metal crafts could not be an authentic tradition because Amerindian societies did not have the tools to produce work comparable in quality to European craft workers.¹¹¹ The implicit assumptions guiding these conclusions pre-structured Barbeau's empirical analyses. Authentic Amerindian cultures were polytheistic or animistic, they had not attained a high level of material or technological development before contact with Europeans, and were so markedly different from European culture that similarities -- even seemingly incidental similarities, such as that between Northwest Coast beaver crests and the Hudson's Bay Company beaver symbol¹¹² -- could be explained in no other way than diffusion, from Europe to aboriginal Canada.

Barbeau used his comparative method in a slightly different way when he examined folk culture. During his extensive folklore field research across rural Quebec he collected diverse variants of individual songs and legends. This material was not usually conveyed by his informants in what he believed was its authentic state. "These songs,"

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

¹¹¹ Barbeau, "Indian Trade Silver", *passim*.

¹¹² Barbeau, "Totemism", 55.

Barbeau explained in the preface to his earliest published collection of folksongs

as they come from individual informants are not always in a perfect state of preservation; far from it. Centuries have elapsed since their inception and have left them with many scars. Words, when they do not belong to the current vocabulary, are at times deformed; the lines are not infrequently mangled, the rhymes lost, and the stanzas do not appear in their proper sequence.¹¹³

The "faultiness" of these songs did not immediately occur to Barbeau. He began collecting French-Canadian folklore in 1914 and as late as 1917 was still convinced that his material should be published in a literal transcription of his informants' words. This was, he felt at the time, the most scientifically authentic form of the material because it came directly from oral sources. Barbeau's collaborator, a Bryn Mawr musicologist named Jean Beck, disagreed. The material he had collected, Beck told Barbeau, could make no *a priori* claim to authenticity simply because it had been obtained orally from an informant. All art, Beck argued, was inherently performative and each performance was different. There was, therefore, no pure form of a folk song and this permitted folklorists a certain degree of leeway to correct "faulty" elements in songs because an oral source had no prior or superior claim to authenticity.¹¹⁴

In 1917 Barbeau disagreed with Beck's analysis and

¹¹³ Barbeau and Sapir, "Preface", xx.

¹¹⁴ Jean Beck à Marius Barbeau, 8 avril 1917, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-1701.

published, despite acknowledged problems, the material he had collected in rural Quebec. Such publication of the literal transcriptions, he argued at that time, was the only way to ensure scientific validity.¹¹⁵ But Beck's argument must have had some impact on Barbeau's approach to the recovery of authentic folklore. Shortly thereafter he abandoned the idea that the voice of his informants provided a guarantee of authenticity. To correct the "faulty" elements of the material he collected Barbeau determined that he should "not [be] satisfied with single versions" of songs, nor should he "publish [these] records as they stand, blunders and all."¹¹⁶ Instead, he worked to accumulate as many different variants of folksongs as possible and then, looking for commonalities, compared the variants to each other. Where discrepancies in wording occurred, he selected the wording which occurred most frequently. Wordings found less frequently were assumed to be deviations from the original. Barbeau explained: "[t]o a folksong, these versions are like limbs to a tree. They appear in clusters at the top, but can be traced to older branches which ultimately converge to a single trunk."¹¹⁷ Through this process of elimination Barbeau produced the trunk of the tree: the original authentic folksong as it had

¹¹⁵ Marius Barbeau à Jean Beck, 31 mars 1917 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-1700.

¹¹⁶ Barbeau and Sapir, "Preface", xx.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxi; "Barbeau Tells Methods of Folk Song Collecting" *New York Herald Tribune*, 30 March 1937.

first been composed. The fact that he had no empirical evidence that this original, authentic folksong had ever been sung by anyone seemed not to have occurred to him although a note of disquiet later entered Barbeau's private correspondance with other folklorists. When he advised Nova Scotia folklorist Helen Creighton on methodological issues in 1944, Barbeau told her his method was the best means to determine authentic folklore; at least, he added, no one had so far questioned him on it.¹¹⁸

As with his use of the comparative method for Amerindian culture, Barbeau recognized that his claim to have recovered authentic originals rested on a specific cultural assumption: that there were original versions of folksongs which could be recovered and reconstructed notwithstanding the distorting and accumulative impact of oral transmission. In the early twentieth century, this assumption placed him on one pole of an extended debate about the nature of popular expression which viewed traditional culture as the preserved memory of a series of original traditions. The other pole was occupied by an alternative perspective which viewed traditional culture as a creative process by which the folk spontaneously created and recreated folk culture. The folk songs recorded in rural Quebec were, he believed, ancient, dating back perhaps thousands, but at the least hundreds, of years and

¹¹⁸ Marius Barbeau to Helen Creighton, 17 May 1944, Helen Creighton paper, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, MG 1, v. 2810, f. 24.

while he could not specify the exact composers he felt he could specify the general group. His candidates were late mediaeval jongleurs, travelling performers from northern France.¹¹⁹

Throughout the remainder of his life Barbeau held to this position, but he did so with an increasing number of qualifications. By the post-World War II era, he acknowledged that this theory could not hold for all of French-speaking peoples in Canada. Acadian folklore, which had become the subject of extensive scholarly interest in the previous half century seemed to contradict his image of French-Canadian folk culture. New folksongs were being written and folklorists were recording material for which no equivalents could be found elsewhere in the French-speaking world. However, his theory still held, Barbeau argued, for Quebec, and he further contended that the cultural archive he had constructed at the National Museum proved this point.¹²⁰ But considering Barbeau's field methods, how could it do otherwise?

¹¹⁹ Marius Barbeau, *Folk-Songs of Old Quebec* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 75, Anthropological Series 16 (Ottawa: 2nd ed., 1962), 8.

¹²⁰ Marius Barbeau, "Preparation" à *Le rossignol y chante: Première partie d'un répertoire de la chanson folklorique française au Canada* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 175, Anthropological Series No. 52 (Ottawa: 1962), 7.

5. The Promise of Intimacy

The promise of intimacy with which Barbeau began field research became, then, doubly problematic. The scientific procedures which sanctioned the authority of salvage ethnography turned on either the experienced intuition of the field researcher, who discerned the true "ring" of authenticity amid the misleading distortions to which traditional culture had fallen prey in the modern age, or a method of empirical analysis which confirmed its own implicit assumptions. In the process, many actual voices of "tradition" were displaced as part of the quest for it. Under the constraints of government anthropology and confronted with the "faulty" memories of informants, the ethnographic encounter from which Barbeau derived his "first-hand" cultural knowledge provided no immanent access to traditional culture. The question of authenticity could not really be determined in the field. For Barbeau, authentic traditional culture could still be found in North America, but only rarely and only then by intuition, an ethnographic method he disavowed even as he practised it. The authentic traditional cultures Barbeau salvaged from the disintegrating impact of modernity were most often found in his office at the National Museum.

Chapter 3

"But Now Things Have Changed":

Huron-Wyandot Culture and the Politics of Ethnography

You do not wish to see me live in the modern world.
--Naomi Dawson to Marius Barbeau (1927)¹

The popular notion about the vanishing American races is not very far wrong and The Last of the Mohicans of James Fenimore Cooper, as it were, closes a picturesque chapter that cannot be reopened.
--Marius Barbeau (1931)²

For nineteenth-century anthropologists, Iroquoian culture occupied an important position in the evolutionist paradigm. Lewis Henry Morgan, perhaps the most influential American anthropologist before Franz Boas, built upon a personal interest in Iroquoian culture to fashion his synthetic treatise *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity* in which he argued that the metanarrative of human history could be written as the history of changing patterns of social organization. As constructed by Morgan, Iroquoian social organization, generalized into a pan-American system, occupied an intermediate position between tribal organization

¹ Cited in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 125.

² Marius Barbeau, "Our Indians -- Their Disappearance" *Queen's Quarterly* 38,4 (1931), 695.

and paired marriage in a fifteen-stage typology leading from anarchic "promiscuous" society to the modern "descriptive" family. Likewise, James Frazer, the most important British anthropologist of the fin-de-siècle era, saw in Iroquoian culture an intermediate totemic cultural stage mediating the transition from animism to religion.³ For both Frazer and Morgan, the significance of Iroquoian culture lay in a conception of its position as a transitional stage in a broader narrative of human evolution.

Frazer, who wrote after Morgan, constructed his narrative in a markedly different way than his predecessor. Where Morgan had told the story of humanity as the evolution of social organization, Frazer drew on the legacy of the Enlightenment to write a narrative of human history as an expanding process of rationality. For Frazer, the ideal of the rational society signified the highest stage of human evolution, while for Morgan this position was reserved for the democratic nation-state complemented by the nuclear family.⁴ But although their

³ On Morgan and his influence see Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, ch. 3. For Frazer's views see J.G. Frazer, "Totemism" (1897) reprinted in Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy: A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society* 4 vols (London: 1910), I, 56-8. On Frazer see Ernest Gellner, *Anthropology and Politics: Revolutions in the Sacred Grove* (Oxford: 1995), ch. 7 and Stocking, *After Tylor*.

⁴ Gellner, *Anthropology and Politics*, 108-11; Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 46-8, 60, 62 and 71; and

narratives differed, both Morgan and Frazer agreed that human history was a narrative of progress along a continuum leading from barbarism to civilization and that their task as anthropologists was to define and chart the stages of human history. For both Frazer and Morgan, the principal importance of Iroquoian culture lay in what it illustrated about this general pattern of human progress.

The ethnographic survey of Huron-Wyandot culture Marius Barbeau conducted between 1911 and 1914 could be read as part of the Boasian critique of nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropology.⁵ Certainly this was one of the ways in which Barbeau himself conceived of his research. One of the goals of his fieldwork, he later noted, was to test empirically the applicability of Frazer's conception of totemism for an Iroquoian culture.⁶ One could also follow in Laurence Nowry's footsteps and read Barbeau's work as the vindication of the strategy of salvage ethnography, a triumph of anthropological

Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: 1987), ch. 7. See also Fabian, *Time and The Other*, 11-8 and 26-7.

⁵ As Marvin Harris has told the story of Boas's Kwakiutl ethnography and Frank Speck's work on Algonkian culture. Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, 295, 298 and 302-5.

⁶ Marius Barbeau, sketch of Huron-Wyandot fieldwork, TS (n.d.), 1 in Marius Barbeau--Huron-Wyandot Files, Canadian Museum of Civilization [hereafter MB-HWF], B-G-18.3.

reason over the ravages of time.⁷ Barbeau also came to agree with this reading. "The author of [this] monograph," he explained in the introduction to a collection of traditional Huron-Wyandot narratives he published in 1960, "was fortunate enough to save these authentic materials from oblivion by his almost belated research among the last ten or fifteen survivors of a Laurentian race."⁸

The story of Barbeau's Huron-Wyandot ethnography can, however, be told in a third way which would link it to the broader processes of modern culture in Canada. Making this link raises questions about the cultural politics of ethnography elided in both Nowry's treatment of Barbeau and in narratives of modern anthropology which present the rise of Boasian particularism as a progressive revision of nineteenth-century evolutionary anthropology.⁹ When Barbeau began his Huron-Wyandot field research in 1911 the repercussions extended beyond the discipline of anthropology. As he ventured into the field he also ventured into the cultural

⁷ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 102-123. "It was ... clear," Nowry writes, "that [the] survival of Wyandot lore, about to be collected by their first and last trained ethnographer, hung by a few slender threads." (107).

⁸ Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 1.

⁹ Cf. Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, 129-30; Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, ch. 8; and Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*.

politics of modernity.

In the following chapter I want to examine Barbeau's Huron-Wyandot ethnographic work as a case study in the history of Canadian anthropology and in Canadian cultural history. My aims are to explore the dynamics of early-twentieth-century Canadian anthropology as an aspect of Amerindian-white relations and to link the history of a scientific discipline to broader patterns of cultural politics.

1. The Ethnographic Project

Barbeau's Huron-Wyandot ethnographic survey was organized in the winter of 1911 as part of the research program of the newly-established Anthropology Division. The idea for an Huron-Wyandot ethnographic survey appears to have originated with Sapir, who conceived of Barbeau's work as one part of a larger project designed to explore the prehistoric cultural dynamics of Eastern Woodlands peoples. This project was, Barbeau later noted, "la plus grande entreprise du Musée ... pendant cette période."¹⁰ It absorbed the labour of nine other members of the anthropology division aside from Barbeau: Frank Speck, Paul Radin, Cyrus MacMillan and W.H. Mechling were

¹⁰ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 52.

contracted to study the Algonkian cultures of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces; Frank Waugh, F.W.S. Knowles, and A.A. Goldenweiser researched the material culture, physical anthropology, social organization and oral traditions of the Iroquois Confederacy; and W.J. Wintemberg and Harlan Smith excavated archaeological sites at Roebuck, Uren, Lawson and along Georgian Bay in Ontario. Barbeau's survey of Huron-Wyandot culture focused on social organization, linguistics and material culture and was intended to form a point of comparison with similar research done by Goldenweiser and Waugh at the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.¹¹

Barbeau's research began at Lorette, a Huron community near Quebec City, established as a reserve in the seventeenth century by the French imperial state to accommodate the refugees who had evacuated Huronia in the late 1640s and early 1650s. After leaving Huronia, some refugees were absorbed into the various nations of the Iroquois Confederacy; others established themselves near Anderdon, Ontario; while others made their way to the St. Lawrence Valley where they initially constructed a village on Ile d'Orléans. Their settlement was subsequently relocated to Ste. Foy when the original settlement could not be defended from continuing Iroquois

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 52-8.

raids. In 1673 the Huron inhabitants of Ste. Foy were moved once again to Ancienne Lorette and finally in 1697 to Jeune Lorette where the French colonial administration hoped they would assimilate into French civilization.¹² In 1911, when Barbeau arrived to begin field research, the population of Lorette numbered about four hundred. The local economy was based on a combination of work off the reserve, limited hunting, guiding and manufacturing. Manufacturing had begun at Lorette in the mid-nineteenth century, initially in response to demands from local markets and a developing tourist trade.¹³ By the turn of the century Lorette manufactories produced a variety of goods, ranging from moccasins to saddles, which Montreal merchants sold across Canada and the United States. The importance of leather

¹² Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal and Kingston: 1987), 725-836; and Lionel Allard, *L'Ancienne Lorette* (Ottawa: 1979), 29.

¹³ Charles MacKay, LL.D., F.S.A., *Life and Liberty in America: or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada in 1857-8* (New York: 1859), 369; *The United States and Canada as Seen by Two Brothers in 1858 and 1861* (London: 1862), 96 and Capt. J.E. Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America, and the West Indies with Notes on Negro Slavery and Canadian Immigration* 2 vols (London: 1833) II, 205. On Lorette manufacturing for the local Quebec market in the mid-nineteenth century see William H.G. Kingston, *Western Wanderings or, a Pleasure Tour in the Canadas* 2 vols. (London: 1856), II, 236.

manufacturing left a distinctive mark on the local landscape:
"As the traveller from Quebec reaches ... the Indian village
of Lorette," a previous ethnographer noted

the means of living of the inhabitants are vividly revealed to his senses. On the right, he cannot fail to notice an extensive field covered with poles and rails, on which hides in great numbers are hung up to dry. To the left, between the railway track and the River St. Charles, he observes some fifty houses, nearly all alike: small, low-roofed, wooden buildings, whitewashed, in double rows separated by narrow lanes.¹⁴

Social, cultural and economic relations between the Lorette Hurons and their French-Canadian neighbours were, as Barbeau would later discover, complex. In some ways Lorette would have appeared to early-twentieth-century white observers as a model reserve. Its population spoke French, had been converted to Christianity for generations, and had distinguished themselves through the adoption of industry and formal education.¹⁵ Nineteenth-century travellers periodically remarked on the neat and ordered appearance of Lorette and its inhabitants.¹⁶ Its single-family white-washed houses and

¹⁴ Léon Gérin, "The Hurons of Lorette" *Transactions of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society* (1899-1900), 74.

¹⁵ J.D. McLean to Clifford Sifton, 9 August 1897, DIA, RG 10, volume 2883, file 179,962, micro reel C-11291.

¹⁶ For example, Amelia Murray, a mid-nineteenth century tourist, viewed Lorette as a model of civilization on a European scale: "This place, better built, and more clean and

Italian-style Catholic church, which housed community and religious relics, made it appear to the early-twentieth-century travel writer Victoria Heyward like "some little escaped English garden",¹⁷ and to Barbeau, like a French-Canadian village. Social intercourse between Hurons and French Canadians was frequent. In addition to working off the reserve, Huron students studied at the Quebec Seminary and the Université Laval and maintained close friendships with French Canadians.

This intercourse was complicated, however, by longstanding unresolved Huron grievances against white society and the federal government. In the late nineteenth century, such tensions (combined with internal political and religious divisions between Protestant and Catholic Hurons) occasionally produced explosive situations. In at least one incident, violence occurred when whites entered the reserve and

orderly, than most European villages, at once set at rest the question of whether Indians can be induced to give up nomadic life." Hon. Amelia M. Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Company, 1856), 78-9. For less enthusiastic, but still complimentary descriptions, see MacKay, *Life and Liberty in America*, 369-70; *The United States and Canada as Seen by Two Brothers in 1858 and 1861*, 97 and Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches*, II, 205.

¹⁷ Victoria Heyward, "Indian Lorette" *Canadian Magazine* 54 (1920), 495.

assaulted a Huron man in his own home.¹⁸ Traditionalist Hurons resented the erosion of reserve land through leasing arrangements made with sporting clubs through the local Indian Agent and frequently complained to the federal Department of Indian Affairs about the influence whites exerted on reserve politics. Although native traditionalists' claims against white Canadians involved several different issues, their primary concerns centered on the ethnic identity of reserve residents, many of whom, traditionalists felt, were not Huron. Despite persistent pressure from Lorette, the Department of Indian Affairs took little action. It did eventually accede to traditionalist demands for a genealogical study of the reserve's population and permitted the Lorette Huron to evict several French Canadians from reserve property.¹⁹

To Léon Gérin, a turn-of-the-century sociologist and disciple of the French cultural geographer LePlay, social and cultural tension at Lorette was immediately evident. After

¹⁸ Albert Sioui to the Minister of the Interior, n.d., DIA, RG 10, Volume 2883, file 179,962 micro reel C-11291.

¹⁹ Stanislas Sioui et al., "Explanatory notes as to the custom which has always been followed in the Huron Tribe of Jeune Lorette" (8 April 1897); Duncan Campbell Scott to Stanislas Sioui, 16 November 1896; "Memorandum for the Honourable the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Embodying the Complaints in the Departmental Files made by the Hurons of Lorette" TS (n.d.) all in DIA, RG 10, volume 2883, file 179,962 micro reel C-11291.

conducting field research at Lorette in the late nineteenth century he reported that several of his informants spoke of French Canadians in exceedingly negative terms. These tensions were rooted in cultural, historic, economic and political factors. According to Gérin, the Lorette Huron "still form a [culturally] separate group." At Lorette, aboriginal "social traditions still persist and to quite an extent [are] impressing the minds and moulding the lives of the French-speaking descendants of the primitive Hurons."²⁰ Politically, the Lorette Huron resented the erosion of their traditional hunting rights, a concern first manifesting itself in the mid-nineteenth century, and which resulted from the expansion of white settlement, the leasing of reserve lands to sports clubs, and government efforts to control when and where the Hurons hunted.²¹ Finally, the Lorette Huron also resented French-Canadian industries which produced imitation Huron crafts and competed with Huron manufacturing for the craft market. One informant, Daniel Gros-Louis, Gérin reported,

told me in language at times forceful, of the woes

²⁰ Gérin, "The Hurons of Lorette", 69.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 74-5. For a mid-nineteenth-century discussion of this issue see J.G. Kohl, *Travels in Canada and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania* 2 vols, trans. P. Sinnett (London: 1861), 179. Several of Barbeau's informants also complained about this problem. Marius Barbeau, fieldnotes, 27 avril [1911], MB-HWF, B-G-13.23.

of the poor Indians, despoiled of their hunting grounds by the encroachments of the white settlers and the leases to clubs. Gros-Louis stated clearly that in his opinion there are only two decent kind[s] of people: first the Indians, like himself of course, then the 'gentlemen,' who occasionally help the Indian on. As for the 'habitants,' they are a stupid lot, who work hard and ignore the pleasures of life.²²

Barbeau's Huron-Wyandot field research extended over a three-year period. After completing work at Lorette in 1911, he travelled to Anderdon to interview an informant named Mary McKee and from there proceeded to Oklahoma. Between 1911 and 1914 Barbeau directed almost his full attention to Huron-Wyandot ethnography. He spent seven months in the field, much of this time engaged in intensive research. At Lorette he worked seven days a week recording genealogies, music and mythology, purchasing material culture, and learning Huron crafts.²³ At Anderdon and in Oklahoma he followed much the same regime. He also examined museum collections in Chicago and Kansas City, where he made a brief, but to his mind

²² Gérin, "The Hurons of Lorette", 74-5. Gérin reported that another informant, Tsionis, had also "bitterly complained of the interference with their hunting privileges on the part of whites, through government regulations and leases to clubs." *Ibid.*, 76.

²³ "Field Trips Undertaken by C.M. [Marius] Barbeau" TS in Marius Barbeau Fonds, Canadian Museum of Civilization [hereafter Barbeau Fonds], temporary box 51, Edward Sapir file; Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 16 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

fruitless, search for further informants.

If the specific focus of his research was determined by the goals Sapir had set for the Anthropology Division, the sites at which Barbeau conducted this research emerged from no set plan. His field research was, rather, a quest for Huron-Wyandot culture, shifting locations according to the contingencies of the information which became available to him. Barbeau learned of Mary McKee, who he considered one of his best informants, through B.N.O Walker, a Wyandot clerk at the QuaPaw government agency in Oklahoma. He followed other leads he received from Charles Cooke, a Mohawk amateur anthropologist and clerk with the federal Department of Indian Affairs. McKee, in turn, referred Barbeau to her relatives in Wyandotte, Oklahoma.²⁴

Barbeau's initial assessment of Huron-Wyandot culture was marked by ambiguity. The personal characteristics of some informants periodically frustrated and annoyed him. While at Lorette he complained to Sapir that his research had been hampered by a "damned blockhead" who refused to act as an informant and explained that he would not be able to secure some of the best artifacts because the Lorette Huron had "an

²⁴ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 103-4.

overly exaggerated idea of [their] worth...."²⁵ At Anderdon, his research was complicated by some individuals who did not want Barbeau interviewing their elderly relatives,²⁶ and in Oklahoma his research stalled because the interpreters he found himself forced to use were "thick-headed, deaf, or drunkards" and because "the most primitive of the Wyandots, from whom I had expected the most, have partly failed, so far, to help me...." Competition from local collectors and American anthropologists was driving up artifact prices and the community, in general, was wary of Barbeau because a previous anthropologist had failed to pay for articles he had collected.²⁷

On the other hand, Barbeau clearly enjoyed his first field research expeditions. His research at Lorette was aided by the reserve chief Maurice Bastien, a friend of Barbeau's father, who taught Barbeau traditional crafts and introduced him to other potential informants.²⁸ Barbeau respected the Huron culture he found at Lorette and offered a largely

²⁵ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 May 1911 and 23 April 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

²⁶ Marius Barbeau, fieldnotes, 19 juin [1911], MB-HWF, B-G-132.12.

²⁷ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 22 September 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

²⁸ Barbeau, "My Life with Indian Songs", 3.

positive assessment of the cultural condition of the reserve. In a series of field reports written to Sapir in 1911 he emphasized the richness and vitality of Huron culture as it existed at Lorette. "I am glad to say," he told Sapir shortly after beginning fieldwork, "that I have had a grand time about Quebec; I have already had two full days with my informants and I entertain the hope that quite a considerable amount of sound information is forthcoming." He had already managed to record an at-the-time unspecified number of traditional songs which he believed were ethnographically valuable from one informant, a Father Prosper Vincent whom he had previously met years before at a college assembly. "I know that some of these songs (if not all) will be very interesting," he told Sapir.²⁹

Throughout his life Barbeau continued to view these songs as an important element of his Huron-Wyandot fieldwork, but the reasons why he felt they were important changed over time. He later considered these songs ethnographically valuable as remnants of a moribund culture, but in 1911 he saw them not as remnants but as a sign of cultural strength and continuity. "It is interesting to note," he reported to Sapir, "that the

²⁹ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 23 April 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

Huron oral tradition has not been broken; and that a good deal of information will be secured from this source."³⁰ Nor was Vincent the only good source Barbeau could find. "Many of the people now living," he noted in another report, "...are experts in some branches of Huron technology."³¹ In addition to songs and technology Barbeau collected a number of legends "of remarkable excellence (so far as the recital of interesting facts is concerned)" and secured a considerable body of information on Huron social organization and mythology which he felt would allow him to revise significantly the current anthropological understanding of Huron clan structure and religion.³² He also gained access to written records being preserved on the reserve and, despite his initial concerns about cost, collected a sizable body of artifacts. Bastien lent Barbeau a copy of the parish register which was used to make records of kinship descent and another local Huron, Albert Picard, had in his possession what Barbeau considered a substantial written record of Huron traditions, legends, and

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 2 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

³² Barbeau, "On Huron Work, 1911", 381-6.

technology compiled by his grandfather.³³

Barbeau was particularly impressed by the status of Huron technology at Lorette and was especially happy with information he collected on tattooing, medicines, moose hair embroidery, and leather preparing. Prices for artifacts were high, he told Sapir, but deservedly so because of their remarkable quality: the artistic motifs decorating the articles he had collected were, he explained, "not used for commercial purposes" and had been "handed down from the ancient Hurons."³⁴ To reduce expenses yet maintain authenticity Barbeau suggested that the division commission local Hurons to build replicas or models. It would be possible, he told Sapir, to have replicas made of snowshoes, cradles, a bow and arrows, traps, basketry, a sled, and a hut.³⁵

In Oklahoma his research achievements surpassed those at Lorette. The Wyandot Oklahoma reserve was first established in 1857 by Wyandots migrating from Kansas, where a treaty with the United States government had resulted in the official dissolution of the Wyandot nation. At first settling on

³³ *Ibid.* and Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 23 April and 13 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

³⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 2 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

³⁵ *Ibid.* and Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 23 April 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

territory granted by the Seneca nation, the Wyandot negotiated a new treaty and reservation with the federal government which was expanded to twenty thousand acres in 1858. By 1870 the Wyandot had entirely converted their economic base to agriculture, a step that won the praise of an ethnographer who visited the reserve in the late-nineteenth century. "Their reservation near Seneca," he wrote, "...in the Indian Territory, is not different from the well-tilled portions of our country. They are good farmers and have schools and churches."³⁶

What impressed Barbeau, however, was not the farms, schools and churches the Wyandot had built, but the "authenticity" of the material he was collecting. After an initial setback as he adapted to the local culture, Barbeau quickly managed to find the information and artifacts for which he was looking. Even as he complained about the indifference to his work of the "primitive ... Wyandots", Barbeau reported to Sapir that he had already filled four-and-one-half notebooks with ethnographic data and had shipped off two crates of artifacts, including wampum strings, children's

³⁶ William Elsey Connelley, *Wyandot Folk-Lore* (Topeka KA: 1899), 8. On the Wyandot and the establishment of the Oklahoma reserve see Elizabeth Tooker, "Wyandot" in *Handbook of North American Indians* 17 vols. (Washington: 1978), XV, 402-4.

moccasins, beaded bags, women's leggings, bracelets, tobacco baskets, a peach-seed game, turtle shell rattles, a walnut war club, a tomahawk, some carvings, and a feather headdress.³⁷ He also worked recording traditional songs, making records of Wyandot linguistics, and even managed to attend a ritual feast. As he had at Lorette, Barbeau discovered written records which he believed provided an ethnographically important account of Wyandot social organization and which later permitted him to identify a new clan -- the snipe clan -- previously unknown to anthropologists. Barbeau believed that, aided by these records and other information, he might be able to reconstruct "ancient" Huron-Wyandot religion as well as social organization more or less completely.³⁸ "Notwithstanding the widely accredited barrenness of this field of research, owing to the advanced state of civilization among the few hundred dispersed descendants of the once numerous Huron tribes," he noted in one report on his field research, "the results secured have so greatly surpassed, in quality and quantity, our expectations, that it has proved impossible to exhaust the sources of information at [our]

³⁷ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 26 October 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

³⁸ Barbeau, "On Huron Work, 1911", 382 and 384.

disposal."³⁹

Even allowing for the enthusiasm engendered by an anthropologist's first field work,⁴⁰ the work of collection had been good. Barbeau had ventured into what he had expected to be a barren field and had emerged with a plethora of information and artifacts which Sapir publicly lauded as the best Huron-Wyandot collection existing.⁴¹ His research, Barbeau felt, would permit the revision of several important aspects of Huron-Wyandot ethnography, including social organization, the historical development of the Wyandot language, and Huron cosmology. The field of Huron-Wyandot ethnography was far from barren. The most interesting aspect of Barbeau's anthropology during the course of his Huron-Wyandot field research, however, was not simply his treatment of the continued vitality of Huron-Wyandot traditions or the ethnographic revisions he believed his research made possible, but his treatment of the vitality of Amerindian peoples more generally. In a brief interview given to the *Omaha Daily News* in 1915 when Barbeau was in that city visiting an aunt, he

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁴⁰ See Rabinow, *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco* for a discussion of some of the excitement and mythology surrounding field research.

⁴¹ Sapir, "The Work of the Division of Anthropology of the Dominion Government", 65.

flatly denied the popular myth that Amerindian people constituted a "vanishing race." Amerindian cultures would change, he forecasted, to the extent that interaction with white society would cause Amerindian peoples to lose some of their "individuality" (by which he meant cultural distinctiveness) but he believed that as a "race" Amerindian people existed in sufficient numbers to ensure that they were not about to disappear.⁴²

2. The Making of a Vanishing Race

Barbeau's research unearthed a still vital Huron-Wyandot culture, rich in ethnographic detail. But for all its positive characterizations of Huron-Wyandot culture, his ethnographic project retained the distinct cultural ambivalence of the salvage paradigm. The vitality Barbeau found at Lorette and in Oklahoma was simply a continuation of what he imagined had been the traditions of the "ancient" Hurons. His ethnography focused on the reconstruction of an historic culture, not on the culturally complex lives of living Huron and Wyandot people. Barbeau collected ancient

⁴² "Says Indians Will Be Here for Years" *Omaha Daily News*, 16 April 1915, in MB-NWCF, B-F-608.

songs, war clubs and moccasins; he ignored or excluded the modern cultural adaptations offered him by Huron and Wyandot informants as emblems of their culture.⁴³ He wanted to know about the snipe clan, but had no interest in a nineteenth-century procession flag (a Union Jack which had been used in the 1830s⁴⁴) Bastien wanted to donate to the National Museum. Barbeau appreciated Huron-Wyandot culture, but he appreciated a culture he had selectively created in his imagination, and by means of the archives and artifact collections of the Anthropology Division. Neither allowed him to reflect the complexity of the lives lived by the people who were his informants.

Within a remarkably short time, Barbeau's views on the vitality of Huron-Wyandot culture changed dramatically. The advent of European culture in North America, he soon came to believe, had marked an abrupt turning point in the history of aboriginal cultures and peoples which resulted in their almost complete and immediate destruction. For Barbeau, the Huron people came to represent the archetype of the cultural, and

⁴³ For example see C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "Wyandot Tales, including foreign elements", *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 28,57 (1915), 83-95.

⁴⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 16 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

physical, destruction of Amerindian peoples.⁴⁵ There was, he began explaining in the late 1910s, virtually nothing left from pre-European contact Huron-Wyandot culture. Further analysis, Barbeau claimed, proved that much of the material he had collected in the field did not reflect authentic Huron-Wyandot culture. For example, he argued that well-known artistic forms, such as moose hair and porcupine quill embroidery, could not be authentic because they were derived from European sources. The idea that these art forms were elements of authentic Amerindian culture was, he later told one correspondent, a product of anthropologists' imaginations, and he singled out Frank Speck as the originator of this supposed myth.⁴⁶ Amerindian arts and crafts, Barbeau bluntly told an audience at the University of British Columbia in 1926, were dead and, moreover, could not be revived.⁴⁷

Barbeau never clarified why he had so dramatically changed his mind. In a sense, however, his disillusionment with the Huron-Wyandot was overdetermined by his profound immersion in the world of turn-of-the-century anthropological

⁴⁵ Barbeau, "Our Indians", 693.

⁴⁶ Marius Barbeau to Robert T. Halt, 3 June 1949 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 16, Robert Halt file and Marius Barbeau to Ian Lindsay, 17 April 1953, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 28, Ian Lindsay file.

⁴⁷ "Save Art of Coast Indians" [Vancouver] *Daily Province*, 22 October 1926.

thought and by the dominant perceptions of Amerindians in Canadian culture. From this perspective, his initial enthusiasm for Lorette and its people was unlikely to change the assumptions he had deeply internalized at Oxford, and which were confirmed for him by the organization and program of government anthropology and, more generally, by the political and cultural discourses through which the "Indian Problem" was constructed in Canada.

This shifting impression of Amerindian cultures was mirrored in Barbeau's later reassessment of his original Huron-Wyandot field research. While initially Barbeau had been impressed by the wealth of information to be gathered, the vitality of oral traditions, and the continuation of "ancient" crafts,⁴⁸ he now came to see Huron-Wyandot culture as in a state of near extinction which had been the case even upon his arrival in the field in 1911. When he had commenced his original fieldwork, Barbeau later wrote, Lorette was inhabited "[o]nly by a few hundred Catholic half-breeds ... [who] had forsaken their customs and language and used only French...."⁴⁹ "I was much disappointed at first," he later told

⁴⁸ Which retained enough authenticity that he was prepared to collect recently made replicas where originals were unavailable.

⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau, "How the Folk Songs of French Canada Were Discovered" *Canadian Geographic Journal* 69,2 (1954), 58-9.

Laurence Nowry, "because those Lorette people were like their [French Canadian] neighbours in Charlesbourg. They were like white people...."⁵⁰ "I expected to see real Indians.... They were not ... not one of them spoke Huron...."⁵¹ The ethnographic success of his fieldwork, Barbeau came to believe, was largely attributable to the memories of a limited number of elderly people who could still recall the old ways.⁵²

Prosper Vincent occupied a central position in Barbeau's later reconstruction of his original Huron-Wyandot fieldwork. When he had first visited Lorette in 1911, Vincent had been one of the more important informants who contributed to Barbeau's ethnographic archive.⁵³ Later Barbeau came to see Vincent as virtually the sole surviving remnant of a dying race. Born at Lorette in 1842 to Philippe and Henriette Vincent, Prosper made an interesting candidate to occupy this central position in Barbeau's intertwining narratives of his cultural work and of the Huron nation. The Vincent family was not involved in the mid-nineteenth century development of

⁵⁰ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 11.

⁵¹ Barbeau, "My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore", side A.

⁵² Barbeau, *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives*, 1-3 and Barbeau, sketch of Huron-Wyandot fieldwork, 2.

⁵³ Barbeau, *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, ix-xii.

manufacturing at Lorette, but they were politically influential and culturally important. Prosper's father Philippe was a merchant who eventually rose to the position of Grand Chief, while his brother Zacherie (Prosper's uncle) was a well-known local painter who had studied briefly with the renowned French-Canadian artist Antoine-Sébastien Plamondon in Quebec City. The Vincent family merged traditional and modern values: maintaining traditional music, but also adapting European art forms and supporting formal education. Contemporary accounts describe Prosper as a powerful and charismatic speaker, which may have been one of the reasons Barbeau was attracted to him. A quick and intelligent student, he won prizes in French and Latin at classical college before entering the Quebec Seminary to study for the priesthood. Ordained in 1870 at the age of twenty-eight, Prosper was the first Huron to become a Catholic priest; his first mass, celebrated at Lorette, had been cause for community celebration. Vincent subsequently served in ten different parishes, including a six-year term at Lorette before retiring to the Hospice de St.-Joseph de la Déliverance in Lévis where Barbeau interviewed him in 1911. After his death in 1915 Vincent's remains were interned in the Lorette parish church as a way of marking the historical importance of his ordination. Vincent himself could not speak Huron, but

his uncle Zacharie, reportedly the last person to speak the language, taught him a number of traditional songs when he was young.⁵⁴

For Barbeau, Vincent became an important ethnographic source not simply because he had a good memory or because he proved a particularly cooperative informant, but because he symbolized the old ways of a now-dead culture. Barbeau's later descriptions of Vincent pay tribute not only to his powers of memory (which do indeed appear to have been very good) but also to the beauty of his voice, his physical features and the images they conjured up. His voice, Barbeau noted, was "beautiful" and "sweet"⁵⁵ and "his personality, brown complexion, eagle eyes and aquiline nose bore the stamp of a native race of Indian days gone by."⁵⁶ When Barbeau spoke of Vincent in 1957 his memories of fieldwork became intertwined with memories of his own childhood and his earlier meeting with the priest at a school assembly. As a student,

⁵⁴ Margueritte Vincent Tehariolina, *La nation huronne: son histoire, sa culture, son esprit* (Québec: 1984), 61 and 309-12; and J.-B.-A. Allaire, *Dictionnaire Biographique du clergé canadien-français* (St.-Hyancithe: 1908), 576-7. On Zacharie Vincent see also J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto: 2nd. ed., 1977), 74.

⁵⁵ Barbeau, "My Live in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore", side A.

⁵⁶ Barbeau, "My Life with Indian Songs", 2.

Barbeau was to perform at this assembly but the highlight of the evening was a recital of Huron music and dance given by Vincent. "Indian songs came to me early in life," Barbeau recalled, "...I saw my first Indians at the age of ten. They were Kickapoos from the Northwest touring the province in covered wagons and giving entertainments." There were sword swallows and saw-dust eaters and the whole atmosphere, Barbeau recognized, was "circus-like": "[i]t all belonged to the days of Barnum." Unlike the "circus-like" travelling show, Vincent's songs were authentic and traditional. The school assembly at which the young Barbeau first saw Vincent became an ethnographically significant, as well as memorable, event. "This was," Barbeau later explained of one of Vincent's dances, "a dance of discovery, reminiscent of the colonial past and story books with gruesome tales that we enjoyed reading." "But," he continued, "he [Vincent] belonged to a vanishing race and most of his compatriots ... were half-breeds with pale complexion" who had given up the "ways of [their] ancestors."⁵⁷

Maurice Bastien, who had taught Barbeau some of the crafts he now claimed were unauthentic and who had loaned him a copy of the parish register, fared less well. The Bastien

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

family, like the Vincents, were politically influential in Lorette. They were among the pioneers of manufacturing in the mid-nineteenth century and Maurice himself owned manufactories which made snowshoes, moccasins and a variety of other products for the tourist trade. Like Vincent's father, Bastien had risen to the position of Grand Chief. When Barbeau came to retell the story of his Huron-Wyandot fieldwork Bastien's position became secondary to Vincent's and Bastien himself emerged primarily as a friend of Barbeau's father and the archetype of an assimilated Huron:

Bastien and my father would talk for hours ... about the feats of their stallions in the ring. But, had I not known that Maurice Bastien was an Indian chief, I would never have suspected his origin. No scalping song with him, only stories of horse racing and, to boot, werewolves, witches and the like.⁵⁸

The one problem with Vincent as an informant and a representative of authentic Huron culture was that he was a priest. Barbeau's reconstruction of an authentic Huron traditional culture did not encompass shifting patterns of Huron spirituality: the true Huron religion, he explained on more than one occasion, was a polytheistic animism defined by a series of different spiritual entities interacting with the material world.⁵⁹ Vincent's clerical vocation, and what it

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

might signify about his spirituality, could not combine well with this image of traditional Huron culture, especially as Barbeau had used the Catholicism of the Lorette Huron to indicate their general lack of authenticity. This must have caused Barbeau at least some unease because he later took the time to address the issue directly. Barbeau acknowledged Vincent's education and vocation but claimed that these did not affect his authenticity as a representative of a moribund culture because Vincent had never truly conformed to Catholicism. "Although talented, friendly and beloved and quite handsome," Barbeau later commented, "[Vincent] had proven no model as a priest ... for [he] had been too unsteady and nomadic in his ways. He was fit only (being eloquent) for preaching in the pulpit and for giving entertainments at colleges." Vincent's behaviour as a priest, Barbeau explained, had been so poor that "[t]he bishop then had decided not to ordain any other seminarist belonging to the red breed."⁶⁰ The authentic Huron could not assimilate into European culture even if he adopted its trappings.

Barbeau's remembering of Vincent and his shifting account

⁵⁹ For example, see Marius Barbeau, "Spiritual Beings of the Huron and Wyandot" *American Anthropologist* 16,2 (1914), 288-213.

⁶⁰ Barbeau, "My Life with Indian Songs", 3.

of the vitality of Huron-Wyandot culture raise an important series of questions for the history of anthropology in Canada. Vincent would most likely have been an interesting informant for any early-twentieth-century study of Huron culture. One would like to have known of Vincent's own views on Huron culture: How did he approach his own spirituality? Did he see a connection, or a contradiction, between his clerical vocation and his Huron ancestry? Why did he attend school assemblies to perform traditional Huron music and dance? Did he feel that Huron culture was moribund?

We have no answers to these questions. These are issues which stood beyond the framework of Barbeau's ethnography. To begin to answer them is difficult because we are forced to "read" Vincent through the descriptions others have left of him. It is necessary as well to allow that Vincent's -- and Barbeau's other informants' -- own views may have been unstable. Put another way, we should not begin from the assumption that Vincent's thinking on Huron culture, any more than Barbeau's, stemmed a cohesive, historically unchanging epistemological position. And, we should also allow for the integrity of divergent views within the Lorette Huron community. It is more than likely that individual Lorette Hurons viewed their culture in different ways which do not allow us to produce a stable, essentialist reading of early-

twentieth-century Huron views of Huron culture. Any answers we can suggest will, then, be necessarily tentative. Yet, Vincent's actions, and those of other residents of Lorette, do suggest that Barbeau's attempt to strip Vincent of his clerical trappings to distil the authentic Huron submerged below the surface, contradicted the ways in which Vincent saw himself and Huron culture in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The traditional songs Barbeau heard Vincent sing were clearly important to his Huron informant. Vincent had committed over sixty songs, sung in a language he did not speak, to memory and was happy, it seems, to have these collected and preserved.⁶¹ Vincent had previously supplied traditional songs to at least one other collector⁶² and was himself an amateur anthropologist with an interest in linguistics. The Huron historian Marguerite Vincent Tehariolina reports that Vincent had begun to compile a journal, perhaps like the one made by Albert Picard's grandfather, in which he made descriptions of Huron culture.⁶³

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Cf. L'abbé Lionel Saint-George Lindsay, *Notre-Dame de la Jeune Lorette, Étude Historique* (Montréal: 1900), 261 and 262.

⁶³ Vincent Tehariolina, *La nation huronne*, 419-20.

Barbeau's initial experiences with other informants at Lorette suggest the same pattern of interest in ethnographic work and the preservation of traditional Huron culture. "The people of Lorette have grown very interested about my researches and are most friendly and obliging," Barbeau reported to Sapir shortly after his fieldwork began.⁶⁴ Some of the material Barbeau collected, such as Picard's manuscript, was evidently offered before it was solicited. The material he was offered did not, however, always conform to Barbeau's idea of what constituted traditional Huron culture, and at times he was unsure what to do with it. The flag Maurice Bastien wanted to donate to the National Museum caused Barbeau special problems. He did not want to refuse the flag. To do so might offend a family friend and an important informant whose help facilitated the ethnographic survey of Lorette Barbeau wanted to complete. Nonetheless, in his view, the flag clearly could not be

⁶⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

displayed as a representation of authentic Huron culture.⁶⁵ The best course of action, Barbeau suggested to Sapir, was to accept the flag but not display it.⁶⁶

The behaviour of Vincent, Bastien and Picard suggests a different way of conceptualizing Huron culture. It suggests that these men, at least, saw traditional Huron culture as an important aspect of their own identity, and that of the Lorette people, which deserved to be preserved and displayed by the federal state. It also suggests that they conceptualized Huron culture as an historically unfolding culture which contained within it cultural elements Barbeau viewed as stark dichotomies. Local cultural memory organized itself around and through a set of historic events, such as nineteenth-century processions and Prosper Vincent's ordination, which extended well beyond the historic pre-European contact culture Barbeau sought. For Vincent, it appears, there was no contradiction between his clerical

⁶⁵ "I will have to-day," Barbeau told Sapir, "an old flag (un-jack) packed up at Lorette and sent over to our Museum. This flag has no special interest for us; it was used by the Hurons in their processions etc. ... for a number of years after 1830. But, as it was given to me for the museum and from the Chief Bastien, who has been very kind to us, I would not refuse it and say that it was simply a useless rag. So I had to send it to Ottawa." Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 16 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

⁶⁶ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 16 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

vocation and the traditional songs he committed to memory. He could be at once a priest and a Huron and one did not have to remove one identity to discover the other authentic -- perhaps even untamed -- identity beneath his surface. Vincent performed Huron songs and dances and helped anthropologists preserve traditional Huron culture because these were important to him. He remained a priest because this, too, was important to him. Certainly, late-nineteenth-century traditionalists at Lorette did not consider their Christianity to be an indictment of their Huron identity. Stanislas Sioui, a self-defined traditionalist who organized a campaign against white influences at Lorette was himself a devout Presbyterian who tried to convince the Department of Indian Affairs to support a Protestant school on reserve lands. And while Sioui questioned the ethnic identity of other reserve residents who considered themselves Huron, he never suggested that religion constituted a criterion by which Huron identity could be determined.⁶⁷

Barbeau's conception of Huron-Wyandot culture as lost to history rested, by contrast, on an alternative series of interrelated assumptions about the nature of Amerindian

⁶⁷ Hayter Reed to Acting Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 10 November 1896, DIA, RG 10, volume 2883, file 179,962, micro reel C-11291.

culture, some of which stand in at least partial opposition to the ways in which he wrote ethnography during the period of his original Huron-Wyandot fieldwork. First, Barbeau's conception of Huron-Wyandot cultures as lost to history rested on the assumption that Amerindian cultures did not evolve or adapt to changing historical circumstances. Huron and Wyandot cultures were not fluid or dynamic, but rather closed hermetic entities. In other words, a culture either existed or did not exist: the Huron and Wyandot either had their own cultures, timelessly frozen in a pre-European contact form, or they had a Europeanized culture. The integration of any element of European culture -- say a floral design or an embroidery technique -- into an Amerindian culture could not signify creative cultural development, but rather the displacement of Amerindian culture by a European culture. Other alternatives were excluded *a priori*.

In the case of Huron-Wyandot culture Barbeau made this connection far more strongly than for the Euro-Canadian folk cultures he would later study. When, after 1914, Barbeau began to study French-Canadian folk culture, he was confronted with a similar series of what could be called cultural incongruities. At Malbaie, he discovered that the local French Canadian population had adopted English blanket-making techniques; on Ile d'Orléans, he found that local residents

had imported English china and wore high-heeled shoes of a Parisian style on social occasions; and in the Beauce, he noted French Canadians who played Irish jigs on the violin. And yet, these different cultural incongruities did not detract from the French-Canadian folk culture of these regions; rather Barbeau felt that they added character to, and illustrated the experimental quality of, his own ethnic tradition.⁶⁸ Huron and Wyandot people who were involved in a similar process of cultural adaption and exchange were treated differently: they were abandoning their cultures.

Second, Barbeau's treatment of Huron-Wyandot culture rested on an unspecified theory of culture which allowed him to define differences between groups of people. The word "culture" is notoriously difficult to define because it is amenable to several distinctly different definitions. Even within anthropology, where culture as a concept has become central to the organization of the modern discipline, the meaning of the term was, and remains, contested. For example, Franz Boas, whose analytic program Sapir incorporated into the

⁶⁸ See Marius Barbeau, "Backgrounds in North American Folk Arts" *Queen's Quarterly* 48,3 (1941), 290; for English blanket making techniques at Malbaie; Marius Barbeau, "Ile d'Orléans" *Queen's Quarterly* 49,2 (1942), 372; for English china on Ile d'Orléans; and Marius Barbeau, "Ile d'Orléans" *Maclean's* (15 September 1934), 19. Barbeau discussed Irish music in the Beauce in Barbeau, "My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore", side A.

design of the Anthropology Division, did not develop an explicit definition of culture until the 1930s and he and his students worked with different, and at times mutually incompatible definitions. For Boas culture was what George Stocking has called a second-order explanation. Culture was not the myth or the artifact, but the discourse which surrounded and gave meaning to the myth or artifact. For Sapir, culture was a set pattern of linguistic resources on which individuals drew to communicate; for Ruth Benedict culture was a mental "pattern" -- a way of thinking -- which organized and directed social behaviour; and for Arthur Kroeber culture was a shared set of institutions, myths and symbols linking different individuals together into a "super-organic" entity.⁶⁹

Barbeau never explicitly theorized his understanding of culture, but his ethnographic work suggests a series of themes indicating an implicit, but pervasive, way of thinking about it. For Barbeau, culture was a "patchwork" of different traits

⁶⁹ See Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 211-3, 220-2, 225 and 228-31; on Sapir, Kroeber, Benedict and others see George W. Stocking, Jr., "Ideas and Institutions in American Anthropology: Towards a History of the Interwar Years" in Stocking, *The Ethnographer's Magic*; and the interesting discussions of Benedict in Carrithers, *Why Humans have Cultures*, 13-9, and on Sapir in Handler, "The Dainty and Hungry Man: Literature and Anthropology in the Work of Edward Sapir", 208-31.

which were practised by, or indigenous to, a people. It included social organization, arts, language, ways of thinking, songs, religious practices, and oral traditions.⁷⁰ Thus Huron-Wyandot culture included the use of the Huron and Wyandot languages, the observation of traditional rites, the maintenance of ancient systems of property regulation, the continued production of prehistoric arts and crafts, the maintenance of a clan-based system of social organization, and so on. Barbeau did not specify the exact connection between different cultural elements, but he does not seem to have believed, as did Sapir with language, that one cultural element took primacy over and organized the others. He did not, for example, argue that language, social organization or mentality formed a determining base structuring other elements of culture. In other words, there was no central core to culture as Barbeau employed the term: Huron culture was recognizable not as a way of thinking,⁷¹ but as the different phenomena (songs, crafts, language, social organization and so on) which had once existed among the Huron of the prehistoric

⁷⁰ This approach to culture Barbeau undoubtedly learned at Oxford. See Kuper, *Anthropologists and Anthropology*, 14-6.

⁷¹ Or, as George Sioui has suggested, a system of ethics. See his *For an Amerindian Autohistory* trans. S. Fishman (Montreal: 1992), *passim.*, but see esp. 39-60.

era.

Barbeau's concept of culture also included a similarly untheorized, but important, conception of physical appearance. Barbeau was not a eugenicist. He did not develop, accept, or believe in the idea of a hierarchical typology of races in the manner of eugenicists as they continued to influence physical anthropology into the early years of the twentieth century. Nor did he feel that Amerindian people constituted a single, unified "racial stock."⁷² Where Barbeau used the term race, and he used it frequently, he used it in a way that today would more closely approximate ethnicity or culture than a biological understanding of cultural difference. But Barbeau did include in his discussion of the demise of the Huron-Wyandot peoples, and other Amerindian cultures, frequent references to physical appearance. Barbeau believed, quite simply, that an Amerindian person should not look like a white person. Amerindians should have a brown complexion, dark eyes and dark hair. Throughout his later discussions, Barbeau

⁷² Barbeau, "Our Indians", 695-7. On eugenics see Angus Maclaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada* (Toronto: 1990). On continuing controversies relating to racial hierarchies within anthropology see Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution*, 29-41, 110-32, 163-94 and 234-69 as well as Robert Proctor, "From Anthropologie to Rassenkunde in the German Anthropological Tradition" in George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology* (Madison: 1988), 138-79.

emphasized that "[b]oth Iroquois and Huron survivors at the present day are no more than half-breeds.... Their complexion is not darker than that of Italians,"⁷³ as if this by itself indicated the demise of Amerindian culture.

The problems with Barbeau's ethnographic analysis of Huron-Wyandot culture were multiple: he failed to specify his key analytic concept, he failed to consider the complexity and multiplicity of culture, and he used different scales of cultural authenticity for different cultures. But perhaps its greatest weakness was that Barbeau erected a definition of authentic Huron-Wyandot culture in opposition to the way in which the Huron and Wyandot people understood themselves and their own cultures. As he conceded, the use of physical characteristics as one of the defining aspects of Amerindian culture was tenuous in light of what he believed to be the fact that because of the frequency of intermarriage between different nations there never had been, even in the prehistoric era, any such thing as a "pure-blooded" Huron.⁷⁴ At least one of Barbeau's correspondents expressly denied the equation Barbeau made between cultural vitality and physical appearance. "All members of the tribe here are of mixed

⁷³ Barbeau, "Our Indians", 698-9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 697.

blood," B.N.O. Walker told Barbeau,

varying in degrees from a very few of 3/4ths blood to a 32nd or less gradation.... I can rightfully claim I have 3/16th pure Wyandot blood, to which claim I have always asserted my right despite the fact that personal appearances are against me, by reason of my florid complexion. Notwithstanding all this, I have always traced, to my own satisfaction at least, my personal traits, and characteristics derived from my Wyandot ancestry.⁷⁵

Finally, Barbeau's treatment of Huron-Wyandot culture was marked by a fundamental ahistoricity. Like his refashioned impressions of his Huron-Wyandot fieldwork, this ahistoricity evolved after Barbeau completed his original research. At the time he was intensely studying Huron-Wyandot culture, Barbeau had actually deployed exactly the opposite heuristic strategy; that is, he had treated Huron-Wyandot culture as historically dynamic. Iroquoian cultures, he wrote as late as 1917, had changed considerably in the prehistoric era. Both social organization and language, two important components of his patchwork conception of culture, had, he believed, been

⁷⁵ Cited in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 107.

considerably altered by migrations and cultural exchange.⁷⁶ This early historical-cultural analysis still maintained some conception of a previously existing cultural base from which later changes occurred, and Barbeau was interested in determining the nature of this base. However, by treating Amerindian culture as dynamic, even if in the prehistoric era, Barbeau opened another approach to the cultural history of the Huron and Wyandot nations which could have been used in place of his later emphasis on the demise of a static, non-adaptive culture. This approach would not simply have brought Barbeau's analysis into closer line with the way in which his informants seemed to have thought about their own cultures, but it also would have proved particularly useful in a study of the Wyandot nation. More recent scholarship has illustrated the relative value of ethno-historical analysis for an understanding of the history of this nation. James Clifton has studied Wyandot history from the perspective of "ethnogenesis", the historical process by which new ethnicities, or nationalities, come into being. Although the

⁷⁶ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "Iroquois Clans and Phratries" *American Anthropologist* 19 (1917), 392-402; C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "Parallels Between the Northwest Coast and Iroquoian Clans and Phratries" *American Anthropologist* 19 (1917), 403-5; and Marius Barbeau, *Classification of Iroquoian Radicals with Subjective Prenominal Prefixes* Geological Survey of Canada Memoir No. 46, Anthropological Series No. 7 (Ottawa: 1915).

name Wyandot was the traditional name by which the Huron referred to themselves, Clifton has argued that the creation of an independent nation called Wyandot and their separation from the Huron Confederacy occurred after the Iroquois invasion of Huronia in the late 1640s. An independent nation called Wyandot was formed when a splinter faction of traditionalist clans broke off from one of the main bodies of Huron refugees, who had settled under the protection of the French fort at Detroit. This faction had moved to north-central Ohio in an attempt to maintain their political and economic independence of European powers. After an initial series of setbacks, the Wyandot established an important presence for themselves in the expanding trading economy of the American frontier. They were eventually relocated to Oklahoma and Kansas as part of the American government's Amerindian removal policy, but even in this circumstance parts of the Wyandot nation regained control over their economic base and built for themselves a prosperous agrarian economy.⁷⁷

From this perspective, the history of the Wyandot nation,

⁷⁷ James Clifton, "The Re-emergent Wyandot: A Study in Ethnogenesis on the Detroit River Borderland" in K.G. Pryke and L.L. Kulisek, eds., *The Western District: Papers from the Western District Conference* (Windsor: 1979), 1-17. On the same subject see Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, chs. 8-12; Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, 39-60; and Connelly, *Wyandot Folk-Lore*, 8.

and Huron-Wyandot culture, was both more complex and more significant than Barbeau's bleak conclusions about their cultural disintegration allowed. From this perspective the history of the Wyandot nation, and of Huron-Wyandot culture, as a story of cultural collapse in the face of European incursion and Iroquoian invasion could be substantively modified. Moreover, Barbeau's failure to tell this story in a different way was not a failure of his research. This modification was possible on the basis of evidence Barbeau held in his own extensive Huron-Wyandot ethnographic files.⁷⁸ For all its tragedy, the story of the Wyandot nation, and Huron-Wyandot culture, could also be told as the story of cultural resistance and an often successful struggle to maintain independence.

3. The Cultural Politics of Salvage Ethnography

Barbeau did not come to his view of the demise of Huron-Wyandot culture for nefarious reasons. He was not trying to act as a propagandist for assimilationist government policies, nor was he rather crassly trying to bolster his own reputation

⁷⁸ Cf. "Wyandot List has 1,154 Names" unidentified newsclipping in MB-HWF, B-G-14.1.

as an ethnographer -- the man who saved Huron-Wyandot culture from "oblivion" -- at the expense of the Huron and Wyandot people.⁷⁹ In other circumstances Barbeau publicly opposed oppressive government policies toward Amerindian peoples. In a 1914 speech before the Royal Society of Canada, for example, he criticized an amendment to the Indian Act which allowed the federal government greater power to change unilaterally the terms of treaties it had made with Amerindian peoples. The federal government, Barbeau charged, was caving in to land speculators who were promoting the amendment so they could turn a quick profit on Amerindian lands.⁸⁰ Instead, Barbeau's conception of the demise of Huron-Wyandot culture derived from the logic of salvage ethnography, his research methodology and the implicit assumptions which informed his use of the culture concept. He began with the premise that the components of his patchwork conception of culture constituted a series of cultural rules which defined Huron culture. He then conceptualized changes in the historic era that were influenced by European cultures as signs of the Hurons's

⁷⁹ Marius Barbeau, "How the Huron-Wyandot Language Was Saved From Oblivion" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93,3 (1949), 226-33.

⁸⁰ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "Les Indiens du Canada depuis la découverte" *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada* Sec. I (1914), 392 and 395.

cultural demise. He proceeded to elaborate a methodology which stripped informants of their authority to speak about their authentic culture. These steps, all congruent with Barbeau's professional outlook and cultural background, culminated, almost inevitably, in a stark conclusion: early-twentieth-century "Huron" culture did not conform to the rules of Huron culture established by Barbeau's ethnography. (Nor, we might add, could virtually any other culture have passed so stringent a "purity" test; measured against the standards of cultural life four or five hundred years in the past, few early-twentieth-century cultures would have been "authentic" in Barbeau's terms.) Barbeau, in reaching this stark conclusion, was not consciously attempting to serve as a propagandist for assimilation nor to aggrandize his own role as a heroic rescuer of a nearly moribund culture. These were, nonetheless, clear implications of his style of ethnography. If one proceeded from the assumptions that Huron-Wyandot culture had ceased to exist and that these peoples had been assimilated into white society, it became relatively easy to deny existing Huron and Wyandot people any status as a distinct ethnic or cultural group, and this is exactly the course Barbeau followed.

In 1918, Duncan Campbell Scott, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, asked Barbeau to return to Lorette

to begin an enquiry into the possibility of disestablishing the reserve and enfranchising⁸¹ its population. This enquiry was approved by Arthur Meighen, the federal minister responsible for Indian Affairs, who supported Barbeau's investigation on Scott's recommendation.⁸² Barbeau agreed to Scott and Meighen's request and, in 1919, briefly returned to Lorette to gather information for a report. It had only been five years since Barbeau had last been to the reserve, but a marked change in his appreciation of Lorette Huron culture was already evident. In addition to his work for Indian Affairs, he told Sapir that he had also managed to collect a few more

⁸¹ "Enfranchisement" was the process by which an Amerindian person became a Canadian subject. Under the terms of the Indian Act, the central piece of legislation guiding the administration of Canadian Amerindian policy, an Amerindian person was not, and could not, be a subject of Canada as long as he or she maintained his or her legal status as Amerindian -- Huron, Malecite, Tsimshian, etc. To become a citizen one had to satisfy the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (the federal minister responsible for the Department of Indian Affairs) that one could function in white society. Upon becoming a Canadian citizen, an Amerindian person had, however, to surrender their Amerindian identity. In effect, for official purposes, the state could change an Amerindian person's ethnic identity. Along with the surrender of legal Amerindian status, an "enfranchised" Amerindian person also voluntarily surrendered any claim to Amerindian lands or any monies held in trust for a band or nation by the federal state.

⁸² Duncan Campbell Scott to Marius Barbeau, 3 September 1919, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 52, Duncan Campbell Scott file; "Mémoires", 68.

artifacts for the National Museum but found it difficult to generate any enthusiasm for the work or for Huron ethnography, "the field being so poor and uninteresting compared to others I know."⁸³

Scott, a leading advocate of the assimilation of Amerindians, had known Barbeau since 1915 when Barbeau had drawn Scott's attention to health problems he had discovered among the Tsimshian during the course of fieldwork he was conducting on the Northwest Coast. Scott seems to have been impressed by Barbeau's understanding of Amerindian cultures because he agreed to investigate the problem and solicited Barbeau's views on other issues relating to aboriginal peoples, including the Tsimshian response to federal anti-potlatch laws.⁸⁴ Privately Barbeau questioned Scott's "tendencies and breadth of mind" when it came to Northwest Coast peoples, but he tried "not ... to react in our personal relations."⁸⁵ However, on the issue of Lorette Scott and Barbeau shared a common view. From Scott's perspective,

⁸³ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 6 September 1919, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22.

⁸⁴ Duncan Campbell Scott to Marius Barbeau, 19 July 1915, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 52, Duncan Campbell Scott file; Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

⁸⁵ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

Barbeau's investigation and subsequent report were designed to lay the basis for a course of action he seems to have already decided upon: disestablishment.⁸⁶ For his part, Barbeau had already discussed his views on the Lorette reserve with Scott, indicating even before he began his investigation for Indian Affairs that in his opinion the reserve's population was no longer Huron but white.⁸⁷

Scott's interest in Barbeau's views on Lorette and his decision to have the anthropologist report on the reserve were part of a general re-direction of Canadian Amerindian policy he and Meighen were attempting to engineer in the years immediately following World War I. A career civil servant, and noted poet, Scott had risen through the Department of Indian Affairs bureaucracy to become Deputy Superintendent General in 1913. As the highest-ranking civil servant in the department he played a powerful role in the formulation of Amerindian policy, continuing but modifying the long-standing objective of culturally assimilating Canada's aboriginal peoples.⁸⁸ Cultural assimilation had been established as the

⁸⁶ Duncan Campbell Scott to Marius Barbeau, 12 December 1919, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 51, Duncan Campbell Scott file.

⁸⁷ "Mémoires", 68.

⁸⁸ On Scott see E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: 1986).

goal of state Amerindian policy in Canada by the British imperial government in the early nineteenth century. Initially, policy focused on the gradual assimilation of Amerindian peoples through education, model communities, missionary schools, and the encouragement of settled agriculture, but when these policies failed to meet their objectives successive governments turned to more coercive measures.⁸⁹ Certain cultural practices, most notably the Northwest Coast potlatch and Prairie sun dance, were banned, residential schools were introduced to isolate Amerindian children from the supposedly corrupting influence of their parents, and collective landholdings were dis-aggregated so that individual plots could be established.⁹⁰ These measures did not lead to the painless assimilation of Amerindians into Canadian society. Business interests and settlers continued to bring pressure on the federal government to grant them access to reserve lands. The federal government was inclined to consider further coercive measure that would allow for the

⁸⁹ Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 93-115.

⁹⁰ Douglas Cole and Ira Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: 1990), 14-24; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 107; Sarah Carter, "Two Acres and a Cow: 'Peasant' Farming for the Indians of the Northwest, 1889-97" *Canadian Historical Review* 70,1 (1989), 27-52.

unilateral removal of Amerindians from reserve lands and for the relocation of reserved if necessary. Financial incentives to encourage the voluntary surrender of reserve lands were also increased.⁹¹ These were the measures Barbeau had opposed in his 1914 speech before the Royal Society.

Scott himself had no particular affection for Amerindian culture. On a personal level, he viewed Amerindian culture as inferior to white Canadian culture and in his poetry frequently portrayed Amerindians as drunken, treacherous, superstitious, and violent.⁹² He viewed the reserve system as a temporary expedient, the need for which would be eliminated by assimilation, and he vigorously supported the main thrust of assimilationist policies, including residential schools, missionary work, and the development of capitalist agriculture.⁹³ Frustrated by what he viewed as the lack of progress toward assimilation, Scott oversaw the development of further measures designed to strengthen federal Amerindian policy in 1918 and 1920. In 1918, the federal government simplified the process through which an Amerindian person could be enfranchised, on the assumption that the existing

⁹¹ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 21.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 32. See also E. Palmer Patterson, "The Poet and the Indian: Indian Themes in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott and John Collier" *Ontario History* 59 (1967), 69-78.

⁹³ Titley, *A Narrow Vision*, 18, 22 and 34-6.

complex application process was impeding assimilation.⁹⁴ In 1920, further coercive measures were introduced as an amendment to the Indian Act, the central piece of legislation guiding federal Amerindian policy.

These new measures included provisions which allowed the federal state to place Amerindian children in schools without their parents' permission and provided the government with the means forcibly to enfranchise Amerindian persons. In effect, this meant that the state could simply eliminate an Amerindian person's Amerindian status.⁹⁵ In Parliamentary committee Scott defended these measures, particularly forcible enfranchisement, as necessary expedients, but the breadth of authority being claimed by the federal government drew substantial protests from a variety of sources. Catholic clergy sympathetic to Amerindian peoples registered their discontent, as did Amerindian peoples from across Canada. In Parliament, the Liberal Party strongly, but unsuccessfully, opposed the overt coercion of the 1920 amendments.⁹⁶ This set

⁹⁴ J. Leslie and R. Maguire, eds., *The Historical Development of the Indian Act* (Ottawa: 2nd ed., 1983), 113.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 114-6.

⁹⁶ House of Commons, *Debates* (1920), 4174-5. When the Conservative government was defeated in the 1921 general election, the newly-elected Liberal government moved quickly to repeal this legislation, against which the new Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had spoken while in

of coercive measures did not, however, draw Barbeau's criticism. In contrast to 1914, when he had vocally and publicly criticized government policy, Barbeau remained silent on the new amendments and in the Lorette report he would, in fact, suggest that even stronger measures be adopted.

Barbeau's report was wide-ranging. It detailed the social, economic, cultural and political conditions of the reserve, discussed the rationale and operation of the reserve system, defined the legal status of the Lorette Huron, and examined federal and provincial jurisprudence as it related to the residents of Lorette. The report, as Scott seems to have expected, recommended that the federal government disestablish the reserve and forcibly enfranchise its population. Under the terms of the Indian Act, this meant that the Lorette Huron would lose their legal status as Huron. In the eyes of the state, as well as in the writing of ethnography, the Huron nation would cease to exist.⁹⁷

The reasons Barbeau recommended disestablishment and

opposition. During the 1920 debate Ernest Lapointe, a rising star in the Liberal party who became King's justice minister, gave the key address in opposition to the Indian Act amendments, an indication of the seriousness with which the Liberal Party treated this measure.

⁹⁷ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "The Indian Reserve at Lorette (Quebec): A Report Concerning Its Proposed Disestablishment" TS [1919?]. I will cite from the copy in Barbeau Fonds, box 91, file 3.

enfranchisement were various. The Lorette reserve, he explained in the report, had been created during the French regime, and now contained a total population of 400 persons who, in his view, no longer looked or behaved like the Huron people for whom the reserve had been created. "There is," he wrote, "little that distinguishes Lorette from neighbouring Canadian villages, and comparatively few of its inhabitants have features that reveal an Indian ancestry." The village contained "prosperous local industries" on a modern Canadian scale "connected with the leather tanning, Indian curios [and] snowshoe and canoe making" and a system of internal property regulation in almost complete accord with the current Canadian system. "In matters of habit and behaviour the younger generation has been entirely [E]uropeanized," he concluded. "Huron customs and language have long ago disappeared and only scattered remnants of the past may be detected by a careful observer."⁹⁸

The inability to distinguish Lorette Huron from Canadians, Barbeau argued, made the operation of the reserve, and the special laws and regulations governing its population, difficult if not impossible to enforce. "The original intention in creating reserves of Indians," he argued, "seems

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

to have been to protect uncivilized Indians in their dealings with unscrupulous white men." Because of this, the residents of reserves were required to submit to special legal regulations under which they became wards of the state "to be compared to that of persons under age." Owing to the inability of Amerindians to manage their own affairs because of their "uncivilized" condition, the state had to regulate their lives for their own protection. In particular, Barbeau noted, the sale of alcohol to Amerindians was prohibited; and the legal capacity of reserve residents to make contracts, purchase property or secure capital off the reserve was limited.⁹⁹ However well-intentioned these laws originally may have been, Barbeau argued, they had become unenforceable at Lorette because the "Indian affiliation" of the Huron was "not usually apparent to the eye."¹⁰⁰ Lorette Huron were able to circumvent these restrictions: in nearby Canadian towns "the bartenders," Barbeau remarked, "cannot detect a Lorette Huron from a white man."¹⁰¹

The difficulties in enforcing state regulations pertaining to Amerindians was one problem with the continued maintenance of the Lorette reserve. In Barbeau's view the

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

greater problem was that the continuation of reserve status would only retard the social and economic development of Lorette and unfairly discriminate against both white Canadians and Lorette's residents. The reserve system, Barbeau had argued, had been created for legitimate and humanitarian reasons, but in the case of Lorette it had outlived its usefulness. He claimed that the system brought with it a reliance on the state for protection that impeded the growth of individual moral responsibility for one's actions. In other words, Barbeau believed that at Lorette the reserve system was creating dysfunctional personality types. "Although in most respects the Lorette half-breeds have been [E]uropeanized the fact that they do not enjoy the rights and duties of citizenship in many cases dwarfs their moral sense and feelings of responsibility. An undue prolongation of such tutelage leads to mendacity and other vices," he argued. "Many of the best Lorette people chafe under the restrictions and humiliation resulting from their being officially treated as 'sauvages,'" Barbeau assured the government.¹⁰²

It was these "best Lorette people" with whom Barbeau was most concerned because he felt that the reserve system's special regulations weighed most heavily on them. In his

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 9.

opinion, the rule of "reserve exclusiveness", by which an Amerindian living on a reserve could not legally sell his property to someone who was not also an Amerindian resident of the same reserve, penalized the industrious and thrifty citizen because it artificially devalued his property. The value of property on the reserve was, therefore, lower than the market values of properties in neighbouring Canadian towns; even lower-valued reserve property could not be used as collateral to secure a loan. As an example Barbeau cited the case of Ebrahim Picard, a butcher, who owned "real property on the reserve, which might normally be worth \$2000 or \$2500" at current market value in adjacent Canadian towns. Picard wanted to build a new butcher shop but could not use his property as security against a loan "[s]o the only thing he could do was to sell his property 'à reméré' (redemption) to Ludger Bastien for \$400. But now Bastien, if he wishes, may according to his contract, become the absolute owner of the property and dislodge Picard."¹⁰³ "Those gifted with initiative who want to start a business, find themselves hampered by their legal status," Barbeau concluded. "As long as a Huron lives on the reserve he has no existence in the eyes of banking and business concerns; for he is in exactly

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 10.

the same position of persons under age."¹⁰⁴

Equally disturbing to Barbeau was the way in which the system of reserve exclusiveness had been used to defraud white creditors. "Owing to the fact that their real, and in part personal, property may not be disposed of in the law court," he wrote, the residents of Lorette "exercise much ingenuity in getting credit...."¹⁰⁵ Because their physical appearance no longer resembled that of "Indians", Lorette residents could deceive white creditors to obtain loans. The dilemma was not that Amerindians had gained access to capital (this was for Barbeau one of the benefits to be derived from disestablishment) but that the legal status of reserve residents had prohibited creditors from seizing property if a Lorette Huron defaulted. The creditor had no legal means of obtaining repayment. Although he cited no evidence to support this conclusion, Barbeau felt that this problem was widespread: Lorette Huron, passing as whites, were obtaining loans with no intention of repaying them because they knew that their legal status protected them. "So the time has come," Barbeau concluded, "when the cheated have become the

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

cheaters."¹⁰⁶

The problem here, Barbeau argued, was more grave than simply the defrauding of a number of creditors. The success of those people who deceived their creditors and then hid behind their special legal status was contributing to the growth of "parasitic proclivities" among the younger residents of Lorette who were learning a pattern of behaviour from their elders. "The special reserve law," he believed, "... is here producing evil effects and proving obsolete and harmful."¹⁰⁷

The way to solve these problems was to combine disestablishment with enfranchisement. These related measures would at once remove the stigma of "sauvage" from the residents of Lorette, force the reserve's residents to assume moral and legal responsibility for their own obligations, and allow the "gifted" to accumulate property and improve their economic status. Moreover, Barbeau argued, disestablishment and enfranchisement were the only viable solutions. The Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa was too remote, he felt, to administer the reserve properly. The result was a "hybrid and inconsistent administration [which] shows serious signs of neglect and inefficiency" and which was characterized

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

by corruption on the part of Indian agents. Local authority on the reserve was similarly incapable of dealing with the problems at Lorette because the positions of reserve chief and the role of the reserve council, the titular local government, were ill-defined and "empty of real authority." Local government at Lorette, he stated, had become "merely a toy for intrigue" rather than an effective administration, a situation complicated in Barbeau's opinion by the failure of the reserve chief, Albert Picard (whose grandfather's manuscript had so impressed him in 1911), to live permanently on the reserve. Picard split his time between Lorette and his job as a clerk and draftsman with the municipal government of Quebec City and as a result, Barbeau contended, "[t]he prestige of the chiefs had now dwindled into nothing and nobody cares about them."¹⁰⁸ Put another way, the Lorette Huron were incapable of solving their own problems: the intervention of the state was required.

Enfranchisement and disestablishment, Barbeau recognized, would not be popular with a large section of the Lorette population. "The most progressive elements anxiously desire it," he assured Scott and Meighen, but "just now the majority

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

... oppose the idea...."¹⁰⁹ During the course of his investigation, Barbeau held a general meeting of all reserve residents to solicit their views about the possibility of disestablishment and enfranchisement. They were not impressed. The Department of Indian Affairs strategy was severely criticized. Members of at least one Huron family argued for disestablishment, but the concerted opposition of a number of traditionalist families, including relatives of the now deceased Prosper Vincent, made Barbeau certain that the majority of the Lorette Huron would not readily support the disestablishment of their reserve.¹¹⁰ In his report for the Department of Indian Affairs Barbeau blamed the current opposition to enfranchisement on a "cabal", led by Chief Picard, which had organized to oppose the policy. "When we investigated with an open mind the matter of emancipation [enfranchisement] of the reserve," Barbeau wrote in his report, "[Albert Picard] organized with two half-breed students of Laval University a *cabal* to interfere with our

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹⁰ "Mémoires", 69. In his unpublished memoirs and his report for Indian Affairs, Barbeau intimated that there was minority support for disestablishment. It is, however, difficult to gauge the level of this support because Barbeau listed only one family -- the Bastien family -- who supported the policy.

enquiry."¹¹¹ This "cabal" had succeeded in enlisting support for its cause, Barbeau believed, by playing on the fears of Lorette residents. They charged that disestablishment would increase living costs, that the people of Lorette had no use for the franchise because they had no interest in the affairs of the Canadian government, and that the collective identity of the Lorette Huron would collapse if the reserve were disestablished.¹¹²

Barbeau considered these arguments to be both a ploy and vaguely ridiculous. He had come to dislike Picard, whom he believed to be "flippant" and lacking "good judgement." To support these assertions, Barbeau noted that as chief Picard had refused to allow the Duke of Devonshire to visit the reserve. "It is known that the insult was resented both by the vice-regal party and by well-thinking Lorette people."¹¹³ Barbeau dismissed the arguments against enfranchisement as well. He found the argument that disestablishment threatened the collective identity of the Lorette Huron "amusing when uttered in a public gathering by a Laval University student, with blue eyes, white skin and auburn hair."¹¹⁴ The argument

¹¹¹ Barbeau, "The Indian Reserve at Lorette", 13. Emphasis in original.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 15-6.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 13.

seemed ridiculous to Barbeau because he did not consider the opponents of disestablishment to be authentic Hurons.

However, because of the level of resistance on the reserve, Barbeau recommended that the federal government proceed cautiously. Instead of simply disestablishing the reserve and enfranchising its population, he recommended a "transition period" which would allow the residents of Lorette to adapt to disestablishment. In addition, he felt that several specific economic measures would help win the support of the Lorette population for this policy. First, he recommended that the government pass a special law to prevent defrauded creditors from seizing property. This would prevent what he believed would be a broad-scale transfer of property from the residents of Lorette to their former creditors. Second, Barbeau argued that a "tribal fund", consisting of the collective assets of the Lorette Huron currently held in trust by the Department of Indian Affairs, be established. In the immediate term, this fund would be administered by the Department of Indian Affairs but would eventually be "abandoned to [a] newly constituted municipal ... body"¹¹⁵ once one had been established at the end of the transition period.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

This fund would be used to support educational and religious facilities, thus keeping taxes, and hence living costs, low.

Barbeau also felt that some rudimentary social welfare measures should be taken to "safeguard" the interests of the elderly or infirm for whom disestablishment would create special burdens. While he personally questioned the need for such measures, Barbeau noted that a few individuals currently received small pensions from the Department of Indian Affairs and that a few others might deserve similar attention. Like the tribal fund, welfare measures would gradually be transferred to a newly established municipal government, bringing the Lorette welfare system into line with that prevailing throughout Canada. Special provisions would, however, have to be made for five people whom Barbeau considered incapable of caring for themselves. Specifically, he wanted the federal government to suspend enfranchisement for these five people or ensure that "a guardian ... be appointed for them, according to the civil law of ... Quebec."¹¹⁶

Finally, special provisions would also have to be made for "ancient and valuable church relics" currently stored at Lorette. Personally, Barbeau believed that there was "some

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22-3.

doubt as to [the] ownership" of these relics and he also worried for their safety once the reserve was disestablished. Some relics had already "been misappropriated and sold for personal benefit" to private collectors. To ensure their safety, the state should assume control of them. Barbeau urged the federal government to make a careful inventory of the relics and hold them in trust. Eventually, authority over the relics could be granted to the new local government in conjunction with the parish priest, but if this occurred, he wanted the Department of Indian Affairs and the Archbishop of Quebec to retain a veto over any prospective sales.¹¹⁷ In effect and by design, under the terms of Barbeau's plan for its "emancipation", the population of Lorette would thus lose control of at least part of its cultural patrimony.

Barbeau's report was, then, an interesting tactical document. It at once denied the continued existence of a distinctive Huron culture at Lorette, yet recognized that a substantial proportion of the Lorette population affirmed a Huron conception of themselves -- they continued to believe that they were Huron and opposed measures that might damage this collective identity. He suggested policies through which local opposition could be overcome and the complete

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

integration of the reserve into modern Canada be attained. This report relied heavily on Barbeau's authority as an ethnographer and his Huron-Wyandot field research. In addition to his brief fact-finding expedition in 1919, Barbeau noted at the beginning of the report that "[o]ur knowledge of the Lorette reserve is ... derived from an extensive ethnographic study previously undertaken...."¹¹⁸ His research led him to one inescapable and unambiguous conclusion: the Lorette reserve should be disestablished because the Huron no longer existed. Barbeau dismissed arguments against disestablishment by questioning the personal motives of its opponents and rejecting their authority to speak in the name of the Huron nation. "Considering their education and the fact that they are entirely like white men," Barbeau wrote of the key opponents of disestablishment, "their own reactionary attitude is certainly not a recommendation for their good judgement."¹¹⁹ That the opponents of disestablishment believed they were Huron when it was so clear to Barbeau that they were not was reason enough to question any statement they might make. The continued maintenance of the Lorette reserve could not preserve a Huron culture which no longer existed. It

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, [1].

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

could only perpetuate a system of superannuated and discriminatory legal regulations which served only to create "vices", "mendacity" and dysfunctional personalities.

4. Authenticity, Ethnographic Authority, and Huron-Wyandot Culture

The plan he laid out for the disestablishment of Lorette could have, Barbeau felt, a more general applicability in the near future because of the demise of aboriginal cultures across Canada. In his opinion, the best course of action for the federal government was not to treat Lorette as an isolated case, but instead to pass "a general law covering all such cases as will eventually crop up."¹²⁰ Such a law, had it been implemented, would have eliminated the need for further studies of individual reserves before they too were disestablished. It would have augmented the coercive legislation Meighen was piloting through Parliament and granted the federal government the authority to eliminate the Amerindian status and legal identity of entire reserves instead of proceeding on an individual case-by-case basis as the 1920s amendments to the Indian Act proposed. In other words, it would have given the federal government a powerful

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

new tool to promote the complete integration of Amerindian people into white Canadian society.

Neither Barbeau's proposed new law, nor his specific proposals relating to the Lorette reserve, were ever introduced into Parliament. Already confronting a controversy over its proposed amendments to the Indian Act, it seems that the government decided against extending its coercive measures in the direction Barbeau suggested. The government did, however, make some use of his report. In the course of debate over the 1920 amendments, a government member read part of Barbeau's report, which he believed provided support for the government's proposed new measures, to the Parliament.¹²¹ While this was not Barbeau's intention, the bleak picture he painted of Lorette made his report easily amenable to this use.

Opinion of Barbeau's report within the Anthropology Division was less favourable. James Teit, an amateur anthropologist and Amerindian rights advocate working for Sapir and Boas among the Northwest Coast Thompson River Indians,¹²² was upset with Barbeau because he felt the report could only further damage the cause of aboriginal rights in

¹²¹ House of Commons, *Debates*, 1920, vol. V., 4036.

¹²² On Teit see Campbell, "'Not as a White Man, Not as a Sojourner'", 37-57.

Canada. Sapir communicated Teit's protest to Barbeau, but took a different view. Sapir did not personally disagree with Barbeau's conclusions; indeed he too felt that Amerindian peoples were a vanishing race.¹²³ He worried that the intentions of the report might be "misunderstood" by Amerindians who would then refuse to cooperate with the Anthropology Division if its staff were perceived as "spies" for the Department of Indian Affairs. The trust of Amerindians was essential to complete the type of systematic ethnographic survey Sapir planned as the main work of the division and thus the division had to maintain its own separate identity within the federal government if its work was to be successful.¹²⁴ Behind the scenes Sapir was also displeased with Barbeau's work for Indian Affairs because it had been undertaken without his knowledge.¹²⁵ The issue, Barbeau later explained, developed into an internal bureaucratic controversy over Indian Affairs use of government anthropologists.¹²⁶ In the wake of Barbeau's report Sapir

¹²³ Sapir, "An Anthropological Survey of Canada", 793.

¹²⁴ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 16 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

¹²⁵ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

¹²⁶ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 36.

established new guidelines for the conduct of divisional staff. All correspondence between staff members and the Department of Indian Affairs was thereafter to be routed through him. "I wish to once more to make it perfectly clear," Sapir told Barbeau, "that there are to be no communications through Indian Affairs sent to the Department without the consent of the proper authorities," i.e., himself.¹²⁷

Confronting a controversy in Parliament over its 1920 amendments to the Indian Act and widespread opposition at Lorette, the federal government decided against proceeding with the planned disestablishment of the reserve. Barbeau, for his part, appeared to have been happy to let the matter recede into the background. He had never intended to have the report quoted in Parliament and did not expect Sapir to react so negatively to his work for Indian Affairs. Later Barbeau claimed that he had been misquoted and that the entire issue had been overblown,¹²⁸ but at the time he made little attempt to clarify his views, perhaps because he feared this might cause him further problems.

¹²⁷ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 16 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

¹²⁸ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 36.

Today, Barbeau's report on the disestablishment of Lorette retains its significance because it epitomized the cultural politics of salvage ethnography. More generally, Barbeau's Lorette report, combined with his ethnographic assessment of Huron-Wyandot culture, illustrated how the anthropologist's professional and cultural authority could function within the wider dynamics of Amerindian-white relations and federal Amerindian policy in the first decades of the twentieth century. If Huron-Wyandot culture had been lost to history, and if the Huron and Wyandot nations had ceased to exist, then the living descendants of the "ancient" Hurons had no ability to speak for or about themselves as a culturally distinct social group. Put another way, they could not speak for or about themselves as Hurons or as Wyandots. The only remaining legitimate source of cultural authority on these peoples was the ethnographer and in this case this meant Barbeau himself. Barbeau clearly recognized this point. "I am," he later told one correspondent, "the only living interpreter and keeper of the oral records which I made in manuscript and on phonograph in 1911-12."¹²⁹ In essence, the key question here was: who had the authority to

¹²⁹ Marius Barbeau to William Fenton, 11 March 1959, MB-HWF, B-G-17.2.

speaking for Huron-Wyandot culture? The answer explicit in Barbeau's claim that he was the sole guardian of Huron-Wyandot tradition, and implicit in his support for the disestablishment of the Lorette reserve, was clear: he did.

In one sense Barbeau was right. Huron-Wyandot culture as he understood it was dead, but the fact that he had created this dead culture eluded him. When Sapir ordered Barbeau and the other members of the anthropology division to channel their correspondence with Indian Affairs through him, his aim was to depoliticize anthropology. The scientific needs of the discipline outweighed any social benefits which might be derived from political involvement. After his Lorette report debacle Barbeau also came to this belief: science and politics did not mix well.¹³⁰ Sapir and Barbeau's attempt to separate anthropology from politics, however, failed to recognize a theme which has been pursued throughout this chapter: that the program of salvage ethnography was always already political.

¹³⁰ Barbeau, "En quête connaissances anthropologiques", 36.

Chapter 4

Folklore as Cultural Process

*We would be better Canadians if we knew a little more of the
heirlooms of our country.*
-Marius Barbeau (1929).¹

In Barbeau's report on the Lorette reserve, the cultural logic of salvage ethnography became entangled in the ideology of federal Amerindian policy. Working from very different perspectives, Barbeau and Scott arrived at similar assessments of what Barbeau once called the "destiny"² of Amerindian peoples in the modern age. Scott arrived at this assessment by design: his goal was to make this supposed "destiny" a reality. Barbeau's exact intentions were less clear. He harboured none of the hostility Scott evidenced toward Amerindian peoples, but when his report was cited in Parliament, exact intentions became (as Sapir recognized) less important than politics. What was clear was not simply that salvage ethnography could be mobilized in support of coercive legislation, but that it was rather easily amenable to this use.

¹ Marius Barbeau, "Folk Songs of French Canada" *Empire Club of Canada Addresses to the Members During the Year 1929* (Toronto: 1930), 101.

² Barbeau, *The Downfall of Temlaham*, v.

The cultural logic of Barbeau's folklore, as I want to show in this chapter, functioned in both similar and different ways. Folklore research was not part of the original mandate of the Anthropology Division. That it would emerge after the Second World War as a principal focus of the National Museum's research program owed much to Marius Barbeau. In the interwar era he became the principal advocate of folklore research both within and outside the National Museum. In the case of folklore research the task Barbeau faced differed from the tasks he faced as an ethnographer. As an ethnographer, Barbeau implemented a research program designed by others; in the case of folklore, he faced the more substantive challenge of organizing a new research program. His efforts in this regard centered on French Canada.

Barbeau's central role in the organization of folklore research in Canada has already been described by others.³ My aim in this chapter is to move beyond description to look at how folklore, as an emerging field of scholarly inquiry, functioned in interwar Canadian culture. This chapter examines the organization and development of folklore research through a four-part process. First, it examines the concepts of "the folk" and "folklore" in French-Canadian culture before the 1910s (when Barbeau began his research project) paying

³ See Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, ch. 11.

particular attention to Ernest Gagnon, the amateur folklorist Barbeau regarded as his key precursor. Next, this chapter details the parameters of Barbeau's research project and the ideology which motivated it. Third, we will look at the cultural work of folklore, that is how Barbeau's folklore functioned within the cultural dynamics of interwar Canada. And, finally, this chapter concludes by examining Barbeau's relationship as a folklorist with other professional cultural producers as a study in the logic of professionalization in a new field of scholarly inquiry.

1. The Field of Folklore Research

On a number of occasions, Barbeau claimed to be a pioneer in the field of folklore research in Canada.⁴ This claim was technically correct. In the same way that Barbeau and Sapir "pioneered" professional anthropology in Canada, Barbeau "pioneered" professional folklore. As in the case of anthropology, however, what can be called amateur interest in French-Canadian folklore had existed long before Barbeau began his research project. Perhaps because of linguistic barriers,

⁴ Marius Barbeau, *I Was a Pioneer* National Museums of Canada Oracle Series No. 44 (n.p.: 1982), 4-5; Marius Barbeau, "Folk-Song" in Ernest Macmillan, ed., *Aspects of Music in Canada* (Toronto: 1955), 33.

English-speaking North American folklorists never made French Canada into a site of international folklore research as they would for the Appalachian region of the American south,⁵ or the Maritime Provinces of Canada.⁶ But, after the mid-nineteenth century interest in traditional French-Canadian culture developed from a variety of sources.

The terms "folk" and "folklore" are, as Alan Dundes has indicated, particularly difficult to define because no group of people has ever referred to themselves as "the folk", their culture as "folklore", or their music as "folk song".⁷ Rather, "folk" and "folklore" are discursive constructs employed to differentiate one group of people from another and particular aspects of cultures from others. It is a definition imposed from outside. For Barbeau, as we have seen, folk culture was by no means self-evident from simple observation. "Authentic" folk culture was produced through a careful process of cultural selection designed to recover a pure culture, which must once have existed, from the distortions of history. In the case of French Canada, the use of the term

⁵ Whisnant, *All That is Native & Fine*, 118-27.

⁶ McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 44-5.

⁷ Alan Dundes, "Who Are the Folk?" in his *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington: 1980), 2.

"folklore" is exceptionally problematic because the word did not gain currency in Canadian French until the twentieth century. The more commonly employed terms were "traditional" or "popular" culture, the connotation of which -- as they were used in the nineteenth century -- did not perfectly align with Barbeau's later use of the term "folk culture". It is important to be aware, then, that any genealogy of folklore research in French Canada confronts particular problems of definition which make an easy reading of Barbeau's amateur disciplinary predecessors particularly difficult. Nonetheless, what is, perhaps, most notable about nineteenth-century folklore writing on French Canada is the disjuncture between the way English- and French-speaking authors approached the subject.

The cultural politics of folklore might be a matter of dispute. Guiseppe Cocchiara has argued that folklore developed as part of the long process of adaptation to modernity in the west. He traces the genealogy of folklore to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century overseas expansion of Europe and argues that as Europeans came more into contact with other cultures, they developed a new interest in their own popular traditions. The "exoticness" of foreign cultures was transposed onto the lower social orders of Europe whose cultural practices differed markedly from those of the social elite. In a political sense, Cocchiara sees this development

as inherently progressive because it focused attention on the lower classes instead of on the elite.⁸

There is, however, some reason to question Cocchiara's narrative. Elite interest in popular culture was not new in the sixteenth century,⁹ nor is there much evidence that early travel narratives made much of an impact on the cultures of Europe before the Enlightenment.¹⁰ Perhaps more important for the development of the concept of "the folk" was the impact of the Romantic movement, and in particular the cultural work of the eighteenth-century German intellectuals Johan Herder and the Brothers Grimm. Herder's particular contribution to the development of folklore was to define more exactly who constituted the folk and to tie folk culture to nationalism. Herder's cultural project emerged in reaction to Enlightenment universalism and revolutionary politics. For him the folk were not simply the lower classes, but a particular section of them: farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans. Their traditions, Herder argued, conveyed the spirit of the nation. The Grimms further developed this idea. Their folk remained rural

⁸ Guiseppe Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe* (Philadelphia: 1981).

⁹ Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: 1968), ch. 1.

¹⁰ Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton: 1994), 53.

farmers, shopkeepers, artisans (and, importantly, servants who came from these social strata), and their conception of folk culture maintained, as well, its nationalist implications. They further argued that folk culture was a dynamic and active culture which emerged spontaneously from the folk.¹¹

It has been pointed out that the concept of folklore elaborated by Herder and the Grimms was inherently conservative. It emerged in reaction to the Enlightenment and emphasized the unique particularities of different national cultures. Moreover, as an implicit social category, "the folk" excluded much that was modern: urban life, revolutionary politics, and the working class who were stripped of its cultural standing within the nation.¹²

The degree to which Herder or the Grimms had any direct impact on French-Canadian folklore is debatable, although the impact of the Romantic movement would be considerable. Perhaps the most important influence on the development of folklore in French Canada was not intellectual, but cultural: the development of international tourism in the mid-nineteenth century. British and American tourists were fascinated by French Canada, in particular, its large Catholic churches, stone architecture, and a vague sense of "Europeanness" or

¹¹ McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 12-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 13-4.

"Frenchness" struck anglophone travelers as markedly different from their own cultures. The culture of rural French-Canadians initially drew less attention, but it too came to be seen as part of the over-all ambiance of cultural difference French Canada offered to the foreign traveler. Not all descriptions of rural French Canadians were complimentary,¹³ but many travelers viewed their lives as a picturesque vista to be admired in the same way that the Montmorency waterfalls or the view from Cape Diamond (two of the most important tourist attractions in nineteenth-century French Canada) could be admired.¹⁴

In the late nineteenth century, English language writers, capitalizing on the tourist popularity of French Canada, began to describe rural culture as folklore. A number of texts purporting to be histories were, in fact, also designed for

¹³ Rev. G. Lewis, *Impressions of America and the American Churches from the Journal of...* (New York: [1848] 1968), 355, 356, and 362; Priscilla Wakefield, *Excursion in North America Described in Letters from a Gentleman and his Young Companion, to their Friends in England* (London: 1819), 247; MacKay, *Life and Liberty in America*, 337.

¹⁴ C.D. Arfwedson, *The United States and Canada In 1832, 1833 and 1834* 2 vols (London: 1834), II, 339-40; Kingston, *Western Wanderings*, I, 85 and 88; Henry Thoreau, *A Yankee in Canada* (Montreal: [1850] 1961), 33, 46, 61, and 74-5; and Henry James, "Quebec (1871)" in James Doyle, ed., *Yankees in Canada: A Collection of Nineteenth-Century Travel Narratives* (Downsview: 1980), 125-6, 128, 130, 131, and 132-3; *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide Giving a Description of Canadian Lake and River Scenery and Places of Historical Interest...* (Toronto: [1867] 1971), 89-90.

use as tourist guides. In some ways, rural French Canadians made the perfect "folk": they wore homespun, worked as fishers or farmers, spoke an enticing "foreign" language, seemed to have a number of quaint customs, could recite strange but alluring legends and sing lively songs. Late-nineteenth-century English-language texts (regardless of the author's ethnicity) emphasized these qualities of French-Canadian "folk-life": picturesqueness, quaintness, simplicity, and colourfulness.¹⁵

French-Canadian amateur folklorists approached traditional culture very differently. In Quebec, song-books containing popular music began to appear in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶ These books, however, rarely conformed to what international observers expected of the "folk song". Compiled by clerics and professors, these collections mixed old with modern material. This disappointed at least one German tourist and folklore enthusiast who took the time to read through them.¹⁷

¹⁵ J.M Lemoine, *Quebec Past and Present: A History of Quebec 1608-1876* (Quebec: 1876); J.M. Lemoine, *Canadian History and Quebec Scenery* (n.p.: 1865), esp. v; Honoré Beaugrand, *New Studies of Canadian Folk Lore* (Montreal: 1904).

¹⁶ For an overview see Francois Brassard, "French-Canadian Folk Music Studies: A Survey" *Ethnomusicology* 16,3 (1972), 351-9.

¹⁷ Kohl, *Travels in Canada...*, 202.

Perhaps the first French-Canadian text which might be regarded as a prototype of modern folklore was J.C. Taché's *Forestiers et voyageurs*, published in 1843. Taché, an author and civil servant, first encountered traditional folklore while on a camping trip. To entertain the camping party, his guide told legends in the evenings. Taché liked the stories and decided to write them out, he explained, so they could be enjoyed if no story-tellers happened to be about.¹⁸

Taché made no effort to collect oral traditions systematically. In the introduction to *Forestiers et voyageurs* he noted only that he had collected "several" legends.¹⁹ He also made no effort to define a broad social category of "the folk". The legends he recorded, he emphasized, were the particular cultural provenance of *voyageurs*, long-distance fur traders and transporters who were usually based in Montreal but who spent sometimes years at a time trading or moving goods through the interior of North America. Voyageur songs had long attracted foreign tourists because of the lively, rhythmic tunes. In fact, the *voyageur* was well on his way to becoming a bit of a folk hero to

¹⁸ J.C. Taché *Forestiers et voyageurs* (Montreal: 1946), 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

foreign tourists by the mid-century.²⁰ Taché appreciated the lively qualities of voyageur culture as well. The legends he collected, he remarked, were notable for their "gaité [et] naïveté charmante"²¹ But he found other qualities to appreciate in voyageur legends which, he believed, also deserved public attention. These legends illustrated, he told his readers, a "philosophie primitive et d'allégorisme souvent profond."²² Nor were the voyageurs simply colourful characters who might be admired from the distance of the tourist gaze:

le voyageur canadien est catholique et français, la légende est catholique et le conte est français; c'est assez dire que le récit légendaire et le conte, avec le *sens moral* comme au bon vieux temps, sont le complément obligé de l'éducation du voyageur parfait.²³

These legends served, Taché felt, both as a reminder of the historical accomplishments of those French Canadians who had explored the interior of North America, and as the basis for a national literature. The broader cultural significance of the legends, however, transcended both these issues.

²⁰ See Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1915* (Toronto: 1995), 63-66.

²¹ Taché, *Forestiers et voyageurs*, 17.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, 16. Emphasis in original.

Declaring himself to be "avant tout catholique", Taché argued that because voyageur legends often recounted strange and mystical events, they made one aware of greater spiritual powers:

l'homme a besoin de se souvenir de ce qui a été ou de ce qu'on a cru, et encore parce que l'esprit de l'homme, à le considérer comme intelligence exilée loin de l'essence du vrai, du bon et du beau, ne peut plus vivre de réalisme que son âme des vérités naturelles qu'elle perçoit: il faut d'un voyageur dans l'inconnu, à l'autre se reposer dans la foi à des mystères.²⁴

The spiritual fall of "man" made everyone into something of a voyageur, in a metaphysical (if not occupational) sense.

The most important "folklorist" in French Canada before Barbeau was Ernest Gagnon, a musician, civil servant, historian, and author. When he later discussed the development of folklore research in Canada, Barbeau was careful to acknowledge Gagnon's position as his key precursor.²⁵ His one folklore text, *Chansons populaires du Canada*, served as a model of scholarship against which Barbeau evaluated his own research.

Like Barbeau, Gagnon had developed a love of music in his youth. Trained to be a musician, first by his older sister,

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Barbeau and Sapir, "Introduction" to Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada*, xiii.

then at classical college, and finally in Montreal where he took private lessons on the piano, Gagnon began his rise to musical prominence in 1854, at the age of twenty, when he was appointed organist at the St.-Jean-Baptiste Church in Quebec City. In 1857 Gagnon was appointed to teach music at l'École normale Laval, but decided instead to complete his education in Paris. In Paris he came under the influence of the Romantic movement through teachers who emphasized the artistic nature of traditional music.²⁶

Gagnon brought this interest back to Quebec when he returned the following year. Shortly thereafter he began to collect traditional music in the vicinity of Quebec City which he published serially in *Le Foyer Canadien* between 1865 and 1867. In 1868 he brought this material together as *Chansons populaires* which became the most influential and widely-read collection of folk songs in French Canada until Barbeau began to publish his material in the 1910s. *Chansons populaires* ran through eight different printings between its publication date and the 1917.²⁷ Material from the collection continued to be reprinted in other collections well into the early twentieth

²⁶ François Brassard, Denis Ménard, and Gordon E. Smith, "Ernest Gagnon" in Helmut Kallmann, et. Al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Toronto: 2nd ed., 1992), 507-8; Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto: 1960), 181.

²⁷ "Ernest Gagnon", 508.

century,²⁸ and it remains today a well-respected work which has continued to earn the praise of professional folklorists.²⁹

Gagnon's understanding of traditional music was broad. It included church music as well as lullabies and various other songs song by his informants. Gagnon believed, however, that church music differed from other types of traditional music in that it had been composed. Like Barbeau, Gagnon held that most traditional French-Canadian music had originated in France,³⁰ but unlike Barbeau, he did not believe that traditional music had a specific author. "Cette oeuvre," he wrote in the introduction to *Chansons populaires*, was the product "de compositeurs insaisissable qu'on appelle le peuple...."³¹

Gagnon was also rather circumspect in defining the cultural role of the folklorist, or collector and publisher of popular music. His only contribution to the music published in *Chansons populaires*, he claimed, was to supply the score,³²

²⁸ Cf. J. Murray Gibbon, *Canadian Folk Songs (Old and new)* (London and Toronto: 1927), viii-ix and *passim*.

²⁹ Cf. Edith Fowke, *Canadian Folklore* (Toronto: 1988), 13.

³⁰ Ernest Gagnon, *Chansons populaires du Canada* (Québec: 1868), 313.

³¹ *Ibid.*, v.

³² *Ibid.*

with the song-texts reprinted from his informants' words. Nor did Gagnon feel that his collection should be taken as the definitive treatment of French-Canadian popular music. First, this was only a selection; he believed the actual number of traditional songs was incalculable. Second, his collection published simply one version among many of any one song, and this version had been heavily influenced by individual interpretation. Variation of songs from interpreter to interpreter, he felt, was one the inherent characteristics of traditional music: "in the matter of popular songs," he told one American folklorist, "there are as many variations as there are throats."³³

Traditional music was, Gagnon believed, "souvent très beau", but he had little interest in studying the poetic merits of popular culture. Instead, he was attracted to the music he collected for other reasons. First, he proudly told his readers that the aesthetic quality of French-Canadian folk singing was superior to the folk singing he had heard in France.³⁴ And, second, he was attracted by the way he believed traditional songs illustrated what the central characteristic of traditional French-Canadian culture: its Christian moral

³³ Ernest Gagnon to William Parker Greenough, cited in William Parker Greenough, *Canadian Folk-Life and Folk-Lore* (New York: 1897), 129.

³⁴ Gagnon, *Chansons populaires*, 313.

purity. "Dans tout les cours de mes recherches, je n'ai guère racontré que deux chansons vraiment immorales," he remarked. "Et c'est là une chose vraiment dire de remarque que la pureté des ces chants du peuple."³⁵ It was not, he told his readers, like this in France. "Plusieurs de nos anciennes chansons se chantent encore aujourd'hui en France," Gagnon noted, "avec des variantes lascives que nous ne connaissons pas en Canada."³⁶

For Gagnon, this central difference between French and French-Canadian traditional music was a product of history. Canada, he held, had been founded as a religious mission and the moral character of its population was therefore high: "[c]e fait important est dû à l'éducation, au soin scrupuleux des premiers habitants ... de bannier de la jeune société canadienne tout ce qui n'était pas dans l'esprit chrétien de ses fondateurs...."³⁷ Through generations, the rural population of French Canada had maintained this original moral purity in their music in a way that the population of France had not. For Gagnon, as for Taché, the central defining characteristic of traditional French-Canadian culture was

³⁵ *Ibid.* Citations at 315 and 314.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 314.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Catholicism, an argument Barbeau had learned at commercial and classical college but come to reject.

2. The Parameters and Ideology of Interwar Folklore Research

The traditional culture of Gagnon was a culture which spoke to his own conceptions of the French-Canadian nation and rural life. He constructed a culture rooted in religious history and founded on a sense of propriety and morality. Barbeau's conception of folklore research, and its cultural importance, by contrast, were founded on an alternative conception of tradition, in which folk culture gained its modern importance within an antimodernist grid of significance.

Barbeau began to collect and study traditional French-Canadian culture in 1914 at the suggestion of Franz Boas, whom he had met at the American Anthropology Association (AAA) annual meeting in 1913. Sapir had sent Barbeau to the AAA as part of his campaign to professionalize anthropology in Canada. At the time, Barbeau had just completed his Huron-Wyandot field research and was beginning to write up the results for publication. During the course of the conference he met Boas and mentioned to him what he felt was the one interesting cultural idiosyncrasy to have emerged from his Huron-Wyandot fieldwork: the presence of traditional French-Canadian folklore among the Lorette Huron. On at least one

occasion when Barbeau had asked a Lorette Huron to recite traditional legends, so he could record them, the person instead recited a legend Barbeau recognized as being of French-Canadian origin.³⁸ At the time Barbeau had considered the presence of French-Canadian legends at Lorette to be a "curiosity" and seems not to have troubled himself with the matter.³⁹ Barbeau's discovery of French-Canadian legends at Lorette, however, immediately appealed to Boas who felt that a survey of French-Canadian folklore would complement work he and his students were undertaking in the United States on cultural development. In particular, he felt it would allow anthropologists to gauge the impact French culture had had on Amerindian culture.⁴⁰ He urged Barbeau to begin a survey of French-Canadian folklore, promised to secure the support of

³⁸ As noted in the last chapter, Barbeau later claimed that French-Canadian culture dominated the Lorette reserve. I have, however, been able to document only one instance during his initial fieldwork where a Lorette Huron presented aspects of traditional French-Canadian culture as traditional Huron culture. See Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19. There is, of course, no reason why aspects of one culture cannot be adopted by another without distorting or in some other way diluting that culture. For a discussion see Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 1-17.

³⁹ At the least we can say that the matter did not again figure in his correspondence until after his meeting with Boas. "Curiosity" cited in Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 May 1911, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 19.

⁴⁰ Franz Boas to R.W. Brock, 14 January 1914 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2611.

Sapir for the project, and agreed to publish the results of his research in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*.

This contact with Boas later seemed to Barbeau like a turning point in his life which marked the beginning of his career as a folklorist.⁴¹ On Boas's urging he returned to Lorette to collect the traditional French-Canadian legends he had earlier disregarded and then proceeded to the Beauce where he collected further material from family and friends. The next year, in 1915, Barbeau collected material from friends at a college reunion in Kamouraska County and also found a good informant named George-S raphin Pelletier, who he described as an "artisan". Pelletier had worked logging camps in Wisconsin, New England and the Gatineau valley and knew a large number of tales which he used to entertain his fellow loggers in the evenings.⁴² After exhausting the repertoires of Pelletier and his friends, Barbeau broadened his search for folklore by following leads given him by his original informants. His work at Lorette proved particularly useful. There he was told that along the seacoast at Baie-St.-Paul and the  boulements, traditional music still flourished as part of

⁴¹ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 20.

⁴² Marius Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens" *J.A.F.* 30 (1917), 1.

local culture.⁴³ Barbeau was not disappointed. He spent the summer and early fall of 1916 collecting on the north shore of the St. Lawrence from Baie-St.-Paul to Tadoussac. Halfway through the summer, he wrote Sapir, he had already managed to collect 243 folk songs and 89 folk tales, "a considerable part of which is really first class material."⁴⁴ His totals would reach even higher. By the end of the season, Barbeau had added nearly 500 different songs and tales to his collection.

Over the course of the next two decades, Barbeau broadened his search for folklore across rural Quebec. He worked the Gaspé Peninsula, Three Rivers, Assomption County, Ile d'Orléans, Ile-aux-Coûdres, and a variety of other locales. As he continued to collect folklore, the scope of his research broadened as well. Initially, Barbeau had focused on collecting legends, a matter of personal interest to Boas. In 1916 he began to collect songs, and then in 1918 "anecdotes bearing on the were-wolf, haunted houses, fairies and so on."⁴⁵ The research was fascinating: "I never had thought before last winter," he told Sapir in 1918, "that this field would be

⁴³ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 28.

⁴⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 3 August 1916, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

⁴⁵ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 2 October 1918, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22.

so rich and interesting."⁴⁶ By 1925, his research had expanded to material culture, arts and crafts. For the 1925 research season, his work focused on early colonial artisans' guilds, colonial ship-building, pottery, silversmithing, cheese-making, wood-carving, church architecture, and textiles, in addition to oral traditions and music.⁴⁷ What had begun as a relatively minor project designed to contribute to salvage ethnography, had become a substantive research program in its own right, only loosely related to ethnography.

If the parameters of Barbeau's research were broad the actual focus of his fieldwork was often narrowly restricted, at times to a single individual. Barbeau's conception of "the folk" emerged more by implication than by definition. He focused his attention on rural life, on fishers, farmers, loggers, and artisans. Barbeau's folk were a pre-industrial people, but this definition was never explicitly made, explicitly formulated, or explicitly defended. It served simply as common sense. Implicitly excluded from "the folk" were industrial workers, middle-class professionals, and urbanites, but more because of Barbeau's biases than because he had any evidence that they had become detached from

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ L.L. Bolton to Marius Barbeau, 29 May 1925 (copy), Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 24.

traditional culture. He simply assumed traditional culture could not exist in an urban setting, and therefore never tried to collect folklore in either Montreal or Quebec City.

Even among the rural people who epitomized "the folk" it could be difficult to find a member of "the folk". In 1918, while surveying the Gaspé, Barbeau abandoned research in Notre Dame du Portage because, he told Sapir, it "was not an exceptionally good centre compared with environing locations."⁴⁸ His research on Ile d'Orléans in 1925, while in many ways deeply rewarding, was also disappointing. Traditional material culture was evident in homemade bedspreads and furniture, but folk music was sadly lacking. It was likely, Barbeau concluded, that a written scholarly culture diffused from the local convent school (a school not unlike the one his mother would have attended) had displaced traditional songs.⁴⁹

By 1918, the attention Barbeau was devoting to folklore research was beginning to cause minor problems within the Anthropology Division. Sapir, who had initially supported the research on the grounds Boas had suggested, started to become

⁴⁸ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 August 1918, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22.

⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau, "Ile d'Orléans" *Queen's Quarterly* 49,4 (1942). 377.

concerned when Barbeau began to study folklore for its own sake. At the end of the 1918 research season, which Barbeau had spent collecting traditional French-Canadian culture on the Gaspé Peninsula, Sapir urged him to return to the study of Amerindian culture. Folklore research was valuable work but, he wrote, "after all our proper work is, you must admit, the study the aborigines of the dominion."⁵⁰

What troubled Sapir was not simply Barbeau's research, but the use of scarce divisional resources for research outside of a field he deemed particularly important. Barbeau's expenses that summer had run \$300 over his appropriation and promised to rise even higher. And, Barbeau was also looking for another \$1000 appropriation for support of folklore publishing.⁵¹ Barbeau was approaching folklore from a perspective exactly the opposite of Sapir's: it became his goal, he later explained, to "impose" folklore research on the Anthropology Division.⁵²

What, for Barbeau, made folklore so significant? His views on folk culture are difficult to reduce to a single coherent philosophical position. Barbeau never wrote a detailed

⁵⁰ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 7 October 1918 (copy), Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22,

⁵¹ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 2 October 1918, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22.

⁵² "Mémoires", 35.

monograph or case study of folk culture or a traditional community which would allow one to explore his views in a concrete instance, but several distinct themes emerged from his work. First, traditional culture was important because it represented the true cultural essence of French Canada. This was an essence, Barbeau explained, which had almost been lost to modernity, but which still survived on the margins of modern Quebec, in places like the Gaspé or Ile d'Orléans. Barbeau was not alone in appreciating this quality of traditional culture. "Barbeau s'attache à retrouver le fond essentiel de notre tradition, les traits qui ont constitué à notre peuple sa physionomie particulière," a reviewer of one of his folklore books claimed.⁵³

Perhaps not surprisingly, Barbeau's definition of the essential characteristics of French-Canadian traditional culture did not include Catholicism. Barbeau recognized the importance of Catholicism in French-Canadian history, but in his own writings he minimized its impact on traditional culture. In his opinion, the effort to define French-Canadian culture in terms of Catholicism was misplaced because, he argued, Catholicism was not an indigenous tradition.

⁵³ Anon., review of Marius Barbeau, *Au Coeur du Québec*, *Le Droit*, 30 novembre 1934.

"Catholicism," he wrote, "will perpetuate itself in Quebec; it is a powerful institution, but it is Roman[;] not French Canadian. It does not concern itself primarily with language or race; it is universal."⁵⁴

Second, folk culture gained its importance because it was different from modern culture. Modern culture, he contended, was a culture of homogeneity, of hot-dogs and coca-colas. Against this foreground of essential homogeneity, the culture of rural Quebec was different and unusual. This difference was a product of the character of folk culture (as opposed to simply its rural setting), which Barbeau described as "enchanted" and which offered to him, and presumably to anyone else, a type of mystical return to a child-like sense of wonder. "When I was a little boy," Barbeau once recalled, "I grew fond of folk tales and songs. The world around me was new, and I was all eyes and ears to grasp it." Later, when he began to collect folklore, this child-like conception of newness and wonder remained firmly established in Barbeau's mind: "I had never forgotten the enchantment of my father's fairy tales."⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Survival of French Canada" *The Canadian Forum* 15, 176 (July 1935), 290.

⁵⁵ Marius Barbeau, "Why I Publish Folk Songs" *Canadian Author and Bookman* 37,4 (1962), 9.

Third, Barbeau argued that by listening to folk music or appreciating folk art one encountered a world of heightened emotion and adventure which was no longer an ordinary aspect of modern life. In 1945, for example, Barbeau introduced a recital of folk music in the following manner: "... folk-songs ... express the varying modes of country life ... the loneliness and the humour, the weariness and the love of the peasant for his land."⁵⁶ In the preface he wrote for another folk concert program Barbeau noted that the modern representation of folk songs still retained "[i]ts flavour ... of the past, of the colourful adventurous days when explorers and fur traders first penetrated the American wilderness." "Their presentation here," he continued, "is a symbol of an age of high adventure and romance...."⁵⁷

Fourth, Barbeau believed that folk culture was superior to modern culture in that it emphasized the spiritual, mental, and artistic aspects of human existence as opposed to what he conceived as the modern focus on material development. "Our admiration for the unparalleled development of industry and machinery," Barbeau noted on one occasion, "and for all things

⁵⁶ [Ottawa] *Journal*, 10 November 1945.

⁵⁷ M[arius] B[arbeau] and G[raham] S[pry], "Songs of Old Canada" preface to *Songs of Old Canada: A Concert by Madame Jeanne Dusseau* (Association of Canadian Clubs in cooperation with the National Gallery of Canada [and the] Toronto Conservatory of Music, n.d.), n.p.

that are practical has indeed tended to discredit the older culture of our forebears, the culture which was more of the mind and of the heart." He did not mean, Barbeau emphasized, that modern civilization should be abandoned in a return to some form of rural primitivism. Rather, his point was that the study of traditional culture demonstrated a different way modern culture could develop. "[T]he folk traditions of the past," he stated, "furnish a hint as to the way a people may progress in more ways than one."⁵⁸ Modern society, Barbeau argued, had come to neglect matters of the soul and the mind because the material civilization of the modern age operated under the belief that advancing material progress and wealth were the keys to human happiness. "Too much thought," Barbeau explained, "was given to speed and commerce and not enough to the things which made life beautiful and good." "Progress," Barbeau continued,

is often towards improvement, but sometimes it is the other way. We have advanced to success in many things, but I think the question of making progress in a cultural way and in the improvement of the soul, the mind, and art would be one that brings doubts to the minds of many. Don't think [he warned his audience] that because you enjoy the results of civilization that you are more cultured.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ [Ottawa] *Citizen*, 25 April 1929.

⁵⁹ [Ottawa] *Journal*, 25 April 1929.

As it developed in Barbeau's research, then, the culture of folk emerged within a grid a significance which cast the people defined as "the folk" as the antithesis of modernity. Barbeau's folk led simple, but fulfilling lives. He described the people who became "the folk" as solid and hardy, graceful and charming; they lived (Barbeau believed) as they had lived for generations, culturally undisturbed the intrusion of modernity.⁶⁰

In only one important respect did traditional French-Canadian folk culture disappoint Barbeau. Sometime shortly after he began to collect legends at the suggestion of Franz Boas, Barbeau read the Grimms and became fascinated with the idea of discovering in Quebec a Grimm-like type of spontaneous cultural expression. His initial collecting successes, Barbeau explained, "lured [him] into the hope of spying folksongs in the making"; of witnessing,

[a] handful of singers spontaneously burst into song on the spur of the moment. Genius, usually denied the individual, would at times grace the latent powers of the mob and give birth to poems and tunes that were worthy to pass on to posterity.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Marius Barbeau, "Gaspé Folk" *Dalhousie Review* 17 (1937-8), 346; Marius Barbeau, "Notre Tradition, que devient-elle?" *Culture* 2 (1941), 4.

⁶¹ Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, "Introduction" to Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk-Songs of French Canada*, xiv.

It was not to be. Barbeau's effort to empirically test the Grimms' conception of folk culture failed to produce the results he had hoped for. To maximize his chances of discovering a Grimm-like world of cultural spontaneity, Barbeau decided to collect traditional culture in regions, such as the lower St. Lawrence, which he judged had been least affected by modernity. Here, "among the isolated and unspoilt settlers [I] might find the object of [my] quest -- the song anonymously begotten in the midst of the motley crowd." The expedition was not wholly disappointing: it produced a large collection of songs and tales for Barbeau's archive. But, the folk Barbeau discovered were neither artistically spontaneous, nor particularly talented:

they lacked the very gift which was to enlighten us in our quest. They would not give free rein to impulse or fancy, they would not tread new paths, would not venture beyond the mere imitation of what had passed to them ready-made from their relatives and friends, from untold generations of peasant singers. Nor was this due to an unlucky star, for all the country-folk we met are much alike; they are not creators of rhymes or tunes, but only instruments for their preservation. True enough, we heard of some poets of the backwoods who could string rhymes and stanzas together on a given theme to suit the local demand. But these were without mystic power. Their manner seemed not unlike that of ordinary poets, but far cruder. They plodded individually over their tasks and tallied their lines to a familiar tune. The outcome was invariably uncouth, commonplace. There was nowhere

a fresh source of inspiration; only imitation, obvious, slavish.⁶²

The elevated language of this passage is important because Barbeau repeated this basic theme in other texts.⁶³ It illustrated the contradictory dynamic of his approach to folklore: folk culture was beautiful, artistic, and emotionally exciting, but "the folk" themselves were not. Even among the rural population, the loggers, farmers, fishers, and artisans, who implicitly constituted Barbeau's "folk" in their best-preserved setting, folk singing did not rise above the level of mediocrity. The folk conveyed a culture which had, Barbeau felt, important implications for modern life, but they themselves added to it only under unusual and infrequent circumstances.⁶⁴ It was for this reason that Barbeau concluded that folk songs had to have been written by "artists". "Here," Barbeau wrote, "is decidedly not the drawl of untutored peasants nor a growth due to chance, but the work of poets whose mature art had inherited an ample stock of metric patterns and a concert lore common to many European races."⁶⁵

⁶² *Ibid.*, xv.

⁶³ Cf. Barbeau, *Folk-Songs of Old Quebec*, 2

⁶⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Ile-aux-Coûdres" *Canadian Geographic Journal* 12,4 (1936), 204.

⁶⁵ Barbeau and Sapir, "Introduction", xvi.

The possibility that "untutored peasants" could do more than mimic the work of artists came to be excluded *a priori* from Barbeau's conception of traditional culture. In his final analysis, Barbeau found traditional culture artistic not because the folk were artistic, but because they had long ago listened to the artists that they themselves were not.

3. The Cultural Work of Folklore

The research Barbeau conducted under the auspices of the National Museum marked a crucial step toward the establishment of folklore as a scholarly field of inquiry in Canada. In important ways, the final step toward professional folklore would not be taken until after the Second World War, and then the step was taken in a different direction than Barbeau might have wanted. Nonetheless, through the National Museum, the state played an essential role in establishing a stable basis for folklore research in the interwar era. It was not simply that Barbeau approached folklore research, or understood traditional cultural, differently from his precursors. The very stability of his position -- that he could draw a salary for his research without having to worry about producing marketable commodities -- set his folklore research apart from the work of earlier amateurs. The need, or desire, to market folklore, to turn it into a marketable product, has been

identified by scholars as one of the central characteristics of early-twentieth-century folklore research which remained, by and large, the purview of amateurs dependent on selling the culture they collected to sustain themselves. This prompted, as David Whisnant has noted for an analogous situation, territorial disputes between different folklorists as they sought to defend their "folk" -- and the basis of their income -- against the incursions other folklorists.⁶⁶

This did not happen in Quebec. Perhaps because of the fiscal security of his position -- that his income was already guaranteed -- or, perhaps because his research was supported, and technically owned, by the state, Barbeau made no effort to guard his territory. In fact, he encouraged other folklorists to enter the field. Nonetheless, Barbeau's folklore did have a significant impact on the traditional culture of French Canada, an impact heightened by the breadth and scope of his research and by the prominent position he occupied in the public eye during the interwar years.

If the hierarchy of the National Museum was less-than-certain about the degree to which its staff should be involved in folklore research, there were many other institutions and individuals vying for Barbeau's assistance. English-Canadian

⁶⁶ Whisnant, *All That Is Native & Fine*, 114; McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 140-4.

institutions proved particularly interested in French-Canadian folklore and material culture. First, other museums were interested in developing collections of traditional French-Canadian culture. Over the course of his career, Barbeau helped the Historic Sites and Monuments Board augment their collections for a number of historic sites, including Fort Chambly, Laurier House in St. Lin, and the Port Royal Habitation in Nova Scotia.⁶⁷ The McCord Museum in Montreal also made use of Barbeau's services to secure a Quevillon-style church panel from Varennes in 1832.⁶⁸ Outside the National Museum, the museum which made the most use of Barbeau's services was the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM).

Barbeau and ROM curator C.T. Currelly had known each other since the 1910s,⁶⁹ but a working relationship between them developed only in 1924 when Currelly asked Barbeau to collect Northwest Coast artifacts for his institution.⁷⁰ That year Barbeau managed to purchase for Currelly a chilkat blanket, a

⁶⁷ C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (Montreal and Kingston: 199), 108.

⁶⁸ Marius Barbeau to C.T. Currelly, 15 December 1930 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5864.

⁶⁹ C.T. Currelly, *I Brought the Ages Home* (Toronto: [1956] 1976), 208, and 283-4.

⁷⁰ Deputy Minister of Mines [Charles Camsell] to C.T. Currelly, 19 September 1924, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5842.

copper shield, a variety of other artifacts, and Chief Mountain's totem pole.⁷¹ Currelly placed considerable confidence in Barbeau's judgment as a collector. He usually made suggestions about what type of artifacts his museum might need,⁷² but left the final decisions about which artifacts the ROM should or should not purchase to Barbeau.⁷³

Initially, Barbeau's collecting for the ROMA was confined to the Northwest Coast, a cultural area in which Currelly was particularly interested,⁷⁴ but in 1929 the institution decided to establish a French-Canadian collection. The ROM had collected European traditional culture before 1929, but the decision to establish a French-Canadian collection represented a new departure. Most of the materials in the European collection were either particularly rare, particularly old, or particularly exotic.⁷⁵ And, it had never collected a European-based traditional culture in Canada before. Exactly why the

⁷¹ Barbeau, *Totem Poles*, 57; C.T. Currelly to Marius Barbeau, 28 October 1924, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5845.

⁷² Cf. C.T. Currelly to Marius Barbeau, 26 September 1924, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5844.

⁷³ Cf. C.T. Currelly to Marius Barbeau, 28 October 1924, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5845.

⁷⁴ Currelly, *I Brought the Ages Home*, 207.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 235, 276, and 285.

ROM decided to start a French-Canadian collection is not on record. Currelly, a resolute collector, built collections in cultures from around the world and he may have viewed the establishment of a French-Canadian collection as the natural extension of his work. The idea may, as well, have come from Currelly's deputy Thomas McIlwraith, who had previously worked with Barbeau at the National Museum and was particularly enthusiastic about his ex-colleague's folk culture research.⁷⁶ Or, the decision may have come at the suggestion of Barbeau. Whatever the exact origin of the idea, Barbeau began collecting traditional French-Canadian culture for the ROM in 1929. He first purchased a small wood carving of the last supper,⁷⁷ then suggested further additions to their collection including an Easter chandelier and a cow-horn carving.⁷⁸ Barbeau's most substantial purchase for the ROM, however, occurred in 1931 when he purchased a room in a St.-Jean-Port-

⁷⁶ Thomas McIlwraith to Marius Barbeau, 27 June 1927 (copy), McIlwraith Papers, box 79, file 11.

⁷⁷ C.T. Currelly to Marius Barbeau, 21 October 1930, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5862.

⁷⁸ C.T. Currelly to Marius Barbeau, 19 December 1929, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5868; Marius Barbeau to C.T. Currelly, 26 December 1930 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5865.

Joli house for the Museum to use as a "habitat group" display.⁷⁹

Art galleries, such as the National Gallery of Canada, also proved interested in developing collections of folk arts. The concentration of the National Gallery, however, was not on the systematic preservation of traditional material culture, but on the purchase of something which might be considered a work of art. During his fieldwork in rural Quebec in the 1920s and 1930s Barbeau secured a number of art objects for the National Gallery, including a crucifix, two gilt figures (one the Virgin and Joseph with baby Jesus and the other the head of an angel) and a variety of smaller pieces. Barbeau also purchased a number of blankets and bedcovers from Ile-aux-Coûdres and two altars from the Seminary of Quebec.⁸⁰

A number of other cultural institutions and private collectors were also interested in French-Canadian folk arts. J.B. Bickersteth, the warden of Hart House at the University

⁷⁹ C.T. Currelly to Marius Barbeau, 20 February 1931, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5868; Marius Barbeau to ROM, 24 February 1931 (memo, copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5870.

⁸⁰ Eric Brown to Marius Barbeau, 11 September 1928; Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3618; Eric Brown to Marius Barbeau, 3 October 1928, Barbeau Fonds B-Mc-3619; Eric Brown to Marius Barbeau, 17 February 1931, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3626; and Eric Brown to Marius Barbeau, 10 March 1933, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3628.

of Toronto, enlisted Barbeau's services in the early 1930s to help furnish a French-Canadian room that was being established at the university. Usually Bickersteth informed Barbeau of the type of pieces for which he was looking,⁸¹ but occasionally Barbeau advised him to purchase some article he had discovered while on the course of fieldwork. In 1933, for example, he recommended that Bickersteth purchase an old and rare type of spinning wheel, one of only five known to exist, that he had seen on Ile d'Orléans in 1928.⁸² Barbeau also encouraged Bickersteth to purchase a cabinet and table which although not particularly old represented, he assured Bickersteth, a high and historically authentic level of craftsmanship: "[t]hey are about the best pieces of Quebec cabinet-making I know of.... It is the kind of thing called 'master-piece' or piece of work done for pleasure without regard to time." The furniture had been originally priced at \$1000 but because of an economic setback the owners were now forced to sell the set for \$300. At this price, Barbeau recommended the purchase.⁸³

⁸¹ Marius Barbeau to J.B. Bickersteth, 25 January 1935 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2380.

⁸² Marius Barbeau to J.B. Bickersteth, 26 January 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2365.

⁸³ Marius Barbeau to J.B. Bickersteth, 21 April 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2369.

Barbeau also assisted the Women's Art Association (WAA) in Toronto establishing its own collection of folk arts. Barbeau's association with the WAA began in 1925 when the Association asked him if he could provide the names of traditional French-Canadian weavers whose work could be displayed in an up-coming exhibition.⁸⁴ Barbeau recommended a number of women whose work he had encountered during his fieldwork on Ile d'Orléans and Ile-aux-Îles. Following his advice the association purchased a number of *catalogne* rugs and bedspreads from these areas.⁸⁵ The reason he recommended the Ile-aux-Îles crafts, Barbeau explained to Jane Bertram of the WAA, was because traditions on the island were both well-preserved and aesthetically interesting. "In the course of a visit to most of the houses of the Island," he explained, "I came to the conclusion that several of the best weavers in Quebec are now located on that Island, which has the most varied and interesting traditions and is still better conserved than in other places." "Their homespuns," he

⁸⁴ Jane Bertram to Marius Barbeau, 28 October 1925, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2110.

⁸⁵ Jane Bertram to Marius Barbeau 29 November 1925, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2111; Jane Bertram to Marius Barbeau, 11 February 1926, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2112; Jane Bertram to Marius Barbeau, 22 June 1927, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2119.

continued, "are not yet commercialized as they are in Charlevoix county [and] elsewhere."⁸⁶

In addition to art associations and galleries, a number of private collectors, including Barbeau himself, were interested in developing more modest collections of folk arts. A number of Barbeau's English-speaking acquaintances outside Quebec found the *catalogne* rugs of Ile-aux-Coûdres, in particular, attractive home decorations. E.A. Corbett, Director of the Department of Extension at the University of Alberta, ordered an Ile-aux-Coûdres rug through Barbeau in 1933. After he received a request for some folk art object or craft, Barbeau then wrote a woman he had met during his fieldwork and asked if she could make the rug, or whatever other article had been requested, for a certain price. "Should friends of yours like to have rugs of this kind [i.e., *catalogne*] or other bright homespuns ... for home decorations," Barbeau told Corbett after he had arranged his order, "I would be glad to order them for you."⁸⁷

Occasionally there were individuals who wanted to purchase larger collections which included folk arts as well as

⁸⁶ Marius Barbeau to Jane Bertram, 3 September 1932 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2121.

⁸⁷ Marius Barbeau to E.A. Corbett, 12 June 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-5445.

homespun cloth, rugs, or bedspreads. The noted collector Charles S. Band relied on Barbeau to provide advice on what types of folk crafts he could purchase to decorate a new house he bought in 1932.⁸⁸ Two of the items Barbeau recommended Band purchase were carved wooden angels from Ile d'Orléans. "I know of two angels (wood carving) in the neighbourhood of Quebec which I would buy," Barbeau told Band in 1933. "One is a splendid piece from the old church of St. Laurent.... It is one of the finest Quebec carvings I have seen." It cost \$200, but if Band were interested Barbeau promised to try to have the owner lower his price.⁸⁹ In 1935 Band again asked Barbeau's assistance, this time to decorate his log cabin.⁹⁰ The items Barbeau secured for various private and institutional collectors ranged from chairs to antique boxes to weather vanes, crucifixes and medallions.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Charles S. Band to Marius Barbeau, 2 December 1932, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-1161.

⁸⁹ Marius Barbeau to Charles S. Band, 1 November 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-1181.

⁹⁰ Charles S. Band to Marius Barbeau, 25 October 1933, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-1207.

⁹¹ J.B. Bickersteth to Marius Barbeau, 23 March 1934, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2375; W.M. Birks to Marius Barbeau, 29 October 1921, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2454.

As an advisor to and collector for various museums, art galleries, and private individuals, Barbeau acted in a capacity which was an outgrowth of his folklore field research. He was a professional folklore collector and, in effect, artistic advisor whose scholarly reputation secured the "authenticity" of the articles being purchased. Barbeau emphasized non-commercial patterns, the age of a particular object, and the craftsmanship of artisans. As a professional folklorist he became, as he was for Amerindian culture in his role as an ethnographer, the determiner of authenticity. His professional skills were important, Barbeau explained to one correspondent, precisely because "authenticity" was not self-evident, even to "the folk." When J. Murray Gibbon, chief publicity agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) asked Barbeau for photographs of traditional French-Canadian homes which could be used as a model to redesign a wing of the CPR's Quebec City hotel, the Chateau Fontenac, Barbeau advised him that this was not the best course of action. There were indeed photographs of traditional homes, but their use, as a measure of "authentic" traditional culture was limited because "there is usually a great deal of admixture in the decoration of houses, some of the things being old and some others being new." It would be far better, Barbeau told Gibbon, if they

were to meet because in that way he could offer advice which would be of greater use than photographs. ⁹²

In addition to establishing the "authenticity" of rare artifacts, Barbeau's role as a professional advisor and collector involved a recontextualization of the artifacts he either personally collected for institutions and individuals or advised others to purchase. This recontextualization subtly transformed the meaning (or meanings) of the objects which were bought. In the museum, folk art was transformed from a part of daily life, pertaining to a moribund but still-living tradition, into an artifact: a sign of a vanishing tradition rather than part of a tradition itself. In a museum, or at an historic house, an object was intended to be appreciated as a sign of the past, as opposed to a part of the present.

The effect of recontextualizing an object in an art gallery or private collection was different. The objects the National Gallery purchased were treated as works of art and were intended to be appreciated on aesthetic grounds. Their values, in contrast to a museum, lay not in what they might signify about a vanishing culture, but in their inherent beauty. The meaning of folk arts in private collections is more difficult to determine because it depended on the

⁹² Marius Barbeau to J. Murray Gibbon, 20 February 1926 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

idiosyncracies of individual collectors. Quite possibly, different collectors understood the meaning of *catalogne* rugs, homespuns, bedspreads, or old furniture in different ways. The homespun Barbeau secured for Corbett was intended as a home decoration; the carved wooden angels he found for Charles Band's log cabin were intended to complement a rustic retreat from modern life Band was designing for himself; other objects quite possibly had other meanings. In one form or another, however, the objects Barbeau collected for private individuals became decorations: aesthetic displays intended to enliven homes or cabins. They became, in other words, luxury items which were to be displayed and remarked upon rather than used in daily life.

Perhaps the most significant purchase Barbeau made for an institution or an individual occurred in 1925 while on a field expedition to Ile d'Orléans. Accompanied by his friends, A.Y. Jackson and Arthur Lismer, members of the Group of Seven, Barbeau decided to examine the work of Louis Jobin, a wood-carver living at Ste.-Anne-de-Beaupré, site of Quebec's most famous Catholic shrine and host to thousands of pilgrims and tourists each year. As a child, Barbeau had been to Ste.-Anne as part of a parish pilgrimage, and this journey too later appeared to him as a "pilgrimage".⁹³

⁹³ Marius Barbeau, "Two Master Carvers of Ancient Quebec" *Dalhousie Review* 15 (1935-36), 290.

Jobin was over eighty when Barbeau met him, infirm and only three years from his death. Barbeau wanted to talk to him about his craft, his apprenticeship, and other matters of scholarly interest.⁹⁴ Lismer and Jackson were brought along to evaluate his art and search for attractive rustic scenes to paint. Exactly what was said between Jobin and Barbeau is not on record, but what can be known of Jobin is interesting because it speaks directly to the re-organization of traditional culture entailed by Barbeau's folklore work. Jobin had had a productive life. He had not lived his whole life in Ste.-Anne, but instead had worked as a wood-carver in New York, and also in Montreal where he carved cigar store "Indians".⁹⁵ Now, he worked in Ste.-Anne where he carved angels for tourists and pilgrims. Jobin considered himself, Barbeau later wrote, a "worker", a cultural and economic identity in which he apparently took considerable pride. Barbeau took this as a sign of Jobin's humility, but it is more likely that Jobin meant that he was a craftworker, a person who practiced a skilled trade.

⁹⁴ Marius Barbeau, *Au Coeur de Québec* (Montréal: 1934), 150.

⁹⁵ Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, 66.

Whatever it meant exactly, Barbeau did not accept Jobin at his word. After reviewing some carved statues in Jobin's workshop and a few others standing exposed to the elements in his yard, Barbeau, Jackson and Lismer came to the opinion that the carver was not a "mere" worker, but an artist of considerable ability. They selected a carved angel to purchase for the National Gallery and inquired about its price. The angel had originally been commissioned by a tourist who had wanted a souvenir, but when the tourist did not like it and refused to pay, Jobin had left the angel in his yard. He suggested Barbeau could have it for five dollars. This price, however, was too low for Barbeau, Jackson and Lismer who believed that NGC director Eric Brown would reject it on the grounds that a true work of art could not be bought at that price. Instead they offered him seventy-five dollars and the carving was shipped to the National Gallery.

Barbeau's purchase of a discarded wooden angel for \$75 and his various writings on traditional French-Canadian wood-carving drew Jobin to public attention. By the 1960s Jobin's work had become highly-prized collectors' items. In 1962 a Jobin angel sold for \$10 000,⁹⁶ a far more substantial sum than

⁹⁶ Marius Barbeau to Sidney Dawes, 8 May 1962 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 73. File 2.

his work had commanded when Barbeau first met him. Jobin, however, never lived to enjoy the success his "discovery" brought to his carving. He died in 1928, before Barbeau had been able to gain recognition for his "art", or, in fact, before he became an artist.

4. The Cultural Logic of Folklore

In the interwar era, folklore research developed in a way which served to redefine how selected aspects of rural French-Canadian life were understood by an urban, and often anglophone, public. For Barbeau, folk culture gained its importance as a cultural alternative to modernity: as a romantic, colourful, almost mystical alternative to the materialism of modern life. The ideology of folklore research was complex, at once valorizing folk culture but presenting living "folk" in a frequently less-than-favourable light. The establishment of professional folklore served, as well, to further a process of cultural intervention which re-organized the meanings of traditional culture in the modern age as folk arts and crafts were recontextualized as artifacts, aesthetic objects, and home decorations. Underlying all this was the work of the folklorist, who became the arbiter of "authenticity" and frequently the only connection between the individuals and institutions which collected folk culture and

"the folk" themselves. In this way, the work of professionalized folklore research brought with it new forms of cultural power and a disciplinary identity in which that power was based.

It brought with it new forms of cultural ownership as well. The collection and publication of folklore raised questions about who exactly owned, or at least could control, this material. For a material object, this issue was relatively straightforward: the institution or person who bought the object, now owned it. The problem was far more intractable in the case of such oral traditions as songs and legends. In "traditional" French-Canadian cultures, as in other traditional cultures, the issue of the ownership of oral traditions is complex and still poorly understood. At least one of Barbeau's informants did assert a proprietary right to the songs he knew, but generally, there were few barriers to one song being used or song by another person. Moreover, the songs themselves had no commercial value. Their value lay in their use: in the singing of them.

One of the key issues for early-twentieth-century amateur folklorists was to establish their ownership of, or at least control over, a body of cultural resources. In many cases there was a direct economic rationale for this. If most amateur folklorists disavowed overtly economic motives for their interest in traditional culture, they were also aware

that there might be money to be made from folklore. Thus, issues such as copyright, which established individual legal control over collected oral traditions and music, were central to many folklorists.⁹⁷

Barbeau was quite capable of trading on his name. Using the knowledge he acquired from state-sponsored research, Barbeau wrote for popular journals and was paid for his efforts. As his biographer has pointed out, journalism could be quite lucrative. In the early thirties he may have made as much as fifty dollars a month from journalism.⁹⁸ This would not have made Barbeau rich, but during the height of the depression it was not an inconsiderable sum. Barbeau's case, however, was more complex because as a state employee he did not technically own the material he collected, even if he had it copyrighted. It remained the property of the state, available for public consultation (as it is today).

If he could not own the songs and legends he had collected, Barbeau could exert some control over how the material was used. At times this drew him into conflict with other professional cultural producers who wanted to make use of folk culture. Material used from his published sources -- which

⁹⁷ McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 139.

⁹⁸ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 300-5.

were copyrighted -- without his permission particularly annoyed him. In 1933 he took the unusual step of suing a newspaper which reprinted one of his journalistic pieces without his permission or without payment.⁹⁹ The issue continued to bother him as late as 1959 when he complained to the Composers, Authors, and Publishers Association of Canada about the unauthorized use by a professional singer of songs he had "copyrighted".¹⁰⁰

Perhaps the event which best epitomized Barbeau's approach to the ownership of traditional culture occurred in 1928 when Harold Boulton, a British folklorist, proposed to publish a book of Canadian folk songs. In 1922 Barbeau had supplied Boulton with seven songs for a collection which was supposed to represent the music of the British Empire.¹⁰¹ Thereafter, Boulton and Barbeau maintained a friendly, if episodic correspondence. In 1928 Barbeau was initially happy that Boulton would help see some of the material he had collected into print,¹⁰² but he rapidly changed his mind. Less than two

⁹⁹ "M.M. Barbeau Réclame des Dommages" *Le Droit*, 30 aout 1933.

¹⁰⁰ Marius Barbeau to Composers, Authors, and Publishers Association of Canada, Ltd., 11 February 1959 (copy), Barbeau Fonds ANQ, micro 5084 #M699.4.

¹⁰¹ Harold Boulton to Marius Barbeau, 1 January 1924, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3131.

¹⁰² Marius Barbeau to Harold Boulton, 3 February 1928 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3158.

months after agreeing to help Boulton with the project, Barbeau wrote to announce that he would no longer participate. This issue, he explained, was that Boulton did not plan to acknowledge Barbeau's work by listing his name on the cover of the book. This deprived him of authorial status: "the fact that the names of the contributors of the songs are not mentioned on the cover deprives them of the privilege of appearing in bibliographic references on the book," he told Boulton, "which is, by my mind, a serious omission..."¹⁰³ The issue in this case was complicated by the fact, Barbeau explained to Boulton, that the songs Boulton planned to use had not been previously published or copyrighted "so that my claim ... for authorship hasn't been placed before the public."¹⁰⁴

Boulton, for his part, did not really understand exactly what had upset Barbeau. He promised to make due acknowledgment of the sources from which the songs were drawn, but guessed the real issue was remuneration.¹⁰⁵ Barbeau told him he was wrong, and after further wrangling a frustrated

¹⁰³ Marius Barbeau to Harold Boulton, 9 June 1928 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3166.

¹⁰⁴ Marius Barbeau to Harold Boulton, 15 March 1928 (copy), B-Mc-3161.

¹⁰⁵ Harold Boulton to Marius Barbeau, 29 March 1928, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3162.

Boulton simply asked Barbeau to explain where he wanted his name placed on the cover.¹⁰⁶ The entire issue seemed to Boulton to be relatively minor, and hardly worth the emotion Barbeau was investing in it. What he failed to understand, however, was that Barbeau wanted his contribution to the project publicly recognized as being equal to those who would set the scores and compile the text. His point: the work of those who collect folklore was as valuable as those who publish it.

Lost in all this were "the folk" who had actually provided the songs in the first place. They had already made their contribution and once this contribution had been made, they faded into the background. The authorship of folk songs was a complicated issue. If one followed the Brothers Grimm, these songs had no specific author but had instead been produced by sort of cultural spontaneous combustion. If one followed Barbeau, the songs were the work of authors from the distant past who would remain forever unknown. Yet, if the author of folk songs remained unknown, the authors of folklore texts were not. Their names entered public circulation, as Barbeau's did in interwar Canada, as the sources of traditional culture. This was a point Barbeau clearly

¹⁰⁶ Harold Boulton to Marius Barbeau, 22 June 1928, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3167.

Part III
Beyond Anthropology

Chapter 5

A National Artistic Tradition

Krieghoff's pictures of early Canadian life place him in the front rank of the pioneers of modern art on this continent.

And he is more than a primitive. His work at its best ... has weathered the assaults of time, remoteness and obscurity. It is varied and resourceful, embracing as it does French Canadian and Indian folk life, river and forest lore, autumn and winter landscapes in a direct and inspired vein....

-Marius Barbeau (1934)¹

Quant à Krieghoff, tu auras certainement été un de ceux qui auront contribué le plus à faire apprécier ses travaux.

-Louis St. Laurent à Marius Barbeau (1948)²

Twenty years back, the Montreal art dealer William Watson told *Maclean's* magazine in 1954, no one could have predicted that the art of Cornelius Krieghoff, then a relatively neglected mid-nineteenth century painter, would become so popular. Earlier in his career Watson had, in fact, felt guilty for charging a customer \$300 for a Krieghoff canvas which he clearly felt was worth much less. Now, in 1954, he could not keep Krieghoff canvases in stock long enough to organize even a

¹ Marius Barbeau, "Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872)" in *Catalogue of Toronto Centennial Historical Exhibition* (Toronto: 1934), 15.

² Louis St. Laurent à Marius Barbeau, 5 avril 1948, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 51, Louis St. Laurent file.

modest exhibition of the painter's work. Who would have thought, Watson asked rhetorically, that "people in Winnipeg" would be interested in Krieghoff's art.³

At the center of this remarkable Krieghoff revival was Marius Barbeau. Between 1926 and 1935, Barbeau became increasingly involved in a series of public cultural events. With the members of the Group of Seven he organized two prominent exhibitions, *The Art of French Canada* (1926) and *Northwest Coast Art: Native and Modern* (1927); with J. Murray Gibbon, the *Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival* (1927-28) at the Chateau Frontenac; and with Graham Spry, a Canadian tour for singer Jeanne Dusseau and pianist Florence Glen (1930), held under the auspices of the Association of Canadian Clubs. Together these different concerts and exhibitions constituted a sustained pattern of cultural intervention which both drew Barbeau and his work to public attention and presented his conception of Canadian culture to a wider public. These events were designed, he later explained, to promote the growth of a Canadian culture which would be "Canadian" because it was rooted in the domestic traditions of the country. No event, perhaps, better typified Barbeau's conception of a "Canadian" culture than the 1934 Cornelius Krieghoff retrospective exhibition which he helped to organize for the National Gallery

³ Cited in *The Rebirth of a Fascinating Painter* (Toronto: 1955), n.p.

(NGC), the Art Gallery of Toronto (AGT), and the Montreal Art Association. A small Krieghoff exhibition had been initially planned by the AGT to coincide with the 1934 Toronto Centennial Exhibition. It rapidly became a monumental show involving the cooperative labour of several different people including Barbeau, under whose guidance it grew, quite unexpectedly from the perspective of AGT curator Martin Baldwin, into a very large enterprise. The 1934 retrospective marked the first time the nineteenth-century painter had been afforded this treatment. The exhibition signalled Krieghoff's elevation to a prominent position in the Canadian artistic canon, a position he continues to occupy (although perhaps in a different way) today.⁴ In effect, it made Krieghoff into part of a Canadian artistic tradition.

The elevation of Krieghoff to canonical status was not accomplished without considerable ironies which also continued to affect the critical reception of his work until recently. Specifically, Barbeau's effort to elevate Krieghoff to the canon involved a specific reading of his art and life which proved more controversial than Barbeau might have imagined. Barbeau's effort on Krieghoff's behalf was successful. It did indeed draw critical and public attention to the artist's work,

⁴ Harper, *Painting in Canada*, ch. 11; Sandra Paikowsky, "Landscape Painting in Canada" in Pryke and Soderlund, eds., *Profiles of Canada*, 339.

but at times this attention made Krieghoff's art a point of ideological contention at the same time he became part of the Canadian canon. To understand the ironic elements of the 1934 Krieghoff exhibition is to gain some insight into both the nature of Barbeau's cultural work and the organization of interwar Canadian culture.

1. The Career of Krieghoff's Art

At the time Barbeau helped to organize the 1934 Krieghoff retrospective, very little was known about the painter's life history. He remains today a bit of a mystery. Few records of Krieghoff's life have survived and, in the absence of sources, art historians have been able to reconstruct what is at best an outline of his life.⁵ What is known is that Krieghoff was born in Amsterdam in 1815, the son of a Bavarian expatriate and a Dutch woman. His father, a tradesman who successfully adapted to the emerging industrial-capitalist order of early-nineteenth-century Europe, had moved his family to Düsseldorf in 1820 and then to Schweinfurt where he and Wilhelm Sattler, his business partner, established a profitable wallpaper manufactory. The young Krieghoff grew up in Sattler's castle,

⁵ J. Russell Harper, *Krieghoff* (Toronto: 1979), xi-xii and Denis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: 1973), 62.

Schloss Mainberg, which also housed the wallpaper concern. In 1835 or 1836 Krieghoff immigrated to the United States, enlisted in the American army, and served in an unknown capacity in the Florida Seminole War. In 1840 he re-enlisted, received his advanced pay, deserted, and sometime thereafter moved to Canada where he lived with a woman to whom he may, or may not, have been married. Between 1840 and 1843 he lived variously in Montreal, Rochester, N.Y., and possibly Longueuil. He lived in Montreal from the mid 1840s until the early 1850s, when he moved to Quebec.⁶

Exactly why Krieghoff moved to Quebec is not known. In Montreal he had established himself as a popular artist who enjoyed the patronage of the city's anglophone elite. Although married to a French-Canadian woman, Krieghoff's primary associations seem to have been with Montreal's British military officers and anglophone businessmen and politicians. After moving to Quebec he continued to associate with, and paint for, the colony's anglophone upper class. Krieghoff lived in Quebec from the early 1850s until 1863 or 1864 when he moved to Europe. Virtually nothing is known about his reasons for leaving Quebec or what he did or where he lived while in Europe. It is known that he returned to Canada in 1867, but then left sometime thereafter to live with his daughter in

⁶ Harper, *Krieghoff*, 3-55.

Chicago where he died in 1872.⁷

As J. Russell Harper has noted in his extended study of Krieghoff, the relative absence of sources on the painter's life leaves a variety of important questions unanswered. Did Krieghoff have any formal education or artistic training? And, if so, where and with whom? Why and when did he arrive in Canada? Why did he leave?⁸ Important questions about Krieghoff's artistic development and aesthetic philosophy also remain matters of speculation. What did Krieghoff think of the artistic milieu of mid-nineteenth-century Canada? What artists did he find appealing? What did he think of his own art? Did he subscribe to any particular aesthetic philosophies? At this point, after more than sixty years of research, it is simply impossible to answer these questions.

Much more can be known about Krieghoff's art. In the course of his career, Krieghoff painted an unusually large number of canvases. Current estimates suggest that he may have painted upwards of 2000 canvases in a career which lasted slightly more than thirty years.⁹ Most of his paintings depict landscapes, scenes of rural French-Canadian life, or Amerindians, but he

⁷ *Ibid.*, 59-60, 155 and 162-3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 6, 8-9 and 155.

⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii.

also executed portraits, interior scenes, copied the work of other artists upon request of patrons, and painted a series of works on the Victoria Bridge in Montreal.¹⁰ His style evidenced a number of influences, foremost of which was the Düsseldorf school of anecdotal genre painting which flourished across northern Europe and North America in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century.¹¹ Düsseldorf school painting revitalized the seventeenth-century Dutch genre tradition of colourful, intimate depictions of peasant life. The paintings themselves were constructed as stories, highlighting aspects of lower-class domestic, leisure, or working life, and were intended to be exhibited in bourgeois homes. Krieghoff did make copies of some Düsseldorf-style paintings, including work by the noted Scottish painter David Wilkie, which later served as models for a number of his Canadian scenes.¹² Krieghoff's interest in bright colouring, lighting contrasts, human emotions, and Amerindians also suggests Romantic overtones. A number of his Amerindian scenes reworked images of the "noble

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹¹ The similarities between Krieghoff's work and Düsseldorf school painting has lead some art historians to conclude that he must have had some formal training in painting at the Düsseldorf Academy. See *ibid.*, 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 10.

savage" which were gaining popularity across North America in the mid-century. And his French-Canadian scenes also bore the mark of his time. In terms of subject and style they are similar to works executed by professional and amateur Canadian anglophone artists such as Martin Somerville and Denis Gale, with which they have been periodically confused.¹³ The distinguishing feature of Krieghoff's art is his focus on amusing subjects and the comic aspects of rural French-Canadian life.

This combination of characteristics made Krieghoff's art significantly different from the work of the most noted French-Canadian painters of his day, such as Antoine-Sébastien Plamondon and Théophile Hamel, with which his art has been frequently juxtaposed.¹⁴ Plamondon's well-known *La chasse aux tourtes* (1853), for example, presents its viewers with a refined canvas, carefully executed in a neo-classical style. It is a serious (but not sombre) work in which the artist used subdued lighting and colour to achieve his effects. In its day, *La chasse aux toutres* was considered a masterpiece. Unlike most of Plamondon's work, this painting was set out-of-doors,

¹³ *Ibid.*, 165-8.

¹⁴ Cf. *The Development of Painting in Canada, 1665-1945* (n.p.: n.d.), 20-1; R.H. Hubbard, *The Development of Canadian Art* (Ottawa: 1963), 58-9; Donald W. Buchanan, *The Growth of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: 1950), 18.

but it has been organized to concentrate viewer's attention on the three well-attired society dandies who occupy the central foreground. The geographic landscape appears as backdrop, as the young men relax in a comfortable, tame setting while they discuss the next stage of what appears to have been an already successful hunting expedition.¹⁵ Most of Plamondon's works, however, have no narrative component. He worked primarily in portraiture, depicting refined elegant society men and women.

By contrast, the popular Krieghoff painting, *Merrymaking* (1860) presents itself almost as the polar opposite of Plamondon's work. In this picture, Krieghoff had reworked a Dutch genre tradition of inn scenes and peasant life dating from the seventeenth century. This painting tells the story of rural French-Canadians leaving an inn after a night of revelry. A (possibly) hung-over patron sits on the front stairs, head in hands, while other patrons blow horns, assist staggering companions, chat, cavort, and mock the driver and passengers of an overturned sleigh. *Merrymaking* is a colourful composition, full of motion and comic detail.¹⁶

¹⁵ For critical commentary see Hubbard, *The Development of Canadian Painting*, 58 and Harper, *Painting in Canada*, 73-5.

¹⁶ For critical commentary see Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art* (Toronto: 1974), 46-7; Hubbard, *The Development of Canadian Painting*, 59; Harper, *Krieghoff*, 70.

In its day, Krieghoff's art was popular with his upper-class, largely anglophone public. His paintings sold well and were copied by other artists, such as Denis Gale and Zacherie Vincent.¹⁷ In his day, Krieghoff was undoubtedly the most popular artist in English-speaking Canada.¹⁸ He was also a creative art entrepreneur who may have enhanced his popularity by marketing his work in innovative ways. As painting was his sole source of income, sales were important for Krieghoff. He frequently repainted the same (or similar) scenes if they proved in particular demand, experimented with photography and made use of lithography to reproduce popular scenes inexpensively and to enhance sales. He also copied the canvases of other artists for patrons who could not afford, or did not have access to, the originals. Harper reports that at least some of Krieghoff's Amerindian scenes were drawn from nineteenth-century travelogues and he experimented with the panoramic style which gained popularity in the mid-century.¹⁹

¹⁷ Cf. W. Martha E. Cooke, *W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana: Paintings, Water-Colours and Drawings (Manoir Richelieu Collection)* (Ottawa: 1983), 90, 92, 128 and 154, and plates 215, 217, and 345.

¹⁸ Denis Ried, *"Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto* (Ottawa: 1979), 15.

¹⁹ Harper, *Krieghoff*, 57-8.

However, Krieghoff's greatest marketing innovation was most likely his use of auction houses to sell his paintings. In this he was indeed an innovator who set a precedent in the nineteenth-century Canadian art world.²⁰

In the 1860s, Krieghoff's audience began to spread beyond his immediate public. British officers brought his work back to the United Kingdom at the end of their tours of duty, art dealers made efforts to sell his work in other parts of British North America, and the colonial state began to include his paintings in its contributions to international exhibitions. By the 1870s, however, his popularity had begun to wane. Krieghoff's death in 1872 went virtually unnoticed in Canada, and by the 1890s Canadian art critics were no longer entirely certain of the basic details of his life. Some critics continued to write appreciatively of his art, but Krieghoff's reputation was eclipsed by both a new generation of artists who worked in a more pastoral style and by some of his contemporaries, such as Paul Kane.²¹ By the mid-1920s, even Krieghoff enthusiasts had to confess that they knew little

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xiv.

²¹ John Bourinot, *Our Intellectual Strengths and Weaknesses* (Toronto: 1893); See also E.F.B. Johnston, "Painting and Sculpture in Canada" in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and Its Provinces* 23 vols. (Toronto: 1914), X, 603.

about the artist and only a few of his paintings were known to the general public.²²

The 1920s, however, also saw the beginning of a revival of interest in Krieghoff's work. Two factors contributed to this revival. First, the decades of the 1920s saw the development of the first efforts to write systematic histories of Canadian art. A review of Canadian art history indicated Krieghoff's importance for the middle decades of the nineteenth century, but the exact character of this importance was a matter of dispute. In his 1925 study, *The Fine Arts in Canada*, Newton MacTavish viewed Krieghoff's art as part of an initial stage in the development and maturation of a "fine arts" tradition in Canada. Characterizing Krieghoff as a "pioneer" of art in Canada, MacTavish felt that he remained, in many ways, a primitive. "[I]t cannot be said," he noted, "that he ever attained much skill in drawing." MacTavish was also sceptical of Krieghoff's stylistic merits: "[m]ost of [his work]," he complained, "... would be regarded now as being too raw in colour and crude in execution." "The [human] figures" populating his scenic works, MacTavish continued, "might be regarded as the work of a caricaturist and humorist."²³

²² F.B. Housser, *A Canadian Art Movement* (Toronto: 1926), 19.

²³ Newton MacTavish, *The Fine Arts in Canada* (Toronto: 1925), 16.

MacTavish's assessment of Krieghoff was only peripherally affected by the second factor prompting renewed interest in Krieghoff's work: the rising artistic nationalism of the 1920s, epitomized in the art of the Group of Seven. For the members of the Group of Seven, Canadian art was "Canadian" to the degree that it drew its inspiration from the supposedly innate characteristics of the Canadian landscape, understood as rugged, bold, raw, vibrant, colourful, and vaguely ominous. MacTavish felt a need to offer his own assessment of this movement, for which he clearly had little time:

[m]any pictures of Canadian landscape and other features of the country have been painted in Canada by Canadian painters, but it would be difficult to explain just how, as works of art, they differ from pictures painted in the United States by Americans, in England by Englishmen, etc.²⁴

Although he did not make this point directly, MacTavish seemed to feel that the emphasis placed on a "national" artistic style by the Group of Seven and their supporters, such as Barbeau, was misguided. Nationalism in art, he explained in the introduction to *The Fine Arts in Canada*, was not really the key issue for art historians. His task, he wrote, was instead "to make known something about the progress" of art in Canada toward high, trans-national, aesthetic standards.²⁵ Evaluated

²⁴ *Ibid.*, v.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vii.

against this standard, the primary value of Krieghoff's art was limited. At best it represented a primitive stage in the evolution of the "fine arts" in Canada.²⁶

MacTavish's assessment of Krieghoff, and of Canadian art, was becoming outdated even as he published *The Fine Arts in Canada*. By the mid-1920s the Group of Seven had already established itself as the leading artistic movement of interwar Canada. Like Krieghoff, the members of the Group painted brightly-coloured landscapes; some Group members looked on the nineteenth-century painter as a precursor of their style. A.Y. Jackson, who was particularly enthusiastic about his work, included some of his canvases in their exhibitions.²⁷ The popularity of the Group of Seven's emphasis on vibrant landscape as the epitome of Canadian art was reflected in assessments of Krieghoff's work and place in Canadian art history published after *The Fine Arts in Canada*. In his apologia for the Group of Seven, F.B. Housser cast Krieghoff as an early precursor of the Group's increasingly popular depictions of Canadian landscape. Housser knew very little about Krieghoff and had, it seems, seen only a few of his

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁷ Hill, *The Group of Seven*, 174.

paintings.²⁸ The intent of Housser's discussion of Krieghoff was to explain why an artist he clearly liked was not popular. Krieghoff's problem, in Housser's view, was that he had arrived on the Canadian art scene too early, at a time when Canadians were not ready to accept the vibrant "Canadianness" of his style.²⁹

The most substantive reassessment of Krieghoff's art prior to the 1934 retrospective was presented by Albert Robson in his 1930 study *Canadian Landscape Painters*. In this text, Robson offered a re-evaluation of Krieghoff half-way between MacTavish's relegation of him to the rank of a primitive and Barbeau's later elevation of his art to canon status. Like Housser's apologia for the Group of Seven, *Canadian Landscape Painters* bore the marks of the 1920s nationalist movement in Canadian painting. It focused thematically on landscape painting and while surveying a broad range of different landscape artists, emphasized the bright, colourful work of the Group of Seven as a continuing, foundational motif of Canadian art. Where MacTavish's narrative followed the "progress" of a "fine arts" tradition in Canada, Robson's narrative traced the development of landscape painting from the mid-nineteenth

²⁸ Housser, *A Canadian Art Movement*, 19.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 19 and 23.

century until the rise of the Group of Seven. With the rise of the Group, Canadian art reached a type of maturity, but in Robson's presentation this was an odd maturity. All artists presented in *Canadian Landscape Painters* were good artists and the primitivism MacTavish attributed to Krieghoff and other mid-nineteenth-century painters was replaced by a "celebration" of the landscape genre as the unfolding of painterly excellence at every stage of its development.

As reported by Robson, the basic facts of Krieghoff's artistic career were substantively the same as those related by MacTavish. What differed was how these "facts" were interpreted. Like MacTavish, Robson found Krieghoff's draftsmanship "faulty", but argued that although "his technical ability [was] somewhat limited, these shortcomings are completely overshadowed by his keen insight, and quaint humour."³⁰ Perhaps because he was a commercial artist, Robson was particularly impressed with Krieghoff's art marketing techniques. He noted Krieghoff's association with auction houses, explained how his use of lithography allowed him to expand into the American print market, and favourably described his domestic sales to Quebec's "army officers and wealthy residents". Robson found Krieghoff's use of a German

³⁰ Albert Robson, *Canadian Landscape Painters* (Toronto: 1930), 30.

lithography company to produce a series of Canadian scenes particularly impressive because the artist supposedly made £3000 on the sale.³¹ Robson's Krieghoff emerged not simply as a fine artist in a Canadian tradition of landscape painting, but also as an imaginative art entrepreneur. As illustrations for *Canadian Landscape Painters*, Robson chose *For the Love of God* and *Go to Hell*, two of Krieghoff's popular lithographs.

2. Art and Tradition

In *Canadian Landscape Painters*, Robson noted that his assessment of Krieghoff had been influenced by the broader 1920s re-evaluation of this painter's work. "There is," he wrote, "a growing tendency to credit Krieghoff with being the pioneer interpreter of Canadian landscape and he holds a secure place as a prominent figure in the history of Canadian painting."³² Like Robson, Barbeau's assessment of Krieghoff was heavily influenced by the artistic currents of the 1920s. One influence was Robson himself. *Canadian Landscape Painters* proved to be an incredibly popular text and its commercial success convinced Barbeau that the Canadian art market had not

³¹ *Ibid.*, 30-2. Citation at 30.

³² *Ibid.*, 34.

only embraced landscape painting, but that there was also substantial interest in the history of Canadian art.³³

An earlier and more important influence was A.Y. Jackson, who was, perhaps, the most enthusiastic supporter of Krieghoff in the Group of Seven. In one text, Barbeau related A.Y. Jackson's artistic theory and assessment of Krieghoff at length. "Though he was Dutch," Barbeau reported Jackson saying, "he became one of us, and knew and understood Canada better than most people. ... For a long time after the death of Krieghoff, painting in this country produced nothing of consequence...."³⁴ Exactly when Barbeau first encountered Krieghoff's art is not known. He may have become familiar with the painter and his work when Jackson and Lismer accompanied him on a 1925 field expedition to Ile d'Orléans because references to Krieghoff's art begin to appear in Barbeau's work at about this time.

Barbeau was not, however, a passive recipient of A.Y. Jackson's aesthetic theory. One of the reasons he was

³³ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 27 December 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 5, Hugh Eayrs file .

³⁴ Marius Barbeau, *The Kingdom of Saguenay* (Toronto: 1936), 80. For his part Jackson was flattered by the way Barbeau reported his aesthetic musings. "I never realized," Jackson wrote Barbeau, "[that] I was so profound." A.Y. Jackson to Marius Barbeau, n.d., Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 10, A.Y. Jackson file.

attracted to the art of the Group of Seven was that their aesthetic theory bore close affinities to his own evolving ideas about art. As a student at Oxford, Barbeau had defended the modernist idea of autonomous art. French-Canadian literature, he had argued, had reached its artistic fulfillment when it had freed itself from its close relationship to, and dependence upon, popular culture. Between 1910 and 1918, Barbeau's artistic views do not seem to have altered, but after World War I he began to articulate a different conception of art and artistic development. Art, he explained in 1918, required a source of inspiration which would give it unique qualities in the world of nations.³⁵

Art, Barbeau now believed, was a combination of two components: tradition and adaptation. As Barbeau used the term in relation to the arts, tradition included skill and education as well as established cultural patterns. Adaptation resulted from the creative use of traditional culture. The link between art and society in folk culture was founded on these twin criteria. In other words, it was the artist's use of local traditions which forged the bond between art and society. Without this connection the artist produced work -- paintings, music, and so on -- which did not speak to the people. Art became detached from society. The reintegration

³⁵ "Le retour au terroir", *Le Devoir*, 29 janvier 1918.

of folk cultural motifs into artistic expression, Barbeau believed, would bridge the division between art and society because art would again be rooted in the traditions of the country.

The use of folk motifs in artistic expression also served a further end. It not only tied art to society, but also helped to develop unique forms of artistic expression. The use of popular traditions by artists meant, for Barbeau, the use of a culture deeply rooted in Canada. By drawing on such a set of cultural traditions for inspiration, artists would create a uniquely Canadian art tied to Canadian cultural history. Krieghoff became one of the most important models Barbeau used to illustrate this point.

Krieghoff fascinated Barbeau for a variety of reasons. First, he believed that Krieghoff's art was a realistic portrayal of traditional French-Canadian and Amerindian life. As a university instructor of anthropology and folklore he later used some of Krieghoff's paintings as teaching aids. His "nombreux tableaux aujourd'hui constituent l'imagerie la plus importante que nous avons des indigènes antérieurs à notre période," Barbeau explained to his students.³⁶ "The large repertoire of Krieghoff's paintings," he later noted in another

³⁶ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 41.

instance, "reflects his time and surroundings like a mirror."³⁷ Second, Krieghoff's paintings emphasized the jovial, carnivalesque characteristics of traditional culture and were, therefore, very similar to Barbeau's own understanding of traditional French-Canadian rural life. But most importantly, Barbeau believed that Krieghoff's artistic development illustrated an important object lesson in the potentially constructive relationship between traditional popular culture and the arts. Krieghoff's life story was as fascinating to Barbeau as his art because, he contended, it illustrated the artistically creative effect of interaction between high and traditional cultures. In fact, for Barbeau Krieghoff's artistic merits were inseparable from his personal history.

Barbeau wrote frequently on Krieghoff and all these writings echoed a standard series of basic themes. To reconstruct Krieghoff's life, and the relationship between his life and his art, Barbeau relied on a methodology similar to his reconstructive ethnographic method: he utilized reminiscences, a content analysis of the art, the limited number of manuscript sources available to him, and conjecture. Like Robson and MacTavish, Barbeau had to acknowledge that the limited information available on Krieghoff made it difficult to

³⁷ Marius Barbeau, "Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1871)" *Educational Record of the Province of Quebec* 80,3 (1954), 151.

determine precisely the development of the artist's personal history,³⁸ but he was, nonetheless, able to transform his limited sources into an extended, Romantic, cultural drama.

Also like MacTavish and Robson, the real starting point for Barbeau's narrative of Kreighoff was the artist's arrival in Canada in 1841. This had been, Barbeau wrote, both figuratively and literally part of a Romantic quest which appeared in Barbeau's treatment almost as if cast by fate. Barbeau contended that Krieghoff was by nature a Romantic spirit and adventurer. Born in Germany, educated in Holland, a youthful traveller about Europe and an immigrant to the United States, Krieghoff had, through his military service and desertion exemplified an adventure-seeking life pattern. Barbeau's Krieghoff floated about the United States as a rootless wanderer in search of adventure until he eventually found himself in New York where one day he happened to see a beautiful, young French-Canadian woman named Louisa Gautier dit Saint-Germain who happened to be vacationing in New York. Krieghoff instantly fell in love with Louisa and returned with her to Longueuil, after which his life course was set. Barbeau noted:

[h]is calling now was to be that of chronicler and illustrator of mid-century life in Canada. He was to discover the habitants and villages, the Iroquois of

³⁸ Barbeau, "Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-1872), 16.

Caughnawaga and Lorette, the Montreal and Quebec bourgeois and tradesmen and the British engineers and officers....³⁹

According to Barbeau, Krieghoff arrived in Canada at an opportune time, "at a period of transition when colonial ties were about to be severed and modern industry was gaining momentum." Yet, like Barbeau, Krieghoff was not drawn to the emerging industrial order. He worked as a painter in Montreal for eight years, initially prospering under the patronage of the Montreal bourgeoisie. For Barbeau, these first eight years of his life in Canada constituted the first stage of Krieghoff's career as an artist, during which he primarily painted portraits for his upper-class patrons. But, according to Barbeau, portraiture was not something that Krieghoff enjoyed; it was undertaken simply to earn a living. Barbeau's Krieghoff preferred to paint rural life, winter scenes and summer landscapes, French-Canadian "habitants" and the "Iroquois" of nearby reserves. However inspirational such scenes might have been, Krieghoff's art in this first stage had not yet reached the full potential it would later realize. "His earliest Montreal paintings on Caughnawaga Indian themes," Barbeau remarked in the catalogue to the 1934 retrospective, "were crude."⁴⁰ His winter scenes were good, but his summer

³⁹ Marius Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff* (Toronto: 1962), 3.

⁴⁰ Barbeau, "Cornelius Krieghoff", 16.

landscapes still suffered from his failure to as yet grasp the innate qualities of the Canadian landscape, in particular the "firm patterns of spruce and fir and elm." In other words, his painterly style was still too subdued to capture the vibrancy of the Canadian land.

For Barbeau, the central defining moment in Krieghoff's evolution as a painter occurred in 1848 when, Barbeau contended, he experienced financial difficulties which resulted from his desire to paint Canadian scenery. It proved impossible to sell these paintings to the Montreal elite because "the attention of those Montreal snobs was occupied with [artistic] imports from abroad".⁴¹ Under severe financial pressure, Barbeau's Krieghoff was reduced to painting signs for a living when a friend, John Budden, convinced him to move to Quebec City where, Budden supposedly assured Krieghoff, attitudes toward art were different from those in Montreal and he would have no problems selling his paintings. According to Barbeau, Krieghoff's move to Quebec City was the turning point in his life and his art:

Krieghoff knew from that moment that no place in the world appealed to him more than Quebec. In this he was not mistaken, nor did he ever find cause to change his mind. For those were the good old days when Quebec was at its colourful best and [was] the

⁴¹ Marius Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff* (Toronto: 1948), 10.

very heart of French Canada.⁴²

"Quebec," Barbeau noted in another passage, "inspired him; its people were interested in his activities and called forth the very best in him."⁴³

According to Barbeau, Krieghoff reciprocated the interest of Quebec City people. He personally and artistically embraced the popular culture of Quebec and its people responded by embracing his art. What was important in this narrative was the opposition between Montreal and Quebec City. The upper class of the modern industrial city rejected Canadian art for foreign substitutes; the people of the traditional city embraced Krieghoff and inspired new, creative developments in his work. Through the interaction of art and traditional popular culture, Krieghoff's work reached its full maturity: "Quebec was taking him into its warm and generous bosom, and he repaid it in pictures that would record its unique features for posterity." His art became bright, vibrant, and colourful, like the life and culture of traditional French Canada itself. "He became," Barbeau explained, "part of the country around him, and it made a great difference to his sensitive mind."⁴⁴ He was, in

⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

Barbeau's opinion, an artist "amidst the rustic folk",⁴⁵ with whom he lived, enjoying their "simple pleasures" and reveries. Now, following his artistically inspirational embrace of folk culture Krieghoff painted the Quebec City region,

with a searching eye for its varied facets in an age now gone by, with a fine brush ever attuned to keen outlines and neat craftsmanship, and with a palette that was never short of clean colours, bright effects for the snow scenes, and of sumptuous reds for March sunsets and maple foliage at its late summer best.⁴⁶

At this point, Barbeau argued, Krieghoff's art reached its "apogee". His interests broadened: "[a]fter he moved to Quebec, his style and sphere of interest spread to Laurentian landscape and forest in their seasonal moods, mostly autumn and winter."⁴⁷ Krieghoff became not simply a very good artist, but an artist whose work was good because it was grounded in the inspiration he received from the Canadian landscape and folk culture, which was then conveyed in a painterly style and use of colour which reflected Canada itself. "His foreground figures," Barbeau remarked, "blend admirably with a background that can hardly be excelled for local colour and

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴⁷ Marius Barbeau, "Preface" to Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff: Pioneer Painter of North America* (Toronto: 1934), 6-7.

authenticity."⁴⁸ At the height of his artistic accomplishment, while he lived in Quebec, Krieghoff's work became, according to Barbeau, an inspiration itself. Even though he had no evidence, Barbeau was certain that Henri Julien, the nineteenth-century caricaturist, had been influenced by Krieghoff's art. Julien was, in Barbeau's view, an artist in the tradition of Krieghoff and because he also lived in Quebec City "he knew of Krieghoff's work, as Quebec was then under his sway and he was very much 'in the air'."⁴⁹

Yet, Krieghoff's reputation as an artist did not outlive his death. Almost immediately following his death in 1872, his art and artistic style passed from the center of the Canadian artistic scene. Barbeau believed that Krieghoff's decline occurred for two reasons. First, his move to Chicago did not simply remove him from the Canadian artistic scene, but also separated him from his source of inspiration. He continued to paint after he left Canada, but in Barbeau's opinion Krieghoff's later art never approached the standard it had reached in Quebec City. Second, the demise of Krieghoff's reputation was the result of "the unnatural bias of the Canadian painters [of the late-nineteenth century] who forsook

⁴⁸ Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff* (1948), 20.

⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: 1941), 28.

their elders' example, and turned their backs one and all on their surroundings and went to Paris, where [European] exoticism seduced them for their loss."⁵⁰ Drawn to the Parisian art world and style, Canadian painters no longer sought inspiration in the Canadian landscape and traditional culture, even if they painted Canadian scenes. "Their chief deficiency," Barbeau wrote of William Brymner and Charles Huot, "was that year after year they went on painting Canadian scenery such as their masters had painted France...." "What was distinctive in Canadian landscape," he noted in another passage, "was left out -- its vastness, its vigour and boldness; the winter and the snow."⁵¹

With the passing of time, Krieghoff's significance could, however, now be recognized. He was the key precursor to the Group of Seven, a "pioneer painter" not simply because he painted rural life, but in that he was the first artist to develop a uniquely Canadian style made possible through the dynamic interaction of the arts and popular culture.

Working from a near total absence of sources, and relying extensively on a content analysis of paintings, Barbeau constructed a narrative of artistic development which

⁵⁰ Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff* (1920), 20.

⁵¹ Marius Barbeau, "Ile d'Orléans" *Queen's Quarterly* 49,4 (1942), 383 and 384.

illustrated the emergence of "Canadian" art. This narrative presented the evolution of Krieghoff's art as part of a dynamic interaction in which the artist drew inspiration from things "Canadian" -- the land, traditional popular culture -- which were in turn recognized and appreciated by the traditional people of Quebec City. Through the example of Krieghoff, Barbeau illustrated the value of traditional culture as a theme for Canadian artists while at the same time illustrating what he took to be the problems of modern art in Canada: the elitist pretensions of the Montreal bourgeoisie who disregarded "Canadian" painting, and who had reduced one of its greatest practitioners to manufacturing signs, thus stalling the emergence of a unique "Canadian" artistic style.

3. "To 'Create' Krieghoff"

The objective of the 1934 retrospective was educational. It aimed, Barbeau wrote in the catalogue, "... to enable us for the first time to gain a comprehensive view of [Krieghoff's] achievements and determine his standing in the world of art at large."⁵² This standing, however, had already been firmly set in the minds of the organizers (including, most importantly, Barbeau) before the exhibition opened.

⁵² Barbeau, "Cornelius Krieghoff", 15.

The original idea for some sort of Krieghoff exhibition seems to have occurred to several people simultaneously. Martin Baldwin had planned to stage a relatively small exhibition of Krieghoff's work along with artifacts from the early-nineteenth century as part of the *Toronto Centennial Historical Exhibition*, scheduled to open at the AGT in January 1934. Barbeau may have become familiar with Baldwin's plans because the AGT had asked him to help locate nineteenth-century artifacts suitable for the historical part of the exhibition.⁵³ Barbeau also apparently offered to help organize the Krieghoff component of the exhibition for which Baldwin planned to use paintings borrowed from the small Krieghoff collections in the National Gallery and the Montreal Art Association, and other works Barbeau could find. Organizational planning began in October 1933 when it occurred to Baldwin that the Krieghoff component of the exhibition might prove interesting to other galleries. He wrote Eric Brown to see if the NGC would like to exhibit the Krieghoffs after the exhibition closed in Toronto. Brown's response was cautiously positive. He was interested in holding a Krieghoff show, but wanted to first see if "the exhibition turns out well with Barbeau's and other help."⁵⁴

⁵³ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 19 December 1933, Exhibitions: Curatorial Files, Archives of the Art Gallery of Ontario, [hereafter Exhibitions Files, AAGO], box 16, file 1.

⁵⁴ Eric Brown to Martin Baldwin, 23 October 1933 (copy), Exhibitions Files, Archives of the National Gallery of Canada

At this point Baldwin was still planning what was apparently a rather small show, but in the meantime the idea of holding a larger exhibition was developing behind the scenes. Barbeau credited A.Y. Jackson, who was particularly enthusiastic about Krieghoff's art, with formulating the original idea for a retrospective,⁵⁵ but he and Brown also spiritedly supported the idea and they began to plan the exhibition without first informing Baldwin of its changed format. For his part, Barbeau viewed a Krieghoff retrospective as the perfect opportunity to establish the painter's position in the front ranks of Canadian art history. "This is a unique opportunity," he explained to one correspondent, "to bring Krieghoff into his own, that is to give him the reputation he deserves of being the father of Canadian painting and our best painter so far."⁵⁶ Barbeau also began to plan a publication on Krieghoff which would present the artist and his personality from a very specific perspective. "His is a very lively personality," he explained in October 1933 to Arthur Lismer, "and I will be able to write with pleasure about him very

[hereafter Exhibitions Files, ANGC], box 5.5-K, file 1.

⁵⁵ Marius Barbeau to A.Y. Jackson, 12 December 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 19, A.Y. Jackson file.

⁵⁶ Marius Barbeau to John Hamilton, 16 December 1933 (copy), Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

soon." "Krieghoff," he continued, "was a greater artist and innovator than is generally realized. His works are numerous, varied and thoroughly Canadian in spirit...."⁵⁷

The change in the exhibition's format caught Baldwin by surprise. He had left little time to organize a major retrospective and, in truth, had little idea of the scope and goal of the exhibition Barbeau, Jackson and Brown were now planning. When he wrote Barbeau in late October 1933 to compare lists of potential canvases for the exhibition, the show still seemed to him like a relatively simple and uncomplicated matter.⁵⁸ Barbeau responded by informing Baldwin of the plan he, Jackson and Brown had developed. Barbeau's response to Baldwin was, in fact, more of a Krieghoff manifesto than an exhibition plan. "After having surveyed a good deal of the work of Krieghoff," he wrote,

[and] studied his life at first hand for a good while, I have come to the conclusion -- and the National Gallery people concur in this [--] that Krieghoff was a much greater painter and artist than we have generally realized, that his contributions to the Canadian art movement are more considerable than is generally known, that he has been deeply associated with an important section of the country and has become, in a way, a national interpreter of an interesting type of rural life and landscape of

⁵⁷ Marius Barbeau to Arthur Lismer, 30 October 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 28, Arthur Lismer file.

⁵⁸ Martin Baldwin to Marius Barbeau, 26 October 1933 (copy), Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 15, file 1.

the country[;] he has anticipated, if not prepared, much of what was to follow in Canadian painting. ... We feel that no effort should be spared to make this exhibition significant, to 'create' Krieghoff, as it were, and to show him as the father of the Canadian art movement.

The new plan for the Krieghoff exhibition would be designed to accomplish this aim: "[t]his exhibition shall contain, as much as possible, every type in his work, which is quite varied, and contain as many of his finer pictures as can be obtained...." It would begin at the National Gallery in February, run for fourteen days, then move to the AGT for March, and on to the Montreal Art Association for April. A date at the Provincial Museum in Quebec City was also planned.⁵⁹

Baldwin did not immediately comprehend the scope of the undertaking Barbeau was planning. His reply politely thanked Barbeau for his letter, asked if Arthur Lismer might be available to lecture at the Toronto opening, made no mention of his own opinion of Krieghoff, and then explained that a February date at the AGT was impossible because the exhibition had already been scheduled for January, "so that I have not got ... too much time to organize it." This did not seem to present any problems to Baldwin because he felt that he had already secured the loan of a good collection of Krieghoffs: "[w]e have already the kind permission of borrowing the

⁵⁹ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 9 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

Krieghoffs in the National Gallery and the Montreal Art Association."⁶⁰

Baldwin's failure to appreciate the significance and scope of the plan laid before him prompted a second long letter from Barbeau. "The difficulties for such an early exhibition," he began, "are not to be minimized, but, for my part, I believe they may be partly overcome, with some effort." The effort, however, was actually be considerable, and a whole range of potential obstacles emerged before Barbeau's planned retrospective:

In the first place, the pictures are widely scattered. Though I have seen, and have taken notes on, between one and two hundred in Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, and Kingston, I know that quite a number are still to be found in the same cities and in Toronto.

Established lists of Krieghoff's paintings, compiled by the AGT, were "very incomplete, not to say inaccurate" and Canadian galleries themselves had very little idea exactly who owned Krieghoffs and where they were located. The owners, Barbeau believed, "are not likely to yield easily to the request of a loan" so they had to be approached in a very delicate manner. For an ordinary exhibition these might not be particularly grave problems, but this exhibition was to be different. "It is of the utmost importance in a retrospective exhibition of

⁶⁰ Martin Baldwin to Marius Barbeau, 10 November 1933 (copy), Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

Krieghoff's works that a careful selection be made of his best pictures, or of pictures that represent various aspects of his work, in time or according to topics." "He painted," Barbeau continued, "a great many pictures, the majority of which were potboilers, for trivial sums. Others were painted for his own pleasure or, usually, for wealthy patrons and friends. He was in the habit of often repeating the same themes, simplifying or elaborating them according to circumstance."⁶¹

This was the real problem confronting a retrospective prepared on short order. Because of the character of Krieghoff's art, the "careful selection" of paintings to include in the exhibition was of paramount importance. Failure to make a prudent selection of canvases, particularly when most Krieghoff's oeuvre was unknown to curators and critics, would at the least result in an aesthetically unpleasing show. "[Y]ou might," Barbeau explained, "receive a number of paintings that are almost identical and could not be hung side by side."⁶²

The greater problem, one suspects, was that it could also present an image of Krieghoff and his art at variance with Barbeau's assessment of the painter. For Barbeau, Krieghoff's art gained its importance as a pure art, created from an

⁶¹ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 17 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*

inspirational interaction with traditional popular culture. Although he did not make this point explicitly, Barbeau's desire to exclude Krieghoff's "potboilers" from the exhibition and focus on his "best" or "representative" art indicated that he implicitly understood that an exhibition which was not carefully organized could present Krieghoff in a very different light than he intended. In effect, Barbeau's desire to omit "potboilers" excluded from the public presentation of Krieghoff's oeuvre, and from the narrative of his life and art, the commercial aspects of his artistic production. The narrative of Krieghoff's artistic development as the man who defied the "Montreal snobs" and found artistic fulfilment and maturity among the folk, could become complicated by another narrative. As many of the "repetitive" pictures Krieghoff painted were of rural French-Canadian life, their inclusion in a retrospective would have raised questions about exactly why the artist painted these pictures. If he repeated this theme, it was because it sold; and if he painted these pictures "rapidly ... for trivial sums", to what extent was his art really a product of a creative embrace of traditional culture as opposed to a market-oriented response to the taste of his elite, largely anglophone, clientele? At the least, Barbeau's narrative of Krieghoff could become intertwined with another, very different narrative. His response to Baldwin indicated that his goal was to avoid this type of complication; in

effect Barbeau aimed to edit out of Krieghoff's oeuvre the commercial aspects of his work which had so impressed Robson. To maintain his narrative, to capture what Barbeau took to be the "Canadian" "essence" of Krieghoff's art, required the suppression of elements of the painter's oeuvre.

The AGT's schedule clearly complicated Barbeau's plan for the retrospective. "With the best will in the world," he told Baldwin, "Mr. Brown is unable to tackle the job of organizing this exhibition for January" so it would have to begin in Toronto and then move to Ottawa for February before being sent to Montreal. To counteract the problems these scheduling problems, Barbeau had several suggestions. First, "to enhance the importance of the exhibition" it was important that it be a travelling show which circulating among Canada's major galleries. "This in itself," Barbeau believed, "will give us the backing needed to impress the owners with the urgency of lending their best pictures." It was also important that the owners be "carefully handled" to ensure their cooperation. Finally, Barbeau explained to Baldwin, he would take the matter in-hand himself. "I am willing ... to do all I can to help and make this exhibition a real success." He would begin "to make a careful list" of Krieghoff's paintings, and "then select with Brown whichever pictures should enter the exhibition." "But," he warned, "you understand that this has little to do with my work at the Museum here" and someone (he clearly intended

Baldwin) would have to look after his expenses. Whether as a threat, or a statement of fact, Barbeau finished his letter on a rather ominous note: "I consider that you will be unable even to hold a mediocre show, if you want to do it alone, without assistance. You don't know where the pictures are which should be selected and you may not be sure of the loan of any important ones." The sources the AGT planned to draw on, he concluded, did not in fact include "a single outstanding Krieghoff...."⁶³

What Baldwin thought of Barbeau's assessment of his ability to stage a Krieghoff exhibition, or the changes Barbeau, Brown and Jackson had made to his planned exhibition, is not on record, but he did agree to the new plan and to pay the cost of a stenographer so Barbeau could make an extended listing of the painter's work.⁶⁴ Baldwin may, in fact, have agreed (at least to some extent) with what Barbeau was saying. In 1933, there was no one in the country with a greater knowledge of Krieghoff's art than Barbeau, who had been collecting information on the artist, his paintings, and their locations for some time. As Barbeau had pointed out to

⁶³ *Ibid.* I have changed the tense of "carefully handled" from the original source.

⁶⁴ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 11 and 19 December 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

Baldwin, the AGT was unaware of a number of Krieghoffs owned by residents of Toronto.⁶⁵ He had also made the personal acquaintance of a number of Krieghoff owners which might, and in fact did, become important in securing their cooperation.

Barbeau did indeed do all he could "to make the exhibition a success." He wrote Albert Robson, then serving as chair of the AGT's exhibition committee, to ensure that he understood the new plan, went to Toronto to discuss the matter with him and Baldwin,⁶⁶ offered to visit any recalcitrant owners "to try to meet [their] objections",⁶⁷ and promised to write publicity pieces on Krieghoff, for *Saturday Night* and the *Canadian Geographic Journal*, designed to attract public attention to the exhibition.⁶⁸

Barbeau also made an effort to expand the circulation of the exhibition to other sites. The original plan would have

⁶⁵ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 9 and 17 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁶⁶ Marius Barbeau to Albert Robson, 23 November 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

⁶⁷ Marius Barbeau to Albert Robson, 13 December 1933 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

⁶⁸ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 15 December 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1; Marius Barbeau to Albert Robson, 22 February 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

seen the exhibition also staged at the Provincial Museum in Quebec City.⁶⁹ Barbeau enquired about this possibility personally, but the Museum found itself unable to hold the exhibition when it would be ready for it at the end of April.⁷⁰ In lieu of the Provincial Museum, Barbeau next tried to interest Murray Gibbon into holding the retrospective at the Chateau Frontenac, perhaps, he suggested, in conjunction with a musical evening, but this too proved impossible.⁷¹

The actual work of contacting owners, collecting the paintings and transporting them was done by the NGC, AGT, and Barbeau. The strategy followed Barbeau's suggestion of impressing the exhibition's significance upon the owners of Krieghoffs. The tack taken by the NGC was to underscore the historical importance of Krieghoff's art in the development of Canadian art history and the exhibition in making this history known. "Cornelius Krieghoff," the NGC form letter to prospective lenders read,

made the first and, undoubtedly, one of the most important contributions to Canadian art, and to

⁶⁹ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 9 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁷⁰ H.O. McCurry to Paul Rainville, 22 January 1934 (copy), ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 3.

⁷¹ Marius Barbeau to J. Murray Gibbon, 22 February 1934 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 3.

signalize this and to place his work in its proper position, the National Gallery desires to hold a retrospective exhibition of his pictures.

...
The exhibition, the first of a series which the National Gallery hopes to hold, is designed to build up and permanently record the intensely interesting story of Canadian art since its beginnings.⁷²

Barbeau did a great deal of the work for the AGT. He wrote to prospective lenders,⁷³ arranged for the transport of pictures from Ottawa and Quebec City to Toronto, and looked after questions of insurance.⁷⁴

Most Krieghoff owners complied with the loan requests, but despite Barbeau's and the galleries' indication of the exhibition's importance, not all requests met with a favourable response. The Canadian Steamship Lines could not lend their Krieghoffs because they were stored at the company's Manoir Richelieu resort hotel which was closed for the winter,⁷⁵ while

⁷² Eric Brown to ? [form letter], 19 January 1934 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

⁷³ Marius Barbeau to John Hamilton, 16 December 1933 (copy); Marius Barbeau to Jack Price, 15 December 1933 (copy); Marius Barbeau to Charles Fitzpatrick, 15 December 1933 (copy); Marius Barbeau to Vesey Boswell, 15 December 1933 (copy), all in Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁷⁴ J. Hamilton to Marius Barbeau, 19 December 1933; Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 21 December 1933, both in Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁷⁵ T.R. Enderby to Martin Baldwin, 14 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

another Krieghoff owner had a similar problem as his was displayed at his summer cottage.⁷⁶ Some Krieghoff owners seem simply not to have believed that their pictures were as important as Barbeau, the AGT and the NGC contended. "I doubt," one knowledgeable Krieghoff owner wrote Martin Baldwin, "... whether this painting will be of any great interest to the public ... inasmuch as I would not call it a typical example of his work as we in Canada usually see." It did not even depict Amerindians, he noted, and had been, at any rate, painted before Confederation.⁷⁷ Another owner stated bluntly that he could not imagine that his Krieghoffs were "of sufficient importance for the exhibition."⁷⁸

The absence of a few canvases did not particularly trouble Baldwin or Barbeau, but there were some paintings they definitely wanted in the exhibition and for which the recalcitrance of their owners presented graver problems. The Krieghoffs owned by Senator Charles Murphy -- *Running the Toll Gate*, *The Card Game*, and *On the Ice Road to Montmorency* --

⁷⁶ Alan G. Law to Martin Baldwin, 15 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁷⁷ A. Chevalier to Martin Baldwin, 16 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁷⁸ D. Forbes Angus to Martin Baldwin, 5 December 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

presented particular problems. Barbeau was particularly impressed with Murphy's *Running the Toll Gate*. It was a standard Krieghoff scene which he had painted a number of times, but Murphy's version was, Barbeau believed, the best of the variants he had seen and he recommended that some effort be made to obtain this painting.⁷⁹ Murphy proved reluctant to loan his paintings because, he explained to Baldwin, their absence would leave "too unsightly a gap on the walls of my residence."⁸⁰ To counteract this problem, Barbeau conducted negotiations with Murphy himself and succeeded in arranging for the National Gallery to loan the Senator replacement paintings for the duration of the exhibition.⁸¹ Barbeau was also able to secure the loan of Krieghoffs stored at the Public Archives of Canada after the Archives had initially proved reluctant to lend its collection.⁸²

⁷⁹ Barbeau's list of Krieghoff paintings in Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1; Martin Baldwin to H.O. McCurry, 6 December 1933 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

⁸⁰ Charles Murphy to Martin Baldwin, 18 December 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁸¹ [H.O. McCurry?] to Martin Baldwin, 21 December 1933 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

⁸² Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 21 December 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1,

With Barbeau's help the exhibition came off as planned, opening first in Toronto where seventy-nine Krieghoffs loaned by forty-four different persons or institutions in eight different cities from Sarnia to Quebec were displayed.⁸³ By the time the retrospective moved to Ottawa, Barbeau and the staff of the NGC had been able to add substantially to the Toronto collection, increasing the number of canvases to 163.⁸⁴ The exhibition occupied the entire second floor of the National Gallery.⁸⁵ The staff and directors of the NGC considered the exhibition they staged an important event in Canadian art history which had "aroused great interest ... in this pioneer artist" and credited Barbeau for having played an instrumental role in its organization. "The success of the undertaking owes much to the exhaustive researches carried out by Mr. Marius Barbeau ..." NGC chairman H.S. Southam explained to Barbeau's

⁸³ The catalogue lists seventy-seven paintings, but Baldwin referred to seventy-nine works in a letter to Eric Brown. Martin Baldwin to Eric Brown, 15 January 1934, Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file; "Paintings by Cornelius Krieghoff" *Catalogue of the Toronto Centennial Historical Exhibition*, 17-20.

⁸⁴ H.O. McCurry to Paul Rainville, 12 February 1934 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, Box 5.5-K, file 2.

⁸⁵ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 23 January 1934, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 2.

bureaucratic superiors at the National Museum.⁸⁶

Some problems did, however, present themselves. One related to the relatively short period of time in which the exhibition had been organized and the limited knowledge of Krieghoff's oeuvre in 1933. Even Barbeau was uncertain about the exact extent of Krieghoff's work. As he confessed to Baldwin after a research trip to Montreal in late 1933 in preparation for the exhibition, his research had turned up more Krieghoffs than he had expected and while he had been able to view fifty personally, there were still others he had not seen. There were, he explained to Baldwin, simply too many canvases to look at.⁸⁷ This, combined with the fact that mid-nineteenth-century Canadian artists frequently copied the subject, style, and canvases of other artists, allowed a few "fakes" to find their way into the Toronto exhibition. Barbeau was able to expose the "fakes",⁸⁸ Arthur Lismer told the staff of the NGC, which made him "hopeful" that the NGC would stage "a really authentic show, one which can be quoted in the future

⁸⁶ H.S. Southam to Charles Camsell, 29 March 1934 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

⁸⁷ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 11 December 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

⁸⁸ Arthur Lismer to ?, 13 January 1934 (excerpt), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

as the [Krieghoff] exhibition...."⁸⁹

What Barbeau called the "varied" oeuvre of Krieghoff also created problems in determining the authenticity of some paintings. There was, for example, some concern about a canvas owned by William Watson, of the Watson Art Galleries in Montreal, which at least some members of the NGC staff suspected of being a "fake".⁹⁰ Watson, who had helped Barbeau with his Montreal research and was himself the owner of a gallery, was clearly offended by the implication that he could not tell an authentic Krieghoff from a knock-off, and wrote a detailed response to an enquiry from H.O. McCurry, deputy curator of the NGC. Watson, as it turned out, was quite proud of the painting, which he had identified as a Krieghoff and purchased for a song from a London dealer. The burden of the case against the painting, which depicted an Amerindian against a landscape, was that it stylistically differed from the rest of the paintings being exhibited. To this Watson replied that of course it was "different"; much of Krieghoff's oeuvre was stylistically variable from one part to the other. But, he was certain it was an authentic Krieghoff because he had it on good

⁸⁹ Arthur Lismer to ?, 16 January 1934 (excerpt), Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 5.5-K, file 1. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁰ H.O. McCurry to William R. Watson, 21 March 1934 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 3.

authority (from a man who had known Krieghoff's associates) that the person in the picture was not an Amerindian but actually a friend of Krieghoff's posing as an Amerindian for the painting. Now, he argued, who other than Krieghoff would paint a friend of his dressed as an Amerindian?⁹¹ Thus the question was settled, to Watson's satisfaction at any rate, with the authenticity of the painting guaranteed by the inauthenticity of the subject depicted.

For his part, Barbeau avoided involving himself in the dispute over the authenticity of Watson's Krieghoff, but he was concerned about the "fakes" that had been included in the Toronto exhibition. "Barbeau is keen on having a good show" in Ottawa, Lismer told the NGC staff.⁹² He carefully reviewed the paintings on display in Toronto and recommended that four be omitted from the National Gallery show.⁹³ He also began to plan for a more substantive Krieghoff publication than the pre-exhibition publicity pieces he wrote for *Saturday Night* and the *Canadian Geographic Journal*. The type of publication he

⁹¹ William R. Watson to H.O. McCurry, 26 March 1934, Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 3.

⁹² Arthur Lismer to ?, 13 January 1934 (excerpt), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

⁹³ Martin Baldwin to Eric Brown, 15 January 1934, Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

decided upon was a catalogue raisonné. This undertaking, Albert Robson agreed, would make a "valuable item" and he urged Barbeau to make it "as complete as possible."⁹⁴ The idea also won the support of the National Gallery which agreed "to ... clean and restore some of the pictures we would use," Barbeau told Robson.⁹⁵

Published through Macmillan of Canada, Barbeau's catalogue raisonné was intended to bring Krieghoff's work to the attention of a wider public than had the exhibition. In preparation for the text, Barbeau continued his research on Krieghoff and his art by following up leads to other potential Krieghoff owners.⁹⁶ "I am anxious," he explained to one potential owner of a Krieghoff, "to trace up all the paintings of this artist."⁹⁷ Barbeau was able to secure the cooperation

⁹⁴ Albert Robson to Marius Barbeau, 19 April 1934, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

⁹⁵ Marius Barbeau to Albert Robson, 17 February 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

⁹⁶ Marius Barbeau to J.G. Scott, 17 January 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 52, J.G. Scott file; Marius Barbeau to H.B. Shaw, 3 April 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 52, H.B. Shaw file; Marius Barbeau to T.C. Shillington, 29 March 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 52, T.C. Shillington file.

⁹⁷ Marius Barbeau to Mrs. Julian Schwab, 7 May 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 52, Julian Schwab file.

of Krieghoff owners for his catalogue raisonné by again impressing upon them the cultural importance of the artist,⁹⁸ but some added assistance was needed to finance the text which, because of the large number of plates, was expensive. Some wealthy Krieghoff owners agreed to pay insurance costs for shipping their paintings to sites where they could be reproduced and the commercial art firm Rous and Mann agreed to support the project financially if they could use the plates to make Christmas cards.⁹⁹ This did not sit well with Senator Murphy, whom Barbeau had neglected to inform of Rous and Mann's plan, because he felt it cheapened his painting.¹⁰⁰ But despite Murphy's objections, and the qualms of some Krieghoff owners sceptical about paying the costs for illustrations which were to be part of Barbeau's book,¹⁰¹ the text was in print by the end

⁹⁸ "I fully appreciate the value of this book to Canadian Art and especially do I want to assist in making Dr. Barbeau's book a success..." one Krieghoff owner told Barbeau's publisher. Helen Norton to Hugh Eayrs, 12 September 1934, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 2.

⁹⁹ In addition, the firm planned to use reproductions of *Running the Toll Gate* in their advertising. Albert Robson to Marius Barbeau, 9 February 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

¹⁰⁰ H.L. Rous to Chas. Murphy, 9 April 1934 (copy) in Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 48, A.H. Robson file.

¹⁰¹ Helen Norton to Hugh Eayrs, 12 September 1934, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 2; Mrs. H.W. Chamberlain to Hugh Eayrs, 24 July [1934]; Mrs. F.A. Lockhardt to Hugh Eayrs, 4 August 1934, both in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 1.

of 1934. Hugh Eayrs, president of Macmillan of Canada, was entirely happy with the final product. "This book is to be at once," Eayrs explained to one correspondent, "a biography of a great Canadian painter and a catalogue raisonne [sic] which will include the completest possible list of Krieghoff's [works]."¹⁰² "[I]t lives up to what we have claimed for it," he told Barbeau, "namely, the most beautiful book ever made."¹⁰³

Entitled *Cornelius Kreighoff: North America's Pioneer Painter*, the catalogue raisonné and the retrospective exhibition out of which it grew were remarkable accomplishments. In the span of a little more than a year, Barbeau had turned a small Krieghoff exhibition constituting only one part of the *Toronto Centennial Historical Exhibition* into a major retrospective comprising over 160 canvases, several popularly-oriented publications intended to attract public attention, and a catalogue raisonné. He had created the first listing of Krieghoff's works which could make any claim to a level of comprehensiveness,¹⁰⁴ eliminated "fakes" from the

¹⁰² [Hugh Eayrs] to Frank W. Ross, 17 July 1934 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 1.

¹⁰³ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 28 December 1934 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

¹⁰⁴ By January 1934, Barbeau's list of Krieghoff's paintings numbered 300. Marius Barbeau to W.H. Collins, 5 January 1934 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 96, file 20.

painter's oeuvre, and drawn together a larger body of research on the artist's life and work than had been previously assembled. An artist whose work had been at best partially known only to the owners of his paintings and a few enthusiasts, was well on his way to canonical status.

4. The Irony of "Canadian" Art

At the end of 1934, Barbeau had, as he had intended, placed Krieghoff into public circulation. He had established for the painter many of the requirements of a canonized artist -- a catalogue raisonné, a major retrospective, an extensive (if not exhaustive) listing of his work. In the process, he had also established himself as the leading Krieghoff scholar in Canada. He also introduced an influential interpretation of Krieghoff's artistic development which would be cited in the critical literature and other exhibition catalogues until the present day.¹⁰⁵ In the future, Barbeau would be asked to review

¹⁰⁵ Cf. National Gallery of Canada, *A Century of Colonial Painting: The Seven Years War to Confederation* (Ottawa: n.d. [1964]), 28; Buchanan, *The Growth of Canadian Painting*, 18; Richard S. Lambert, *The Adventure of Canadian Painting* (Toronto: 1947), 60-9; Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*, 62-6.

other authors' Krieghoff publications¹⁰⁶ and called upon to authenticate Krieghoff paintings for potential purchasers.¹⁰⁷ As late as 1962, gallery directors were still asking Barbeau's assistance to stage Krieghoff exhibitions.¹⁰⁸

The 1934 retrospective and Barbeau's catalogue raisonné did, in this sense, accomplish their aims. Public response to the exhibition was, for the most part, positive. J.B. Bickersteth, warden of Hart House at the University of Toronto, asked in 1934 if he might be able to stage a smaller Krieghoff exhibition at his institution¹⁰⁹ and a number of members of the public wrote the National Gallery or Marius Barbeau to compliment the retrospective.¹¹⁰ It also stimulated a small spree of Krieghoff buying by members of the public who were impressed with the message of the exhibition. "We have had,"

¹⁰⁶ Marius Barbeau to Frank Flemington, 8 July 1946, Pierce Collection, box 13, file 5.

¹⁰⁷ C.S. Sanborn to Marius Barbeau, 11 December 1943 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 51, Clare Sanborn file.

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth Saltmarche to Marius Barbeau, 19 April 1962, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 51, Kenneth Saltmarche file.

¹⁰⁹ Martin Baldwin to H.O. McCurry, 19 January 1934, Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

¹¹⁰ For example, Marguerite Hrehambault à Marius Barbeau, 4 mars 1934, Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 1.

H.O. McCurry told Robert Reford, "frequent enquiries as to whether any of the pictures are for sale...."¹¹¹

Barbeau's catalogue raisonné also drew public attention, although the reaction was more ambiguous than he might have hoped. Some English-Canadian commentators were entirely appreciative of his efforts and Krieghoff's art. The noted illustrator C.W. Jeffreys, for example, lauded Barbeau's text. Krieghoff's art, he wrote, was "a living portrait and a picture of a period" which aptly demonstrated the picturesque quality of French-Canadian folk life. The painter's style, Jeffreys continued, carried the viewer "into the picture", and he praised Barbeau's work as "justified by the importance of Krieghoff's position in the history of art in Canada.... Historians and critics alike ... might only be thankful," he concluded, "for the enthusiasm that inspired such an authoritative and illuminating study."¹¹² A review in the *Winnipeg Free Press* was even more complimentary. Krieghoff's work, the reviewer stated, had been unfairly maligned because of the artist's boisterous spirit and bohemian tendencies; in reality his paintings ranked in the forefront of Canadian art.

¹¹¹ H.O. McCurry to Robert Reford, 26 February 1934 (copy), Exhibitions Files, ANGC, box 5.5-K, file 3.

¹¹² C.W. Jeffreys, rev. of Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff in Canadian Historical Review* 16,3 (1935), 329-30.

"Marius Barbeau has done well," the reviewer wrote, "to rescue Cornelius Krieghoff from the shadows of obscurity, and misunderstanding and even half-spiteful reputation."¹¹³

The reaction in French Canada was, however, more negative and must have been more troubling to Barbeau because he later took the time to respond to it.¹¹⁴ Barbeau viewed Krieghoff's art, his painterly style, and subjects as a type of Canadian art which spanned divisions between French and English Canada. He had hoped that the 1934 retrospective would be appreciated in this manner. "An exhibition of [Kriehhoff's art]," he told Martin Baldwin, "is bound to foster a great deal of social interest in Quebec and Ontario."¹¹⁵ Barbeau's efforts to bring Krieghoff to public attention did indeed "foster a great deal of interest in Quebec", but not of the type Barbeau had intended. French-Canadian critical appraisal of his catalogue raisonné was almost universally negative.¹¹⁶ In his study of Krieghoff's art, Raymond Vézina explained this negative

¹¹³ C.C., "C. Krieghoff, the Painter, Is Saved From Spite Mongers" *Winnipeg Free Press*, 19 January 1935.

¹¹⁴ Barbeau, *Cornelius Krieghoff* (1948), 20.

¹¹⁵ Marius Barbeau to Martin Baldwin, 9 November 1933, Exhibitions Files, AAGO, box 16, file 1.

¹¹⁶ Vézina, *Cornelius Krieghoff*, 53-4..

response as a form of social prejudice. The problem French-Canadian critics had with Krieghoff's art, Vézina charged, resulted from the artist's decision to paint popular, instead of elite, life. He concluded that if Krieghoff had confined his art to the upper class, French-Canadian critics would not have been troubled by it.¹¹⁷

There is undoubtedly some merit to Vézina's argument, and it is an argument with which Barbeau would have agreed. However, it fails to consider the substance of what French-Canadian critics said about Krieghoff's art. The critics who rebuked Krieghoff may have been elitist, but the problem they had with his art was not the class of people he chose as his central subjects but the way he depicted these people. René Chicoine, for example, charged that Krieghoff's depiction of traditional French-Canadian popular life was simply inaccurate. It focused on drunken reveries and portrayed French Canadians as intoxicated fools. The point here was that this was not the true traditional culture of French Canada, but rather a biased image of it. This same argument was made also by Jean Chauvin, Maurice Hébert, and Gérard Morisset.

Morisset, in fact, became the leading critic of Krieghoff in French Canada, continuing his dispute with Barbeau over the merits of this art into the 1950s and 1960s. By then Morisset

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

had a series of accumulated grievances against Krieghoff which permitted him to deny the painter the status of "artist":

Dans sa hâte de produire ... il ne se préoccupe point de l'élément spirituel de ces terriens ... Il peint avec une fougue endiablée, sans esquisse, parfois de mémoires; il brosse en un seul jour de gentilles petites toiles, facile et pleines d'imperfections; avec des sujets canadiens qu'il ne sent pas¹¹⁸

...
La popularité de Krieghoff a des cause singulières. Ce peintre est un gai luron qui ne dédaigne point de chopiner avec ses clients cossus; il produit comme une usinier, un peinture accessible à tous par ses sujets de beuveries et par les trognes avinées de ses personnages, par le comique assez gros des ses scènes de genres....¹¹⁹

What was at issue here was not so much a debate between elitist versus populist conceptions of art. Barbeau's understanding of the artistic use of tradition and the merits of the folk artists had, as we have seen, its own elitist dimensions. The issue here was the character of traditional culture. The very carnivalesque images of traditional French-Canadian life -- its revelries, consumption of alcohol, colourfulness, boisterousness -- which drew Barbeau to Krieghoff's art, was the same quality which pushed Morisset and other interwar French-Canadian critics away from it. This was one of the ironies of Barbeau's effort to rehabilitate

¹¹⁸ Gérard Morisset, *La Peinture Traditionnelle au Canada Français* (Ottawa: 1960), 143.

¹¹⁹ Gérard Morisset, *Coup d'Œil Sur les Arts en Nouvelle-France* (Québec: 1941), 86.

Krieghoff. His effort to claim the painter as the founder of a Canadian art which transcended linguistic divisions by drawing inspiration from traditional French-Canadian culture actually served, in the sphere of art, to reinforce the very divisions it sought to overcome as English- and French-Canadian critics arrived at very different assessments of Krieghoff's art. Krieghoff's elevation to canonical status assured that his art would continue to provide a point of contention for critics such as Morisset well after 1934.

The greater irony here, however, is that by "creating" Krieghoff as a prominent element of the Canadian artistic canon, Barbeau had done a great deal to create this point of contention. Barbeau's elevation of Krieghoff to the canon was accomplished through a very specific reading of the artist and his work which, in the absence of much evidence, could really be neither proved nor disproved. Here we hear echoes of Barbeau's Huron ethnography, with its equally circular and question-begging procedures for constructing authenticity. Barbeau's making of Krieghoff was accomplished, as he himself recognized, through the careful editing ("selection") of his oeuvre. To make Krieghoff into the father of Canadian art, Barbeau could not simply present his work to the Canadian public. He had to chose certain canvases which had the effect of editing out the commercial aspects of his art which Morisset so despised.

Following the 1934 retrospective and the publication of his catalogue raisonné, Barbeau continued his efforts on Krieghoff's behalf, but his work had been largely accomplished. He had played an instrumental role in making Krieghoff part of the Canadian art historical canon and while later art historians revised Barbeau's interpretation of the painter and his art, the painter's position in Canadian art history was now assured. Whether or not particular critics or historians liked Krieghoff's art, he could now no longer be ignored.

Chapter 6

Marketing *The Kingdom of Saguenay*:

Writing Folklore in Interwar Canada

[P]eople are quaint in their speech, their ways and their habitations. Something about them makes one think of the Kingdom of Saguenay, of ancient wonderland. For two hundred years they have lived by themselves and the spell of fairy-like enchantment is not quite broken yet.
--Marius Barbeau (1936)¹

When Marius Barbeau was hired as an assistant ethnologist by the newly-established Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey, writing was part of his job description. "A great deal of the work of a Government bureau," Survey Director R.W. Brock explained to Barbeau, "is the collecting, preserving and presentation to the public of original data...."² Barbeau took this mandate seriously. At the time of his death in 1969 his bibliography stretched to over 1000 items, including ethnographic and folklore studies, a novel, catalogues raisonnés, bibliographical works, art histories, introductions to exhibition catalogues, prefaces to concert programs, divisional reports for federal sessional papers, and book

¹ Barbeau, *The Kingdom of Saguenay*, 89.

² R.W. Brock to Marius Barbeau, 27 December 1910, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-3527.

reviews.³ It was common for Barbeau to be working on several projects simultaneously. As he explained to one of his publishers, Hugh Eayrs of Macmillan of Canada, in 1935: "I actually now have six books ... accepted by publishers now; and eight more ready waiting for a decision...."⁴

Of all the various types of writing in which Barbeau engaged, his folklore material proved the most difficult to publish. The reason for this was simple: before the Second World War the market for Canadian folklore writing consisted primarily of a limited body of disciplinary specialists. When Barbeau first began to publish folklore in the mid-1910s, this limited market did not present itself as a significant obstacle because his publications were directed to this audience and subsidized through grants or other means.⁵ When Barbeau attempted to broaden his audience beyond its disciplinary base

³ Standard bibliographic guides to Barbeau's writings include: Clarisse Cardin, "Bio-bibliographie de Marius Barbeau" *Les Archives de Folklore* 2 (1947), 17-96 and Mario Béland, "Marius Barbeau et l'art au Québec: bibliographie analytique et thématique" *Outils de recherche du Celat* 1 (1985).

⁴ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 13 May 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 2.

⁵ The limited market for Canadian folklore did affect Barbeau's scientific publications but not in the same way as he would later be affected when he tried to publish such works as the *Romancéro*. It was, for example, necessary to do some minor fund raising to ensure that the Canadian branches of the American Folk-Lore Society had the funds to support the costs of publishing Canadian numbers of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*.

in the 1930s, however, this limited market emerged as a major impediment. His publisher, Eayrs, was unwilling to print his material without some means of guaranteeing that Macmillan would not suffer a substantial loss. Barbeau's major folklore work, the *Romancéro du Canada*, was delayed for half a decade while he and Eayrs attempted to arrange some means of subsidizing it.

The process of arranging support for folklore publications involved at times a complex series of negotiations. The business end of folklore had a significant impact on Barbeau's writing of it. His other major folklore works from the 1930s, *The Kingdom of Saguenay* and *Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers*, were subject to an equally significant, if less complicated, process of negotiation before their publication. Barbeau was an active part of this process. His own interests and active bargaining over the terms of publication affected both the date of publication and the form of each of these three books. This chapter explores the dynamics of Barbeau's folklore in the 1930s through an examination of the negotiations that surrounded the publication of the *Romancéro*, *The Kingdom of Saguenay*, and *Quebec*. It examines Barbeau's interest in, and rationale for, folklore writing, the obstacles which delayed the publication of the *Romancéro*, Barbeau's involvement in the negotiations surrounding the publication of his folklore books, and the way in which the publishing process

reshaped the writing of folklore in interwar Canada.

1. "Scientific" Folklore and the General Reader

For anthropologists, writing has always been an important aspect of disciplinary praxis. It is, as several recent studies have noted, the primary means through which an anthropologist communicates with his or her audience.⁶ With the establishment of Boasian anthropology in the United States, the making of anthropological texts assumed a new significance. Boas transformed text-making from an important element of anthropology into one of its fundamental attributes. For Boas, a primary goal of field research was to record, then publish, extended compendia of primary documents: oral traditions, songs, languages, recipes, etc. Preferably these were to be printed in the original language with accompanying translations. This "text-based" anthropological tradition was incorporated into the program of the anthropology division.

For folklore, the making of texts was no less important. As editor of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Boas encouraged the publication of an extended series of primary-documentary texts. When he asked Barbeau to collect French-Canadian folklore, his aim was to see this material published through

⁶ Clifford and Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture* and Geertz, *Works and Lives*.

the *Journal*.⁷ Barbeau's first folklore collecting expeditions, to Lorette, the Beauce, and Kamouraska County, were intended to accomplish this aim. As he explained to Sapir from Lorette in 1914: "with two half-breed informants here I have collected over twenty-five interesting French-Canadian tales, most of which are reasonably long and well remembered. ... [T]hey will constitute a splendid set of first-hand French-Canadian stories."⁸ In the Beauce he found new informants, including his father,⁹ and in 1915 he discovered Georges-S raphin Pelletier while attending a college reunion in Kamouraska County. Pelletier's material, combined with his Beauce and Lorette collections, a number of legends recorded from his friend, the archivist and historian Gustav Lanct t, and smaller contributions submitted by persons Barbeau met in Ottawa,¹⁰ constituted a large enough archive that publication could begin along the lines Boas had wanted.

⁷ Marius Barbeau, "The Folklore Movement in Canada" *J.A.F.* 56 (1943), 167.

⁸ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 25 August 1914, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

⁹ Marius Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens" *J.A.F.* 29, 61 (January-March: 1916), 1-3. Cited hereafter as Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens (1916)".

¹⁰ Marius Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens" *J.A.F.* 30, 65 (January-March: 1917), 1. Cited hereafter as Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens (1917)".

Barbeau initially focused his folklore collecting on legends, a topic in which Boas was particularly interested,¹¹ and which Barbeau felt might prove valuable for ethnographic analysis of Amerindian cultures. A "[n]umber of the episodes [and] features [of these legends]," Barbeau told Sapir, "have their counterparts in Indian mythology, but only in stories already suspected to be of European origin." It was possible, he continued, that Micmac, Malecite, and Wyandot oral traditions had been substantively influenced by French folklore.¹² In addition to legends, Barbeau began to collect *complaintes* [laments] and anecdotes "bearing on the were-wolf, haunted houses, fairies and so on."¹³

Barbeau began to put this material into print in 1916. He edited a series of French-Canadian numbers for the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* which began appearing that year. The aim of these publications, as Boas told Barbeau, was scientific. Boas wanted Barbeau's material published through the *Journal* to

¹¹ Franz Boas, "Mythology and Folk-Tales of the North American Indians" [orig. 1914] in Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: 1940), 462-4 and Franz Boas, "Romance Folklore Among American Indians" [orig. 1925] in *ibid.*, 517-24, but especially 518.

¹² Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 25 August 1914, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

¹³ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 17 September 1918, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22.

facilitate anthropological and folklore research¹⁴ and Barbeau subscribed to this aim as well. "Tous les articles ou essais de ces séries sont scrupuleusement et sèchement scientifique," he told one correspondent, "on n'y fait nul sacrifice au goût populaire ou à l'art pour l'art."¹⁵ The model of scientific writing Barbeau employed for these first folklore publications was the Boasian-style compendium of primary documents. Barbeau reproduced the material as he recorded it, as faithfully as possible. He corrected, he noted in the introduction to one publication, only glaring and obvious errors.¹⁶ "L'exactitude historique," he wrote in the introduction to his first *Journal* publication, "doit être le seul guide."¹⁷ Barbeau's brief

¹⁴ Franz Boas to Marius Barbeau, 2 September 1918, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2726. Boas emphasized the "scientific" nature of the planned French-Canadian numbers frequently in his correspondence with Barbeau. On 12 November 1915, for example, he chided Barbeau for suggesting that English translations accompany the French texts. Boas wrote: "I do not think it will be necessary to accompany the French tales with English extracts; in fact it would seem to me to detract from the scientific dignity of the *Journal* if we should suppose our readers not able to read French." Franz Boas to Marius Barbeau, 12 November 1915, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2626. See also Franz Boas to Marius Barbeau, 14 March 1917, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-2679.

¹⁵ Marius Barbeau à Jean Beck, 31 mars 1917 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-1700.

¹⁶ Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens (1917)", 1-2.

¹⁷ Barbeau, "Contes populaires canadiens (1916)", 3.

introductions to these collections specified only his informants' names, their ages, where they lived, and some basic biographical data (often only two or three sentences). The body of the text consisted of page after page of legends or songs, etc. Initially, Barbeau drew few conclusions from the material he collected. For the material provided by Pelletier, for example, he noted only that this collection illustrated the type of French spoken by rural Canadians.¹⁸ Beyond this, further study was required and the printed collections were intended as a contribution to the materials required for cultural analysis. They would provide, both Barbeau and Boas hoped, accessible sources for the comparative study of European and Amerindian traditional cultures.

At the same time he was preparing his scientific texts for publication Barbeau began to feel that the extensive nature and quality of the material he was collecting warranted publication in a more popular format, and he started to think about publishing a collection of folk songs similar to the *Chansons populaires du Canada* published by Gagnon in 1865.¹⁹ French-Canadian folk culture material had been published in popular formats sporadically throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As we have seen, some late-nineteenth-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁹ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 268 and 276.

century English language texts also referred to what their authors took to be the more colourful aspects of traditional French-Canadian life and at about the same time tourist industries began to make tentative efforts to exploit the potential appeal of folk culture for the foreign traveler.²⁰ But, by the 1910s Gagnon's collection remained the only generally accessible source on this subject.²¹ It constituted the central text of the French-Canadian folklore canon. What struck Barbeau was the marked paucity of published folklore texts compared to the wealth of material he had discovered in the Quebec countryside. "Were even only half of [my] material to be published," he explained to Sapir as early as 1918, "it will surely astound both French and Canadians as to the resources of oral traditions."²²

As he conducted his folklore field research Barbeau also began to think about traditional popular culture in a different

²⁰ The fate of one early effort to use traditional culture as a tourist draw in Quebec City is detailed in Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894" *Canadian Historical Review* 69,2 (1988), 167-202.

²¹ See C.H. Carpenter, *Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Place in Canadian Culture* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), 205-15 and 216-7 for a survey of folklore publications in Quebec from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s.

²² Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 2 October 1918, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 22.

way. He began to see traditional culture as representative of the true cultural essence of French Canada -- a culture which was purer than modern culture because it was directly connected with popular life. Music was of particular importance in traditional culture, in Barbeau's view, because it was integrated into every aspect of popular life. "Folk songs were once part of the everyday life of French America," he explained on one occasion. "They seem as familiar as barley bread to the pioneer settlers of the St. Lawrence Valley.... [T]hreshing and winnowing in the barn moved on to the rhythm of work tunes, as did spinning, weaving and beating the wash by the fire."²³ The problem with this culture was that it was disappearing. Of all the areas of French settlement in North America, he noted, only in Quebec did this folk culture retain its vitality and even here it seemed threatened. "Que reste-t-il," he asked in one text, "dans les campagnes, de nos chanteurs et de nos conteurs d'autrefois; dans les écoles, des jeux et des rondes de la jeunesse; et au foyer, des dits et des rimettes de l'enfance? Le répertoire des traditions populaires tombe dans l'oubli."²⁴ It was necessary, he believed, to preserve this culture while there was still time. Barbeau, however, became interested not

²³ Marius Barbeau and Edward Sapir, "Introduction" to Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada*, xiii.

²⁴ Marius Barbeau, *Québec, où survit l'ancienne France* (Québec: 1937), 169.

simply in preserving folklore and confining it to the museum or the academic monograph. He was interested, as well, in using the collections he created to re-popularize folk culture in the modern age, to restore, as it were, the pure culture of the traditional past. Among other things, this required popularly-oriented publications.

This objective was in part realized in 1925 when Yale University Press published *Folk Songs of French Canada*. This collection of folk songs appeared under the names of both Sapir and Barbeau, but its forty-one selections were drawn largely from Barbeau's fieldwork and Sapir appears to have been only peripherally involved in the transcription and notation of the material. His main contributions to the book appear to have been translating the songs into English and securing the publisher and a grant to underwrite publication costs.²⁵ *Folk Songs of French Canada* was intended by its authors to refute the idea that Gagnon's collection represented a definitive and exhaustive survey of folk music in French Canada and to broaden knowledge of traditional French-Canadian culture beyond the parameters of specialists in anthropology and folklore. The book, Barbeau and Sapir explained in its "Preface," was designed to appeal to the general public and also to maintain

²⁵ Barbeau and Sapir "Preface" to Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs of French Canada*, xi; Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 24 August 1924, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

scholarly standards in the presentation of the material. "It is our intention," they wrote, "to avoid the two extremes of technicality and of sentimentalism, and we have tried to reach both the folklore student and the general reader who wishes to get a taste of this fascinating folk literature."²⁶

The critical response to *Folk Songs of French Canada* was generally positive,²⁷ but Barbeau was of two minds about the collection. On the one hand, he was happy to have the collection in print. Other folklorists, he told Sapir, had been unable to interest publishers in similar material and a proposed translation of Gagnon's collection had met with no response. "So," he explained, "we may be thankful for our luck." On the other hand, Barbeau questioned the overall quality of the material he had published. The selections, he complained, had been "largely accidental" (i.e., devised without systematic attention to their quality) and they were "therefore not always the best" of the material he had collected.²⁸

Following the publication of *Folk Songs of French Canada*,

²⁶ Barbeau and Sapir, "Preface", xi.

²⁷ For example see Ernest MacMillan, "Folk Songs of French Canada," *Canadian Forum* 6, no. 63 (December 1925), 79-82.

²⁸ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 24 August 1924, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 24.

Barbeau arranged the publication of a number of other songs through various venues. Although he contributed material to several smaller song books and annotated concert programs and newspapers,²⁹ he harboured the more ambitious goal of producing a large, systematic collection containing what he felt were the best folk songs in his collection. By 1931 Barbeau believed his research had reached the stage at which it was possible to publish his material in this fashion, and approached Hugh Eayrs, president of Macmillan of Canada, with a proposed book, to be called *Romancéro du Canada*, which would accomplish this aim.³⁰ In Barbeau's view, the *Romancéro* was his most significant folklore project. It would be published in French; was designed to become a multi-volume series; and would contain an extensive musicological apparatus. He believed that the *Romancéro* held immense potential. The book itself would be a revelation in that it would illustrate the extent and aesthetic

²⁹ See Marius Barbeau, Harold Boulton and Arthur Somervell, *Twelve Ancient French-Canadian Folk-Songs* (1927) and Marius Barbeau, Paul England and Healey Willan, *Chansons canadiennes (French Canadian Folk-Songs)* (1929). In addition, eleven songs from the Barbeau collection were published in Achille Fortier, Alfred Laliberté, Oscar O'Brien, Leo Smith et Ernest MacMillan, *Vingt-et-une chansons canadiennes avec traductions en anglais par J. Murray Gibbon* (1928). For a detailed bibliographic description of the different newspapers through which Barbeau published folk songs and legends see Cardin, "Bio-bibliographie de Marius Barbeau", 50-85.

³⁰ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 21 July 1931 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 5, Hugh Eayrs file.

quality of French-Canadian folk music. It could, he felt, not only replace Gagnon's *Chansons populaires* as the standard collection of French-Canadian folk songs, but could also establish the standard for a national musical repertoire by generating revived interest in folk songs. "Notre Romancéro," Barbeau explained to one correspondent, "...est d'une valeur unique, par la qualité de ses matériaux, par la signification, et par la beauté de ses mélodies. La méthode que je suis dans sa préparation est d'ailleurs soigneuse; ce que ne veut pas dire qu'elle est définitive."³¹

To publish the *Romancéro* Barbeau appears to have been committed to working through a commercial publishing company. In the context of the 1930s and the cutbacks suffered by all government departments, he may have had little choice because, as he told once correspondent, "[t]he National Museum, in the present circumstances, will not consider any constructive plan."³² But Barbeau also believed that however important Museum publishing might be for scientific studies, it had definite limitations in the way of a popular market. As he later explained to Lorne Pierce at Ryerson Press, he preferred

³¹ Marius Barbeau à Albert Pelletier, 11 janvier 1935 (copy); Marius Barbeau to Parmaley Day, 30 April 1935 (copy). Both in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

³² Marius Barbeau to Vincent Massey, 4 February 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

to publish through commercial companies because in this way he could more readily reach "the general reader."³³ Macmillan, who had responded favourably to his earlier work, was the obvious choice.

Barbeau most likely met Eayrs in the early 1920s when Macmillan published a tourist promotion book he had written for the Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR), *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*, on the Amerindian cultures of the Rocky Mountains. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, Barbeau continued to work with Eayrs on a number of other projects, including his Prix-David winning *The Downfall of Temlaham*, an account of modern Northwest Coast history based on Tsimshian legends, and his Krieghoff catalogue raisonné. Generally, Eayrs seems to have been impressed with Barbeau's historical and art-historical writing. He, along with Macmillan readers, found Barbeau's innovative use of ethnographic evidence intriguing and also felt that Barbeau's attempt to present Canadian history from an Amerindian point of view was culturally significant.³⁴ Barbeau's own nationalist commitment

³³ Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 3 April 1947, Pierce Collection, box 14, file 5.

³⁴ For example see Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 21 August 1923; John D. Robbins to Hugh Eayrs, 28 May 1927 (copy). Both in Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 5, Hugh Eayrs file.

to the development of a Canadian literature and art must also have appealed to Eayrs. As David Young has pointed out, Eayrs was personally committed to the same cultural ideas; under his direction Macmillan of Canada undertook publication of a number of Canadian novels which had a clearly limited market appeal.³⁵ Eayrs, however, balked at the *Romancéro*. The cost of printing, he explained to Barbeau, was so high owing to the engraving necessary for the musical notation accompanying the song texts that Macmillan required a guaranteed sale of 1000 copies before it could undertake publication. Unlike Barbeau, Eayrs doubted that the *Romancéro* would have any market appeal outside Quebec.³⁶

In 1932 Eayrs and Barbeau approached the Quebec provincial government for support. They initially won the tacit approval of Premier Taschereau, but then saw Quebec support evaporate when L.A. David, the powerful provincial secretary, proved unwilling to make a financial commitment to the project.³⁷ With

³⁵ As Young notes, Eayrs used surpluses derived from Macmillan's profitable school text trade to subsidize the publication of unprofitable Canadian novels. See David Young, "The Macmillan Company of Canada in the 1930s," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30,3 (1995), 117-33.

³⁶ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 13 December 1934 (copy) and 27 April 1935 (copy); Hugh Eayrs to the Hon. L.A. Taschereau, 29 August 1932 (copy); Marius Barbeau to Vincent Massey, 4 February 1935 (copy). All in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

³⁷ Hugh Eayrs to the Hon. L.A. Taschereau, 29 August 1932 (copy); Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 12 February 1935.

the collapse of support in Quebec, the *Romancéro* was shelved while Barbeau investigated other ways of publishing the collection, including joint publication with a French-Canadian company, support from an American publisher, having the collection adopted as an achievement prize by the Quebec school system, the potential for sales at tourist sites, and grants-in-aid from different foundations. It proved more difficult to publish the *Romancéro* than Barbeau could have imagined. American companies were uninterested,³⁸ John Murray Gibbon, chief publicity agent for the CPR, informed Barbeau that it would only be able to sell about two dozen copies a year at the Chateau Frontenac hotel in Quebec City,³⁹ and grants-in-aid proved unavailable.⁴⁰ Barbeau found a number of Quebec publishing houses interested in joint publication, but he was unable to work out an agreement he and Macmillan could accept. Éditions du Totem wanted Barbeau to forego his royalty in order to lower production costs, a step Barbeau was unprepared to

Both in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

³⁸ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 11 May 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 7.

³⁹ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 30 January 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

⁴⁰ Vincent Massey to Marius Barbeau, 9 February 1935, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 34, Vincent Massey file.

take because of the mounting personal costs he had incurred in his efforts to work out a publishing agreement. He had made, Barbeau told Albert Pelletier of Éditions du Totem, two trips each to Toronto and Quebec at his own expense and for which his royalties would just reimburse him.⁴¹

There were other problems with Quebec publishing houses as well. In addition to wanting Barbeau to forego his royalty, Éditions du Totem wanted an even larger guaranteed sale than Macmillan, while another company wanted to exclude Macmillan from the Quebec market entirely, including English-language bookstores in Montreal.⁴² Because Eayrs considered Quebec the only major market for the *Romancéro*, he was unwilling to accept this division of territory. "I think our end of it is a much greater risk than his," he explained to Barbeau; "[marketing] the book in English-speaking territory would obviously be a more difficult task."⁴³

In Barbeau's view, however, the primary problems with Quebec publishing houses were their quality and stability. They lacked, he believed, either the necessary expertise or the

⁴¹ Marius Barbeau à Albert Pelletier, 11 janvier 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

⁴² Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 6 February 1935; Albert Pelletier to Hugh Eayrs, 5 February 1935. Both in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

⁴³ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 26 April 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file, 6.

resources to produce the type of book he wanted to serve as a model for an on-going series. For this reason Barbeau rejected offers from French-Canadian houses to print and publish the book in Quebec. "[B]oth Granger and Beauchemin," he explained to Eayrs, "are slovenly in all the work they do. We might not care for a *Romancéro* printed by them."⁴⁴ For the *Romancéro* series to be a success, Barbeau believed it was essential that the first volume be established on a stable basis and be presented in a form readers found attractive. This book, he told Albert Pelletier, "sera peut-être la plus importante de toutes. Elle pourrait se continuer en une longue série de beaux volumes.... Si nous pouvons établir l'entreprise sur des bases stables et satisfaisantes, nous pourrions en être heureux de part et d'autre."⁴⁵ Macmillan had two further advantages over French-Canadian houses: an international marketing system, in which Barbeau was clearly interested, and the prestige of a large, established publishing house. "I am still firm in my decision not to proceed with the publication of the *Romancéro*," he told Eayrs after one French-Canadian house had offered to publish the work on its own in Quebec, "unless it is, at least

⁴⁴ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 12 and 13 February 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

⁴⁵ Marius Barbeau à Albert Pelletier, 11 janvier 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

in part, published with the imprint of the Macmillan Company. For my aim is to reach an international circulation and to have an old established house sponsor the publication."⁴⁶

The problem Barbeau had encountered in the early 1930s was not simply that of a depressed market. There were, as he would discover, ways even in the 1930s to get folklore into print. The problem was that his goals for the *Romancéro* were not compatible with the operations of the Canadian publishing industry. Barbeau wanted to work through a private company, as opposed to the state, because he believed he could reach a larger audience and he was particularly attracted to Macmillan because of the attributes of the company. For his part, Hugh Eayrs had been a supportive ally of Barbeau's writing projects, but with the *Romancéro* the financial risk struck him as simply too great. The economics of publishing precluded an early printing of Barbeau's text.

2. Making Texts

The various problems Barbeau encountered delayed publication of the *Romancéro* throughout the early and mid-1930s. In the meantime, however, Eayrs had given Barbeau another tactical suggestion with regard to folklore publishing. In a

⁴⁶ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 6 February 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

conversation in early 1932, Eayrs had mentioned that Macmillan had recently published a book on the Great Lakes in which the Canadian Steamship Lines (CSL) had taken an interest as part of a program to encourage tourist travel on its Great Lakes lines.

The CSL was also interested in using folklore as a tourist draw. It had organized folk concerts at its resort hotel, the Manoir Richelieu, and also sold local crafts as tourist souvenirs.⁴⁷ During their conversation it occurred to both Eayrs and Barbeau that the CSL might be interested supporting in a folklore book, which Barbeau would write, on the lower St. Lawrence where the company also ran cruises.⁴⁸ The book would be called *In the Heart of the Laurentians* and would be specifically designed for the tourist market. "Les touristes de la Malbaie et de Tadoussac que le Manoir Richelieu seraient des clients pour ce volume..." Barbeau later told one correspondent.⁴⁹ Eayrs agreed to broach the idea to T.R. Enderby, general manager of the CSL. "Such a book as we propose," Eayrs told Enderby, "would, I think, do a good deal towards bucking up holiday travel in the section of the country

⁴⁷ McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 158.

⁴⁸ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 4 February 1932 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 5, Hugh Eayrs file.

⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau à E. Desrochers, 5 février 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

in which you are particularly interested."⁵⁰

Enderby was impressed with the idea and suggested that Barbeau write a book along the lines of similar tourist-oriented publications in use in Great Britain.⁵¹ For Eayrs, Barbeau's task was to produce a text which could integrate his knowledge of French-Canadian folklore with scenic descriptions which might appeal to the tourist gaze. "The book, as I see it," Eayrs explained to Barbeau, "would very definitely dwell on the territory which his [Enderby's] line serves, and no doubt here and there[,] there would be pleasing allusions to that territory -- perhaps to the Manoir [Richelieu] or the pleasantness of sea travel...."⁵²

Barbeau had no difficulties with these suggestions. He agreed to tailor the book to the needs of the CSL, to make a research excursion to Charlevoix County to gather information, to use "old people" in the employ of the company as sources for the book, and suggested that some of the folklore he had already collected could be modified to suit the routes of CSL cruises. "You may note," he told Enderby,

⁵⁰ Hugh Eayrs to T.R. Enderby, 13 February 1932 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 5, Hugh Eayrs file.

⁵¹ T.R. Enderby to Marius Barbeau, 23 March 1932, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 6, T.R. Enderby file.

⁵² Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 4 April 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

that the legends are localized in various places down the Saint-Lawrence. If you were interested in the book from the point of view of publicity, I may localize most of the legends at various points of ... Charlevoix and Chicoutimi [Counties]. The stories lend themselves to arbitrary localization. For instance in the Witch-canoe story, I could make the lumberjacks start from a camp on the Saguenay and travel along the coast in Charlevoix. That would at the same time give an idea of the location around there.⁵³

"Historical exactitude", it seems, was not required for tourist-oriented publications.

In addition to the modification of legends, other changes were also required to increase the level of local colour in the book. The one difficulty Enderby had with Eayrs' and Barbeau's proposal was the book's title, *In the Heart of the Laurentians*, which was, he felt, more suggestive of skiing than a boat cruise.⁵⁴ Barbeau agreed to change his title and asked Enderby if he had any suggestions for a new name. Enderby did not, and Barbeau experimented with *In Search of Quebec* before eventually suggesting *The Kingdom of Saguenay* which, he explained, was "how Cartier and the other early mariners called this

⁵³ Marius Barbeau to T.R. Enderby, 16 March 1932 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 6, T.R. Enderby file.

⁵⁴ T.R. Enderby to Hugh Eayrs, 9 December 1935; Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 14 November 1935 (copy). Both in Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12.

territory."⁵⁵

To ensure that readers fully understood the significance of the title, Barbeau wrote an introductory chapter retelling the legends of the mythical Kingdom of Saguenay and recounting the adventures of early French explorers in their quest for it.⁵⁶ He also made a short expedition to Murray Bay to gather more local colour for the book and included a chapter called "Tossing a Coin for a Seigneurie" which recounted a supposedly significant event in local history. "It is," Barbeau explained to Eayrs, "a vigorous contrast of the two seigneuries of Murray Bay ... This ch[a]p[ter] may prove quite good and interesting to many readers."⁵⁷ Periodically Barbeau sent drafts of the book and its art work to Enderby. He also stopped at Enderby's office in Montreal to maintain his interest, to ensure that he was happy with the text, and to encourage potentially higher

⁵⁵ Quote from Marius Barbeau to T.R. Enderby, 17 December 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12. See also Marius Barbeau to T.R. Enderby, 4 December 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4, (suggesting *The Kingdom of Saguenay*) and Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 13 May 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 2 (on name *In Search of Quebec*).

⁵⁶ Marius Barbeau to T.R. Enderby, 17 December 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71 file 12; Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 22 December 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁵⁷ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 7 January 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 7. Barbeau discussed his excursion to Charlevoix county in Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 29 October 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

levels of support. "Perhaps," Barbeau added in one letter to Eayrs, "the two [draft chapters] and the summaries may interest Mr. Enderby into a special edition."⁵⁸

The requirements for *Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers* were even more specific. The idea for the book originated with the Librairie Garneau, a French-Canadian book-seller and publishing house interested in the tourist market. It was suggested to Barbeau in the fall of 1935 by Garneau's owner who was also interested in co-publication with Macmillan (whether or not this was at Barbeau's suggestion or request remains unclear). He agreed to purchase an advance order of 2,000 copies if Macmillan would handle the printing. Garneau had a very specific type of book in mind: it would be written in English and modeled after a Paris guidebook by Pierre Gauthier; it would be about 224 pages long with 25,000 words of text and over 100, mainly photographic, illustrations; the retail price had to come in at \$2.50 per copy with the wholesale price at no more than \$1.25; it would have to be published before the upcoming tourist season -- around the first of June 1936; and Garneau would retain the exclusive right to sell the book in the province of Quebec.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 2 January 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 7. See also Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 7 January 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁵⁹ Marius Barbeau à M. Garneau, 14 novembre 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12; Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 29 October 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

Barbeau agreed to write the English text and look after the illustrations as he was also doing for *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. *The Kingdom of Saguenay* was illustrated with original art work, and Barbeau had recruited some of the leading painters in Canada as illustrators, including A.Y. Jackson, Arthur Lismer, André Bieler, and Yvonne Housser. The CSL sponsored the paintings used in *The Kingdom of Saguenay* and paid each of the artists Barbeau had recruited for their work.⁶⁰ In return, the CSL not only received original illustrations by noted Canadian artists for its tourist promotion literature, but also retained possession of the original paintings which were to be framed and displayed at the Manoir Richelieu hotel.⁶¹

Eayrs had been cautious about the use of original art in *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. As it was, the cost of the illustrations exceeded the amount that the CSL had originally been prepared to spend, and although Enderby did not seem to object seriously to minor cost over-runs, there were limits beyond which he did not wish to go.⁶² Eayrs found it necessary

⁶⁰ [Hugh Eayrs?] to George Pepper, 8 June 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12, discusses payment arrangements for the different artists who illustrated *The Kingdom of Saguenay*.

⁶¹ Marius Barbeau to W.H. Coverdale, 24 August 1940 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12, discusses the arrangements made for the paintings.

⁶² T.R. Enderby to Hugh Eayrs, 9 December 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12.

to try to curtail some of the artistic elaborations that Barbeau wanted to incorporate into the book. For example, chapter head designs by Marjorie Borden were, Eayrs felt, too expensive for the resources with which he had to work. "I am," he told Barbeau, "frankly, afraid of the extra expense on the Saguenay book along the lines of Miss Borden's proposed chapter heads. ... [I]f in addition to the drawings she is doing, the chapter heads are done also, it loads the book with just that much more expense." "Also", he added almost as a post script, "I shouldn't think that Enderby would buy those chapter head drawings as readily as the [wood] cuts and other drawings for which he is to be sponsor."⁶³

The use of photographs to illustrate *Quebec* required another approach. With *The Kingdom of Saguenay*, Barbeau had accorded considerable liberty to the artists he recruited to illustrate the book, and it appears, in fact, that the final selection of illustrations was left to A.Y. Jackson.⁶⁴ With *Quebec* Barbeau selected the photographic illustrations himself,

⁶³ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 31 December 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12. As it turned out, Eayrs was wrong on this count. Barbeau did manage to interest Enderby in the addition of Borden's chapter head illustrations. See T.R. Enderby to Marius Barbeau, 18 December 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12.

⁶⁴ Marius Barbeau to André Bieler, 21 January 1936, André Bieler Papers, Queen's University Archives, box 2, file "1930s".

drawing on publicity photographs in the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways files. "As the book is intended chiefly for Quebec publicity," Barbeau wrote to Gibbon, "you may be interested in its quality and may be able to let me chose a certain number of your best photographs or drawings of Quebec...."⁶⁵ Barbeau was also able to arrange for the CPR and the CNR to make minor financial contributions to both *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay* to help cover the costs of reproducing illustrations.⁶⁶

The Kingdom of Saguenay and *Quebec* came together quickly during the late fall of 1935 and the winter and early spring of 1936. Barbeau worked rapidly writing chapters, selecting photographs for *Quebec*, and helping to co-ordinate the work of artists. Eayrs was overjoyed with what he considered the engaging and cheerful tone that *The Kingdom of Saguenay* was taking and told Barbeau so: "I am delighted with the first chapter of THE KINGDOM OF SAGUENAY which I have read and re-read. I think the tone is most happy. The reader will be

⁶⁵ Marius Barbeau to J. Murray Gibbon, 13 November 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12; J. Murray Gibbon to Marius Barbeau, 15 November 1935 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁶⁶ [Hugh Eayrs?] to Marius Barbeau, 25 November 1935 (copy). The total level of sponsorship money amounted to \$1150.00. The CSL was the largest sponsor donating a final total of \$825.00, most of which went to pay illustrators; the CPR was next at \$250.00, while the CNR offered the relatively modest contribution of \$75.00. Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 28 May 1936. Both in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4 .

engaged from the first page on."⁶⁷ The Librairie Garneau was similarly impressed with the mock-ups of *Quebec*. "C'est un plaisir pour les yeux et pour l'esprit," E. Desrochers of the Librairie told Barbeau. "C'est merveilleux. Le succès est assuré," he enthused.⁶⁸ For his part Barbeau was happier with *Quebec* than with *The Kingdom of Saguenay*, but he felt that Macmillan had done an outstanding job with the production of both books. As he told to G.E. Rogers at Macmillan: "[t]hey are beautiful books and I admired them greatly. You have done a beautiful piece of work as a publisher. Everybody seems to have great admiration for them."⁶⁹

Barbeau's appreciation of the beauty of these books was not simply the response of a proud author who had managed to see his work into print in difficult circumstances. The texts had been designed to appeal visually to their readers. Lavishly illustrated and written with an eye to appealing, picturesque, fantasy images which would hold the attention of the tourist, *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay* were marked for a very different audience than either Barbeau's scientific

⁶⁷ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 25 January 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12.

⁶⁸ E. Desrochers à Marius Barbeau, 16 mai 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁶⁹ [Marius Barbeau] to G.E. Rogers, 13 August 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 5.

publications or the *Romancéro*. This was reflected in the way these texts were made. The beauty of the textual presentation of traditional culture, as Desrocher explained to Eayrs, was essential for the commercial success of the book he had asked Barbeau to write.⁷⁰

In their final forms *The Kingdom of Saguenay* and *Quebec* were markedly different in both style, format, and the way in which they presented the folk culture of French Canada. *The Kingdom of Saguenay* was a melange of legends, adventure stories, historical sketches, and tales of folk life, which were designed to create a sense of the atmosphere along the lower St. Lawrence coast. Its artistic illustrations were not intended to draw readers' attention to specific geographic settings or textual descriptions of local culture, geography and history, but rather to contribute to the "atmosphere" of the book.⁷¹ *Quebec*, by contrast, focused on a specific theme. It detailed the cultural life of Quebec City and its environs. In this book Barbeau depicted Quebec City as a "quaint oasis" of distinct and almost fairy-tale like character in "the midst of

⁷⁰ E. Desrochers to Hugh Eayrs, 10 June 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 5.

⁷¹ This was one of the reasons Barbeau wanted to add Borden's chapter head designs to the book. As he explained to T.R. Enderby: "The chapter heads would illustrate some feature within the following chapter, whereas the regular illustrations will illustrate the background only, being prepared without reference to my text." Marius Barbeau to T.R. Enderby, 17 December 1935 (copy), box 71, file 12.

[the] man-made uniformity" that was modern North America. Almost everything about the city, he wrote, looked as though it were set in eighteenth-century France, and he carefully described the narrow, European-styled streets of the Old Town. An atmosphere of history, in Barbeau's description, hung in the air, and the ghosts of valiant heroes like Generals Wolfe and Montcalm still seemed present. The people of Quebec themselves were marked by their leisurely, carnivalesque spirit. "You hear," Barbeau noted in one passage, "peals of laughter; children ride horseback on old battery guns and play amid small pyramids of cannonballs; or they may engage in round dances while singing 'Sur le pont d'Avignon' or 'Il était une vieille grand-mère digne dindaine.'" "A holiday spirit pervades the place," he summarized. Depression-era Quebec was a city possessed of a "romantic atmosphere" which made it and its inhabitants appear more like art than reality, "like that intangible, somewhat unreal, air of stage and grand opera."⁷²

It proved easier to market *Quebec* than *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. Despite the support of the CSL, CPR and CNR, Eayrs seems to have been concerned about the volume's sales potential even before it was published. On 3 February 1936, as Barbeau was busy writing and revising material and ensuring that the

⁷² Marius Barbeau, *Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers* (Toronto: 1936), *passim*, but citations at 1 and 3.

illustrations were ready for both books, Eayrs wrote to ask if the Librairie Garneau would be willing to place a large order for *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. He was prepared, he told Barbeau, to let Garneau have the exclusive rights to sales for all of Quebec if the order was large enough. Eayrs suggested 2,000 copies, but intimated that because the level of CSL sponsorship limited potential financial liabilities, he "might be disposed to think of the Librairie Garneau having the Quebec market for 1,000..." "You, rather than I," Eayrs concluded, "are the man to make such a proposal..." and he left the matter to Barbeau's judgement.⁷³

Barbeau did indeed interest himself in the marketing of *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. Like other authors at the time, he wrote the text for publicity fliers, recommended review copies be sent to specific people sure to give the book a favourable press,⁷⁴ and on Eayrs' suggestion also wrote the Librairie Garneau to see if they might be interested in a bulk order.⁷⁵ In at least one instance Barbeau took the marketing initiative. He wrote the Quebec Tourist Bureau to see if they were

⁷³ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 3 February 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12.

⁷⁴ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 29 June 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8; Marius Barbeau to G.E. Rogers, 7 January 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁷⁵ Marius Barbeau à E. Desrochers, 5 février 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

interested in a large order of the book. The Quebec Tourist Bureau had itself recently begun to publish guidebooks to the province, Barbeau noted in a letter to the Bureau; perhaps, he suggested, *The Kingdom of Saguenay* would also fit into their plans? "Ce livre est fait surtout pour intéresser l'étranger et les touristes dans le comté de Charlevoix, Ile-aux-Côudres, et le Saguenay," he explained. If the Bureau were willing to purchase 2,000 copies, Barbeau promised that he could get Macmillan to provide a good rate for the sale.⁷⁶ The immediate results were not favourable, but Barbeau remained undaunted. He believed that *The Kingdom of Saguenay's* long-term prospects were positive even if sales were slow in the short term. As he explained to Eayrs: "the Saguenay book is not considered as quite so much in demand in Quebec as the other [i.e., Quebec]. However, a book of this kind is a good investment (de bon fonds) and will remain so as long as there are tourists there." "Besides," he added almost as an aside, "it might arouse interest in Quebec itself."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Marius Barbeau à Le Directeur, Bureau du tourisme provincial, 23 mars 1936 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁷⁷ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 10 February 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

3. Folklore, Tourism, and the Politics of the Text

With the publication of *The Kingdom of Saguenay and Quebec*, Barbeau's writing had clearly crossed the boundary between the scientific publications he had edited for the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* and the popular market in which he had become increasingly interested. In the process, the folk culture he sought to portray in writing was at times subtly, or perhaps not so subtly, reshaped by the publishing process, the demands of the books' sponsors, and the requirements of the market. These books were not simply attempts to reach a broad audience and to re-popularize traditional culture in the modern age. They were, in fact, not designed for the popular market -- the "general reader" whom Barbeau and Sapir had targeted as one of the markets for *Folk Songs of French Canada* -- but a very specific market: the foreign, primarily American, tourist trade. *The Kingdom of Saguenay and Quebec* were designed to help sell French-Canadian folk culture as a modern leisure commodity. Through these books (and, we should note, a diverse array of other media), French-Canadian folk culture was being transformed into a vacation experience to be purchased for the relatively brief duration of a lower St. Lawrence cruise or a holiday in Quebec City, or to be commemorated for a lifetime in the pages of one of Barbeau's books. Barbeau was an active element in this process. He worked with Enderby, Garneau, and Macmillan to ensure that the

texts met their requirements and at times took the initiative. He sought out prospective sponsorship money from the CSL, CPR and CNR, and marketed these books to these companies in a way which they would find appealing and which would suit their needs. The original idea for *The Kingdom of Saguenay* did not, after all, come from Enderby, but from Barbeau and Eayrs. Barbeau also took the initiative in trying to find sales opportunities for this book, contacting prospective sellers, such as the Quebec Tourist Bureau, before he had informed Eayrs about it.

Barbeau also seems to have enjoyed writing tourist promotion books. His experience with *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay* had taught him a new way to market folklore writing which he was interested in developing. As these books were coming together he had already begun to formulate plans for other tourist books to be published under the sponsorship of tourist industries. If *The Kingdom of Saguenay* and *Quebec* were successful, he told Eayrs in the spring of 1936, he would undertake two other similar books: one on the Gaspé Peninsula and one on the Northwest Coast. "They would," he explained, "be heavily and beautifully illustrated, like the two just appearing. *Gaspé* should appeal to Quebec. I would have the illustrations subsidized by the CNR and the Quebec gov't roads

and Tourist dept."⁷⁸ A book on the Gaspé appealed to Barbeau not only because of the possible sponsorship it might receive from the government, but also because he believed it had a large potential market. Barbeau consulted with the Quebec Department of Roads, the government department responsible for tourism, in June 1936 and received what he considered to be a favourable response. One official with whom he spoke informed him, as he explained to Eayrs, "that Gaspe [sic] is the best field for tourist sale of books [and] that it was possible for his department to contribute toward the cost of illustrations." Barbeau also contacted the CNR publicity department and, while he could not get a definite commitment, he assured Eayrs that their "attitude" made him believe that they too would help finance the proposed book. He promised to expand his knowledge of the Gaspé that summer during fieldwork in that region which he was conducting for the National Museum.⁷⁹

The Northwest Coast book would be published under similar auspices. It would, Barbeau told Eayrs, "presumably appeal to the two railways and B.C."⁸⁰ He had already secured a promise

⁷⁸ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 18 May 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

⁷⁹ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 29 June 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸⁰ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 18 May 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 4.

from Murray Gibbon at the CPR to donate \$250.00 to the project and had spoken to the CNR but had not as yet received a commitment.⁸¹ Because of his extensive anthropological fieldwork on the Northwest Coast, Barbeau felt competent to produce such a book and in fact suggested that the final product would be a modified version of a scientific ethnography, called *Totemland*, he had tried to interest Macmillan in publishing in 1934. "This book," he had told Eayrs, "is of some importance for its contribution to science. It brings out new facts about how America was first peopled."⁸² Macmillan does not seem to have ever been really interested in *Totemland*, largely, Eayrs told Barbeau, because there was no market for this type of material in Canada.⁸³ Barbeau had tried to modify the form of the book to make it more marketable, such as including "a number of Indian songs, which are very interesting melodies and are likely to attract ... musicians and conservatories,"⁸⁴ and he also suggested that Macmillan investigate the possibility of

⁸¹ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 29 June 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸² Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 15 September 1934, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸³ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 31 January 1924 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸⁴ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 7 March 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

marketing the book internationally as a means to broaden its potential sales,⁸⁵ but exactly what modifications he felt were necessary to transform his scientific ethnography into a book that would appeal to the tourist market are not, given the non-appearance of the book, known. Neither of the books was published and Barbeau does not seem to have written extensive drafts for either. Interest in *Totemland* does not seem to have been as great as Barbeau imagined it would be, and a bureaucratic re-organization of the Quebec Department of Roads delayed support for *Gaspé* until the Autumn of 1936, after which the Quebec government seems to have lost interest in the project.⁸⁶

The Kingdom of Saguenay and *Quebec* did not become mainstays of the Macmillan or Garneau catalogues. The books sold steadily, if not at a brisk rate, but were not reprinted once the stock was exhausted. They were, however, for their time, innovative books which illustrated the increasing importance of traditional culture in Quebec tourist promotion.⁸⁷ In the late 1930s and after the Second World War a number of

⁸⁵ Hugh Eayrs to Marius Barbeau, 24 September 1934 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸⁶ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 21 October 1936, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 5.

⁸⁷ See for example Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces", *passim*.

other authors began to target the same type of market with the same type of material and Barbeau's name began to figure in Quebec travel literature as different travel writers cited his work.⁸⁸ Barbeau also maintained his connection with this type of publishing. In 1956 he published a pictorial study of Quebec through Macmillan called *I Have Seen Quebec* which also targeted the tourist market⁸⁹ and as late as 1963 tourism still interested him. He tried to arrange for Garneau to reprint *I Have Seen Quebec* and considered a request from the company to write another book along similar lines. "I hesitate ... considering my other commitments," Barbeau told F.A. Upjohn at Macmillan, "[b]ut if I decline the Librairie might seek satisfaction elsewhere as the demands of the tourist trade in years soon to come are pressing."⁹⁰ This time, however, Barbeau's other commitments, and failing health, prevented him

⁸⁸ Cf. Amy Oakley, *Kaleidoscopic Quebec* (New York and London: 1947), 103-4 and 149; Blodwen Davies, *Gaspé: Land of History and Romance* (Toronto: 1949), 33-4; and Henry Beston, *The St. Lawrence* (New York and Toronto: 1942), x-xi.

⁸⁹ *I Have Seen Quebec* was, in a number of ways, a very different type of book than *Quebec* or *The Kingdom of Saguenay* in that it was composed entirely of pictures with a minimal text intended only to identify the pictures. The pictures were designed to tell the story of Quebec in an aesthetically pleasing fashion. Publicity flier for *I Have Seen Quebec* in Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 8.

⁹⁰ Marius Barbeau to F.A. Upjohn, 20 August 1963 (copy), Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro reel 5089 #M699.9.

from completing the proposed book.⁹¹

Barbeau's experience with *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay* marked an important stage in his career. His work with Macmillan and for the Librairie Garneau and the CSL taught him not simply a new way to market folklore writing, but also a new way to write folklore which moved beyond the models of anthropological and folklore writing established with the creation of the Anthropology Division in 1910. Years later, in the interviews which became *I Was a Pioneer*, Barbeau still considered his 1930s folklore texts to be important. They indicated, he told Laurence Nowry, that folklore was increasing in popularity.⁹² But, the folklore presented in *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay* would do little to stimulate a revival of interest in traditional culture in French Quebec. How could they? They could, however, help to sell that culture to a foreign tourist market.

4. Folk Music as Art: The Fate of the *Romancéro*

What of the *Romancéro*? It was jointly published by Macmillan and Beauchemin in 1937, one year after *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. Of all the Quebec houses he had investigated,

⁹¹ On Barbeau's declining health see Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 10.

⁹² "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 25.

Barbeau finally decided it best to work with Beauchemin, despite his views of the "slovenly quality" of their work, because Macmillan handled the printing and, he explained to Eayrs, because they had "the advantage of a large and established clientele."⁹³ Barbeau had also been working with Beauchemin to publish a series of folk tales designed for the Quebec children's market. These books sold well and seemed to convince Beauchemin that there were possibilities for the *Romancéro* as well.⁹⁴ In its final form, the *Romancéro* conformed to Barbeau's original intentions which made it markedly different from either *Quebec* or *The Kingdom of Saguenay*. The Macmillan advertising circular for the *Romancéro* illustrated the differences. The advertisement for the collection spoke of the colourful nature of folk culture, but also of its rapid fading before the modern age. The folk culture of the *Romancéro* was not a folk culture which could still be experienced by the summer traveler, but a culture which was meeting an abrupt and untimely end before the onrush of the modern age. This advertisement further explained that the collection was intended for the "general reader" and that its selections were "unsurpassed" in their aesthetic quality. They offered, in

⁹³ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 13 February 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

⁹⁴ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 10 December 1934, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

other words, the cultural experience of art as opposed to the experience of a vacation. "Now that the [work of folk-song] collection is sufficiently complete," the advertising flier read,

the work of publication has begun in earnest. These songs must be presented to the public for the benefit of general readers interested in a splendid oral literature ... and in folk melodies that are unsurpassed for rhythm, character and beauty; these melodies are the best possible material for musical inspiration. They are now to be the possession of the whole of Canada at large.

Instead of inviting readers to participate in a vacation-like atmosphere, the *Romancéro* circular concluded by charging a prospective audience with a moral responsibility: "It is planned to make this series of *Romancéros* almost yearly," the circular stated, "until most of the best songs have been published. Now it is the readers' turn to play their part and enable the publishers to continue the series."⁹⁵

Barbeau continued to believe in the importance and potential of the project. As with *Quebec* and *The Kingdom of Saguenay*, he recommended reviewers and helped with marketing.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Publicity flier: "Romancero du Canada by Marius Barbeau" in Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 7.

⁹⁶ Marius Barbeau to [Ellen] Elliott, 10 June 1937, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 7. I suspect Barbeau also wrote the publicity flier for the *Romancéro* as it used some of the text Barbeau had previously used in the "Introduction" to *Folk Songs of French Canada*. Cf. Barbeau and Sapir, "Introduction," xiii.

He personally had addressed and mailed 300 circulars to prospective customers. "I am anxious to help," Barbeau explained to George Rogers at Macmillan, "in the dispersal of this book." "You may let me have 300 copies [of the circular]," he suggested, "which I would have addressed from my office to prospective buyers. And we will see the results. If it proves worthwhile, I [will] ask you for some more copying...."⁹⁷ The *Romancéro*, like Barbeau's previous work, earned positive reviews. It did not, however, earn enough money to permit the continuation of Barbeau's planned series. Barbeau must have understood this because he did not try to interest Macmillan in any subsequent volumes in the *Romancéro* series. His correspondence with the company shifted to different matters, including his other proposals for tourist books, a novel he had written about life on the Northwest Coast fur-trading frontier, several prospective ethnographic texts, and a song-book for the Girl Guides of Canada.

In one sense, Barbeau's experiences with folklore writing in the 1930s could be viewed as a remarkable success. In the context of the worst economic disaster in Canadian history, he had managed to publish three book-length texts. Combined with his Krieghoff catalogue raisonné, it is quite possible to view the 1930s as a period of considerable literary output for

⁹⁷ Marius Barbeau to G.E. Rogers, 5 January 1937, Macmillan Fonds, box 71, file 12.

Barbeau. Moreover, these texts were all, by-and-large, well received. One reviewer referred to *The Kingdom of Saguenay* and *Quebec* as impressive contributions to a new and growing Canadiana literature,⁹⁸ and others agreed.⁹⁹ Years later, these books were still drawing attention to Barbeau. In 1943, a CBC radio personality contacted Barbeau after reading *The Kingdom of Saguenay* to ask him to read French-Canadian legends over the air.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, however impressive Barbeau's literary accomplishments were in the 1930s, he did not achieve his major goal. His planned multi-volume series was never published and other proposed tourist books on the Gaspé and the Northwest Coast failed to materialize. In this sense, it could be argued that Barbeau's 1930s publishing career was strewn with as many failures as successes. The problem here was not really Barbeau's alone. As he discovered when he first brought the idea for the *Romancèro* to Macmillan, market economics presented a formidable barrier to folklore publishing in interwar Canada. Other folklorists, such as Helen Creighton, experienced similar

⁹⁸ T.W.L. MacDermot, rev. of *Kingdom of Saguenay* and *Quebec* in *Canadian Historical Review* 18,3 (1937), 445.

⁹⁹ For example, see *Canadian Forum* 16, (August 1936), 30-1

¹⁰⁰ Joan Dangelzer to Marius Barbeau, 5 December 1944 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 73, file 1.

difficulties. As Lorne Pierce told Barbeau and Creighton during World War II, he would like to publish more folklore, but Ryerson Press simply could not afford to.¹⁰¹ Until after World War II, the commercial market for folklore remained limited.

To view Barbeau's 1930s folklore publishing in terms of successes and failures is, however, to construe the issue too narrowly. Barbeau was well aware of the limited market for folklore texts. He believed, however, that with proper promotion and design, his texts would generate their own market. "Once we have this volume [the *Romancéro*] [published], I am more hopeful that we can work some scheme for others," he wrote to Eayrs in 1935. "Public interest by that time should be aroused; now it is not."¹⁰² In place of a large commercially-viable folklore market, Barbeau turned first to the state and then, failing this, to the culture industry which was prepared to "invest" (in Barbeau's words) in folklore writing as part of a strategy whereby folk culture was salvaged in order that it might then be commoditized.

If a final analysis of Barbeau's folklore writing in the

¹⁰¹ Lorne Pierce to Marius Barbeau, 15 March 1945 (copy), Pierce Collection, box 11, file 6; Lorne Pierce to Helen Creighton, 6 June 1945, Pierce Collection, box 11, file 8.

¹⁰² Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 12 February 1935, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 6.

1930s can be made, that evaluation should point to the impact this "investment" had on the development of the field of folklore, both in Barbeau's case and more broadly. When he later surveyed the rise of folklore in Canada, one of the things to which Barbeau pointed as a demonstration of its increasing popularity was the increasing number of folklore texts being published,¹⁰³ an indication that the popularity of folklore had gone beyond the specialist audience to which his first publications had been directed. And, indeed it had, only in a very different and more commoditized way than Barbeau had expected when he first conceived of the idea for the *Romancéro*.

¹⁰³ Barbeau, "The Folklore Movement in Canada", 166-8.

Chapter 7

The Value of Vanished Traditions

[T]his art belongs to us, to our time and country.
-Marius Barbeau (1926).¹

Anthropology, Marius Barbeau once told his students at the University of Montreal, "ne manque pas ... d'utilité dans l'appréciation et la direction des affaires moderne."² It produced practical, theoretical, and philosophical knowledge which "peut jouer un rôle capital dans la société moderne."³ Anthropology's most important contribution to modern society, however, was the production of cultural knowledge. This was, he explained, an indispensable, precious knowledge which made possible the development of the arts and literature:

[l]es arts et la littérature ne peuvent pas avancer sans l'observation experte des faits humaines, de la psychologie de la langue, de l'histoire, toute

¹ Marius Barbeau, "Backgrounds in NWCoast Art" mss (1926?), 2, MB-NWCF, B-F-527. Emphasis in original.

² Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

indispensable à la formation d'oeuvres authentiques
et originales.⁴

Like folklore, anthropological knowledge provided the "raw material" out of which art developed, but it could serve, as this chapter seeks to demonstrate, a variety of other uses as well. As Barbeau moved his cultural work beyond the boundaries of institutional anthropology, his own efforts in this regard came to center on the Amerindian cultures of the Northwest Coast.

1. Beyond Anthropology

Northwest Coast Amerindian cultures occupied an important place in early-twentieth-century anthropology. Northwest Coast studies were, as Michael Harkin has indicated:

the fons et origo of anthropology in the United States and Canada. Totem poles, potlatches, and winter ceremonials remain among the most famous examples of non-western culture in the entire ethnographic corpus, comparable only to the position of African ethnography in the British imagination, or Polynesian in the French.⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵ Michael Harkin, "Past Presence: Conceptions of History in Northwest Coast Studies" *Arctic Anthropology* 33,2 (1996), 1.

The "exoticism" of these cultures, something which had first attracted Barbeau during his student days at Oxford, was one element of their appeal, but also important were the region's relatively large and diverse Amerindian population, its unique cultural institutions (such as the potlatch), complex systems of social organization, and elaborate arts (in particular totem poles and chilkat blankets). However, for modern anthropologists what was most important about Northwest Coast Amerindian cultures was how their internal cultural dynamics seemed to disprove the evolutionist narrative. For Franz Boas, Northwest Coast cultures were a critically important case study through which he established his anthropological research program.⁶

Boas began fieldwork on the Northwest Coast in 1886, at time when the validity of evolutionary theory was still generally accepted.⁷ Evolutionists understood Northwest Coast cultures as totemic, but the actual position these cultures occupied in the evolutionary narrative was complex because they were not all held to represent the exact same stage of

⁶ Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, 295; Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 135-40.

⁷ Ira Jacknis, "'The Artist Himself': The Salish Basketry Monograph and the Beginnings of a Boasian Paradigm" in Janet Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: 1992), 136.

cultural development. All were totemic, but within this general developmental stage, evolution from a lower to a higher stage of totemism was believed to be taking place. More northern peoples (such as the Tsimshian) who had a matrilineal descent system were held to represent the lower stage; while the patrilineal systems of southern peoples (such as the Coast Salish or Nootka) signified a higher stage. Intermediate peoples, such as the Kwakiutl, who employed a combination of descent systems, were assumed to be in the process of evolving from the lower to the higher stage of totemism.⁸ The history of the totemic cultural stage could thus be plotted geographically along the Northwest Coast. Boas initially accepted this theory,⁹ but as he reviewed the evidence of his fieldwork he made what struck him as a startling discovery: Northwest Coast cultures were not evolving along a relatively linear evolutionist path but were instead developing in a myriad of different, idiosyncratic ways.¹⁰

Following Boas's discovery, the Northwest Coast became a center of anthropological research and debate. Pre-Boasian Northwest Coast fieldwork had focused on establishing a cultural and linguistic map, or what Michael Harkin has called

⁸ Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society*, 137.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 137-9.

as "inventory", or the region.¹¹ The unique arts of the Northwest Coast -- black slate carving, miniature totem poles, carved food vessels and boxes -- had also been popular curios since Europeans began to trade along the coast in the eighteenth century.¹² Following Boas' late-nineteenth-century discovery, anthropologists turned their attention from mapping and idiosyncratic collecting to the study of prehistoric cultural dynamics. There was, as Barbeau discovered at Oxford, no general agreement among anthropologists on a range of important issues, including the origins and character of Northwest Coast totemism, its relationship to social organization, the function of rituals such as the potlatch, and the relationship between coastal arts and the social and

¹¹ Harkin, "Past Presence", 2.

¹² Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 30-1. See also Joanne Macdonald, "From Ceremonial Object to Curio: Object Transformation at Port Simpson and Metlakatla, British Columbia in the Nineteenth Century" *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 10,2 (1990), 193-217.

cultural systems of the region.¹³ What was required, most authorities agreed, was further research.¹⁴

The centrality of Northwest Coast cultures in Boasian anthropology ensured that Sapir would make the region a central focus of the Anthropology Division's work. He himself began his career in Canada with a study of Nootka linguistics, James Teit collected oral traditions and material culture among the Thompson River Indians and then surveyed other parts of British Columbia at Sapir's request, and Harlan Smith excavated archaeological sites and collected artifacts. In the 1920s, Diamond Jenness studied the social organization, religion and "educational" systems of the Carrier. Barbeau's

¹³ Cf. Edward Sapir, "Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes" [original 1915] reprinted in A.L. Kroeber and T.T. Waterman, eds. *Source Book in Anthropology* (New York: Johnston Reprint Corporation ed., 1959), 317-31; Charles Hill-Tout, "The Origin of Totemism of the Aboriginies of British Columbia" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Sec. II* (1901), 3-15; Boas, "The Decorative Art of the North Pacific Coast", 306-7 and 316; Franz Boas, "The Social Organization of the North Pacific Coast" [original 1917] reprinted in Boas, *Race, Language and Culture*, 370-8; John R. Swanton, "The Development of the Clan System and of Secret Societies Among the Northwestern Tribes" *American Anthropologist* N.S. 6 (1904), 477-85; Robert H. Lowie, "A New Conception of Totemism" *American Anthropologist* N.S. 13 (1911), 189-207; and A.A. Goldenweiser, "The Origin of Totemism" *American Anthropologist* N.S. 14 (1912), 600-7.

¹⁴ Cf. Franz Boas, "The Origin of Totemism" *American Anthropologist* NS 18 (1916), 322-3.

contribution to the Division's Northwest Coast research was his Tsimshian fieldwork.

Barbeau's research began in January 1915 at Port Simpson, an old Hudson's Bay Company trading post located on the mouth of the Nass River, and ended only in 1947 when he made a final survey of northern British Columbia and southern Alaska to complete research for a series of proposed monographs on Northwest Coast artistic development. In the course of his career, Barbeau conducted nine different field expeditions to the Northwest Coast, totaling 1120 days in the field, or slightly more than three years.¹⁵ This was one of the most extensive field research programs ever undertaken on the Northwest Coast, the record of which constitutes over 700 individual archival files, now stored at the Canadian Museum of Civilization.¹⁶ The geographic region Barbeau covered was broad. In 1915, he worked primarily at Port Simpson among the Tsimshian. When he returned to the Coast in 1920 he moved inland along the Skeena River to Hazelton where he worked on the Gitksan, an interior Tsimshian-speaking people. In 1923, he worked the region from Terrace to the mid-Skeena River, and in 1926 and 1927 he worked from Arrandale first along the

¹⁵ Calculated from Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 398-400.

¹⁶ John J. Cove, *A Detailed Inventory of the Barbeau Northwest Coast Files* National Museum of Man, Mercury Series Paper No. 54 (Ottawa: 1985).

lower Nass to Gitlarkdans and then westward to Lava Lake. Barbeau returned to the Nass in 1929, and the same year also surveyed Haida culture on the Queen Charlotte Islands, before moving on to Wrangell and Kotchitau, and up the Stikine River into Tahltan country. His research in 1939 took him along the coast of northern British Columbia and into southern Alaska as he studied Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit arts and crafts. Following World War II, Barbeau again surveyed Amerindian arts in the field and museums in southern Alaska, the Queen Charlotte Islands, Fort Rupert, and Alert Bay.¹⁷ In the course of thirty-two years, Barbeau completed a detailed survey of Tsimshian, Nisga, and Gitksan cultures, and extended his research into Tahltan, Haida, and Tlingit. His own fieldwork was also, as we have seen, heavily supplemented by William Beynon, who collected oral traditions, social data, and other aspects of Amerindian culture for Barbeau from 1915 until his death in 1958.

The peoples Barbeau studied and the cultures he collected on the Northwest Coast were far from being insular, isolated bastions of traditional culture in the modern world. They had

¹⁷ Marius Barbeau to Stan Rough, 31 December 1963 (copy), MB-NWCF, [number]; National Museum of Canada, *annual Report for 1926* (Ottawa: 1928), 7-9; National Museum of Canada, *Annual Report for 1927* (Ottawa: 1929), 7-8; "National Museum of Canada Annual Report 1939-40" in National Museum of Canada, *Annual Reports of the National Museum of Canada 1939-47* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 112 (Ottawa: 1949), 1.

been deeply involved in a complex process of economic development, social change, and political and cultural conflict. The Tsimshian-speaking peoples of northern British Columbia had been involved in direct trade with Europeans since the mid-eighteenth century. For the most part, eighteenth-century trade was sea-based, but in the course of the nineteenth century, maritime trade gave way to a land-based trade centered on permanent trading posts, and then to resource-based industrial-capitalist development. The most important trading post in the north was Port Simpson, established at the mouth of the Nass River in the 1830s. White traders had little interest in changing Amerindian society, and in fact it was in their self-interest not to do so because Amerindian labour provided the furs which were the rationale for establishing trading posts in the first place.¹⁸

The cultural impact of fur trading on Amerindian societies is a matter of historiographical debate. In some cases it did lead to trade dependency and to a reorganization of Amerindian economies as more resources were shifted into hunting and trapping.¹⁹ In the case of the northern Northwest Coast,

¹⁸ Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: 2nd ed., 1992), 11, 17, 39-40, and 47; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 141-4.

¹⁹ Richard White and William Cronon, "Ecological Change and Indian-White Relations" in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-*

economic and population transfers did occur as peoples like the Tsimshian relocated their villages closer to trading posts. It may, as well, have increased conflict between different peoples vying for control of the trade. But, because fur traders had little interest in Amerindian culture beyond the furs they could provide, the direct cultural impact on northern B.C. cultures was not substantial. The fur trade may, in fact, have stimulated an expansion of traditional culture as Amerindian peoples used the wealth they accrued from the trade in their own ways. Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, potlatches, for example, expanded in size and, perhaps, frequency.²⁰

If both the land- and sea-based fur trade were compatible with established Amerindian cultures, more substantive changes were triggered by the arrival of missionaries, white settlers, state authority, and industrial capitalism in the last half of the nineteenth century. European diseases, against which Amerindians had reduced immunity, produced depopulation; missionaries worked to convert Amerindians to Christianity; capitalists demanded a stable work force; and settlers claimed

Confederation (Toronto: 1994), 15-6.

²⁰ Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 47; Tina Loo, "Dan Crammer's Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol, and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884-1951" in Jeffrey Keshen, ed., *Age of Contention: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1900-1945* (Toronto: 1997), 250.

Amerindian lands. This was a pattern which had occurred before as Europeans advanced across the continent. In northern British Columbia, as elsewhere, it led to sustained ethnic, cultural, and political conflict as Canadian authorities made substantial efforts to eliminate Amerindian culture.

At the center of political conflict in northern British Columbia were two issues: land and the status of Amerindian cultural practices, in particular the potlatch. The influx of settlers led Amerindian peoples to organize themselves politically in different ways. Beginning in the 1880s, the Tsimshian-speaking peoples of the north began to press the Canadian government to settle a series of land claims which would allow them to maintain control of territories they had historically occupied. The Nisga people of the Nass River were particularly active. In the first decades of the twentieth century, on the eve of Barbeau's arrival on the Coast, they organized petitions to the crown, sent delegations to Ottawa, worked to create broader unity among the Amerindian peoples of British Columbia, and forced the federal government to establish a series of commission to investigate their concerns. In the 1920s, shortly after Barbeau started his Northwest Coast fieldwork, the Nisga took the dramatic step of

preventing white settlers from immigrating to their territory.²¹

The potlatch was an equally important point of tension. Federal efforts to eliminate the potlatch have often been portrayed as an ethnic conflict, but the issue actually evidences more complex cultural processes. Under pressure from missionaries, who viewed it as a pagan ritual, Indian Agents, and Christian converts, the federal government made the potlatch illegal in 1884. However, it proved easier to pass legislation than to eliminate this practice. Amerindian resistance to the law was widespread. This combined with a series of unfavourable court decision (which pronounced the law too vague to be used as the basis for conviction) allowed the potlatch to continue, as Barbeau discovered, relatively unabated in the north.²² In fact, Amerindians developed creative and effective legal arguments against the anti-potlatch legislation. In one case, Amerindians planned to stage a potlatch with the aim of being arrested so the law

²¹ E.P. Patterson, "Nishga and Tsimshian Land Protest in the 1880" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18,3 (1983), 40-54; R.M. Galois, "The Indian Rights Association, Native Protest Activity, and the 'land question' in British Columbia, 1903-1916" in Keshen, ed., *Age of Contention*, 266-83.

²² Cole and Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People*, 25-42 and 62-89; Loo, "Dan Cramner's Potlatch", 251 and 256-62; Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

could be tested in the courts. In their defenses of the potlatch, Amerindian peoples argued for its social utility (redistribution of wealth), its cultural value (entertainment similar to white theaters), and its essential similarity to white giving-away and feasting rituals (such as Christmas).²³

Land claims, political organization, the defense of the potlatch, and Amerindian adaptation to economic development presented a complex picture of Amerindian life and culture in northern British Columbia in the first part of the twentieth century. In their defense of the potlatch, and through their land claims, Amerindian peoples did not argue their rights solely on the basis of established traditions. They acknowledged, both implicitly and explicitly, their willingness to adopt certain aspects of white culture and economics. Support for economic development in the north was evident in instances where Amerindian peoples requested the establishment of sawmills near their communities or relocated villages to sites adjacent centers of industrial-capitalist expansion.²⁴ But, what was also evident was that Amerindian

²³ Loo, "Dan Cramner's Potlatch", 258; Cole and Chaikin, *An Iron Hand Upon the People*, 128-30.

²⁴ John Lutz, "After the Fur Trade: The Aboriginal Labouring Class of British Columbia, 1849-1890" in Chad Gaffield, ed., *Constructing Modern Canada: Readings in Post-Confederation History* (Toronto: 1994), 69-95 for a fuller discussion of the British Columbian Amerindian response to the development on industrial capitalism.

peoples wanted to control their own process of development and to maintain certain aspects of their culture which were important to them.

For Barbeau, first arriving on the Northwest Coast in the 1910s, all of these different changes, conflicts, and adaptations were evident. He was well aware of conflict over the potlatch and of economic development. This was, he later explained, what made his research particularly valuable. The complex processes of cultural, economic, social, and political change which later historians have described in detail, struck him only as a process of cultural demise. "I spent," he later recounted of his Gitksan fieldwork,

three long season (in the 1920[s]) among the Gitksan Indians, on the upper Skeena River, in Hazelton and neighbourhood. And there I found myself in the midst of the country of totems and conservative hunters and salmon fishermen. The railroad (CNR) had only just crossed their hunting grounds, and they were still living partly in the past.²⁵

It was this very idea of the cultural authenticity associated with the "past" which first appealed to Barbeau as he began his Northwest Coast fieldwork. These peoples were "authentic" Amerindians in a way he had come to believe that the Lorette Huron were not. "I had," he wrote Sapir during first his

²⁵ Marius Barbeau, "Indian Medicine-men" TS (n.d.), 3 Fonds Barbeau ANQ micro 5085 #M699.5.

journey to northern British Columbia in late 1914, "a keen feeling of joy when I visited the Alert Bay Kwakiutl, having the quarter-of-an-hour stop there. Real Indians I saw there."²⁶

Barbeau's research was conducted in his usual manner, but its focus changed considerably over the course of his career. His initial objective was to collect social data which could contribute to the Boasian analysis of Northwest Coast ethnography. Barbeau himself had drawn attention to the anthropological need for this type of research if the complexities of Northwest Coast Amerindian social and cultural organization were to be understood. At Oxford, he had believed that the inability of anthropologists to reach a general understanding of Northwest Coast cultures resulted from a failure of their conceptual framework.²⁷ A more precise delineation of kinship terminology, he had argued, would help resolve ethnographic confusion. Shortly thereafter, Barbeau changed his mind. What was needed, he believed by 1912, was not a more precise conceptual framework, but more detailed research:

nothing short of a thorough mapping out of the geographic distribution of clans and crests, the

²⁶ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 27 December 1914, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

²⁷ Barbeau, "The Totemic System of the Northwestern Indian Tribes of North America", A.

census of their membership, a vast collection of individual names belonging to each clan, a large series of instances illustrating the historical connection between the myth of origin of powers, the manitou, the rest of the mask, the dramatic performance of the myth, and their definite association with a clan, family, or society, are essential for a thorough understanding of the remarkable totemic institution of the Pacific Coast.²⁸

During his first field expeditions to the Northwest Coast, Barbeau's goal was to produce this type of detailed census. His research strategy was to have his informants list family crests and names which he then recorded.²⁹ In 1915, the information he collected at first confused him. Tsimshian social organization was, Barbeau confessed to Sapir, "more complex than I had expected."³⁰ This was difficult and time-consuming work. His wife, who had accompanied him to Port Simpson, found the northern British Columbia town "dull", but Barbeau did not. "There could not be," he told Sapir, "a better place for [ethnographic] work...."³¹ Although confusing, "the information is obtained in fine shape." "The

²⁸ Barbeau, "The Indian Tribes of Canada", 123.

²⁹ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 9 January 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

³⁰ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 11 February 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

³¹ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 9 January 1915, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

results of this work will," Barbeau believed, "reduce to definite historic facts, many points of interest which were mere hypotheses." His Tsimshian field research would mark, he confidently predicted near the end of his first field season, "a new departure in this field of work" and he began to plan written studies of Tsimshian social organization and secret societies.³²

His 1920 research at Hazelton proved even more exciting. An inland mining town which had failed as a center of economic development, Hazelton was, in Barbeau's view, the perfect site for ethnographic research. "I have no doubt from what I know now," Barbeau told Sapir before he had even begun research, "that this will prove the best field I have yet explored. Hazelton is a large reserve of partly unspoilt Indians...." "I had no idea," he continued, "of how well preserved were the Indians around here. They will be easy to work with; I already know some informants of good quality...."³³ In addition to continuing his census, Barbeau managed to attend a potlatch, purchase a large collection of artifacts "of genuine value, almost all old", take over 100 photographs, and

³² Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 23 January, 6 and 25 March 1915. All in Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

³³ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

to "witness a real Medicine man's ceremony." The ceremony itself, Barbeau told Sapir, was most likely of little medicinal value and, he believed, may even have harmed the patient, but "... the whole performance made a deep impression on my senses, not to speak of my emotional reactions. The surroundings, in an old fashioned fishing lodge were really primitive, which added to the effect...."³⁴

It was also about this time that Barbeau decided to broaden the scope of his Northwest Coast anthropological work beyond the boundaries of institutional anthropology. The potlatch he witnessed had, like the traditional healing ceremony, made a "deep impression on his senses." The potlatch stretched over three days and went on, despite its illegality, with the sanction of the local Indian Agent who was in attendance. The opportunity to witness the ritual appealed to Barbeau's ethnographic sensibilities. He had been trying to find a potlatch in progress for several days before he discovered one at Hagwelgate, near Hazelton,³⁵ but as he watched the ceremony take place it called forth a deeper a series of reflections. In the course of the potlatch Barbeau encountered a priest,

³⁴ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 13 August 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

³⁵ Marius Barbeau, account of potlatch at Hagwelgate, TS dated 18 July 1920, 4, MB-NWCF B-F-95.10.

who was opposed to the potlatch and had perhaps come to dissuade Christian converts from participating. Perhaps because of his own atheism, Barbeau had little time for the priest's views and after some debate, recorded in his fieldbook that he had convinced the man to concede that, regardless of its religious implications, the potlatch was a great sight.³⁶

For Barbeau it was more than a spectacular sight. As the potlatch continued into its second day, observation gave way to participation. Caught up in the spirit of the potlatch Barbeau distributed some chocolate he had with him, although he later worried that he had not made as significant a contribution as might be warranted.³⁷ As the second day of the ceremony continued, though, he began to tire. The long recital of names and the distribution of individual gifts seemed to bore him and his mind drifted to other subjects. The distribution of gifts made him think, he noted in his fieldbook, of "Christian charity", and a young couple making love in public sight caused him to reflect on what seems to have struck him at the moment as the repressive character of

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ "2nd Potlatch" TS, 2, *ibid.*

western morality. He admired the couple for making love "so candidly and so openly."³⁸

The propriety of banning the potlatch was what most concerned him. What right, he wondered as he made notes afterward, had white Canadians to impose their cultural values and religious beliefs on these people? The potlatch struck him, as it might have struck his mentor Maret, as a pure, more spiritual ritual than evidenced by the Christianity of his own day:

In the early dawn, as I was returning on my wheel, on the dusty road, I could not help thinking of early Christianity, when everything, we are told, was held in common, when people preached charity and equality; when Christ on the hill would keep crowds for days in this early potlatch. If Christ had been here tonight what would he have done? Preached article 185 of the fed[eral] law forbidding potlatch, making it a "criminal offense["], of distributing with the others his property to all, rich and poor, so as to make them feel happy and their equal? Would Christ have gone upon the hill in the good rectory house, or gone to Moricetown during the potlatch so as to pretend no[t] to have any knowledge of it, or tell them, as the missionary said to a young man coming for confession, if you don't give up the potlatch, I will give you up; I will go away; and I won't here you confession. What is the use of it all?

...
If Christ had been here, it seemed to me, he would have been giving away like others and his generous hand would have spread his blessing over these poor people, victims of circumstances, unhappy, persecuted and abandoned to their "fate".³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

It was the nature of this "fate" that came to occupy Barbeau's attention. His research into Tsimshian social organization continued -- Barbeau returned to the Northwest Coast throughout to complete his census -- but a new project assumed more importance in his own mind after the 1920 field season. "As I have come far more in contact with actual Indians," Barbeau explained to Sapir, "I have grown much interested in various features of their mentality and ethnography. Some troublesome problems, particularly regarding their relationship with the whites, have interested me again to the point of suggesting to me the idea of writing -- very soon -- a popular book on the Indians of this district." The type of book he was thinking about would make use of the materials he had already collected. Barbeau personally believed that such a book would be "interesting" to a white audience. "After reading the volume through (I foresee) the reader should have a pretty good idea about the Indians and country around here."⁴⁰

Sapir was also interested in moving anthropological knowledge beyond its institutional base, but his method of doing so proved different from Barbeau's. What interested Sapir was the law against the potlatch. In 1915, Duncan

⁴⁰ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 1 November 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

Campbell Scott had asked the Anthropology Division to report on the potlatch law. Scott's intentions were to fulfill a promise the federal government had made to protesting Northwest Coast Amerindians to investigate the ritual. He had, it seems, little interest in doing more than fulfilling the letter of the government's promise, but Sapir who vigorously opposed the anti-potlatch law began to organize a letter writing campaign to press for its repeal. After Scott had requested the report, Sapir contacted Boas, Charles Hill-tout, John Swanton, James Teit and a number of other well-known anthropologists urging them to write the federal government. This was, he told Barbeau, the first step "to see justice done the West Coast Indians."⁴¹

Barbeau was not directly involved in the 1915 campaign, but when he returned to the Northwest Coast in 1920, Scott asked him to "informally" investigate the matter without attracting public attention and "report to him" upon his return. Barbeau had, he told Sapir, "not the slightest interest to investigate for him" because he believed Scott had no intentions of altering the law.⁴² Sapir, however, thought that some sort of report on the potlatch was a good idea and, perhaps because

⁴¹ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 10 February 1915 (copy), Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 21.

⁴² Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 7 July 1920, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 23.

Barbeau was the only member of the Division's permanent staff who had personally witnessed a potlatch, urged him to work on it.⁴³

Sapir seems to have conceived of Barbeau's report as a work which would target a popular audience and endeavor to explain the potlatch in terms which would lessen state hostility toward it. Other parties were interested in seeing Barbeau report on the potlatch as well. E.K. Debeck, a lawyer representing the Kwakiutl people, told Barbeau that the Kwakiutl at least were interested in seeing the matter fully and openly investigated. "The Indians see in the legislation against the potlatch," he told Barbeau, the "complete destruction of all their old customs and laws and are anxious to make a concerted effort to present as full and accurate a report of the whole matter, by sworn testimony or otherwise, as possible."⁴⁴

In the end Barbeau wrote the report for the Department of Indian Affairs, but he did no more than draft an outline for the popular piece Sapir wanted. His report itself was a non-committal work. Chastened by his experience with his Lorette

⁴³ Edward Sapir to Marius Barbeau, 11 January 1921, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 24.

⁴⁴ E.K. Debeck to Marius Barbeau, 16 December 1920, MB-NWCF, B-F-333.11.

report, Barbeau seemed to have had little interest in venturing into the politics of Amerindian affairs a second time. Instead, his report reviewed the current legislation, and summarized the continued instances of potlatching from information available in the Department of Indian Affairs files. To this Barbeau appended a section of his Oxford thesis which provided an anthropological description of the character and function of the potlatch.⁴⁵ It was, one suspects, something considerably less than Sapir and Debeck had hoped for.

Sapir's idea for a popularly-oriented piece on the potlatch approached the public use of anthropology in a specific way. Conceiving of the anthropologist as an expert authority on Amerindian cultures, he looked first to mobilize this authority in support of Northwest Coast cultural institutions, and second to use the anthropology profession as an intermediary between Amerindian and white Canadian cultures. The strategy Barbeau developed as he moved his Northwest Coast cultural work beyond the boundaries of institutional anthropology was both different and similar. His work would

⁴⁵ C.M. [Marius] Barbeau, "The Potlatch among the B.C. Indians and Section 149 of the Indian Act" TS [1921?], DIA, NAC, RG 10, volume 3631, file 6244-X.

serve, he hoped, as a type of intermediary, but how it would function in this role differed markedly from Sapir's plan.

2. "Destiny"

The anthropological writings which emerged from Barbeau's first fieldwork expeditions to the Northwest Coast can be understood as contributions to the Boasian analysis of coastal Amerindian cultural dynamics. The most important pieces which he wrote in the 1910s were an extended critical review of Boas's text *Tsimshian Mythology* and a study of Tsimshian clans and phratries. The first piece was notable for its meticulous attention to empirical detail. While generally appreciative of Boas's work, Barbeau faulted the collection for its failure to grasp the exact relationship between Tsimshian social and cultural organization. In presenting Tsimshian mythology, Barbeau noted, Boas did not understand the exact differences between different types of oral traditions. Boas treated all Tsimshian mythology as clan property, but his own research indicated that some traditions were personal property.⁴⁶ The

⁴⁶ Barbeau, rev. of Boas, *Tsimshian Mythology*, *passim*.

second piece examined the dynamics of prehistoric social organization. It charted the growth and development of Tsimshian phratries reversing the generally held view that phratries were older than clans.⁴⁷ The exact specifics of Barbeau's argument, however, might be of less importance than his general approach to anthropological research and writing. What was important, in each instance, was to arrive at a precise empirical understanding of Tsimshian social and cultural organization.

These essays were a promising beginning to Barbeau's study of Tsimshian culture. As late as 1958, some anthropologists felt that his review of Boas was still one of the most important pieces written on Northwest Coast ethnography in the interwar era.⁴⁸ They were the last essays Barbeau wrote on Northwest Coast social organization. His promised studies of Tsimshian social structure and secret societies never materialized. As Barbeau moved his anthropological writing beyond its institutional base, questions of social organization and the relationship between cultural and social structure became less important than mythology and art which,

⁴⁷ Barbeau, "Parallels Between Northwest Coast and Iroquois Clans and Phratries", 404.

⁴⁸ Frederica de Laguna to Marius Barbeau, 1 December 1958, MB-NWCF, box 1.

Barbeau felt, better illustrated the essence of Amerindian culture. In truth, too, the study of social organization became less interesting. He continued to collect material for his study of social organization after 1920, and while Barbeau still felt the material was ethnographically valuable, it began to seem a little mundane. "[T]he data I have this year added to my Tsimshian storehouse is hardly in the nature of a revelation to me," he told Sapir from the field in 1924. "The work proceeds along lines already foreseen."⁴⁹ "My season on the Nass this year was fruitful," Barbeau explained to Jackson after the 1929 fieldwork season, "but not of the most interesting."⁵⁰

As his work on Tsimshian social organization came to seem more predictable, the focus of Barbeau's research shifted to other subjects. He began to devote more time to collecting oral traditions, music, and arts such as totem poles which were, as he explained with regard to another situation, "more thrilling" than other aspect of Amerindian culture.⁵¹ He found the music of the Northwest Coast particularly appealing because it suggested to him an emotional intensity and mystic

⁴⁹ Marius Barbeau to Edward Sapir, 9 October 1924, Sapir Fonds, box 425, file 24.

⁵⁰ Marius Barbeau to A.Y. Jackson, 28 December 1929 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 19, A.Y. Jackson file.

⁵¹ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 11.

power which had been lost in the modern age. "These songs," Barbeau wrote in one instance, "still conjure up vivid tribal recollections. They express the soul of a bold and restless people and arouse emotions seated deep in the lives of the singers." He continued:

Hunters sang implorations over slain bears and mountain goats to appease their spirits. Medicine men clamored their incantations and loudly beat their drums. Warriors intoned hymms of victory, or chanted their grief at the thought of fallen brothers.

... Singing reached out for greater things and larger spaces. It was the outcry of transient emotions in terms of power and permanence.⁵²

It was this sense of emotional intensity or a mysticism alien to the modern age, an "exotic" otherness, which Barbeau conveyed to the readers of his popularly-oriented texts. The text in which he first made this effort remains his best known: *The Downfall of Temlaham*.

All anthropology, Richard Rorty remarks, produces inherently biased representations of the cultural "other". It cannot, he states, be otherwise because not only does the anthropologist not write from a neutral, "objective" position, but he or she must also communicate with a specific audience. If they are to be understood by their audiences, anthropologists must translate the cultural "other" into terms

⁵² Barbeau, "My Life with Indian Songs", 4.

their audience will understand; in the case of western anthropologists this means that the "other" will necessarily be represented from within a western conceptual framework. The cultures of the "other", in other words, will be assimilated to those of the west.⁵³ The issue, therefore, with Barbeau's attempt to represent Northwest Coast cultures to a broad audience is not that his representations present a biased, or distorted, and partial picture of Northwest Coast life and culture, but how they were biased and to what audience they appealed.

From its inception, Barbeau's attempt to broaden his audience beyond the base of modern institutional anthropology, affected the way in which he presented Northwest Coast culture. The idea of writing *The Downfall of Temlaham* emerged from a very specific set of calculations about what would and would not appeal to a popular audience. In the early 1920s Barbeau had actually devised two different models for a popularly-oriented text. The first would be an imaginative reconstruction of the life of an individual Amerindian. It would provide a white audience with an understanding of Amerindian life by following the life pattern of a single

⁵³ For a discussion of this issue see Paul Rabinow, "Representation Are Social Facts" in Clifford and Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture*.

individual. Barbeau thought this would make a worthwhile text, but he wondered if it would appeal to the general reader. "[S]omehow I feel it would be a more difficult and less graceful book.... Then, it would be in the didactic style, and it is always more difficult to remain interesting to the reader."⁵⁴ His other idea was to make literary use of the Amerindian legends he had collected. This book, Barbeau felt, would have a wide appeal. "There is something unique in my materials," he told his publisher, "and with good luck and work, I may do very well.... I will never have undertaken anything with greater enthusiasm."⁵⁵ "[T]hroughout this volume," he explained in 1924 to Hugh Eayrs, "a large body of real ethnographic facts would be presented in the way they should be[,] to impress imagination...." His intention, he told Eayrs, was to write in the "epic style."⁵⁶

The "epic" Barbeau finally wrote was actually several epics. The text consisted of a series of Amerindian legends, retold by Barbeau, all of which, except the first, dated from

⁵⁴ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 28 December 1923, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Marius Barbeau to Hugh Eayrs, 9 January 1924, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8..

some time in the historically indeterminate "authentic" past. The first part of the text recounted the history of the Skeena River Rebellion using white and Amerindian oral traditions as sources. All the legends were retold in a flowing, poetic prose designed by Barbeau to capture the essence of "authentic" Amerindian discourse.

In this way, Barbeau presented northern British Columbian Amerindian culture to his white audience as a series of legends which illustrated the cultural character of Amerindians by implication rather than direct description. The culture which emerged from Barbeau's description is, in many ways, sympathetically presented. It emerges as an artistically rich, poetic culture with its own regulating customs that serve to preserve order, if not harmony, within the community. It is also a description heavily coloured by Barbeau's interpretation of how Amerindian culture must have once been. Five distinct themes emerge from *The Downfall of Temlaham* as the central characteristics of Amerindian culture: mysticism, emotional intensity, ritualism, naturalism, and the cultural inability of Amerindian peoples to adapt to modern life.

First, Barbeau's descriptions of Amerindian peoples are surrounded by a language of mysticism. Amerindian peoples believe in sorcery, encounter ghosts and spirits, and summon

spirits in dreams.⁵⁷ True Amerindian culture, as Barbeau presented it, is a culture which existed on a borderland between the corporeal and spiritual worlds. Second, Amerindian culture is a culture of emotional intensity. The characters in Barbeau's retelling of Amerindian legends are, in many instances, remarkably uni-dimensional. They are happy or grieved, excited or violently angry, proud or shamed.⁵⁸ They have only one emotion at a time and their actions usually follow from this emotion. This characteristic had its destructive aspects. It is only the wise council of elders which prevents emotions -- such as an intense desire for revenge -- from over-stepping their boundaries in a way that would produce community self-destruction.⁵⁹

Emotional intensity is complemented by a ritualism which pervades most aspects of life. It is not that Amerindian culture is ritualistic, but that Amerindian life itself emerges as one long ritual. Messengers summon people in song and beat staffs to honour deceased chiefs. Barbeau's characters do not talk to one another, but instead present their feelings as an elevated, romantic discourse. In one

⁵⁷ Barbeau, *The Downfall of Temlaham*, 25, 41, 66.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 and 65.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-71.

instance, Sunbeams, one of the central characters of the text, does not simply reject the elevation of her son's rival to a chieftainship, she responds at length with reflections on posterity and history:

"Tell him, your august leader, that sooner would I rebel than yield to perverse advice and ignore his summons; that sooner would I die in my prime than renounce the heritage which is uppermost in my ambition, than abdicate my son's own birthright to the seat of honour in our household, the birthright of my son, of my grandson and a posterity yet unborn."⁶⁰

The ritualism of Amerindian life does not, however, detract from their naturalism. Amerindian people, in Barbeau's description, almost become part of nature. They relate to nature -- the text opens with two messengers singing the song of the blue-jay -- speak with it, and its spirits.⁶¹

Each of these four characteristics -- mysticism, emotional intensity, ritualism, and naturalism -- develop as the essential characteristics of Amerindian culture. Consideration of the fifth theme -- cultural adaptation -- brings us to Barbeau's vision of the character of "authentic" Amerindian culture as revealed both in its recent history and necessary future. The title of his text made reference to

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3 and 62.

Temlaham, an Amerindian village where humans supposedly once dwelt in happiness until its peaceful harmony was disrupted by human frailties which led to its destruction.⁶² The legend of Temlaham stood, Barbeau wrote, as "a forlorn symbol of happiness lost through sin and folly",⁶³ but in truth its mythical destruction foreshadowed the real "fate" of Amerindian peoples in the modern age: "the real downfall happened only when the White Man overran the native races of this continent."⁶⁴

The Downfall of Temlaham was, then, an epic of destruction. The first part of the text, a recounting of the Skeena River Rebellion, symbolized, for Barbeau, the "fate" awaiting all Amerindian peoples. The Rebellion occurred in 1888, shortly after the beginning of Tsimshian land protests. It followed a series of violent white-Amerindian confrontations dating to 1843 and which included an 1874 attempt by the Gitksan to close the Peace River mines and re-establish control over their territory.⁶⁵ The Rebellion itself

⁶² *Ibid.*, vi.

⁶³ *Ibid.* vi-vii.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁶⁵ I.V.B. Johnson, "The Gitksan Incident of 1888" in Barry Gough and Laird Christie, eds., *New Dimensions in Ethnohistory: Papers of the Second Laurier Conference on Ethnohistory and Ethnology* Canadian Museum of Civilization Mercury Series Paper No. 12 (Hull: n.d.), 243-7.

began when white authorities, in an effort to establish Canadian sovereignty over Gitksan territory, arrested an Amerindian accused of killing another Amerindian. The prisoner was mistakenly shot by white authorities which triggered another Amerindian-white confrontation. Amerindian protest was quelled only when the government dispatched a gunboat and a contingent of soldiers and police to northern British Columbia.⁶⁶

For Barbeau, the larger significance of the Skeena River Rebellion was that it illustrated the choices confronting Amerindian peoples in the modern age. On the simplest level, the Rebellion was unsuccessful and Canadian authority was established in Gitksan country. On a different level, the various characters in Barbeau's narrative represented the alternative paths Amerindian people had open to them in the early decades of the twentieth century. Kamalmuk -- the prisoner who is killed -- represents modernity. "To him," Barbeau wrote,

[traditional] custom was the idiom of an age already out of date, now on the wane everywhere; its discredit would soon be complete, final. No use holding on to the shreds of a tattered garment of feather and pelt from the backwoods, to outworn regalia out of the secret cedar chest of a chieftain, to senile teachings and rules that could no longer impose their distortions upon youth....

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 283-4, and 288.

He longed to be the pioneer in novelty and invention, not a spiteful champion of a damaged cause. And thrills were at every turn in the untold adventure of a generation.⁶⁷

His wife, Sunbeams, represented tradition. She despises whites, one of whom she describes as "beneath contempt, a rascal with a forked tongue, whose only law is greed and depredation."⁶⁸

The alternatives Barbeau provided for Amerindians were, then, the alternatives of salvage ethnography: authentic traditional culture or assimilated modern culture. But even these alternatives were not really alternatives. First, they did not represent a considered response to economic modernization. Kamalmuk does not think about modern culture or consider its implications, he is exhilarated by it ("thrilled") and emotionally drawn to it. The complex dynamics of development evident on the Northwest Coast were thus reduced to an emotional excitement which overcomes deliberation. Second, maintaining traditional culture in the modern age is not truly a option because, Barbeau felt, traditional Amerindian culture simply could not be maintained in the modern world. Sunbeams, the traditionalist, survives the Skeena River Rebellion where her husband does not, but

⁶⁷ Barbeau, *Downfall of Temlaham*, 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

this does not promise cultural continuity. Instead, it turns her into an anachronism. Barbeau noted in the introduction: "Sunbeams, still survives, a old woman, now lost in a world that has rejected her, a world that she will never understand."⁶⁹

Kamalmuk's fate is no less tragic. He dies, not because he is trying to adapt to modernity, but because adaptation is impossible. Although a devoted advocate of modernity, Kamalmuk cannot himself become modern:

He would in spite of himself sometimes fall back in his tracks, as it were, half conscious of a great evil creeping upon him for his undoing, and then like a man of consequence, curb the impulses which for so long dwelt in the blood of his race.⁷⁰

As Barbeau's narrative unfolds Kamalmuk cannot prevent himself from participating in the Amerindian rituals he disdains, and when his son dies of measles, he accepts his wife's verdict that the death was caused by a sorcerer and kills the man as is his right under the law of his people.

Barbeau repeated this thesis of this narrative -- that Amerindians are "fated" to disappear because their traditions have no place in a modern world to which they cannot adapt -- in some of his other writings. He made the same point in

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

Mountain Cloud, a novel he wrote about life of a nineteenth-century French-Canadian fur trader set in northern British Columbia. The protagonist of the story is Pierre Cadieux, who, with a Scottish comrade, mans a small fur trading post in northern British Columbia. There he falls in love with a Tahltan woman, has himself adopted into a Tahltan clan so he can marry her, and assumes the name Mountain Cloud. Together they have a son, but Cadieux's wife dies from complications resulting from child-birth. For the next twelve years a desolate Cadieux lives with his son among the Tahltan. The climax of this story occurs when the protagonist -- Pierre Cadieux -- tries to take his son back to "civilization". They begin the long journey home, but cannot complete it. The effort, in fact, kills Cadieux whose plight takes on different connotations because he had been adopted into an Amerindian band. Throughout his life Cadieux longed to return to civilization, but when he cannot complete the journey he realizes that he has lost touch with "civilization" and become an Amerindian. As he is dying, he tells his son what he has learned: a white man can become an Amerindian, but an Amerindian can never adapt to white ways.⁷¹

In its day, *The Downfall of Temlaham* was widely praised. A reviewer for *the Globe* called it "a rare piece of Canadian

⁷¹ Barbeau, *Mountain Cloud*, 291.

bookmaking."⁷² Emily Carr wrote that she "enjoyed it immensely",⁷³ while O.D. Skelton wrote Barbeau "to congratulate you on the remarkable combination of literary imagination and scientific accuracy which mark this interpretation of Indian Life."⁷⁴ And J.D. Robbins, reviewing *Temlaham* for *The Canadian Forum* pronounced it "the most significant and original interpretation of Indian culture that has yet to be written."⁷⁵

What impressed readers of *Temlaham* was the sympathetic portrait of Amerindian life Barbeau seemed to present. Reviewing the book for the *Canadian Nation* G.V. Ferguson remarked that "[p]rimitive civilization has much to recommend it."⁷⁶ Barbeau, another reviewer wrote, made it possible to understand Amerindian "bewilderment" at modernity.⁷⁷ The great merit of the book in Robbins's opinion was that it

⁷² "The Tragedy of the Red Man" *The Globe*, 13 November 1928.

⁷³ Emily Carr to Marius Barbeau, 12 October 1928 (photocopy), MB-NWCF, B-F-603.

⁷⁴ O.D. Skelton to Marius Barbeau, 18 January 1929 (photocopy), MB-NWCF, B-F-603.

⁷⁵ J.D. Robbins, "Conflicting Cultures" *The Canadian Forum* 9,99 (December 1928), 100.

⁷⁶ G.V. Ferguson, "The Tragedy of a West Coast Race" *Canadian Nation* newsclipping in MB-NWCF, B-F-603.

⁷⁷ R.V. Howard, review in *Willison's Monthly* (February: 1929), 279, newclipping in MB-NWCF, B-F-603.

demonstrated the "tragedy" of cultural conflict. *Temlaham* demonstrated, he felt, just how far Amerindian culture had collapsed in the modern age.⁷⁸ Another reviewer felt that this book would not appeal to everyone, but confidently recommended it for "the student of history and the lover of what is precious and imaginal...."⁷⁹ In G.V. Ferguson's opinion, the merit of *Temlaham* was not only that it was a well-written and interesting book about Northwest Coast Amerindian people, but that it was also a tribute to the vanishing Amerindian races of Canada. "[F]or if we must take their heritage from them," Ferguson wrote, "(as is written and ordained) at least we should erect worthy monuments in honour of those tribes who once stood regnant in the land. This volume forms such a tribute."⁸⁰

When Barbeau later reflected on his writing career, he looked on *Temlaham* as one of his more important books. It was, he told his students at the University of Montreal, an attempt to move beyond institutional anthropology and to reach

⁷⁸ Robbins, "Conflicting Cultures", 99-100.

⁷⁹ "Canadian Book-Art Finds High Level in *Temlaham*" *Toronto Star*, 21 July 1928.

⁸⁰ Ferguson, "The Tragedy of a West Coast Race", 13.

the "general public".⁸¹ And this he had indeed done. He had also, however, done something more. He had erected a tribute to a "vanishing race". In the 1920s, white Canadians needed little encouragement to think of Amerindians as a "vanishing race". What Barbeau had done as he worked to broaden his audience beyond the discipline of anthropology was to provide a new, romantic interpretation of this "tragedy".

3. Cultural Appropriation and Tourist Development

Writing was not the only way Barbeau worked to broaden the use of anthropological knowledge beyond its institutional base. In the 1920s, as he was working on *The Downfall of Temlaham*, a particular series of cultural and economic developments led him to the idea that other uses might be made of Northwest Coast cultures. He became particularly interested in the possibility of transforming Amerindian cultures into tourist attractions and the potential use of Amerindian cultures as a source of inspiration for modern artists. These twin causes, tirelessly championed by Barbeau, were tied to the growth of a northern B.C. tourist industry and to the growth of Canadian cultural nationalism in the 1920s. Both led him inexorably toward the white appropriation of Amerindian culture.

⁸¹ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 65.

The issue of cultural appropriation has become a controversial and extensively debated subject. Cultural appropriation can be defined as the use of one culture by another from which the first culture derives no benefit and over which it has no control. It occurs, as Hartmut Lutz has pointed out, when one culture rules and exploits another.⁸² The rise of vocal Amerindian political and cultural activism since the 1960s has drawn this issue into the forefront of current artistic and cultural discourse. In Canada, much of the current debate on cultural appropriation has focused on the use artists made of Northwest Coast culture throughout much of the twentieth century. Substantive critical commentary has been directed toward artists, such as Emily Carr, both because she depicted Amerindians as a "vanishing race" -- as a series of deserted villages and decaying totems overgrown by vegetation -- and because her reputation as one of Canada's pre-eminent artists was built upon the claim that her paintings represented the cultural "essence" of Northwest Coast Amerindians. To put it bluntly: as an artist, Carr used Amerindian culture in a particular way which advanced her own career. Her images of Amerindian peoples as a "vanishing

⁸² Hartmut Lutz, "Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History" *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 10,2 (1990), 168.

race" contributed to the general efforts of white Canadian society, via the state, to eliminate Amerindian culture.⁸³

Recently, Robert Fulford has claimed that the issue of cultural appropriation, when it comes to the Northwest Coast, has been over-stated. Fulford's concern is with Carr, whose reputation he has vigorously defended. Recent critical evaluations of Carr's work, he states, are both a-historical and unfair. Fulford argues that Carr should not be faulted for state Amerindian policies over which she had no control, and to which she should not, therefore, be ideologically linked. Nor, he feels, should she be evaluated in terms of the cultural ethics of today. Fulford's point is that if critics today perceive something ethically disturbing with the way white artists use Amerindian culture, no such standard existed in Carr's day; thus, set within what he views as her proper historical context, Carr did nothing wrong. Moreover, Fulford questions the legitimacy of the very idea of cultural appropriation. He argues that historically all cultures have interacted with and made use of other cultures as a natural part of artistic development. Carr's use of Amerindian

⁸³ See the discussion in Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: 1992), 30-8. For a fuller discussion of the current criticism surrounding Carr's work see Robert Fulford, "The Trouble With Emily" in Donald Avery and Roger Hall, *Coming of Age: Readings in Canadian History Since World War II* (Toronto: 1996), 27-9.

cultures is not only understandable when set in its historical context, but part of the natural process of art history.⁸⁴

Fulford's analysis calls attention to the complexity of this issue. It suggests that analyses of white-Amerindian interaction should be both historically contextualized and attuned to the dynamics of individual cases. Nonetheless, it should be possible to explore the dynamics of Amerindian-white cultural interaction, including cultural appropriation, without neglecting the political implications of this interaction. Such an exploration would be attuned at once to the complexities of specific circumstances, power dynamics, and cultural politics. For one reason or another, Barbeau's cultural work on behalf of the tourist industry and the artistic use of Amerindian culture has received little historiographical attention.⁸⁵ His extended work in both these areas, therefore makes a particularly informative case study in Northwest Coast cultural history.

Barbeau's involvement with the Northwest Coast tourist industry began in the 1910s, well before the potential tourist uses of French-Canadian folk culture occurred to him. In

⁸⁴ Fulford, "The Trouble With Emily", 28 and 29.

⁸⁵ But see David Darling and Douglas Cole, "Totem Poles Restoration on the Skeena, 1925-1930: An Early Exercise in Heritage Conservation" *BC Studies* 47 (1980), 32-4, 35, and 41.

1915, at the request of the Canadian Parks Service, he agreed to write a tourist guide on Alberta and British Columbia Amerindians for use in the region's national parks.⁸⁶ Barbeau worked diligently on the guide, but this first effort in anthropological-tourist industry co-operation failed when the Parks Service rejected the guide. They felt it was, Barbeau later explained, "too scientific" to appeal to the tourist.⁸⁷

His next effort met with more success. In 1922 John Murray Gibbon asked Barbeau to write a tourist-oriented book on the same region which would promote the CPR's Banff Springs Resort Hotel, and in particular the "Indian Days" festival held yearly at the site. The festival drew hundreds of visitors to Banff to witness re-enactments of historic Amerindian life. Barbeau agreed and in 1923 stopped at the Banff Springs hotel to collect material for the book on his way back to Ottawa from the Northwest Coast. For two weeks, Barbeau traversed the local country, collecting legends and making notes on local Amerindian history.⁸⁸ This together with some material Gibbon

⁸⁶ *Summary Report of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department of Mines for the Calendar Year 1915* (Ottawa: 1916), 7.

⁸⁷ "Mémoires", 65.

⁸⁸ Gary Bret Kines, "Chief Man-of-Many-Sides: John Murray Gibbon and his contributions to the development of tourism and the arts in Canada (Carleton University: unpubl. M.A. thesis: 1988), 105.

had collected from another source and forwarded to Barbeau,⁸⁹ was made into a 208-page book called *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*.

Barbeau's text presented western Cree and Assiniboine cultures through a series of vignettes describing Amerindian life, recounting oral traditions, and detailing events in local Amerindian history. It was illustrated by Langdon Kihn, who had been commissioned by the CPR to paint a series of Amerindian portraits and who Barbeau met through Gibbon.⁹⁰ This was not a "scientific" text. It was, to state the matter directly, light reading which presented Cree and Assiniboine cultures as belonging to a vanished past: "[t]he present-day Indians of the western prairies and Rocky Mountains," Barbeau told his readers early in the text, "are no longer what they used to be. They have dwindled in numbers; their ancient customs are gone, their character is lost. They are a vanishing race."⁹¹

Exactly why Amerindians had "vanished" is difficult to tell from the text. Barbeau made a few allusions to disease and

⁸⁹ J. Murray Gibbon to Marius Barbeau, 15 January 1923, Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

⁹⁰ J. Murray Gibbon to Max Enos, 15 December 1922 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

⁹¹ Marius Barbeau, *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies* (Toronto: 1924), 6.

noted that the introduction of European firearms had increased the ferocity and mortality of Amerindian warfare, but the disappearance of the Cree and Assiniboine emerges, like *The Downfall of Temlaham*, as a tragic fate for which no one is responsible. The historical eclipse of Amerindian peoples in the Canadian west did not, however, mean that it was now impossible to see Amerindian culture. It was still available to the tourist at pageants (like the Banff Springs "Indian Days") or in movies. The depictions of Amerindians in pageants or movies, Barbeau acknowledged, was "fanciful", but it was still preferable to viewing an actually existing Amerindian on a reserve:

[i]n the white man's pageants or in silver screen views of the wild west, they may still appear to us, when garbed in buckskin and feathers, as spectacular personalities dwelling in a sphere apart from the rest of mankind; but when visited at home, on the reserves, they seldom live up to the fanciful expectation we derive from literature and pictorial art.⁹²

Nor did the disappearance of Amerindians mean that they and their cultures were without use. Their memory survived as a antimodernist reminder of a colourful, exhilarating, and adventurous past which provided an imaginative antidote to the banality of modern life. "Those were the days of old," *Indian Days* began,

⁹² *Ibid.*, 6-7.

the days of early borderlands where everyone held his fate in his hands as a frail gift of Providence, the days of the *coureurs-des-bois*, the explorers and the fur traders -- the real Indian days.

The age in which we ourselves now live is altogether different. It is an age of peace, comfort and security, an age so law-abiding, so commonplace that we must turn to the fertile imagination of our dreamers or to the font of past records for any true romance and adventure.⁹³

Indian Days was a popular book. Barbeau's colleague Diamond Jenness loved it: "'Indian Days' combines both literature and scholarship ... there is more colour and delicacy in your [writing] style," he told Barbeau, than the average English person possessed. "As for its subject matter, you have found what is practically an entirely new field, and have handled it an original manner...."⁹⁴ Gibbon, as well, was impressed with an early draft he read. "It is very original and carries the reader's attention all the time."⁹⁵

There were still a few problems with Barbeau's approach to tourist writing. First, Gibbon spotted some minor historical inaccuracies in the text, the result, he told the publisher, of Barbeau's "not being personally acquainted with the

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁴ Diamond Jenness to Marius Barbeau, 11 September 1923, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Diamond Jenness file.

⁹⁵ J. Murray Gibbon to Marius Barbeau, 3 May 1923, Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

territory."⁹⁶ Second, Gibbon thought the draft text he read was too long. He felt one chapter (he picked chapter five on "manitous") could be eliminated entirely. The most substantive problem, however, was that in places the draft text still focused on what Gibbon described as "scientific" issues. In particular, he was concerned with the way Barbeau developed a critical appraisal of the work of early missionaries. This was, Gibbon told Barbeau, too controversial for publication in a book being sponsored by the CPR. "No doubt such controversies are alright in publications intended for a more scientific audience," he explained, "but the whole idea of this publication is to create popular interest in the Indians."⁹⁷ The unstated implication here was that interest could not be generated by a critical assessment of the impact of Christian missionaries on Amerindian life. He was more blunt to Hugh Eayrs, who was overseeing publication of the book: "[t]his chapter would give great offense to the Missions in the Kootenays, which as a matter of fact have been doing excellent work."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ J. Murray Gibbon to Hugh Eayrs, 1 May 1923 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ J. Murray Gibbon to Hugh Eayrs, 1 May 1923 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

The development which further propelled Barbeau into Northwest Coast tourist promotion was not a writing project but a plan to restore and preserve totem poles along the CNR's mainline in northern British Columbia to attract tourism to this region. First conceived in the early 1920s, the plan involved the co-operation of the Department of Indian Affairs, the CNR and the Anthropology Division, whose services would be used to help plan and oversee the project. Much of the initial planning for restoration was, in fact, undertaken by Barbeau who surveyed different sites in northern B.C. in order to select the most advantageous location.⁹⁹

The CNR eventually decided on a location other than the one Barbeau selected,¹⁰⁰ but his experience with the project turned Barbeau into a concerted proponent of tourist development on the Northwest Coast. The potential use of totem poles as a tourist lure continued to attract his attention, but after totem pole restoration on the Skeena entered its planning stage, Barbeau began to formulate other, more substantial plans to use Amerindian culture as a tourist industry resource.

⁹⁹ Darling and Cole, "Totem Poles Restoration on the Skeena", 32-35.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

This may, in fact, have been the problem with Barbeau's plans for tourist development: they were too ambitious. In 1924, four years after he had made his initial survey of potential restoration sites in northern British Columbia, and a year before the restoration work on the Skeena actually began, Barbeau prepared a more substantial plan to promote tourism through the use of Amerindian cultures. His idea was to transform the now-abandoned village of Temlaham into a tourist resort. It had, he believed, all the necessary qualifications: it was centrally situated in the middle of a long train journey from Jasper to Prince Rupert, the local scenery was "romantic", the local history "interesting", and there was game just north of the region which would attract hunters.¹⁰¹ There was, as well, land available for hotel development "directly opposite the site of Temlaham"¹⁰² which, along with the totem poles of the region, would be the main attraction. Barbeau also proposed that a museum be built and that the local Amerindian population be employed to entertain visitors. Traditional dances could be performed and traditional costumes worn. Amerindian crafts could be sold as

¹⁰¹ Marius Barbeau and M.S. Williams, "Memorandum Re National Park at Hazelton, British Columbia" TS (1924), 9-11, Barbeau Fonds, J.B. Harkin file.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 12.

souvenirs and in the evenings, local Amerindians could recite oral traditions to entertain groups of tourists.¹⁰³

Barbeau submitted this plan to the Canadian Parks Branch because he felt it would appeal to the state as it would draw traffic to an under-utilized and unprofitable branch of the CNR line. "The railway line from Jasper to Prince Rupert," he explained in a public address officially dedicated to Langdon Kihn's art,

brings every year heavy deficits to the federal treasury. Why not make the wonderful Indian country of Temlaham an asset, a playground for tourists from the east, a resort for artists, since it is unsurpassed in natural attractions and diversity.¹⁰⁴

The country as a whole would benefit: "[e]ach additional day [tourists] remain over [at the resort] means so much wealth added to the national prosperity."¹⁰⁵ The one group which might benefit less than others, however, were the Amerindian peoples. Amerindians and Amerindian culture was an essential component of Barbeau's plan, but to make his proposed tourist resort viable, Barbeau believed that Amerindian-owned land would have to be transferred to the state, or more

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Public Spirit in Canada" TS (n.d.), 6, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 22, Langdon Kihn file.

¹⁰⁵ Barbeau and William, "Memorandum", 9.

specifically to the Parks Branch which he felt should take charge of the project.¹⁰⁶

Barbeau did not explain exactly why this would be the case. The idea that Amerindian peoples would participate in the development of tourist resorts based on their cultures seems simply not to have occurred to Barbeau, but there may also have had other reasons why his plan marginalized the Amerindian role in the development of a resort at Temlaham. Barbeau felt that Amerindian involvement in tourist development had to be approached in a specific and cautious way. After World War II, Barbeau set his views down in another report proposing further tourist developments in northern B.C. According to this report, the central problem with Amerindian involvement in tourist promotion was that they did not appreciate their culture in the same way tourists did. This was particularly true when it came to the value of totem poles, one of the central tourist attractions in the north. If Amerindians were involved in the planning of restorations, Barbeau warned, there was a strong possibility that they would situate the restored poles (which they owned) next to their own houses. This would cause the poles to be "scattered and their visual effect largely lost." Tourists wanted to see a row of poles and to ensure that this was the result of the

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

restoration project, a central agency (in this case the CNR; the Parks Branch in the case of the proposed Temlaham resort) had to plan tourist resorts "as a whole"¹⁰⁷

Another problem with Amerindian involvement in tourist promotion was that they did not always support the relocation and economic use of their cultural property. It was here, Barbeau felt, that an anthropologist, or some other culturally well-informed "expert", could be of use. To make use of Amerindian property it was necessary to negotiate with Amerindians; in particular, it was important to understand the power local chiefs still held and to be aware of Amerindian cultural values. During the Skeena River totem pole restoration project, the man overseeing its implementation inadvertently offended a local chief by not staying at his house while he was in the region.¹⁰⁸ This slight caused a minor disruption in the project which Barbeau smoothed over by offering the chief a gift.¹⁰⁹ It was

¹⁰⁷ Marius Barbeau, "Restoration of Totem Poles of the Skeena River, the Queen Charlotte Islands, and the North Pacific Coast" TS (1951), 2, MB-NWCF, B-F-162.2.

¹⁰⁸ Darling and Cole, "Totem Pole Restoration on the Skeena", 40.

¹⁰⁹ Marius Barbeau to Langdon Kihn, 4 February 1927 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 22, Langdon Kihn file, The gift, a photograph, seems to have been of symbolic (as opposed to fiscal) importance.

important to recognize the power of chiefs because they could "veto" their community's co-operation with a tourist development project. To deal with these potential problems, Barbeau believed it necessary to carry out "[n]egotiations with tact and diplomacy ... and with a knowledge of local history...."¹¹⁰ After World War II, he would volunteer to conduct these negotiations himself.

In the end, not all of Barbeau's plans for Northwest Coast tourist development were realized. The type of extensive development he proposed required the co-operation of local white authorities, private enterprise, and several departments of the federal state, and before World War II this type of co-operation occurred infrequently. In particular, little use was made of anthropologists in tourism development other than on the Skeena River project. Nor were the plans Barbeau developed entirely original. The use of Amerindian culture as a tourist resource dated to the pre-Confederation era. The highest levels of support for Barbeau's project came from local civic boosters in the Hazelton area who imagined that their community stood to gain the most from his proposals.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Barbeau, "Restoration of Totem Poles on the Skeena River", 2.

¹¹¹ Cf. "Says Totem Pole Villages Ought to be Capitalized" [New Hazelton] *Omineca Herald*, 6 February 1925; and "East Glimpses Indian Life In Totem Lecture" *Omineca Herald*, 19 March 1926. Newsclippings in MB-NWCF, B-F-608.

What the Amerindian peoples thought of Barbeau's proposals is not on record because they were never asked. If, as David Darling and Douglas Cole have indicated in their study of the Skeena River restoration project, state efforts to use Amerindian culture as a resource in the service of the tourist industry never completely attained their aims, they were nonetheless partially successful.¹¹² This partial success may have worked in the favour of Amerindian peoples. If Barbeau's plans had been implemented, Amerindians would have lost a far greater degree of control over their cultural property, and indeed over their lands, as Barbeau and others redefined their cultures as national "assets".

4. "A Culture That Will Someday Be Distinctly Ours"

Barbeau's proposals to develop the northern B.C. tourist industry relied heavily on the potential appeal of Amerindian cultures. One of the reason why events like the Banff Springs "Indian Days" might appeal to a tourist, Barbeau had intimated, was because they would be able to experience Amerindian traditional cultures which no longer existed. The appeal of Amerindian culture for tourists, at least as Barbeau

¹¹² Darling and Cole, "Totem Pole Restoration on the Skeena", 46.

constructed their cultures, was a resolute, but intellectualized antimodernism. They provided a type of therapeutic mental space which presented itself as an alternative to the banality of modernity. Barbeau's role, in tourist promotion, was to plan its fuller development and construct the antimodernist images which might draw tourists.

The use of Amerindian cultures as a source of inspiration for the modern artists demanded from Barbeau a different appreciation of these cultures and a different style of cultural work. Where Barbeau's tourist work led him to planning and to the construction of images, his work on behalf of the artistic use of Amerindian culture led him to advocacy and to the role of cultural facilitator.

In the early twentieth century, the potential cultural and economic benefits to be derived from Amerindian arts occurred to a wide variety of people. Local businesses on the Northwest Coast promoted the production and sale of Amerindian arts, and even tried to establish a storefront operation in Toronto to take advantage of the larger market.¹¹³ Sapir, as well, felt that an arts and crafts revival could have important economic and cultural implications for west coast Amerindian peoples. The best course of action, he felt, would

¹¹³ Thomas Deasey to Duncan Campbell Scott, 17 May 1918 (copy), in Sapir Fonds, box 429, file 59.

be for the Department of Indian Affairs to establish arts and crafts schools which would be placed under the direction of elderly Amerindian people:

Why would it not be possible ... to arrange for the employment ... of old men and women, from the various tribes involved, who best know the native industries that it is desired to encourage. Such individuals would be in closest sympathetic touch with their pupils.... I can hardly conceive of a method that would be at the same time more practical from an industrial standpoint and heartening from a moral standpoint. It is the complete cutting off of the younger members from the older generations and all that that generation stands for that is largely accountable for the loss of cheer among the Indians as a whole.¹¹⁴

Barbeau flatly rejected this idea. The question of an Amerindian arts and crafts revival, he told an audience at the University of British Columbia in 1926, had been settled by history: "[t]he possibility of a revival among the Indians of former talent seems out of the question. ... They have long since lost that national pride that makes possible great feats in the field of art."¹¹⁵ Instead of reviving native arts, Barbeau proposed another artistic project. He closed his lecture with a public appeal, in the words of one newspaper reporter, "to Canadian painters to go into that country

¹¹⁴ Edward Sapir to Duncan Campbell Scott, 20 December 1917 (copy), Sapir Fonds, box 429, file 59.

¹¹⁵ Cited in "Save Art of Coast Indians" [Vancouver] *Daily Province*, 22 October 1926.

[northern British Columbia] and use the remnants of the native art as themes for their work."¹¹⁶

For Barbeau, certain aspects of "authentic" Amerindian culture made it a particularly useful source of artistic inspiration. First, he held that Amerindian arts were more than ethnographic objects. They were true arts comparable to the best art of western civilization, but they were also uniquely different from the western artistic tradition. This difference provided a practically "unlimited ... supply of designs" which modern artists might use in their own work.¹¹⁷ Second, the Amerindian peoples of the Northwest Coast made a particularly good source of artistic inspiration because they themselves had discovered the secret of artistic development: they remained faithful to their own traditional culture and supported their artists. Art had been the "core" of traditional Amerindian life, and as such it was treated with respect by the entire "community". "[T]his is essential to art, that it should be part of life and not be taken as a mere luxury. When it is a luxury, as with most of the people in America, it amounts to little or nothing; it cannot

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Marius Barbeau, "Conservation and Utilization" mss [1926?], 25, MB-NWCF, B-F-527.22. Emphasis in original. I have reversed the order the wording in the quoted passage from Barbeau.

grow...."¹¹⁸ And, finally, the uniqueness and difference of Amerindian arts, when used as a source of artistic inspiration, could aid the development of a unique Canadian culture in the modern age. This art, Barbeau told an audience at the Art Gallery of Toronto in 1928, was "a step toward a culture that will someday be distinctly ours."¹¹⁹

Barbeau's efforts to aid the development of this culture centered on the work of a series of artists with whom he was personally associated: A.Y. Jackson, Emily Carr, Edwin Holgate, and Landgon Kihn, who he had met while preparing *Indian Days*, among others. One of the tasks Barbeau set for himself was to facilitate their work and its public dispersal. Through the CPR and CNR he arranged for free transportation for these artists to the Northwest Coast by appealing to the potential tourist revenues which could be generated for west coast railway lines when the work of these artists entered public circulation.¹²⁰ Barbeau also made efforts to direct artists to sights he found artistically inspirational and, in

¹¹⁸ Marius Barbeau, "The plastic and decorative arts of the North West Coast" (Address presented at the Art Gallery of Toronto, 1928), mss, 8, MB-NWCF, B-F-527. Emphasis in original.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 12. Emphasis in original.

¹²⁰ Jackson, *A Painter's Country*, 89; Marius Barbeau to J. Murray Gibbon, 16 June 1927 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

one case, promised to provide Kihn with Amerindian "costumes and headdresses" for a series of portraits he planned.¹²¹ Barbeau would, in other words, help Kihn create the authentic Amerindian cultural experiences which were to serve as his inspiration.

Barbeau promoted the work of these, and other, artists as he had promoted the work of Krieghoff through publications and lectures. But, perhaps more important were his efforts to find a market for their work. He convinced H.S. Southam to purchase a large number of Kihn's Amerindian portraits which were distributed to galleries and museums in Canada. And, in 1928 Barbeau appealed to the CPR to hire Edwin Holgate to decorate a West Coast Hall in the new Chateau Laurier in Amerindian motif. In this case, Barbeau even procured pictures of artifacts stored at the ROM for Holgate to use as the basis for his designs.¹²²

Barbeau's most significant work as an advocate and facilitator, however, was almost certainly the 1927 *West Coast Art, Native and Modern* exhibition. He had helped to organize the exhibition, along with the members of the Group of Seven,

¹²¹ Marius Barbeau to J. Murray Gibbon, 16 June 1927 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 11, J. Murray Gibbon files.

¹²² Marius Barbeau to Thomas McIlwraith, 3 November 1928, McIlwraith Papers, box 79, file 11.

whose paintings would feature prominently in the show. Barbeau also spoke at the opening and wrote the exhibition catalogue. This would be an important exhibition, he told Kihn, because it featured the work of the then unknown painter Emily Carr. For Barbeau, the exhibition was designed, at least in part, to draw public attention to Carr's work. "[H]er name," he explained to Kihn, "will be henceforth ranked among that of the best Canadian painters."¹²³

The exhibition itself juxtaposed Amerindian arts and crafts with the paintings of modern white artists. In case the implicit message inherent in this exhibition strategy was missed, Barbeau stated it bluntly in the catalogue. Amerindian art, he wrote, was commendable, not simply as good art, but because it was Canadian art: "[i]t has sprung up wholly from the soil and the sea within our national boundaries."¹²⁴ It was, therefore, a "Canadian" art.

Carr's work epitomized, for Barbeau, the type of connection that could be made between the Amerindian traditions of the Northwest Coast and modern Canadian artists. In Carr's case, the 1927 exhibition was a turning point in her career.

¹²³ Marius Barbeau to Langdon Kihn, 4 February 1927 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 22, Langdon Kihn file.

¹²⁴ Marius Barbeau, "West Coast Art" in *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern* ([Ottawa: 1927], 4.

Thereafter she did indeed move into the forefront of Canadian art, as Barbeau had predicted. The debate about the ethics of Carr's artistic use of Amerindian motifs will likely continue. In the case of Barbeau, which has been much less discussed, his themes of dying races and vanishing cultures clearly and problematically supported this stance towards Amerindian cultural traditions. Carr's art was important to him precisely because it illustrated the value of vanished cultures.

5. "My Principal Contribution"

Barbeau did not discontinue his scientific anthropology in the interwar era. If the focus of his research shifted from Tsimshian social organization to other matters, he still believed he was making an important contribution to the ethnographic understanding of Northwest Coast cultural dynamics. This contribution, however, focused on historical migrations from Asia to North America and the origins of totemic and other North Pacific arts as opposed to the empirical relationship between cultural forms and social structure. In an extended series of papers and in larger monographs published after World War II,¹²⁵ Barbeau provided

¹²⁵ Cf. Marius Barbeau, *Haida Carvers in Argillite* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 139, Anthropological

the evidence which he believed sustained new theories about the recentness of both the unique arts of the Northwest Coast and Asiatic migrations to the Pacific Northwest. He held that the arts of the coast dated only from the early-nineteenth century and that migrations from Asia had continued almost into the historic era. The best evidence available today suggests strongly (perhaps even overwhelmingly) that Barbeau was incorrect on both counts. His theories never won the support of other professional anthropologists.¹²⁶

Barbeau worked to assemble the evidence to support his theories from the late 1920s until after World War II. His major study was a proposed multi-volume analysis of Tsimshian prehistory. It took an extended time to complete and was not ready for press until 1957. This study represented the culmination of a lifetime's work. "The Tsimshian project," Barbeau explained to Jacques Rousseau, director of the Human History section of the National Museum, in 1957, "has been my chief contribution to research in Canada...."¹²⁷

Series No. 38 (Ottawa: 1957).

¹²⁶ Although Clark Wissler appears to have been interested in what Barbeau had to say. Clark Wissler to Marius Barbeau, 2 April 1940 (copy), MB-NWCF, B-F-298.16.

¹²⁷ Marius Barbeau to Jacques Rousseau, 16 August 1957 (copy), MB-NWCF, B-F-621,

It was not published. After review the National Museum refused to publish the series not because of its expense, but because it was considered so anthropologically inaccurate that its publication under the Museum's imprint would embarrass the institution.¹²⁸ Barbeau's "chief contribution" to Northwest Coast ethnography lay archived in his files until it was discovered over twenty-five years later by anthropologists working in his files who made, as we will later see, a very different use of the material than did Barbeau.¹²⁹

The rejection of his Tsimshian studies was a clear intellectual defeat for Barbeau's Northwest Coast ethnographic work. But, it is unlikely that the publication of this study would have altered Barbeau's reputation as the pre-eminent Canadian authority on Northwest Coast Amerindian cultures because this reputation was built upon his efforts to broaden his cultural work beyond the parameters of institutional anthropology. Tourist promotion, popular writing, and artistic advocacy were far more visible to the Canadian public than were ethnographic research and scientific writing. After 1920 these matters occupied more and more of Barbeau's time and they were, moreover, interests he never relinquished. In 1965, in the interviews which became *I Was a Pioneer*, Barbeau

¹²⁸ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 392.

¹²⁹ Cove and MacDonald, "Preface", vi-vii,

was still articulating the same arguments he had first developed in the interwar era,¹³⁰ an indication of how deeply he held these views. As he broadened the scope of his Northwest Coast cultural work beyond the discipline of anthropology, and beyond anthropology, in the interwar era, Barbeau found a variety of different ways to use vanished cultures. The problem, of course, was that what had vanished was really only Barbeau's conception of these cultures and not the cultures themselves. In part as a result of his cultural work, they were not eclipsed by modernity but rather became a fundamental element of its cultural processes.

¹³⁰ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 78.

Part IV

Salvage Ethnography in Post-War Canada

Chapter 8

The Cultural Work of Salvage Ethnography in Post-War Canada

1. Post-War Anthropology and Folklore

Following the Second World War forces both within and outside the National Museum combined to establish a new agenda for anthropological and folklore research in Canada. Canadian anthropology was entering a new stage of development which saw the displacement (if not the overthrow) of the research program established by Sapir in 1910. This raised new questions about the organization of anthropological and folklore research, the goals of professional training in anthropology and folklore, and the role and place of anthropologists and folklorists in Canadian society.

Between 1945 and Barbeau's death in 1969, three general developments significantly affected Canadian anthropology. First, there was a rapid growth in anthropological research at the National Museum as state support for research was restored and expanded after being severely curtailed during the 1930s and World War II. At times during the depression Barbeau was the only member of the Museum's anthropological staff actively engaged in field research and this was confined to relatively inexpensive folklore research in Quebec. In 1945, as World War II ended, Barbeau and his colleague in archaeology Douglas

Leechman were the only active members of the Museum's anthropological staff. Barbeau's folklore research continued in Quebec, while Leechman conducted an "archaeological reconnaissance" of the southwestern area of the Yukon territory bordering on the Alaska Highway.¹ 1946 was also a relatively modest year for National Museum research, but Barbeau was able to hire five field assistants to conduct folklore research in Quebec. With their assistance he returned to the lower St. Lawrence region to organize folklore collection in the vicinity of Tadoussac, in Charlevoix County, the Matepedia valley, Beauce County, L'Islet, and around Quebec City.² After 1946, the Museum's research program expanded rapidly. F.J. Alcock, who became chief curator in 1947, directed his attention to what he called a "renovation" of the National Museum. Helen Creighton was contracted to collect folklore in Nova Scotia, the Museum sponsored three archaeological digs, Barbeau completed a final season of field research on the Northwest Coast, and six research assistants were hired to collect folklore in Quebec. New money was also

¹ "National Museum of Canada Annual Report for 1945-46" in *Annual Reports of the National Museum of Canada 1939-47* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 112 (Ottawa: 1949), 84-5.

² "National Museum of Canada Annual Report 1946-1947" in *ibid.*, 95.

devoted to redesigning exhibition halls and expanding educational programs, an attempt was made to clear away some of the publishing backlog which had accumulated since 1939, and bibliographies of former staff members were compiled for research purposes.³ By the early 1950s, the research program of the National Museum had expanded to an extent rivaled only by the initial expansion which had followed the establishment of the Anthropology Division. In 1951, the Museum sponsored ten different research expeditions.⁴

The expansion of government anthropology was accompanied by a shifting research focus. Folklore research expanded outside Quebec, first to Nova Scotia, where Helen Creighton had already conducted considerable research on her own with the support of the American Smithsonian Institution; then to Newfoundland whose outports were considered the perfect isolated terrain in which old songs, forgotten elsewhere, might be preserved; and then across Canada. Driven in part by the emerging conception of Canada as a multicultural nation, folklorists began to collect the traditions of a diverse array

³ F.J. Alcock, "General Activities of the National Museum of Canada" *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal Year 1947-1948* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 113 (Ottawa: 1949), 1, 2-3, and 5.

⁴ *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1951-52* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 128 (Ottawa: 1953), 5-11.

of ethnic groups across the country. In the decade after World War II, however, the expansion of archaeological research overshadowed the expansion of folklore and ethnographic research as archaeology came to assume a more important place in the Museum's anthropological program. By 1951 the Museum's archaeological staff outnumbered its ethnographic staff for the first time.⁵

The second broad institutional trend affecting Canadian anthropology after World War II was the emergence of an academic anthropology based in universities. Before World War II, Canadian anthropology was primarily museum-based. Anthropology was taught at the Universities of Toronto, New Brunswick and British Columbia, but these programs were small and the staff conducted only limited field research. The University of Toronto anthropology program, established by Thomas McIlwraith, had only one or two faculty throughout the entire pre-World War II era. No major center of anthropological training existed in Canada.

The development of academic anthropology in Canada was, perhaps, not complete until the 1960s when increased government support for post-secondary education led to a dramatic increase in university programs and the first professional associations were created. During and

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-8.

immediately following the Second World War several universities established new programs in human geography, folklore, and anthropology. The establishment of the Archives de Folklore at the Université Laval in 1942 created as well a new folklore research center to compete with the National Museum. Thus, at the same time anthropological and folklore research was expanding at the National Museum, the Museum itself lost its position as the center of Canadian anthropology. Its staff never again occupied the defining position in the field.

The third development affecting Canadian anthropology after World War II was the emergence of new analytic paradigms which displaced salvage ethnography and folklore from their central disciplinary positions. In important respects, salvage folklore continued well into the post-war era in Atlantic and western Canada, but in Quebec and for Amerindian cultures the focus of research shifted from cultural salvage to other issues. What was needed, the now-retired Diamond Jenness told Thomas McIlwraith was a new research program. Several issues struck him as important: the potential impact of the franchise, the closing of residential schools, and the abolition of reserves on Amerindian peoples, the integration of Amerindian peoples into white society, the impact of migratory labour on northern Canadian aboriginal peoples, and the administrative capacity of the Department of Indian

Affairs to cope with the increasing Amerindian population of Canada.⁶ Jenness himself was most interested in northern economic development to which he devoted a five-volume comparative study written during his retirement.⁷ At the University of Toronto and at the University of British Columbia (UBC), McIlwraith and Harry Hawthorn also argued for the relevance of increased research in the field of applied anthropology.⁸

Although not himself an anthropologist, Alcock, too, seems to have believed that a reorganization of anthropological research in Canada, and in particular at the National Museum, was needed. Alcock did not make these concerns public, but it does appear that he spoke to Barbeau, now the senior anthropological figure at the Museum, about the matter privately because Barbeau composed a long memo for Alcock explaining the research interests of newer staff members. Alcock's concern was that Museum anthropology had become outdated but, Barbeau pointed out, there was no need to be particularly concerned about this issue because the new

⁶ Diamond Jenness to Thomas McIlwraith, 23 March 1953, McIlwraith papers, box 79, file 3.

⁷ Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration* 5 vols. (Montreal: 1962-68).

⁸ Thomas McIlwraith to Frank Speck, 13 January 1948 (copy), McIlwraith papers, box 72, file 1.

staff members were interested in such current topics as the relationship between culture and personalities and broader cultural processes and methodology.⁹

Of all the new members of the Museum's anthropological staff, Barbeau's son-in-law Marcel Rioux proved the most interested in moving beyond the salvage framework which had dominated government anthropology since the establishment of the Anthropology Division. Rioux first came to work for the National Museum as one of Barbeau's field assistants collecting folklore in Quebec.¹⁰ For his part, Barbeau looked on Rioux as a potential protégé who could take his place and continue his work after his retirement. In fact, he seems to have hoped Rioux would work with the cultural archive he had already created. "I would like him to take up my own materials and go ahead with them, under my guidance" Barbeau told his friend, the American anthropologist William Fenton.¹¹

It was not to be. Rioux returned to the field in 1947, again as a field assistant in Quebec, then was appointed to the permanent staff the same year.¹² He assumed official

⁹ Marius Barbeau to F.J. Alcock, 7 June 1949 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 1, F.J. Alcock file.

¹⁰ "National Museum of Canada Annual Report 1946-47", 95.

¹¹ Marius Barbeau to William Fenton, 3 May 1946 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-5.4.

the permanent staff the same year.¹² He assumed official direction of the Museum's Ethnography Division, a position Barbeau never officially held but over which he exercised a brief *de facto* control after World War II, following his father-in-law's retirement. Rioux accompanied Barbeau on his last field expeditions, to the Six Nations reserve in 1950 and 1951, where Barbeau was collecting Iroquois Confederacy languages as part of a larger study of comparative Iroquoian linguistics. In 1949 Rioux began a study of Iroquoian social structure and the Handsome Lake theological doctrines,¹³ doctrines which Barbeau had disregarded as white-influenced, inauthentic adaptations. In fact, Barbeau had explicitly chided earlier anthropologists for assuming that Handsome Lake theology was an aspect of "authentic" Iroquoian culture and referred to Handsome Lake himself as "the chief protagonist of foreign religious ideas among his people."¹⁴

By 1950, as they continued research at the Six Nations reserve, further differences between Rioux's and Barbeau's

¹² *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1948-1949* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 118 (Ottawa: 1950), 7.

¹³ *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal year 1949-50* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 123 (Ottawa: 1951), 12.

¹⁴ Barbeau, "Our Indians", 699.

strategies became apparent. While Barbeau collected, so as to preserve, supposedly vanishing Iroquoian languages, Rioux administered Rorschach tests, explored the structural affinities between Iroquoian religious and governmental systems, and studied the persistence, as opposed to the disappearance, of cultural traits.¹⁵

Rioux's folklore research also developed in a direction markedly different from the salvage framework used by his father-in-law. While a field assistant, he collected folklore in rural Quebec and thereafter periodically collected and archived traditional culture, but his primary interest was to evaluate the process of cultural and socio-economic modernization in French Canada. Where Barbeau treated the rural Quebec communities in which he conducted research as bastions of tradition fortuitously surviving into the modern age, Rioux's central questions were: why is traditional culture important in people's lives in the modern age? What meaning did it have for them?¹⁶ His research methodology also

¹⁵ *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1950-51* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 126 (Ottawa: 1952), 10; Marcel Rioux, "Relations between religion and government among the Longhouse Iroquois of Grand River, Ontario" in *Ibid.*, 94-8; Marcel Rioux, "Persistence of a Tutelo Cultural Trait Among the Contemporary Cayuga of Grand River, Ont." In *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal Year 1949-50*, 72-4.

¹⁶ Marcel Rioux, "The Meaning and Function of Folk-Lore in Ile Verte" in *Annual Report of the National Museum for the*

differed markedly from Barbeau's. For Barbeau, folklore and ethnographic research involved a quest for authenticity that required a set of research tactics and an analytic method which could recover tradition from the distorting processes of history. One of the most important research tactics Barbeau had used was mobility: he determined his research sites and informants by the quantity of traditional culture they could recall. Those communities or informants who could not recall or provide authentic traditional culture were disregarded as Barbeau moved on in search of better material. For this reason, Barbeau defined his research sites as broad geographical areas: the entire Gaspé Peninsula, or the north shore of the St. Lawrence running from above Quebec City to Tadoussac.

By contrast, Rioux focused his research on community studies. Normally he selected a small fishing or farming village which could be interpreted as "typical" of rural French-Canadian life, but he also conducted research in urban centers (something Barbeau never did). Where Barbeau's primary research tools were his methodology, recording machines, pencils, and paper, Rioux's were questionnaires, participant-observation, Rorschach tests, archival study, and the collection of contemporary socio-cultural data and life

Fiscal Year 1948-1949.

histories. His primary research goal was to uncover the cultural dynamics of modernizing French-Canadian life which he then compared to similar data he collected in Acadian community studies conducted in New Brunswick.¹⁷ What was important for Rioux was not the survival of "traditions" which could be saved from the processes of history, but the study of these processes themselves as influences on "traditional" life. His research signaled the beginning of a new stage of research at the National Museum which approached the study of tradition in a very different way than it had been approached in the interwar era. The National Museum continued to sponsor salvage research after World War II, but by the 1950s its permanent staff were pre-occupied with a different set of cultural issues which entailed different research strategies and methodologies.

Each of these broad trends -- the expansion of government anthropological research after World War II, the emergence of anthropological and folklore studies at Canadian universities,

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal year 1951-52*, 10; *Annual Report of the National Museum for the Fiscal year 1952-53* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 132 (Ottawa: 1954), 7; *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1953-54* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 136 (Ottawa: 1955), 9; *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal year 1954-55* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 142 (Ottawa: 1956), 10; *Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada for the Fiscal Year 1955-56* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 147 (Ottawa: 1957), 6.

and the passing of the salvage paradigm at the National Museum -- affected Barbeau's anthropology in the final stages of his career. Following World War II and after his retirement Barbeau remained an active and important presence in Canadian anthropology. His adaptation to the new forces shaping the changing parameters of Canadian anthropology and folklore was nonetheless at best partial and incomplete. In the remainder of this chapter, I want to survey Barbeau's on-going cultural work in three areas: anthropological education, particularly his effort to redefine the focus of Canadian anthropology for a post-salvage era; his continuing ethnographic research and writing, in particular his return to Iroquoian ethnography; and his continuing work in the field of folklore.

2. Anthropological Education

Public education had been an important component of the Anthropology Division's mandate since its inception, but formal anthropological or folklore education remained a limited and at best occasional aspect of the divisional staff's work. Diamond Jenness and Harlan Smith never taught at universities, and although Sapir left the Division for an academic appointment in the United States, his efforts to promote university-level anthropology programs in Canada met

with scant success.¹⁸ Before World War II, Barbeau frequently lectured to service clubs, art associations, and local history societies, but opportunities to lecture at universities came infrequently. When they did they were usually part of a public lecture series as opposed to an academic program. By 1939, his entire experience with post-secondary education consisted of two series of lectures given at the request of former GSC director R.W. Brock in 1926 and 1927 at UBC. Brock intended these lectures to promote interest in anthropology at UBC so they were open to the public. The small, but enthusiastic audience responded well, with favorable reviews in the local media and student press, but from the time of his appointment until the beginning of World War II, Barbeau does not seem to have had any particular interest in finding an academic position. Certainly, one was not offered, but unlike Sapir he does not seem to have ever looked for a position outside the Museum.¹⁹

The first opportunity to become involved in a more academic environment came in 1942 from the University of Ottawa.²⁰ It began a teaching career which lasted from 1942

¹⁸ Darnell, *Edward Sapir*, 52-4.

¹⁹ On Sapir's efforts to find an academic position see *ibid.*, 192-6.

²⁰ "National Museum of Canada Annual Report for 1942-43" in *Annual Reports of the National Museum 1939-1947*, 49.

until 1954 and reached its peak in the 1946-47 academic year. In 1944, Barbeau began to lecture on anthropology at the Université Laval.²¹ The same year he began lecturing at the University of Montreal. During the 1945-46 academic year, Barbeau presented a total of 128 lectures at these three universities;²² the following year this number increased to 133 presented during the regular school year and summer sessions at the University of Montreal and the Université Laval.²³ From 1942 until 1947, when his teaching was curtailed by other demands on his time, academic lecturing consumed an increasing proportion of Barbeau's energies. From 1944 until his retirement, the National Museum incorporated university teaching into his *de facto* job description by allowing Barbeau to travel to universities and lecture during his regular work week.²⁴

The circumstances which drew Barbeau into university teaching are not always entirely clear because at least some of the arrangements were made orally between Barbeau and

²¹ "National Museum of Canada Annual Report for 1944-45" in *ibid.*, 73.

²² "National Museum of Canada Annual Report for 1945-46" in *ibid.*, 85.

²³ "National Museum of Canada Annual Report for 1946-47" in *ibid.*, 96.

²⁴ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 360.

friends or acquaintances at the institutions where he taught. Luc Lacourcière played an important role in bringing Barbeau to Laval, the site of his most extended university-level teaching. Born in 1910 in the Beauce, Lacourcière became interested in folklore after reading one of the early collections of folk legends Barbeau published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. Initially trained as a school teacher, he met Barbeau through a mutual acquaintance who wanted to encourage his desire to become a folklorist. Barbeau was impressed with Lacourcière, supported his change of career, and secured a fellowship which allowed him to work at the National Museum under his direction. Following his work with Barbeau, Lacourcière was appointed to teach languages at Laval where, in 1942, he established *Les Archives de Folklore*, Canada's first academic folklore periodical, and helped institute the first university-based folklore program in the country.²⁵ With the support of another member of the Laval staff who was interested in folklore, Lacourcière won the university administration's support for his folklore program and enlisted Barbeau as an instructor. At the Universities of Ottawa and Montreal, Barbeau was also asked to lecture, in the first instance as part of the University's graduate program in

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 355-7; Edith Fowke, *Canadian Folklore* (Toronto: 1988), 14-5.

human geography, and in the second to help develop an anthropology program.²⁶

For his part, Barbeau viewed university-level teaching as an opportunity to accomplish several goals. First, he saw teaching as the natural extension of the work he and others had been doing at the National Museum since the creation of the Anthropology Division in 1910. "Educational development in anthropological and folklore studies," he explained to Museum director F.C.C. Lynch in 1945, "is the natural outcome of the work carried on for many years by the National Museum. ... It would enable me to do useful work in the publication and spreading of our knowledge and materials."²⁷ Second, he believed it signaled the fuller maturity of post-secondary education in Canada. "Une université sans sciences sociales, sans linguistique expérimentale, sans anthropologie," he told students at the University of Montreal in 1945, "ne mérite qu'à demi son nom université...."²⁸ Third, it allowed him to promote his conception of a Canadian culture based on traditional culture. Following World War II, Barbeau argued, Canada had in many ways developed into a mature modern nation.

²⁶ Marius Barbeau to F.C.C. Lynch, 10 April 1945 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, box 173, "Cours Un. Laval" file.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 5.

Its universities, however, remained intellectual colonies of Europe.²⁹ To reach their full maturity, he believed, Canadian universities had to establish a Canadian curriculum. He criticized Canadian academics and school teachers for their failure to teach their students Canadian traditional culture. The result, he remarked in 1957, was that students "forgot" their own culture once they started school.³⁰ Finally, university-level teaching allowed Barbeau to help train the next generation of anthropologists and folklorists and to establish his own program for the development of anthropology and folklore in a post-salvage age. His teaching constituted his own effort to define a new direction for anthropology and folklore in Canada as the disciplines developed into the post-war era.

Barbeau's approach to anthropological and folklore education was practical and historical. Folklore education, he believed, was important because the disappearance of traditional culture from its last bastions in the countryside made the institutional archives of the National Museum the sole location where the vanishing past still existed. His

²⁹ Marius Barbeau, rev. of Raymond Tanghe, *Initiation à la géographie humaine*, Barbeau Fonds, box 91; Marius Barbeau, "L'Ame d'une grande nation moderne" TS.

³⁰ Barbeau, "My Life in Recording Canadian-Indian Folklore", side A.

instruction was designed to provide his students with a basic understanding of traditional culture. A course he taught at the Université Laval called "Artisans canadiens", for example, was designed as an historical survey of French-Canadian arts and crafts from the first arrival of French explorers in North America in the sixteenth century until the present day. In keeping with Barbeau's general approach to traditional culture, the course was object-driven. The course itself purported to describe the social role of art in traditional culture, but it paid little attention to the actual dynamics of traditional life. Instead, it detailed the growth and development of specific arts and crafts with a frequent focus on individual artisans.³¹

In this course, traditional culture emerged as a series of objects. What is most notable about this course, however, is not its specific conceptualization of traditional culture (Barbeau had made this point many times before), but what it can tell us about how Barbeau conceptualized folklore education, the type of training he believed necessary for professional folklorists, and the cultural role of the folklorist in a post-salvage age. Barbeau's lectures established the prospective folklorist not as a student of

³¹ "Artisans canadiens: Leur rôle social, leur art, leur histoire depuis les débuts jusqu'à nos jours" TS (n.d.), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 270, file 1.

cultural dynamics, in the manner of Rioux, but as a connoisseur and art historian. The folklorist was the person professionally trained to recognize "authentic" arts and crafts, their stylistic development, and their aesthetic value. What was important was the evolution of the craft, its stylistic progression, and the adaptations of specific artisans. Put another way, for Barbeau, the task of the folklorist was to determine what constituted traditional cultural objects and to be able to explain their stylistic development from an ancient base to more recent times.

If anything, Barbeau believed that this role was becoming more important in the post-salvage era. The demise of traditional culture, he confessed near the end of his life, was taking longer than he had originally forecasted. It still remained, however, only a matter time, hastened in the post-war era by the expansion of mass media. The extension of radio service and the development of television posed, he believed, powerful new challenges to traditional culture. Watching television or listening to radio, Barbeau told Laurence Nowry, was like drawing culture from a faucet; "[p]eople turn the tap and they have the thing flowing there. Well this makes them silent and from that time on they don't remember or they don't learn from their own past."³² The only

³² "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 79

response to the culturally destructive impact of mass media, Barbeau explained, was to perpetuate traditional culture through the educational system: "eventually," he told Nowry, "we will have left only ... the resources of the museums and of universities and the teachings of competent people."³³ Barbeau was helping to train these "competent people", an educated elite in whom the traditions of the vanished past would continue to live. What Barbeau's course on Canadian artisans taught was how to recognize the "authentic" objects which constituted the great legacy of traditional culture.

The practical side of folklore education was an equally important part of proper training. At the University of Montreal, Barbeau took his students into the countryside on folklore collecting expeditions, provided practical advice on finding informants, and on using recording equipment.³⁴ The research methods Barbeau taught were the methods with which he was familiar: his own. In effect, Barbeau taught salvage research methods in a post-salvage age, an indication of the degree to which the new research program established by Rioux at the National Museum had not affected him. For Barbeau,

³³ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁴ Marius Barbeau, "Folklore at Laval and Montreal Universities" TS (n.d.), 2, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 8; Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 33-48.

anthropological and folklore research remained salvage research. Its concerns were still with the vanishing past.

An equally important side of practical folklore education was to understand the mentalité of traditional culture. To accomplish this aim, Barbeau devised a pedagogical technique he called "experimental folklore", which amounted to him teaching his students traditional cultural practices. "The advantage of experimental folklore," he explained, "in the opinion of visiting students ... is that it leads to a deep penetration of the country, to the appreciation of the traditional patterns of life among the habitants, and the meaning of ancient arts that once were not a mere luxury, but an essential part of life."³⁵ Barbeau, too, was impressed with the results. On one occasion he had his students give a folk dance recital in Quebec City. "Some of the dances (rondes)," he recounted, "were spiritedly interpreted by a group at an evening performance in Quebec, almost entirely with English-speaking participants."³⁶ Barbeau's point here seems to have been that by performing traditional cultural practices, such as rondes, one became, empathetically, a member of the folk.

³⁵ Barbeau, "Folklore at Laval and Montreal Universities", 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Could one really learn about traditional culture by dancing rondes before a Quebec City audience? Could "experimental folklore" actually provide a "deep penetration" of traditional culture? It is unlikely that folklorists today would subscribe to this belief. What "experimental folklore" created was a jovial occasion characterized by light-hearted entertainment. For Barbeau, jovial light-heartedness was an important characteristic of folk culture, but in another sense the issue of understanding traditional mentalités may not have been the pertinent point of Barbeau's "experimental folklore". What was important for prospective folklorists was that they mastered different aspects of traditional culture since, for Barbeau, these were what constituted folk culture in the first place. It was important in itself that a folklorist knew how to round dance.

Barbeau's folklore teaching brought his extended personal learning and research to bear on the subject. He taught his students what he knew of traditional culture which was, for the most part, what he himself had discovered in the course of his career with the Anthropology Division and National Museum. It provided, of necessity, a selective portrait of traditional life, the meaning of which was found in the beauty of old arts and crafts or the "spirited" performance of rondes. For Barbeau, the folklorists of the post-salvage age were educators and connoisseurs, the modern disseminators of

traditions disappearing from the countryside. The future folklorists he was helping to train were to be professionals, an educated elite, whose primary work was to serve, as Barbeau himself had served, as an intermediary between vanished traditions and modernity.

The primary work of post-salvage anthropologists was slightly different. As with his folklore teaching Barbeau adopted an historical approach to anthropological education. He focused, however, not on the history of specific cultural traits, but on the development of the discipline, both generally and in Canada. His primary goal was to familiarize students with the history of anthropology and to suggest a future direction for post-salvage research. The disciplinary history Barbeau presented to his students was a history of the progressive improvement of anthropology as a "scientific" discipline. Barbeau linked the improvement of anthropology to methodological developments.

Anthropology, according to Barbeau, was a "science"³⁷ defined by, and predicated upon, a specific methodology. His history of anthropology was largely the history of the evolution of this methodology. Anthropological speculation, he held, dated from ancient history, but until the emergence of anthropology this speculation had been primarily literary

³⁷ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 1.

in character as illustrated by the *One Thousand and One Arabian Nights*, the legends of King Arthur, and the stories of the exploits of the crusaders. Its primary impact on the science of anthropology was negative: to condition the European mind to view travel and interaction with other cultures as an "adventure". This stance affected how early European explorers had understood the American Amerindian cultures they encountered.³⁸ The era of exploration, which Barbeau associated with the sixteenth century, served as one of the key turning points in his narrative. It marked the first real stage in the development of anthropology as a scientific discipline, and some of the descriptions of Amerindian culture left by some explorers remained valuable ethnographic sources.³⁹ Exploration narratives were nonetheless not yet anthropology because explorers often accepted Amerindian legends at face value. Accepting legends as fact created considerable confusion about exactly what constituted Amerindian culture, confusion which remained current in European and European-American thought for what Barbeau viewed as a considerable, but unspecified period of time.⁴⁰ This stage was then overcome by a second stage in

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8 and 13.

which descriptions of Amerindian culture were mobilized into general theories of human nature, which was in turn overcome by a third stage in which cultural observation was reduced to a single social unit: the nation. In his lectures Barbeau was not specific about the chronology of these stages, but the examples he used suggest that he saw the second stage running from Lescarbot to Morgan, with Morgan's work on the Iroquois as typical of the third stage of anthropology. The fourth stage corresponded to the development of the sub-disciplinary structure of modern anthropology, emerging in the late-nineteenth century and running until after World War II. At this point in his history, Barbeau told his students, that they stood at the beginning of a new stage which had not yet been defined.⁴¹

The narrative of methodological advancement Barbeau established was a narrative of progressive evolution away from broad theory to more limited, empirical descriptions. The catalyst for this development was the work and ideas of certain key anthropologists. Barbeau presented his students with a long list of internationally important figures who had in one way or another contributed to the development of the modern discipline, including Gaston Paris, Max Muller, Arthur

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

Thompson, Charles Darwin, Adres Herdlicka, and in Canada himself and Edward Sapir, but he signaled out Herbert Spencer, E.B. Tylor and James Frazer for special commentary. What united these three figures was their commitment to scientific procedures. Spencer was important because he "tira au clair et amplifa les conséquences des études evolutioniste de Darwin."⁴² He established, in other words, a materialist foundation for the human sciences which served as a model for anthropological research: "[l]'evolution en biologie et ses corollaires philosophiques, depuis ce temps, on pris rang au programme d'études dans les grandes universités."⁴³ Tylor was the real founder of anthropology because he followed the methodological logic of Darwin and Spencer and established anthropology as an experimental science. The key here, for Barbeau, was what he took to be Tylor's advancement of hypotheses as central to anthropological methodology. Frazer was important for revising Tylor and focusing anthropological research primarily on the mental, spiritual, and cultural aspects of human history.⁴⁴

⁴² *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 25-6.

What made Spencer, Tylor, and Frazer important, then, was not their specific anthropological theories, with which Barbeau had disagreed since his days at Oxford, but their creation of a series of methodological propositions which allowed for the creation of scientific knowledge proceeding through the establishment of an hypothesis, followed by research which confirmed or disproved its validity. Hypothesis-formation allowed anthropologists to organize and direct their empirical research as a process of theory-testing which led to the further of cultural knowledge:

Les faits eux-même sont trop nombreux pour être tous appréhendés; le savant doit se borner à l'observation d'un certain nombre de specimens représentant le tout. De ses observations en champ limité, il est justifié de tirer des conclusions liminaire et d'énoncer ses conclusions comme vérités définitives, mais ces vérités ... doivent être considéré provisoires....⁴⁵

He himself, Barbeau explained to his students, had begun his career with an interest in the empirical verification of Frazer's totemism hypothesis, for which he assured his students there was no proof.⁴⁶ But because anthropology was its method, it was possible to reject the validity of any individual hypothesis without rejecting the validity of the discipline. It was safe, for example, to reject the

⁴⁵ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 54.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

evolutionary theories of the nineteenth-century founders of the science of anthropology.⁴⁷

Fieldwork played a central role in Barbeau's conception of anthropology as an experimental science because it provided empirical evidence which allowed for the confirmation or rejection of individual hypotheses. The centrality of fieldwork in Barbeau's conception of anthropology was illustrated both by the time he spent explaining field methods to his students -- it was the longest single non-historical issue discussed in his lectures -- and by his dismissal of anthropological theories which were not based on what he viewed as extensive field research. The inclusion of intensive fieldwork on individual social units, for which he credited Franz Boas, was, Barbeau told his students, the great innovation of modern North American anthropology which differentiated it from, and made it superior to, European anthropology.

Les explorateurs européen étaient des 'globe trotters' comme Darwin et Tylor, ou des professeurs d'université, à l'instar de Durkheim, de Marett, de Mauss et d'autres, n'avaient guère quitté leur pays, leur bibliothèque, ou leur classe. Ces derniers n'avaient jamais poursuivi de reconnaissances ethnographiques. 'Le monde était leur empire' -- monde bien vaste, qui n'est pas facilement embrassé. Quiconque se fait fort de le parcourir en tous sens, à la lumière de la philosophie et en grillant une cigarette rêveuse,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

ne se départit pas toujours de ses marottes, de ses préjugés; il est prompt à construire des 'châteaux en Espagne', tel un Frazer édifiant son totémisme illusoire.⁴⁸

The objective of Boas's research program, Barbeau explained, had been to unify the work of empirical research and hypothesis formation. Boas himself, Barbeau contended, had pursued this objective,⁴⁹ but in practice other members of his school had not. Pursuing the goal of salvage research they had over-compensated for the empirical weakness of nineteenth-century anthropology by neglecting theory entirely. In the process, anthropology had lost sight of the larger picture: "[à] cause de l'accumulation des faits, on oubliait l'ensemble, la généralisation. En se frottant trop le nez aux arbres, on perdait de vue la forêt."⁵⁰ Now, however, the massive accumulation of evidence by repositories such as the National Museum made possible the emergence of a new anthropology which would productively tie theory to empirical research in a constructive balance.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

Barbeau had very definite ideas about how this new anthropology should develop. Its orientation would be historical. "La tournure nouvelle," he told his students,

qui constitue la [prochaine] phase en anthropologie ramène au bercaïl de l'histoire les pionniers européen qui tâtonnement ou les enquêteurs d'Amérique qui s'embourbent. A mesure que les matières premières s'accumulent davantage dans les classeurs de nos institutions, il devient urgent de s'appliquer à les étudier d'une manière critique, pour reconstituer à leur aide des séquences dont le détail et l'ensemble constituent l'histoire pure et simple....⁵¹

Barbeau called his new approach to anthropology and folklore "l'école de l'ethnologie et du folklore comparé" because its methodology would be comparative analysis. The methodological model he suggested for this new "school" was the model he already used: tracing the diffusion of different cultural traits from one location or people to another. This would be done, as he explained with regard to folk songs, on the basis of individual traits: "[i]l faut retracer l'histoire de chaque chanson...."⁵² Once such historical reconstructions of individual cultural traits were completed on a broad scale, for a diverse variety of traits, the history of cultural development would be known. "Dans l'ensemble," he

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 62.

told his students, "lorsque l'anthropologie atteint son stage définitif, elle n'est rien plus ni moins que de l'histoire,"⁵³

Although Barbeau detected hints of this new school in the work of previous anthropologists and folklorists, such as Boas, its full development was, he told his students, their responsibility:

Cette école, comme telle, n'existe vraiment pas encore; elle est de l'avenir plutôt que de présent, potentielle plutôt qu'effective, individuelle plutôt que collective. Elle commence, toutefois, à établir son empire sur la nouvelle génération; elle fera dorénavant de sensible progrès.⁵⁴

This was an ambitious program, but in an important sense, its implementation would not really have marked a "new turn" in Canadian anthropology or folklore. Barbeau called for the critical study of the cultures he had "salvaged", a study which would take the form of an historical analysis of objects and oral traditions that would trace their diffusion across time and space. He called, in other words, for an expansion of his own methodology. The "new school" Barbeau wanted to see created was, in this sense, not so much a new anthropology, but an extension of the Museum's interwar salvage program.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

As with his plans for his son-in-law at the National Museum, Barbeau's new school was not meant to be. As Canadian anthropology and folklore entered the post-war era, there were many issues to debate and many subjects to study. However, one of these debates was not about the merits of "comparative ethnology and folklore". The mantle of this type of research would be taken up by Luc Lacourcière's journal *Les Archives de Folklore*, but in the longer run Barbeau's "new school" won few adherents. As Canadian anthropology and folklore continued to develop after 1945, a newer and different range of issues -- issues like those which attracted the attention of Diamond Jenness and Marcel Rioux -- moved to the center stage of Canadian anthropology. What is most notable about the development of post-war anthropology and folklore in Canadian universities was not so much its rejection of Barbeau's proposals for its future, but the way in which they were disregarded. In this circumstance, the "new school" Barbeau tried to found never really established itself. It was, in fact, outdated before it had been created.

3. Salvage Ethnography in Post-War Canada

As a university instructor Barbeau tried to shape the future direction of Canadian anthropology. His lectures at the University of Montreal and the Université Laval can be read as

both an attempt to codify academically his own anthropological and folklore methodology and a manifesto of sorts in which he challenged the first generation of professionally-trained anthropologists at Canadian universities to move beyond the salvage paradigm into an analytic anthropology which would probe the historical development of Amerindian and Euro-Canadian traditional cultures. This new anthropology did not, however, establish either a new research strategy for anthropology or folklore, nor did it suggest that anthropology or folklore shift their established research foci. Barbeau's anthropology remained pre-occupied with "traditional" cultures. In this sense, his new anthropology did not so much challenge the boundaries of the salvage paradigm as it challenged the next generation of Canadian anthropologists to rewrite the prehistory of North America using the archives he and others had created in the first half of the twentieth century. The central issues attracting the attention of Canadian anthropologists and folklorists elsewhere -- modernization theory, acculturation, applied anthropology -- seemed to hold very little appeal for Barbeau who instead urged his students to adopt a "comparative" approach which would allow them to write more exact prehistories. His point: now that the work of salvage ethnography was as complete as it could be, it was time to make use of the materials preserved.

For Barbeau, the next stage of anthropology in Canada was the next stage of salvage ethnography.

The way Barbeau practiced anthropology after World War II also evidenced strong continuities with his interwar anthropology. Following World War II, Barbeau continued his research on Northwest Coast cultures, but he also returned to the study of Iroquoian linguistics, a field in which he believed he could make profitable use of the Huron-Wyandot material he had collected in 1911 and 1912. In the immediate post-war era, Barbeau continued to occupy a prominent position in Canadian, and North American, anthropology. His work was treated with respect, even by those who disagreed with his theories, research and publishing funding seemed readily available in a way that they had not been during the depression and war, and leading North American anthropologists encouraged him to continue his research. In the longer run Barbeau's post-war ethnographic work proved disappointing. His return to Iroquoian ethnography, in particular, never became the successful ethnographic project he hoped it would be. His major ethnographic works in this field remained unpublished, victims of the shifting foci of post-war anthropology, the demise of the salvage paradigm, and deep concerns about the reconstructive methodology he had used to produce the historical "truth" of traditional culture.

The ethnographic value of his 1911-12 Huron-Wyandot field notes had, of course, been evident to Barbeau long before his post-war return to Iroquoian studies. At the time he had conducted his original fieldwork, both he and Sapir had viewed it as a valuable contribution to anthropology. By 1919, at the time of his Lorette report, Barbeau saw this research in a rather different light, as the last records of a virtually vanishing culture. The potential for further work in Iroquoian studies using his already recorded material occurred to Barbeau sometime in the interwar years, although he did not fully appreciate the importance other anthropologists would come to attach to his early fieldnotes after World War II. The research he had conducted at Lorette and in Oklahoma, Barbeau remarked to the Iroquoian specialist Floyd Lounsbury in 1941, indicated sustained differences between Huron and Wyandot cultures which he believed was a matter worth investigating as a retirement project.⁵⁵ His concerted return to Iroquoian ethnography occurred, however, shortly before his retirement, when he attended the annual Iroquois Studies Conference in upstate New York to present a paper on the fieldnotes which had been sequestered in his files for the better part of thirty years. His research, Barbeau was now

⁵⁵ Marius Barbeau to Floyd Lounsbury, 12 May 1941 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-30.3.

certain, constituted a valuable ethnographic record and he wanted someone, if not him, to make use of this material.

The response to Barbeau's paper was more enthusiastic than he could have hoped. Iroquoian specialists attending the conference not only concurred with his assessment of his 1911-1912 fieldnotes, but urged him to resume his study of Huron-Wyandot ethnography, neglected since the 1910s. What impressed Iroquoian specialists about Barbeau's fieldnotes was not how they illustrated differences between Huron and Wyandot cultures, but the way they documented a Wyandot language which they believed was no longer spoken. "The opinion expressed by a number of Iroquois linguists," Thomas McIlwraith wrote in a letter supporting funding for Barbeau's return to Iroquoian ethnography, was "that his work among the Hurons thirty years ago laid the basis for all work in the field of comparative Iroquoian linguistics."⁵⁶ Barbeau was, William Fenton wrote A.W. Trueman of the Canada Council to urge their support for his research,

uniquely qualified to work on Huron and Wyandot [linguistics] and is alone in possession of a body of information that must be worked into shape.... He is the last anthropo-linguist to work with speakers of the language who are now all deceased.

⁵⁶ Thomas McIlwraith, undated draft of letter of reference for Barbeau, McIlwraith papers, box 79, file 11.

All of the rest of us are dependent in future research on his results.⁵⁷

"But for you," Lounsbury later told Barbeau, "this language might have been lost."⁵⁸ Barbeau held to this view as well: "[t]hese [records]," he told Dr. William Lingelbach of the American Philosophical Society, which financially supported his Iroquoian field research in 1950 and 1951, "are the only texts in existence of this important language."⁵⁹

This was still salvage ethnography. In these passages Barbeau and others mobilized the standard series of signifiers which had come to define salvage ethnography in Canada: the vanishing race, the disappearing culture, the authenticity of a past which cannot be recovered, and the anthropologist arriving almost too late to preserve the last remnants of the vanishing authentic past. These signifiers were firmly established aspects of the discourse of salvage ethnography. Now, in the post-World War II era, the Wyandot language could be added to the list of absent cultural traits signifying the

⁵⁷ W.N. Fenton to A.W. Trueman, 8 December 1960 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-203.6.

⁵⁸ Floyd Lounsbury to Marius Barbeau, 7 December 1960 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-30.3.

⁵⁹ Marius Barbeau to William K. Lingelbach, 30 November 1951 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-87.1.

disappearance of Huron and Wyandot cultures.⁶⁰ On this point, however, Barbeau, Fenton and Lounsbury were incorrect. In 1961 Smithsonian anthropologist Wallace Chafe found that at least two of his Wyandot informants still knew the language and there were indications that others knew it too.⁶¹

Barbeau's response to Chafe's discovery of living Wyandot speakers is interesting. "Whether or not a few people still know Wyandot (but do not speak it for lack of a response)," he told Chafe, "is of interest as a curiosity. But it cannot affect the record."⁶² The record of which Barbeau spoke was his, and others', claims that he had preserved the last written records which could be made of a now extinct language. Barbeau did not explain to Chafe exactly why his discovery could not affect "the record" because it quite obviously did. It was still possible to make further written records of the Wyandot language. He may have had personal motives, he may not have truly believed Chafe, or he may have felt that there was a difference between "knowing" (in his words) a language

⁶⁰ Barbeau, "How the Wyandot Language Was Saved From Oblivion", 226-32.

⁶¹ Wallace L. Chafe to Marius Barbeau, 1 September 1961, (photocopy), MB-HWF, B-G-168.2.ii.

⁶² Marius Barbeau to Wallace L. Chafe, 28 September 1961 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-168.2.iii.

and being able "to speak" it. True to his own conviction, however, Barbeau continued publicly to state that the Wyandot language had disappeared in the early twentieth century, even after Chafe had informed him of the existence of living Wyandot speakers.⁶³

Barbeau's approach to the extinction of the Wyandot language, like his earlier approach to the "disappearance" of the Lorette Huron, raises significant issues in the history of anthropology. Exactly who has the right to determine when a language, or for that matter a culture, is extinct? And, how is this determination made? In the case of language this issue might seem relatively straightforward. In the course of history, different languages have become extinct. The test would be whether or not a language was still spoken (or, perhaps, known).⁶⁴ Whether or not a culture is extinct can be, as we have seen, a more complex issue because it involved formulating a definition of culture which must, in some way, be essentialist. That is, someone has to determine what constituted the basic core of a culture without which it could no longer be said to exist. In both cases -- language and culture -- the issue of extinction was heavily influenced by

⁶³ Cf. Marius Barbeau, *Peaux-Rouges d'Amérique: leurs mœurs, leurs coutumes* (Montréal: 1965), 59. The date Barbeau ascribed to the disappearance of Wyandot was 1920.

⁶⁴ Language revivals obviously complicate this question.

the biases of modern anthropologists. In the case of the Lorette Huron culture, Barbeau made this determination on the basis of his authority as an anthropologist and using a theory of culture which defined "authentic" Huron culture in terms of a series of prehistoric cultural traits. In the case of the Wyandot language, Barbeau seemed to be saying that it did not really matter whether or not a language was spoken. It could still be catalogued as extinct if it was no longer frequently spoken and if anthropologists believed it to be dead.

In this case, the issue becomes more complex because it seems that no one actually bothered to make sure Wyandot was no longer spoken. After 1912, Barbeau never returned to Oklahoma and he made only one subsequent inquiry, in 1941, about the status of Wyandot.⁶⁵ Until Chafe uncovered Wyandot speakers in 1961, all other anthropologists seem simply to have taken Barbeau at his word because they too, without checking, believed the language dead. The Wyandot language was declared extinct not on the basis of an empirical investigation, but on the presumption that this language, as a trait of a vanishing culture, simply had to be extinct in the post-World War II era.

⁶⁵ Marius Barbeau to Naomi Dawson Pacheco, 8 May 1941 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-30.2.

The continued vitality of Amerindian cultures after World War II surprised Barbeau on other occasions as well. On the Northwest coast, the continuation of Tsimshian traditional culture after World War II surprised him, but did not force him to rethink the bleak cultural prognosis he had issued in the interwar years. The continued survival of traditional Tsimshian culture could be explained, as an exception to the rule, by what Barbeau viewed as their relative isolation from modernity. "The sources of inherited knowledge," he acknowledged in 1961,

have not yet dried up, at least not among the three sub-nations of the Tsimshian whose comparative isolation has sheltered their integrity for a longer period than it has their neighbours, the Tlingits and the Haidas. But inherited culture among them is bound to run out with the passing of present-day elders. The younger generation has definitely turned its back upon the past.⁶⁶

Musicological research conducted by M.K. Rowell at the St. Regis reserve in upstate New York during World War II proved even more shocking and prompted Barbeau to momentarily reconsider his assessment of Amerindians as vanishing peoples. During World War II, Rowell studied Iroquoian music at St. Regis. After collecting some interesting songs for which she could find no parallels in the extant ethnographic literature, Rowell wrote Barbeau for assistance. Barbeau concurred with

⁶⁶ Barbeau, *Tsimshian Myths*, v.

Rowell's opinion that the songs, although evidently new, had been sung in a traditional manner, indicating that traditional Iroquoian culture was not extinct. "My surprise in this contribution [Rowell's research]," he told Erminie Voegelin, "is that it shows that at least some of the Iroquois are still culturally active; they use materials and influences such as they are around them and assimilate them actively." Barbeau urged Rowell to submit her material immediately to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* for publication, and suggested that the continued vitality of the St. Regis Iroquois might have broader anthropological implications: "[t]his [continued vitality] is likely true among many other Indian tribes."⁶⁷

The Iroquoian ethnographic project on which Barbeau worked after World War II, however, did not incorporate the implications of Rowell's research to which he himself had pointed. Instead, it was organized around the exact opposite set of cultural assumptions. The project Barbeau designed was to preserve other Iroquoian languages along with Cherokee, a potentially related language, for comparative purposes. In 1950 and again in 1951, he collected Iroquoian languages at the Six Nations reserve, near Brantford, Ontario, with research funding provided by the American Philosophical

⁶⁷ Marius Barbeau to Erminie Voegelin, 15 May 1944 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-156.6.

Society. Assisting him was Charles Cooke, the former clerk with the Department of Indian Affairs who had helped him find Huron informants in 1911, and who was himself an amateur anthropologist with a strong interest in his own cultural background as a Mohawk. Barbeau's and Cooke's primary work was to make mechanical recordings of linguistic material Cooke had already recorded in writing along with phonetic translations of personal names.⁶⁸ Cooke also worked as Barbeau's interpreter at the Six Nations reserve. Because Barbeau's ability to speak Iroquoian languages was at best limited, Cooke proved a valuable assistant whom Barbeau came to respect as a "scholar" in his own right. Cooke's patience, linguistic abilities, interest in Iroquoian languages and cultures, and desire to preserve records of them, made certain that he and Barbeau were of a single mind on the value of the methodology they employed in their ethnographic work.⁶⁹ Together, Barbeau told Lingelbach, their work would produce an ethnographicly

⁶⁸ Marius Barbeau to William K. Lingelbach, 18 April 1951 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-165.6.

⁶⁹ Marius Barbeau, "Charles Cooke, Mohawk Scholar" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96,4 (1952), 424-6.

valuable record of Mohawk culture virtually unparalleled in North American anthropology.⁷⁰

Following his work with Cooke on Mohawk language and personal names, Barbeau began recording the five remaining Iroquois Confederacy languages, and proposed to work on Cherokee which would have required research in either Oklahoma or North Carolina. The final goal of this work was to produce published grammars and lexicons for each of the six Iroquois Confederacy languages and a Huron-Wyandot dictionary. This was slow, painstaking work which took Barbeau until the early 1960s to complete. But, by the time he had begun to finish the first grammars, lexicons and the dictionary, his linguistic work was viewed more as a research tool for anthropologists, rather than the work of anthropology per se. Moreover, as Barbeau conceded to Lounsbury as he was preparing his Tuscarora and Cayuga fieldnotes for publication in 1964, he was not even certain that these languages had not previously been recorded.⁷¹ With the perceived value of salvage ethnography passing and given the expense of printing lexicons, grammars and dictionaries, prospective publishers

⁷⁰ Marius Barbeau to William K. Lingelbach, 18 April 1951 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-165.6.

⁷¹ Marius Barbeau to Floyd Lounsbury, 16 June 1964 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-36.3.

proved less than interested in Barbeau's materials. The National Museum, to which he first submitted his Cayuga and Tuscarora material, could make no promises on early publication and advised Barbeau to seek another publisher.⁷²

Barbeau had previously tried to find other publishers for some of his material. The Huron-Wyandot dictionary he compiled from his 1911-1912 fieldnotes was of particular importance to him because he saw it as his "principal contribution to Iroquoian linguistics."⁷³ The exact value of this contribution, however, became unclear in his own mind. "These materials are valuable," Barbeau explained to one prospective publisher, not as a record of an extinct language but "because they represent the earliest North American language encountered by Europeans."⁷⁴ Elsewhere Barbeau had attempted to sustain this problematic assertion by arguing that the linguistic records he made in 1911-1912 in Wyandotte, Oklahoma were basically similar to those Jacques Cartier had recorded in his log during his initial exploration of the St.

⁷² R. Glover to Marius Barbeau, 10 September 1964 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-34.4.i; R. Glover to Marius Barbeau, 22 October 1964 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-37.5.

⁷³ Marius Barbeau to William B. Newell, 4 July 1963 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-154.3.ii.

⁷⁴ Marius Barbeau to The University of Oklahoma press, 19 June 1956 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-32.3. Barbeau's assertion was, of course, incorrect.

Lawrence valley and therefore Wyandot must have been the language spoken by the Amerindians he encountered in 1534 and 1538.⁷⁵ The Wyandot language became historically important, then, not in and of itself, but because of its potential association with European overseas expansion. Even this argument did little to attract prospective publishers. Noting the limited market for such a dictionary, one publisher told Barbeau, printing was simply not an option.⁷⁶

In fact, Barbeau's entire thesis about the relationship between Cartier's linguistic records and the Wyandot language was, in the eyes of other anthropologists, suspect. Nor was it new. Canadian anthropologists had been trying to establish some exact connection between the language Cartier had recorded in the sixteenth century and some existing Iroquoian language since the late-nineteenth century when Daniel Wilson and Horatio Hale agreed the Huron constituted the most probable connection.⁷⁷ Since that time, Cartier's records had

⁷⁵ Marius Barbeau, "The Language of Canada in the Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1634-1538)" in National Museum of Canada, *Contributions to Anthropology* National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 173 (Ottawa: 1961), 108-229.

⁷⁶ Savoie Lottinville to Marius Barbeau, 20 December 1957 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-32.6.

⁷⁷ Daniel Wilson, "The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a Typical Race of American Aboriginies" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 1st Ser., 3, Sec. II (1884), 60 and 86.

attracted the periodic interest of anthropologists who were interested in the identity of the Amerindian peoples Cartier had encountered in the St. Lawrence valley and whose settlements were deserted when Champlain established permanent French settlements in the region seventy years later.⁷⁸ Barbeau's innovation on Hale's and Wilson's thesis was to claim definitiveness for it.

This argument deeply troubled other anthropologists. Wallace Chafe, who reviewed one text in which Barbeau presented this thesis, raised a series of objections. According to Chafe, the problem was not Barbeau's thesis in itself, but the methodology by which the conclusions had been drawn. Resemblances between his fieldnotes and Cartier's log notes did not mean, Chafe noted, that Wyandot was the language Cartier had recorded from the people he first met along the St. Lawrence River. Barbeau's analysis assumed, Chafe argued, that Wyandot and other Iroquoian languages were historically stable; that the Wyandot language as he had recorded it in 1911 and 1912 and other Iroquoian languages as they were known to anthropologists in the modern day were the same as the

⁷⁸ W.D. Lighthall, "Hochelagans and Mohawks: A Link in Iroquois History" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 2nd Ser., 5, Sec. II (1899), 199-211; A.G. Bailey, "The Significance of the Identity and Disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois" *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* 2nd Ser., 27, Sec. II (1933), 97-108.

Iroquoian languages spoken in the sixteenth century. This, Chafe stated, simply could not be assumed: perhaps other Iroquoian languages had existed, or current languages existed in other forms. "What troubles me most," he explained, "... is the absence of any consideration ... that the Cartier items ... came from an Iroquoian language ... or languages, not otherwise familiar to us."⁷⁹

Chafe's methodological criticism of Barbeau's anthropology reflected the increasing concern of North American anthropologists with the heuristic framework and cultural theory which had been used by salvage ethnographers. North American anthropologists had begun to criticize salvage ethnographic culture theory in the interwar era and within the field of Iroquoian studies it had been largely rejected by the end of World War II. For this reason, other anthropologists viewed Rowell's work at St. Regis as far less path breaking than did Barbeau. Rowell's work was "interesting," Barbeau had explained, "because we realize, in this contribution, that the present-day Iroquois still preserve the living art of folk-song making. We might well have believed that no such traditional vitality existed among them...."⁸⁰ But when he

⁷⁹ Wallace L. Chafe, review of Barbeau, "The Language of Canada" in *American Anthropologist* 64 (1962), 679-81. Citations at 680.

⁸⁰ Marius Barbeau to M.K. Rowell, 3 March 1944 (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-187.7.

recommended Rowell's material to the *Journal of American Folklore* for publication, the journal's reviewers were perplexed by Barbeau's enthusiasm. "I am at a loss to understand," one reviewer wrote of a jointly-authored submission by Barbeau and Rowell, "Dr. Barbeau's surprise 'that at least some of the Iroquois are still culturally active' since the work of Fenton and others has been documenting this fact right along."⁸¹

The issues here, as they were with Chafe, were the heuristic framework, research program, and methodology of anthropology. The material Rowell collected at St. Regis might be valuable, the reviewer concluded, but not on the grounds Barbeau thought. The problem post-war anthropologists had with Barbeau's work was not his particular theses, however improbable these may have seemed, but the method he used to arrive at his conclusions. His return to Iroquoian ethnography after World War II illustrated the increasingly problematic position of salvage ethnography in the post-war anthropological world. Barbeau's work could be appreciated, it deserved to be supported, and his texts might make potentially useful research tools, but the conclusion he had

⁸¹ "Notes on Mohawk Songs and Analysis" TS [reviewer report] (copy), MB-HWF, B-G-187.2.

drawn from his research seemed dubious and methodologically suspect. They therefore tended to be disregarded. To date, none of Barbeau's post-war Iroquoian linguistic works has found its way into print.

This outcome, as Arthur Price indicated, upset Barbeau.⁸² He had spent years collecting languages and organizing these into dictionaries and other texts. There is little doubt that earlier in his career, in the interwar era, at least some of these texts would have been printed, and would have been viewed as valuable contributions to salvage ethnography. The problem Barbeau encountered with his Iroquoian linguistic project in the post-war era was that his work remained exactly this: a valuable contribution to salvage ethnography. Beyond this, its exact value was not entirely clear, even to Barbeau.

4. Folklore

Despite the impending expansion of folklore research at the National Museum, the post-war stage of Barbeau's folklore work did not begin on a positive note. He had been trying since 1941 to publish a selection of Canadian folk songs in English. Barbeau was particularly proud of this collection. The idea

⁸² Interview with Arthur Price.

for it occurred to him in the early stages of World War II after the Canadian Legion and the Knights of Columbus had asked him to prepare a French-language folk song book which could be distributed to soldiers and on the home front as a morale booster. It was to be a contribution to the war effort, but Barbeau saw it in another light as well. With public distribution being looked after by patriot organizations, there were over 10,000 copies in circulation by 1941. This model, he felt, could be adapted to an English-language text which he prepared along with the poet Arthur Bourinot and for which Arthur Lismer would provide illustrations. "The 64-page book," he told Ellen Elliot at the Macmillan company,

which will appear in a month [or] so will be more important still, more heavily illustrated, and I believe the songs, both of melody and text, will be like a revelation, as Canadians are not in the habit of thinking that there are Canadian folk-songs. They will be pleasantly surprised; it is true that we have improved the set considerably from the native folk-song records.⁸³

As in the 1930s, Macmillan balked at the idea of a song book. The idea, one internal Macmillan memo explained, was interesting, but not commercially viable.⁸⁴ The only possibility of seeing it into print, Elliot conceded, would be

⁸³ Marius Barbeau to Ellen Elliot, 8 January 1941, Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸⁴ B.D.S. to Mr. Grey, 25 March 1941 (memo), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

if a government agency agreed to purchase a large order for public distribution.⁸⁵ This did not happen, but Barbeau continued to try to market the book during the war, first to Macmillan as an educational aid for the public school system,⁸⁶ and then to Ryerson Press as a song book for the general public.⁸⁷

Like Macmillan, Ryerson was reluctant to publish the book. In 1942, Lorne Pierce told Barbeau he could not publish his text, but he agreed to reconsider the matter in 1946. The results were again unfavourable. For his part, Barbeau was both confused and disturbed by the failure of English-Canadian publishers to accept his book. Before the war, it was possible to believe that relatively modest levels of public interest in folklore were the result of a lack of public knowledge. With his *Romancéro* project Barbeau had hoped to stimulate public interest in folk music by bringing it to public attention. After World War II, it was no longer possible to believe that the Canadian public was unaware of

⁸⁵ Ellen Elliot to Messrs. Huckvale, Upjohn, and Henderson, 31 December 1941 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸⁶ Ellen Elliot to Marius Barbeau, 6 January 1942 (copy), Macmillan Fonds, box 72, file 8.

⁸⁷ Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 12 January 1942, Pierce Collection, box 8, file 7.

traditional culture and a new explanation for the reluctance of publishers to embrace this material had to be found. "The lack of a publisher's interest in the only good collection of Canadian folk-songs in English, yet attempted, puzzles me," Barbeau told Pierce. The problem, he decided, was that the publishers were right. There would be little public interest in his book:

I quite believe that there would be little response from the public to the book. This justifies you in not wanting to take financial risks.

...
English-speaking Canadians are simply ignorant and indifferent about their natural resources in folklore and folk-songs. They would rather confess that they are culturally poor than take the trouble to engage in research in folklore. What is worst still, they are not willing to risk a few hundred dollars to publish a splendid set of folk-songs when this is offered to them.⁸⁸

He also seemed to feel a little betrayed. He was "endeavouring," he told Pierce, "to endow Canada with published folk-songs of its own, folk-songs for which Canada stands in crying need."⁸⁹ With his efforts rebuffed, he told Pierce that he would not readily try to promote his folklore work in English Canada again.

Barbeau's disillusionment with the English-Canadian folklore market was also reflected in other aspects of his

⁸⁸ Marius Barbeau to Lorne Pierce, 28 February 1946, Pierce Collection, box 13, file 5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

folklore work. He was disappointed that the popularity of folklore had not increased to a level he thought appropriate and he was particularly disappointed with the failure of artists to make more use of the materials he had collected and archived as the basis for their own artistic development. Since the 1920s Barbeau had worked hard to bring traditional culture to the attention of Canadian artists. As World War II ended, he believed he detected a new interest in art among the general Canadian population.⁹⁰ Barbeau seems to have hoped that the new era of a national culture based on folk traditions was about to emerge. Yet, as Canada emerged from World War II, fewer and fewer artists seemed to be particularly interested in what Barbeau had to say. In both French and English Canada, the rise of abstraction in the plastic arts displaced the model of painting he had tried to promote with the 1934 Krieghoff retrospective. In music the situation did not offer any more room for optimism. Barbeau noticed, in particular, that the immense musical archive he had created at the National Museum was going unused. The failure of artists to make use of his archive, he told one interviewer in 1948, was a failure of artists and the Canadian cultural elite. It was a failure of Canadians to become

⁹⁰ Marius Barbeau, *Painters of Quebec* (Toronto: 1946), 48 and "Prologue", n.p.

interested in "culture" and a failure of cultural leadership on the part of artists and the social elite. "We have the resources," he explained, "what we lack are people of the upper class who are possessed of culture."⁹¹ In the 1950s, Barbeau looked back, almost wistfully, to the interwar era as a period when artists had had the right ideas.⁹²

Thus, in the years immediately following World War II, Barbeau faced what must have struck him as a contradiction in the development of folklore in Canada. On the one hand, new research funding was available from the federal government, a new periodical had been established at the Université Laval as well as a university-level program which could be used to train future folklorists. On the other hand, folklore publication remained complicated and problematic and the artistic use of folklore remained limited. This combination of circumstances led Barbeau to help establish the Canadian Folk Music Society (CFMS), an organization dedicated to the growth of folklore in Canada.

The CFMS was created in 1957 with Barbeau as its first president, a position he occupied until 1963. The organization was established as the Canadian section of the

⁹¹ Kemp, "Top Man in Totem Poles", 59.

⁹² Marius Barbeau, "Folk-Song" in Ernest Macmillan, ed., *Aspects of Music in Canada* (Toronto: 1955), 34.

International Folk Music Council (IFMC), then under the direction of Maud Karples, a friend and correspondent of Barbeau's. The National Museum was instrumental in helping to establish the CFMS. It acted as the new society's patron, its first meeting was held in Alcock's office, and other members of the Museum's staff served as officers.⁹³ The first task of the new organization was to recruit members. Under Barbeau's direction, a circular was mailed to various persons who might be interested in the organization.⁹⁴ It proved popular. By 1959, there were two hundred members.⁹⁵ Particularly enthusiastic support for the organization came from some English Canadians who had been nurturing an interest in folklore. The travel writer-turned-folklorist Blodwin Davies "campaigned" for folklore in Saskatchewan and Ontario, as did the University of Toronto musicologist Richard Johnston.⁹⁶ Both Davies and Johnston became supportive members of the CFMS and Johnston, in particular, came to serve as an important

⁹³ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 380-1.

⁹⁴ Marius Barbeau to Richard Johnston, 10 June 1957 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

⁹⁵ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 60.

⁹⁶ Richard Johnston to Marius Barbeau, 3 December 1956, and 15 February 1957, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

link between Barbeau as president and other members of the CFMS in English-speaking Canada.

A neophyte folklorist, Johnston had initially looked to Barbeau for advice and direction. He wrote Barbeau frequently about different problems he encountered in the field and, on Barbeau's urging, shifted the focus of his own research from Waterloo, Ontario to western Canadian Amerindian music. He also helped Barbeau develop the CFMS. Johnston did not simply implement Barbeau's ideas. He had definite ideas of his own about how the CFMS should develop and took the time to explain these to Barbeau. One problem he mentioned to Barbeau was the lack of democracy within the organization. As president Barbeau was quite capable of running the CFMS in a fairly autocratic way. Its membership had little say in the election of officers which Barbeau determined in advance.⁹⁷ The lack of democracy within the organization, Johnston told Barbeau, would upset members. A constitution, he explained, really should be written which would provide for periodic elections and establish a set of ground rules by which it functioned.⁹⁸ Johnston also worried that the lack of a definitive policies

⁹⁷ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 380; Richard Johnston to Marius Barbeau, 24 September 1957, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

⁹⁸ Richard Johnston to Marius Barbeau, 4 February 1958, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

within the CFMS was hurting its development. The CFMS had not applied for a Canada Council grant, he told folklorist Carmen Roy in 1957, because "there was ... no clear policy which we had developed, nor had we discussed any specific projects...."⁹⁹

Exactly what the CFMS was supposed to be accomplishing, in fact, became a matter of minor tension within the organization. Johnston was impressed with the potential for expansion in the Canadian west, particularly in Saskatchewan where Davies's efforts to promote folklore had met with an enthusiastic response. Johnston thought expansion in Saskatchewan was a good idea too. First, there was a lot of folklore to be gathered. "There is," he told Barbeau, "so much material out here we cannot believe our eyes and ears. It will take an army many many years to gather the mainstream of lore in this part of the country."¹⁰⁰ The Saskatchewan Power Corporation was already sponsoring a song and dance radio show and there was the possibility that the Wheat Pool would sponsor a provincial folklore committee. "They have,"

⁹⁹ Richard Johnston to Miss Roy, 23 May 1957 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Johnston to Marius Barbeau, 16 July 1957, Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

he told Barbeau, "bags of money and own a weekly newspaper which is of high quality...."¹⁰¹

Davies as well was excited about the possibility of further developments on the provincial level in Saskatchewan.

In 1957 she helped to organize a folklore society at Fort Qu'Appelle and was also active in arranging a provincial folklore exhibition.¹⁰² Later the same year she participated in the establishment of the Saskatchewan Folklore Committee and began to speculate about the possibility of forming a new national Canadian Folklore Society. Her plan was to see a national society with provincial branches which would link local amateurs to professionals. The society itself would help to organize, co-ordinate, and support the work of amateurs who, in Davies's mind, constituted the main constituency for folklore in post-war Canada.¹⁰³

The possibilities for expansion in Saskatchewan interested Barbeau. "Your meeting of the Saskatchewan Folklore Committee," he told Davies, "should be a success.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Blodwin Davies to Marius Barbeau, 15 February 1957, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-6301; Blodwin Davies to Marius Barbeau, 10 March 1957, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-6308.

¹⁰³ Blodwin Davies to Marius Barbeau, 9 December 1957, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-6313.

It is certainly a novelty." However, he offered few suggestions on exactly how the Committee might be organized other than to suggest that they impress the provincial premier "with the originality of your enterprise."¹⁰⁴ The growth of folklore in Saskatchewan was interesting to Barbeau, but it was not his main interest. He does not seem to have been particularly attracted to the idea of creating a new folklore society along the lines Davies suggested, nor, for that matter, did he seem particularly interested in the popular support for folklore she had found in the province. His conception of the CFMS, in fact, illustrated that there were significant differences between his own and Davies's conception of a folklore society and how it should operate.

For Barbeau the CFMS would serve a variety of purposes. It would develop a scholarship program which would provide money necessary for the training of professional folklorists, promote the scholarly study of folk music in Canada, serve as a lobby for its members with the Canada Council, and make an effort to influence CBC radio programming and musical taste more generally in Canada.¹⁰⁵ The primary objective of the CFMS,

¹⁰⁴ Marius Barbeau to Blodwin Davies, 20 August 1957, Barbeau Fonds, B-Mc-6309.

¹⁰⁵ Marius Barbeau to Richard Johnston, 13 May 1957 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file; Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 381.

however, was to be the organization of a meeting of the IFMC in Canada.¹⁰⁶

Barbeau's program for the CFMS approached the development of the organization in post-war Canada from a different perspective than Davies had laid out in her plan for a Canadian folklore society. Both plans involved efforts to organize folklore under a central, professionally-controlled aegis, but where Davies's plan looked to create an organization with strong local roots and which linked amateurs to professionals in a de-centralized association, Barbeau's plan focused on a top-down approach. Instead of an organization of local bodies, Barbeau's plan targeted the state as the CFMS's key source of support; instead of creating a movement through local festivals and a regular newspaper column, Barbeau's plan aimed to solidify the CFMS's interaction connection to the IFMC and to influence CBC radio programming at a national level. These two models of organizational development were not incompatible, but they did place very different emphases on the way in which a folklore organization would develop and situate itself within Canadian culture. In the intermediate term, however, during the period of Barbeau's presidency, the exact program for the

¹⁰⁶ Marius Barbeau to Richard Johnston, 13 May 1957 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 20, Richard Johnston file.

organization's develop was placed on hold while the CFMS focused its energies on organizing a IFMC conference in Canada.

The idea of holding a meeting of the IFMC in Canada, it seems, came from the parent body.¹⁰⁷ The planning and administration for the IFMC's Canadian meeting was carried out by a diverse array of people. Richard Johnston looked after a petition to the Canada Council, Luc Lacourcière supervised the development of the entire program, and Barbeau (ironically perhaps) helped to arrange for an "Indian Day" at Lorette, and for a number of Iroquois dancers from Ontario to perform at the conference. Both events, in his view, "proved a great success; it was quite picturesque."¹⁰⁸ Picturesqueness, in fact, dominated the program. In addition to scholarly papers, the conference featured a selection of symphonic works "[i]nspired by Canadian Folklore", a demonstration of Iroquoian ritual ceremonies, "directed" by Barbeau and Rioux, the viewing of films, a French-Canadian folklore evening, a

¹⁰⁷ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 60.

¹⁰⁸ Marius Barbeau to Colonel H.M. Jones (Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration), 20 September 1961 (copy), Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 21, H.M. Jones file.

performance of folk dances from Nova Scotia, and a series of other musical events.¹⁰⁹ It was a very Barbeauvian conference.

This itself caused a few problems. The Nova Scotia folklorist Helen Creighton did not like the conference's heavy emphasis on folklore as a source for art. Would it not be better, she wrote, if the emphasis were on performances by the folk themselves instead of on the artistic interpretation of folklore?¹¹⁰ Creighton was also less than happy with the undemocratic way the CFMS functioned as an organization. She was disturbed, as Johnston had earlier warned Barbeau some people would be, about a lack of consultation on organizational policy.¹¹¹

Conflicting opinions about the nature and purpose of the CFMS, Johnston had told Barbeau, were nothing to be concerned about. A full and open debate, he believed, would be constructive for the organization because it would create a sense of inclusiveness and community spirit among its members.¹¹² Exactly what Barbeau felt about debate within the organization he helped to found is not, however, known. He

¹⁰⁹ Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 382.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 381-2.

¹¹¹ McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 83.

¹¹² Richard Johnston to Marius Barbeau, 10 November 1958, Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5089, #M699.9.

piloted the CFMS through its first years, then resigned from the executive in 1963, leaving the organization's fuller development to other people.

Barbeau's resignation was likely caused by ill health and the amount of work he still seemed to have in front of him, rather than by any particular disagreements he might have had with other CFMS members.¹¹³ Now in his late seventies, Barbeau was still devising new ideas for books. His primary folklore publishing project after World War II had been to work much of the material he had gathered in the interwar years into publishable form. It was important, he told his students at the Université Laval, that the material which had been collected and archived now be made available to the public.¹¹⁴ Throughout the 1940s and 1950s he worked to achieve this aim, producing books on Louis Jobin, relics stored in Quebec churches, and weaving. He wanted, however, to return to the project he had begun in the 1930s: the systematic publication of a large folk-song repertoire.

To support this project, Barbeau turned to the Canada Council. His objective, he told A.W. Trueman, was a series of

¹¹³ Barbeau continued to hold an honorary position on the CFMS's executive after he stepped down as president.

¹¹⁴ Barbeau, "En quête de connaissances anthropologiques", 22.

four song texts: "[t]aken as a whole, the four parts [volumes] of the *Répertoire* will give an all-over representation of what the traditional French repertoire is in French Canada...."¹¹⁵ If this project no longer had a claim to be something of a "revelation", its importance would be its comprehensiveness. "[C']est surement le répertoire le plus considerable," one supporter of Barbeau's project explained.¹¹⁶ The collection, Barbeau remarked to L.S. Russell, director of the National Museum, in 1960, would also provide some measure of closure on a lifetime of work. "[T]he ... books [will] contain the best and most typical [songs] I have collected in French Canada since 1916...."¹¹⁷

Barbeau also seemed to have been afraid that without him the project would never be completed. A note of urgency entered his later correspondence on his proposed folk-song series. "[A]s I am the pioneer in this field," he told Trueman, "I alone can undertake this comprehensive job."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Marius Barbeau to A.W. Trueman, 10 November 1959 (copy), Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5081, #M699.1.

¹¹⁶ Conrad Laforte à Marius Barbeau, 25 mars 1950, Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5091, #M699.11.

¹¹⁷ Marius Barbeau to L.S. Russell, 22 March 1960 (copy), Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5091 #699.11.

¹¹⁸ Marius Barbeau to A.W. Trueman, 10 November 1959 (copy), Fonds Barbeau ANQ, micro 5081, M699.1.

Other seemingly important projects called for his attention, too. In the mid 1950s he had hoped to write books on traditional French-Canadian furniture, a history of the fur trade, and on moose hair and porcupine quill embroidery (those inauthentic crafts Amerindians had learned from the French), as well as a final study of Tsimshian cultural history.¹¹⁹ There was indeed simply so much material in his files that it would prove very difficult to exhaust. "It would need two lives," he once noted, "to process all my research."¹²⁰ Barbeau was most likely correct. He did not live to see his multi-volume folk-song repertoire come to fruition. He did see the first volume into print before his death, but two subsequent volumes appeared posthumously. It might, however, seem ironic that with the volume of scholarly work Barbeau still wanted to accomplish before he died, that one of his most successful post-war publishing projects would be another tourist book, *I Have Seen Quebec*. *I Have Seen Quebec* differed from Barbeau's earlier tourist books in that it was composed almost entirely of pictures with only a minimal text designed to indicate to readers what they were viewing. Through these

¹¹⁹ Marius Barbeau, "Forthcoming books at the National Museum" TS (May 24, 1954), 1-2, MB-NWCF, B-F-618.

¹²⁰ Cited in Barbeau's obituary, *Globe and Mail*, 4 March 1969.

pictures, Barbeau claimed to be telling the story of Quebec. The story he told, like the stories of *The Kingdom of Saguenay* and *Quebec*, was a story designed to be appreciated by sightseers in search of the picturesque. As the advertising flier noted: *I Have Seen Quebec* "tells a story mainly for the eye and an aesthetic appreciation. The pictures of the city, its narrow picturesque streets, its old-fashioned people, the arts and crafts of a talented folk, all reflect the culture of Ancient France transplanted three hundred years ago to the new world."¹²¹ This was, in other words, a coffee-table book with a salvage subtext, offering tourists a record of fading picturesque beauty.

The story Barbeau sought to convey in *I Have Seen Quebec* was readily appreciated by his readers. One reviewer criticized the format of the book, which appeared to him or her more appropriate for an "auction room" than anywhere else, but still found much to praise in the work. The illustrations did indeed capture attention and strike the right chord. "These pictures of la Belle Province," the reviewer wrote, "are of its essence -- the coat-of-arms of Quebec, early altar pieces, statues of the Madonna ... Jacques Cartier's journal,

¹²¹ "I HAVE SEEN QUEBEC BY MARIUS BARBEAU" in Barbeau Fonds, temporary box 45, Arthur Price file.

wood-carving, ancient and modern...."¹²² "The wooden statues, ornamental carvings of church interiors and sacred vessels," another remarked, "are noted for their beauty, clarity of life, and power...."¹²³ "This is," another reviewer concluded, "a refreshing voyage into the provincial capital's artistic past, its sculpture, painting, handicrafts, and famous landmarks."¹²⁴ The essence of Quebec, Barbeau and all these reviewers agreed, was to be found either in the material remnants of its past -- in handicrafts, coats-of-arms, wooden statues, and other artifacts -- or in vanishing oral traditions. This was a message which, Barbeau continued to discover, appealed to the tourist industry, even while his other goals for the uses of folklore did not always have the same level of support.

5. The "Next Generation"

After World War II, Marius Barbeau continued his cultural work in both folklore and anthropology, and expanded the range of

¹²² [Montreal] *Star*, 4 January 1958.

¹²³ A.S. "Elegant Crafts of Old Quebec" [Ottawa] *Journal* 8 February 1958.

¹²⁴ [Toronto] *Financial Post*, 25 January 1958.

his activities into post-secondary teaching. The post-war era saw the rapid expansion and redefinition of anthropology and folklore in Canada with increased research, the emergence of new paradigms, and the development of university-based programs. In a number of ways, Barbeau worked to contribute to the further development of the disciplines he had helped to create earlier in the twentieth century. The nature of his contributions, however, became problematic as, in a number of important respects, developments in folklore and anthropology moved beyond the salvage framework within which he had worked since his career began in 1911,

In one sense, it would be easy to interpret Barbeau's post-war work in anthropology and folklore as a sort of final reprise of the salvage paradigm. One could view Barbeau's post-war work as the anthropology and folklore of an interwar intellectual who could not adapt to changing circumstances. In Barbeau's case, however, this interpretation would be only partially correct because he did make an effort to adapt and to redefine the scope of anthropology and folklore in post-war Canada. His adaptation was complicated by his desire to complete his work, to finish projects he had started years before, and in some measure to bring closure to his life. His return to a modified version of his interwar *Romancéro* project illustrated this. Yet, in his university teaching Barbeau illustrated as well that he was concerned with the "next

generation" of anthropology and folklore in Canada, and that he did have definite conceptions about the nature of disciplinary development and the role of the anthropologist and folklorist in the post-war age. The issue for a study of Barbeau's career, is not whether or not he tried to adapt to the new conditions of anthropological and folklore research in post-war Canada, but exactly how he tried to adapt.

The minor, but significant divisions with the CFMS illustrate this, as does his university teaching and his return to Iroquoian ethnography. In an important respect, Barbeau's post-war work in each of these areas did not prove controversial. Some important Canadian folklorists, such as Blodwin Davies, Richard Johnston, and Luc Lacourcière tried to follow in his path and implement the program Barbeau had laid out for the further development of folklore in Canada. Others, such as Marcel Rioux, did not. Rioux may have seen Barbeau as a mentor, but his own development as an anthropologist and folklorist moved in a very different direction. And even those, such as Davies, who felt a great deal of appreciation for Barbeau, had their own ideas about the nature of disciplinary development and organization. What is interesting is the way divergences between Barbeau and the next generation were submerged. Differences developed between Barbeau and the next generation of professional anthropologists and folklorists whose research program he

tried to shape, but they did not become matters of public or scholarly controversy. Undoubtedly this related to Barbeau's stature in anthropology and folklore and to the fact that he was so personally well-liked. But that Barbeau was not himself directly challenged did not mean that his program for the further development of anthropology and folklore went unchallenged. This challenge was evident in Barbeau's failure to establish his "new school" of "comparative ethnology and folklore". In this sense, while no one directly challenged Barbeau, he and the next generation in whom he placed his hopes were talking past each other. This was the "destiny" of the salvage paradigm in post-war Canadian anthropology and folklore.

Conclusions:

The Cultural Legacy of Salvage Ethnography

As he neared the end of his life, Marius Barbeau worked to get as much of the material he had collected into print as possible. For one reason or another he was not always successful. Removing himself from an active role in the CFMS freed up more time to work, but failing health soon added a new pressure. Still, what was most remarkable about Barbeau's post-retirement cultural work was the diligence with which he pursued projects he had begun (in some cases) half-a-century before. As other members of the CFMS debated new organizational structures and different approaches to the public presentation of folk culture, Barbeau reconfirmed at least some of the goals he had set for himself in the 1910s.

As Canadian folklore moved into a new stage of its own development, some Canadian folklorists saw the IFMC's Quebec City conference as a tribute to Barbeau. It marked, Luc Lacourcière remarked, the "crowning achievement of his career"; a public recognition of what he had accomplished over the course of more than half-a-century.¹ Others who reviewed his career came to much the same conclusion as

¹ Cited in Nowry, *Marius Barbeau*, 382.

Lacourcière: Barbeau was a "pioneer".² But by the post-war era, the cultural work Barbeau had pioneered was already moving beyond him. He became a recognized pioneer in a variety of different fields, but in a number of important ways, which have already been detailed, those who followed Barbeau broke from the path he had established. In the last decades of his life, Barbeau's legacy was already becoming a matter of debate among folklorists and anthropologists. Today, that debate has spread to other areas of his cultural work -- to tourist promotion, the arts, handicrafts revivals, and museology -- as the intellectual and ideological framework of cultural salvage is challenged on all sides. The curators and staff of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, the successor of the National Museum, among others, have tried to redefine the role of the institution Barbeau served for most of his adult life. As they do so, however, they must invariably contend with the legacy of Barbeau's cultural work, for if nothing else he profoundly shaped the collections which have made the Museum a prominent center of cultural research and a popular tourist attraction. How we might better understand Barbeau's legacy and what uses it might serve in this post-salvage age is the subject of this concluding section.

² Edith Fowke, *Canadian Folklore*, 16.

1. A Sense of Malaise

The development of anthropology and folklore in post-war Canada presented Barbeau with new opportunities to expand the disciplines he had helped to establish. Post-war culture presented new challenges to him, as well. In his public role as the senior "statesman" of anthropology and folklore, Barbeau enjoyed public adulation. Privately, he found that the cultural dynamics of post-war Canada could be as disconcerting as the cultural dynamics of the interwar era. Certain cultural developments proved difficult for Barbeau to explain. The rise of abstract art in French Canada, for example, signaled a resolute break with the artistic ideals he had promoted since the end of the First World War. The art world continued to be important for Barbeau. As late as 1965, he organized a forum on the role of the artist in modern society. Immediately after World War II, he had made, as well, some effort to evaluate the cultural place of the post-war French-Canadian avant-garde, by trying to link the satirical, surreal canvases of modernist French-Canadian artists to an earlier tradition of landscape painting.³ The stark anti-Catholicism of the Montreal avant-garde with its unflattering depiction of Catholic theology must have appealed

³ Barbeau, *Painters of Quebec* (Toronto: 1946), 18.

to Barbeau's own alienation from the Church, but the broader currents of abstraction which came to dominate French-Canadian painting were more difficult to explain. When asked about the relationship between the avant-garde and traditional French-Canadian culture, Barbeau replied only that "that was a very difficult question to answer."⁴

The increasing popularity of a new style of folk music posed problems too. In the 1960s, Barbeau saw Alan Mills and H el ene Baillargeon as the leaders of Canadian folk music.⁵ They were, he felt, "the type of people who tend to perpetuate ... the folk tradition...."⁶ The popularity of Pete Seeger, however, caused consternation.⁷ Barbeau considered Seeger's adaptations of traditional music to be "artificial" and the singer's popularity seemed only to frustrate him.⁸

Finally, there was Barbeau's own financial situation. He had never pursued an extravagant lifestyle, but his official

⁴ Interview with Arthur Price.

⁵ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 81; Alan Mills to Marius Barbeau, 20 December 1965, Barbeau Fonds ANQ, micro 5982, M#699.2.

⁶ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 81.

⁷ Seeger seems to have been the b ete noire of Canadian folklorists. Helen Creighton, who by no means shared all of Barbeau's cultural views, nonetheless also saw Seeger as a threat to folk culture. See McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*.

⁸ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 81.

retirement added the pressure of maintaining his middle-class lifestyle on a pension insufficiently large to permit him to be an "independent scholar." In the early 1950s, the American Philosophical Society had supported his field research at the Six Nations reserve; grants from the Canada Council helped in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Barbeau, however, seemed to have misunderstood the purpose of Canada Council grants. They were intended to finance research and publication costs, not to supplement personal income. His reaction when he discovered this fact was pained. "My personal income," he told Council chair A.W. Trueman, "from a small pension is not enough for my subsistence and, if not supplemented, I need to work for royalties or radio and TV."⁹

Besieged by failing health, cultural and artistic trends which were difficult to explain, and a limited income, Barbeau seemed intellectually to retreat to the cultural world he knew best: the world of cultural salvage. His own position in the history of anthropology and folklore became a matter of at least some concern as he strove to define his own place in Canadian cultural history. He had lived a long life, and could draw on an immense pool of memories, but these were memories structured both by the passing of time and by his own

⁹ Marius Barbeau to A.W. Trueman, 6 November 1963 (copy), Barbeau Fonds ANQ, micro 5089 #M699.9.

sense of what was historically important. In this context, Barbeau tried to evaluate his own cultural legacy.

This legacy, he told Laurence Nowry in the interviews which became *I Was a Pioneer*, was threefold. First, he had helped to build new disciplines. Second, he had helped to broaden the popularity of traditional culture in Canada. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, he had created a cultural resource for artists:

[i]n order to create good music you have to have a basic material somewhere and this is in our folkmusic [sic] either Indian or French Canadian or Scottish or Irish. These have to be consulted and absorbed by the creators, the composers. If they don't do that, they miss the boat.¹⁰

This was a message Barbeau had repeated almost endlessly since 1918. In the interwar era, as Canadian discovered the art of Emily Carr and Cornelius Krieghoff, there was something new and innovative in this formulation, however problematic its realization was in practice. By 1965, it had become a refrain on an old song. The avant-garde artists who came to dominate the French-Canadian artistic scene after the Second World War had no interest in working with tradition. Their aim was to break, fundamentally and irrevocably, with it. Folk concerts and folk arts continued to entertain a middle-class public in the post-war era, but the artists in whom

¹⁰ "Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry", 78.

Barbeau had placed his cultural faith came to see the very traditions he promoted as the root of art, as a constricting enemy which had to be overcome.¹¹ There is a certain level of tragedy in Barbeau's own understanding of his cultural legacy. It indicated how deeply he held his views, but also how much he himself had finally been surpassed by the very modernity he viewed with such trepidation. For much of his life, Barbeau had fought a battle against the modern age. After the Second World War, at least in the sphere of the arts, it seemed more and more like this was a losing battle.

2. "A Radical Choice"

For Barbeau, his legacy was clear; for others the question has become more complex. His research files continue to serve as an important source of data on both the Northwest Coast and French-Canadian folk song, but how these files are to be used is another matter.

In 1987, the Canadian Museum of Civilization published a collection of Tsimshian "narratives" which had been collected by Barbeau and Beynon over the course of Barbeau's career. This was not the first Barbeau text to appear after his death,

¹¹ For example, see Paul-Émile Borduas, "Total Refusal: in Ray Ellenwood, ed., *Total Refusal: The Complete 1948 Manifesto of the Montreal Automatists* (Toronto: 1985), 27-41.

but it is one of the most interesting because of how its editors approached its publication. The text was a modified version of Barbeau's unpublished cultural history of the Northwest Coast which the National Museum had refused to print in the 1960s. It was rediscovered almost twenty-five years later by John Cove and George MacDonald "while exploring [Barbeau's] files". Initially, Cove and MacDonald intended to publish the text in 1983 "to commemorate the centennial of Barbeau's birth." But, "[f]or reasons that [became] increasingly clear, reaching that date was not possible."¹²

The first problem Cove and MacDonald encountered was the size of the monograph. At "over two thousand typed pages" it was simply too large to print. The second problem was the organization of the text, which mixed Tsimshian oral traditions together with Barbeau's analysis of their meaning. To prepare the text for publication, Cove and MacDonald first decided to reduce its size. They removed Barbeau's analysis, eliminated his own summaries of oral traditions, and purged its body of "similar texts".¹³ This accomplished the objective of reducing the text's size, but it presented new problems: "[a]fter making these editorial changes, we discovered that

¹² John J. Cove and George F. MacDonald, "Preface" to Barbeau and Beynon, cols., *Tsimshian Narratives*, vii.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Barbeau's intent for the manuscript could no longer be accurately reflected." His intent had been to write a cultural history of the Northwest Coast using oral traditions as primary sources. With his analysis and summaries eliminated, the remaining organization of the text no longer made sense. "Given this realization," Cove and MacDonald decided upon "a radical choice". They would abandon their initial intention and completely reconstruct the text using other material from Barbeau's Northwest Coast files. "The Tsimshian files," they explained, "contained other narratives which did not fit Barbeau's objective, yet gave a more complete representation [of Tsimshian oral traditions]."¹⁴ This entailed "a re-organization of the original manuscript."¹⁵ Instead of a history, the new text became a two-volume collection of "narratives" organized according to different topics.

Two further changes were also made. First, Cove and MacDonald listed Barbeau as a "collector", instead of an author. The authors of this text, by implication, are the Tsimshian people. Second, to correct what Cove and MacDonald seemed to have viewed as an historical injustice, Beynon's name was added to Barbeau's and given equal billing as a

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

"collector" of the "narratives". "Beynon was," they state, "an anthropologist in his own right." Certainly, there is little doubt he played a fundamentally important part in the creation of Barbeau's archive. It might, however, seem ironic that at the moment an Amerindian attained the status of "an anthropologist" he was "demoted" from an "author" (a status, as we have seen, to which Barbeau felt collectors were entitled) to a "collector".

When they rediscovered Barbeau's text, Cove and MacDonald state, "[i]t was obvious to us that it should be published."¹⁶ It had been obvious to Barbeau as well, but for different reasons. For Barbeau, this text was the culmination of his Northwest coast research. It provided, he felt, an accurate description of the immediate pre-European contact history of the northern Northwest Coast. For Cove and MacDonald, this text took on a different meaning. The material in Barbeau's files was already available to scholars. This text would present Tsimshian culture to the "general public" who might want to know more about the Tsimshian peoples. This was important because of on-going Tsimshian land claims winding their way through the federal court system and on-going political protest which had characterized Northwest Coast white-Amerindian relations in northern British Columbia since

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vii-vii.

at least the 1880s. When, in the 1920s, Barbeau had first set out to translate Tsimshian culture to the "general public", it was presented as the death throes of a "vanishing race". For Cove and MacDonald, this was not the case. "Tsimshian narratives," they explained in the "Preface" to the published text, "are part of a living culture."¹⁷ The value of these texts lay in helping a white audience understand this "living culture".

With the publication of *Tsimshian Narratives*, Barbeau's cultural legacy was reformulated along with his text. A salvage strategy had generated a text focused on vanishing traditions; the text was now reconstructed to demonstrate that these traditions had not really vanished. In a sense, the ghost of Marius Barbeau was called back to his desk and asked to speak. This ghost, however, was made to say things that the living body would never have said. It was made to explain how a "vanishing culture" whose remnants he had spent his life safeguarding had not really vanished. And, Barbeau's legacy was mobilized into a political discourse -- the process of land claims -- which had never figured to any extent in his own work.

Tsimshian Narratives emerges as a sort of mirror reflection of Barbeau's 1920 Lorette report. To present this reflection

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

to the "general public" was not an easy task. It meant using Barbeau's cultural legacy differently than he had used it, and it meant that this legacy itself had to be re-organized. His text had to be edited, his words subtracted, and different material added. *Tsimshian Narratives* is a text which illustrates how anthropologists today might creatively use Barbeau's legacy. To use this legacy, however, requires that at least part of Barbeau's texts must be suppressed.

3. Heaven on Earth

A different, though equally significant, use of Barbeau's cultural legacy emerged from the 1995 Museum of Civilization folk art exhibition *Les paradis du monde*, organized by Pascale Galipeau. *Les paradis du monde* was an exhibition which bore a superficial similarity to exhibitions Barbeau had organized throughout his career, but Galipeau approached the task of exhibition from a very different perspective than did Barbeau. For Barbeau, the objective of exhibition was to place traditional arts and crafts on public display. This would illustrate their value as beautiful objects. For Galipeau, the objective of exhibition is to place the collector on display. The aim is to demonstrate the artificiality of concepts like "folk art" by challenging viewers to understand

how the collection process made certain objects into part of "folk culture".

Because of its extent, Barbeau's collection constituted an important part of the exhibition. It was, in fact, the only major collection of "folk art" objects owned by the National Museum until the 1960s. The tactic Galipeau adopted to display Barbeau's collection has become a familiar one in contemporary museology: she juxtaposed it against other collections (such as the risqué carvings called "patenteux") which present "the folk" in different light. Barbeau's pre-industrial "folk" contend with a folk who carve explicitly sexualized images of men and women. From this, the viewer is supposed to understand the historical contingency of cultural and social categories such as "the folk" and "folk art".

Galipeau's work represents a second approach to the use of Barbeau's cultural legacy. While Cove and MacDonald's aim was, as it were, to purify this legacy, to strip Barbeau's influence from the material he had collected and to then mobilize this material into a different type of cultural politics (the politics of land claims), Galipeau's intent is not to suppress Barbeau's "voice", but to let the observer hear this voice as something which is itself an odd reminder of an exotic and historically contingent tradition: a tradition of those who defined and made the French-Canadian "folk" in the modern age.

For Galipeau, the value of Barbeau's cultural legacy is that it can remind us of the contingency of our own cultural and social categories -- the categories through which we understand the world. By reflecting on the artificiality of Barbeau's conception of "folk art", we may begin to understand the artificiality of our own social and cultural views. Galipeau's alternative to our own artificial views is, however, more difficult to describe. In fact, she presents none. The cultural process of collecting "the folk" was, Galipeau clearly states, inherently political.¹⁸ How we might find our way around, or through, this politics is another question. And, because, as she states, "everything is political", Galipeau appears reticent to venture an opinion. Chastened by the politics of Barbeau's collecting, the viewer of *Les paradis du monde* was left not only reflecting on the artificiality of "the folk", but everything else as well.

4. Culture and Context

Perhaps what is lacking in the cultural work of both Galipeau and of Cove and MacDonald, is a consideration of the workings of culture from an historical perspective. Cove's and MacDonald's concern with William Beynon's historical

¹⁸ Galipeau, *Les paradis du monde*, 11.

reputation may be admirable. It is certainly part of a broader movement in the history of anthropology which seeks to examine the relationship between anthropologists and their informants and field assistants. Yet, one is bound to ask: can an historical injustice be rectified simply by asserting that Beynon was "an anthropologist" thirty years after the man died? Surely the more important questions are: why was Beynon not "an anthropologist" in his day? Why did a man, who made such an important contribution to the archives of the National Museum, and who knew a great deal about the Amerindian culture of his day, have to scurry to find partial and fragile support for his research? Why were the activities of a man who became a native rights activist with the Allied Tribes of British Columbia so uninteresting to the anthropologists of his day?

In the same way, there was more involved in Barbeau's folklore collecting than the construction of a social and cultural category called "the folk". Barbeau's judgments were vitally important in establishing "folk art" collections at a variety of different institutions, but perhaps the important questions here are: Why were his judgments so trusted? How did the institutional matrix within which he worked function to create standards of "authenticity"? And, what were the political implications of this work? As I have tried to show, Barbeau's work as a folklorist led in more than one direction

and appealed to more than one audience. What might be needed to further an analysis of the cultural work of folklore would be an examination of the divergent tendencies built into the concept of "the folk". Were its political implications limited to the construction of artificial cultural categories, or did it work in different, perhaps deeper, ways which spoke to the cultural condition of modernity and to social relations in the modern age? It is important to remember that while Barbeau admired folk culture, "the folk" themselves did not always live up to his expectations.

To interrogate Barbeau's cultural legacy critically does not mean that this legacy is valueless. It does mean, however, that we should appreciate its complicated nature. In his defense of Emily Carr, Robert Fulford argued that Carr must be understood within her historical context. The implication is that those who are critical of Carr's cultural work have somehow stripped her from that context to serve their own political purposes. Yet, historical context is precisely what is at issue. To situate Carr, and as well Barbeau, in a context which places them only in a modern, white, Canadian culture fails to grasp the actual complexity of "historical contexts". As I hope I have shown, Barbeau did not work in only one context, even if a particular set of cultural values made a deeper impression on him than others. Barbeau once said that modern anthropology had "pulled"

Amerindian peoples out of "obscurity".¹⁹ For whom, we might ask, did Amerindian cultures and peoples exist in "obscurity"? And, exactly what type of Amerindian culture are we talking about? What makes Barbeau's cultural work a particularly interesting and insightful series of case studies is that he worked on the margins of a variety of "contexts". One context was certainly the development of modern culture in Canada and the reaction to it. Others included Amerindian-white cultural relations, the relationship between traditional French-Canadian culture and the modern age, and the cultural authority of institutional anthropology and folklore. Perhaps the most important use we can make of Barbeau's cultural legacy is to try to understand from it how these various "contexts" historically functioned and interacted with each other. This might help explain why, in a post-salvage age, we are still grappling with the implications of Barbeau's cultural work.

¹⁹ Barbeau, "Le Peau-Rouge", 8.

Bibliography

Early in his career, Barbeau signed his published texts "C.M Barbeau" or "C.-Marius Barbeau". For convenience, I have listed all of Barbeau's published texts under the name "Marius Barbeau", although his earlier published texts appear in the primary documents under one or the other of the first mentioned names.

I. Primary Sources

A. Manuscripts

Archives nationale du Québec (Montréal)

Fonds Marius Barbeau

Art Gallery of Ontario

Exhibition Files

Canadian Museum of Civilization

Marius Barbeau Fonds

Marius Barbeau-Huron-Wyandot Files

Marius Barbeau-Northwest Coast Files

Diamond Jenness Fonds

"Les mémoires de Marius Barbeau." TS. Enregistré
par Carmen Roy. 1957-78.

Edward Sapir Fonds

Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University

Macmillan Company of Canada Records,

National Archives of Canada

Records relating to the Department of Indian
Affairs

Jori Smith Papers

National Gallery of Canada
Exhibitions Files

National Library of Canada

Barbeau, Marius. "Why Canadians Should Be
Interested in Their Handicrafts." TS. N.d.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia
Helen Creighton Papers

Queen's University Archives
André Bieler Papers
Lorne Pierce Collection

University of Toronto Archives
Thomas McIlwraith Papers

B. Published Documents

i. Government Documents

Canada. Census of Canada 1880-81. Ottawa: 1882.

_____. Sessional Papers (1920), no. 27.

_____. Sessional Papers (1921), no. 27.

Geological Survey of Canada. Summary Report of
the Geological Survey Branch of the
Department of Mines. Ottawa: 1906-12.

House of Commons. Debates. 1920.

National Museum of Canada. Annual Report.
Ottawa: 1926-1957.

Report of the Department of Mines for the Fiscal
Year Ending March 31, 1921. Ottawa: 1921.

ii. Other Documents

Alcock, F.J. "Folklore Studies at the National Museum of Canada." Journal of American Folklore 67 (1954): 99-101.

Alexander, Capt. J.E. Transatlantic Sketches, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America, and the West Indies with Notes on Negro Slavery and Canadian Immigration. 2 vols. London: 1833.

Allaire, J.-B.-A. Dictionnaire Biographique du clergé canadien-français. St.-Hyacinthe: 1908.

Anon. The United States and Canada as Seen by Two Brothers in 1858 and 1861. London: 1862.

Arfwedson, C.D. The United States and Canada In 1832, 1833, and 1834 2 vols. London: 1834.

Bailey, A.G. "The Significance of the Identity and Disappearance of the Laurentian Iroquois." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 3rd Ser., 27, Sec.II (1933): 97-108.

Barbeau, Marius. "Are the Real Arts and Crafts and Crafts Dying Out?" Canadian Art 5,3 (1947-48): 128-33.

_____. Assomption Sash. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 93, Anthropological Series No. 24. Ottawa: facsimilie ed., [1938] 1972.

_____. "Backgrounds in North American Folk Arts." Queen's Quarterly 48,3 (1941): 284-94.

_____. "Charles A. Cooke, Mohawk Scholar." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 96,4 (1952): 424-6.

- _____. Classification of Iroquoian Radicals with Subjective Prenominal Prefixes. Geological Survey of Canada Memoir 46, Anthropological Series No. 7. Ottawa: 1915.
- _____. Au Coeur de Québec. Montréal: 1934.
- _____. "Contes populaires canadiens." Journal of American Folk-Lore 29 (1916): 1-136.
- _____. "Contes populaires canadiens." Journal of American Folk-Lore 30 (1917): 1-140.
- _____. Cornelius Krieghoff. Toronto: Ryerson, 1948.
- _____. Cornelius Krieghoff. Toronto: MacClelland & Stewart, 1962.
- _____. "Cornelius Krieghoff." Educational Record of the Province of Quebec 80,3 (1954): 151-6.
- _____. Cornelius Krieghoff: Pioneer Painter of North America. Toronto: 1934.
- _____. The Downfall of Temlaham. Toronto: 1928.
- _____. "Folk Songs of French Canada." Empire Club of Canada Addresses to the Members During the Year 1929. Toronto: 1930.
- _____. Folk-Songs of Old Quebec. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 139, Anthropological Series 16. Ottawa: 2nd ed., 1962.
- _____. "The Folklore Movement in Canada." Journal of American Folklore 56 (1943): 166-8.
- _____. "Folk-Song." In Ernest MacMillan, ed. Aspects of Music in Canada. Toronto: 1955.
- _____. "French and Indian Motifs in Our Music." In Bertram Brooker, ed. Yearbook of the Arts in Canada 1928/1929. Toronto: 1929.

- _____. "Gaspé Folk." Dalhousie Review 19,3 (1939): 335-56.
- _____. Haida Carvers in Argillite. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 139, Anthropological Series No. 38. Ottawa: 1957.
- _____. Henri Julien. Toronto: 1941.
- _____. "How the Folk Songs of French Canada Were Discovered." Canadian Geographical Journal 69,2 (1954).
- _____. "How the Huron-Wyandot Language Was Saved From Oblivion." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 93,3 (1949): 226-33.
- _____. Huron and Wyandot Mythology, with an Appendix Containing Earlier Published Records. Geological Survey of Canada Memoir 80, Anthropological Series No. 11. Ottawa: 1915.
- _____. Huron and Wyandot Narratives in Translation and Native Text. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 165, Anthropological Series No. 47. Ottawa: 1960.
- _____. I Have Seen Quebec. Toronto: 1956.
- _____. "Ile-aux-Coûdres." Canadian Geographical Journal 12,4 (1936): 201-11.
- _____. "Ile d'Orléans." Maclean's Magazine (15 September 1934): 19 and 46-7.
- _____. "Ile d'Orléans." Queen's Quarterly 49,4 (1942): 378-84.
- _____. Indians Days in the Canadian Rockies. Toronto: 1923.
- _____. "Indian Trade Silver." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 3rd Ser., 34, Sec.II (1940): 27-41.

- _____. "The Indian Tribes of Canada." Man 13 (1913): 122-7.
- _____. "Les Indiens du Canada depuis la découverte." Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada 3e ser., 8, Sec.I (1914): 381-97.
- _____. "Iroquois Clans and Phratries." American Anthropologist 19 (1917): 392-402.
- _____. Jongleur Songs of Old Quebec. Toronto and Princeton: 1963.
- _____. The Kingdom of Saguenay. Toronto: 1936.
- _____. "The Language of Canada in the Voyages of Jacques Cartier (1534-1538)." In National Museum of Canada. Contributions to Anthropology. Bulletin No. 173. Ottawa: 1960.
- _____. Mountain Cloud. Toronto: 1945.
- _____. Mythologie huronne et wyandotte. Trans S. Dupont. Montréal: 1994.
- _____. "The Native Races of Canada." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 3rd Ser., 21, Sec.II (1927): 41-53.
- _____. "Notre Tradition, que devient-elle?" Culture 2 (1941): 3-12.
- _____. "Our Indians--Their Disappearance." Queen's Quarterly 38,4 (1931): 691-707.
- _____. Painters of Quebec. Toronto: 1946.
- _____. "Parallels Between the Northwest Coast and Iroquoian Clans and Phratries." American Anthropologist 19 (1917): 503-5.
- _____. Peaux-Rouges d'Amérique: leurs moeurs, leurs coutumes. Montréal: 1965.
- _____. Québec, où survit l'ancienne France. Québec: 1937.

- _____. Quebec: Where Ancient France Lingers.
Toronto: 1936.
- _____. "A quoi bon les arts?" Révue de
l'Université d'Ottawa 12 (1942): 172-83.
- _____. Romancéro du Canada. Toronto and
Montreal: 1937.
- _____. Le rossignol y chante: Première partie
d'un répertoire de la Chanson folklorique
français au Canada. National Museum of Canada
Bulletin No. 175, Anthropological Series No.
52. Ottawa: 1962.
- _____. "Spiritual Beings of the Huron and
Wyandot." American Anthropologist 16,2
(1914): 288-213.
- _____. "Survival of French Canada." Canadian
Forum 15,176 (1935): 290 and 313-4.
- _____. Totem Poles. 2 vols. Ottawa:
National Museum of Canada, Reissue ed.,
[1950] 1990.
- _____. "'Totemic Atmosphere' on the North
Pacific Coast." Journal of American Folklore
67 (1954): 103-22.
- _____. Tsimshyan Myths, Illustrated. National
Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 174,
Anthropological Series No. 51. Ottawa:
1961.
- _____. "Two Master Carvers of Ancient Quebec."
Dalhousie Review 15 (1935-36): 187-92.
- _____. "West Coast Art." In Exhibition of
Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern.
Ottawa: 1927.
- _____. "Why I Publish Folk Songs." Canadian
Author and Bookman 37,4 (1962): 9 and 18-9.
- _____. "Wyandot Tales, including foreign
elements." Journal of America Folk-Lore 25
(1915): 83-95.

_____ and William Beynon, cols. Tsimshian Narratives 2 vols. J. Cove and G. MacDonald, eds. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Mercury Series Paper No. 3. Ottawa: 1987.

_____ and Edward Sapir. Folk Songs of French Canada. New Haven: 1925.

_____, Arthur Lismer, and Arthur Bourinot. Come-a-Singing! Canadian Folk-Songs. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 107, Anthropological Series No. 26. Ottawa: 1963.

Beeston, Henry. The St. Lawrence. New York: 1942.

Boas, Franz. "The Decorative Art of the North Pacific Coast." In Marget Mead and Ruth L. Bunzel, eds. The Golden Age of American Anthropology. New York: 1960.

_____. "The Origin of Totemism." American Anthropologist N.S. 18 (1916): 319-26.

_____. Race, Language and Culture. New York: 1940.

_____. Tsimshian Mythology. Thirty-First Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology. 1916.

Bourinot, J. Our Intellectual Strengths and Weaknesses. Toronto: 1893.

The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide Giving a Description of Canadian Lake and River Scenery and Places of Historical Interest.... Toronto: [1867] 1971.

Catalogue of the Toronto Centennial Historical Exhibition. Toronto: 1934.

Cole, Douglas, ed. The Journals of George M. Dawson: British Columbia. Vancouver: 1989.

- Connelly, William Elsey. Wyandot Folk-Lore. Topeka KA: 1899.
- Currelly, C.T. I Brought the Ages Home. Toronto: [1956] 1976.
- Davies, Blodwin. Gaspé: Land of History and Romance. Toronto: 1949.
- Fortier, Archille, et al. Vingt-et-un chansons canadiennes. Avec traduction en anglais par. J. Murray Gibbon. N.p.: 1928.
- Frazer, James G. Totemism and Exogamy: A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society. 4 vols. London: 1910.
- Gagnon, Ernest. Chansons populaires du Canada. Québec: 1868.
- Gérin, Léon. "The Hurons of Lorette." Transactions of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society (1899-1900).
- _____. Le type agricole et social des Canadiens, milieux agricoles de traditions françaises. Montréal: 1948.
- Gibbon, J. Murray. Canadian Folk-Songs (Old and New). London and Toronto: 1927.
- Goldenweiser, A.A. "The Origin of Totemism." American Anthropologist 14 (1912): 600-7.
- Greenough, William Parker. Canadian Folk-Life and Folk-Lore. New York: 1897.
- Guidon, Herbert. Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood. Toronto: 1988.
- Hale, Horatio. "Huron Folk-Lore. Cosmogonic Myths. The Good and Evil Minds." Journal of American Folk-Lore 3,10 (1890): 177-83
- _____. "'Above' and 'Below': A Mythological Disease of Language." Journal of American Folk-Lore 3,10 (1890): 177-90.

- _____. "Huron Folk-Lore: The Story of Tijaiha, the Sorcerer." Journal of American Folk-Lore 2,7 (1889): 249-54.
- Heyward, Victoria. "Indian Lorette." Canadian Magazine 54 (1920): 495-503.
- Hill-Tout, Charles. "The Origin of Totemism on the Aborigines of British Columbia." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Sec. II (1901): 3-15.
- Hitschmanova. L. "Marius Barbeau: Ami de l'Habitant et de Sauvage." Culture 7,1 (1946)" 66-71.
- Houssser, F.B. A Canadian Art Movement. Toronto: 1926.
- Hughes, Evert C. French Canada in Transition. Chicago: 1943.
- Jackson, A.Y. A Painter's Country: The Autobiography of A.Y. Jackson. Toronto: 1958.
- James, Henry. "Quebec (1871)." In James Doyle, ed. Yankees in Canada: A Collection of Travel Narratives. Downsvew: 1980.
- Jeness, Diamond. Eskimo Administration. 5 vols. Montreal: 1962-68.
- _____. The Indian Background of Canadian History. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 86, Anthropological Series No. 21. Ottawa: 1937.
- _____. The Indians of Canada. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 65, Anthropological Series No. 15. Ottawa: 1931.
- _____. The Life of the Copper Eskimo. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918. Ottawa: 1923.
- _____. The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island:

Their Social and Religious Life. National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 78, Anthropological Series No. 17. Ottawa: 1935.

_____. The People of the Twilight. New York: 1928.

Kemp. Hugh. "Top Man in Totem Poles." Maclean's Magazine (1 May 1946): 66-71.

Kingston, William H.G. Western Wanderings or, a Pleasure Tour in the Canadas. 2 vols. London: 1856.

Kohl, J.G. Travels in Canada and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania. Trans. P. Sinnett. 2 vols. London: 1861.

Lemoine, J.M. Canadian History and Quebec Scenery. N.p.: 1865.

_____. Quebec Past and Present: A History of Quebec, 1608-1876. Quebec: 1876.

Lewis, Rev. G. Impressions of America and American Churches from the Journal of New York: [1848] 1968.

Lighthall, W.D. "Hochelagans and Mohawks: A Link in Iroquois History." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 1st Ser., 5, Sec.II (1899): 166-211.

Lindsay, l'Abbé Lionel Saint-George. Notre-Dame de la Jeune Lorette, Étude Historique. Montréal: 1900.

Lowie, Robert H. "A New Conception of Totemism." American Anthropologist N.S. 13 (1911): 189-207.

MacCurdy, George Grant. "Anthropology at the Winnipeg Meeting of the British Association." American Anthropologist N.S. 11 (1909): 456-77.

MacKay, Charles, Ll.D., F.S.A. Life and Liberty in America: or, Sketches of a Tour in the

- United States and Canada in 1857-8. New York: 1859.
- MacTavish, Newton. The Fine Arts in Canada. Toronto: 1925.
- Marett, R.R. Tylor. London: 1936.
- McIlwraith, Thomas. The Bella Coola Indians. Toronto: University of Toronto Press Reprint ed., [1948] 1992.
- McLean, John. The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs. London: 3rd ed., 1892.
- Morisset, Gérard. Coup d'Oeil Sur les Arts en Nouvelle-France. Québec: 1941.
- _____. La Peinture Traditionnelle au Canada Français. Ottawa: 1960.
- Murray, Hon. Amelia. Letters from the United States, Cuba and Canada. New York: 1856.
- Oakley, Amy. Kaleidoscopic Quebec. New York and London: 1947.
- Rioux, Marcel. "Folk and Folklore." Journal of American Folklore 6 (1957): 143-62.
- _____. "Rémarques sur les concepts de folk-société paysanne." Anthropologica 6 (1957): 143-62.
- Robson, Albert. Canadian Landscape Painters. Toronto: 1932.
- Sapir, Edward. "An Anthropological Survey of Canada." Science NS 34,884 (8 December 1911): 789-93.
- _____. "Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes." In A.L. Kroeber and T.T. Waterman, eds. Source Book in Anthropology. New York: Jonston Reprint Corporation ed., 1959.
- _____. Time Perspectives in Aboriginal American Culture, A Study in Method. Geological Survey of Canada Memoir 90,

Anthropological Series No. 13. Ottawa:
1916.

_____. "The Work of the Division of
Anthropology of the Dominion Government."
Queen's Quarterly 20,1 (1912): 60-9.

Songs of Old Canada: A Concert by Madame Jeanne
Dusseau. N.p.: n.d.

Swanton, John R. "The Development of the Clan
System and of Secret Societies Among the
Northwestn Tribes." American Anthropologist
N.S. 6 (1904): 477-85.

Taché, J.C. Forestiers et voyageurs. Montréal:
[1843] 1946.

Thoreau, Henry. A Yankee in Canada. Montreal:
[1850] 1961.

Tylor, E.B. The Origins of Culture. New York:
Harper Torchlights ed., 1958.

Wakefield, Priscilla. Excursion in North America
Described in Letters from a Gentleman and his
Young Companion, to their Friends in England.
London: 1819._

Wilson, Daniel. "The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a
Typical Race of American Aboriginies."
Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada
1st Ser., 3, Sec.II (1884).

iii. Newspapers

[Ottawa] Citizen, 25 April 1929; 30 September
1958.

[Vancouver] Daily Province, 22 October 1926.

[Montréal] Le Devoir, 29 janvier 1918.

[Ottawa] Le Droit, 30 août 1933; 30 novembre 1934.

[Québec] Événement Journal, 20 novembre 1946.

[Toronto] Financial Post, 25 January 1958.

[Toronto] Globe and Mail, 13 November 1928;
4 March 1969.

[Ottawa] Journal, 25 April 1929; 10 November 1945;
8 February 1958.

New York Herald Tribune, 28 and 30 March 1939.
Omaha Daily News, 16 April 1915.
Prince Rupert Daily News, 19 January 1947.
Sarnia Observer, 27 October 1956.
[Montreal] Star, 4 January 1958.
[Toronto] Star, 21 July 1928.
[Toronto] The Star Weekly Magazine, 20 December
1958.
Winnipeg Free Press, 19 January 1935.

C. Recordings

Barbeau, Marius. "My Life in Recording Canadian-
Indian Folklore." New York: Folkways Records
& Service Corps., FC 3502, 1957.

D. Interviews

Barbeau, Marius. I Was a Pioneer. National
Museums of Canada Oracle Series No. 44. N.p:
1982.

"Marius Barbeau Interviewed by L. Nowry at the
National Museum of Canada, 1965." TS
transcribed by R. Landry, 1982, Canadian
Museum of Civilization.

Interview with Arthur Price, 26 June 1996. Transcript
filed with the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

"Profile -- Dr. Marius Barbeau." CBC Kine
Collection, National Archives of Canada.

Speaker's Choice Interview with Marius Barbeau,
National Archives of Canada.

II. Secondary Sources

A. Reference Texts

Béland, Mario. "Marius Barbeau et l'Art au
Québec: Bibliographie analytique et
thématique." Outils de recherche du Celat 1
(1985).

Cardin, Clarisse. "Bio-bibliographie de Marius Barbeau." Les Archives de Folklore 2 (1947): 17-96.

Cooke, W. Martha E. W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana: Paintings, Water-Colours and Drawings (Manoir Richelieu Collection). Ottawa: 1983.

Cove, John J. A Detailed Inventory of the Barbeau Northwest Coast Files. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series Paper, No. 54. Ottawa: 1985.

Kallmann, Helmut, et al., eds., Encyclopedia of Music in Canada. Toronto: 2nd ed., 1992.

B. Monographs and Catalogues

Allard, Lionel. L'Ancienne Lorette. Ottawa: 1979.

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism. London; 1983.

Arblaster, Anthony. The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism. Oxford: 1984.

Berger, Carl. Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada. Toronto: 1983.

Berkhoffer, Robert. The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: 1978.

Bourdieu, Pierre. Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Cambridge MA: 1984.

_____. The Field of Cultural Production. New York: 1983

Bourque, Gilles et Jules Duchastel. Restons traditionnels et progressifs. Pour une nouvelle analyse du discours politique: Le

case du régime Duplessis au Québec.
Montréal: 1988.

Buchanan, Donald W. The Growth of Canadian Painting. Toronto: 1950.

Burrow, J.W. Evolution and Society: A Study in Victorian Social Theory. Cambridge MA: 1966.

Carpenter, C.H. Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Place in Canadian Culture. Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies Paper No. 16. Ottawa: 1979.

Carrithers, Michael. Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity. Oxford and New York: 1992.

Carroll, William K. Fragile Truths: Twenty-Five Years of Sociology and Anthropology in Canada. Ottawa: 1992.

Clifford, James. Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World. Berkeley: 1982.

_____. The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art. Cambridge MA: 1982.

_____ and George E. Marcus, eds. Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography. Berkeley: 1986.

Cocchiara, Guiseppe. A History of Folklore in Europe. Philadelphia: 1981.

Cole, Douglas. Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts. Vancouver: 1985.

_____ and Ira Chaikin. An Iron Hand Upon the People: The Law Against the Potlatch on the Northwest Coast. Vancouver: 1990.

- Cook, Ramsay. The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada. Toronto: 1985.
- Danylewicz, Marta. Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920. Toronto: 1987.
- Darnell, Regna. Edward Sapir: Linguist, Anthropologist, Humanist. Berkeley: 1990.
- Degler, Carl. In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Thought. New York: 1991.
- Dupont, Jean-Claude. Le Monde Fantastique de la Beauce. National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Mercury Series No. 2. Ottawa: 1972.
- Edgerton, Robert B. Sick Societies: Challenging the Myth of Primitive Harmony. New York: 1992.
- Ekstein, Modris. Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age. Toronto: 1989.
- Fabians, Johannes. Time and The Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. New York: 1983.
- Ferron, Madeleine avec la collaboration de Robert Cliche. Les Beaucerons ces insoumis: Petite histoire de la Beauce, 1735-1867. Montréal: 1974.
- Fisher, Robin. Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: 2nd ed., 1992.
- Fowke, Edith. Canadian Folklore. Toronto: 1988.
- Francis, Daniel. The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: 1992.

- Galipeau, Pascale. Les paradis du monde: L'art populaire au Québec. Musée canadien des civilisations, centre canadien d'études sur la culture traditionnelle, dossier 68. Hull: 1995.
- Geertz, Clifford. Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author. Berkeley: 1988.
- Gellner, Ernest. Anthropology and Politics: Revelations in the Sacred Grove. Oxford: 1995.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. The Mismeasure of Man. New York: 1991.
- Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith, eds. London: 1972.
- Habermas, Jurgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Enquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge MA: 1991.
- Harper, J. Russell. Krieghoff. Toronto: 1979.
- _____. Painting in Canada: A History. Toronto: 2nd ed., 1977.
- Harris, Marvin. The Rise of Anthropological Theory. New York: 1968.
- Hawthorn, Geoffrey. Enlightenment & Despair: A concise history of social theory. Cambridge UK: 2nd ed., 1987.
- Hill, Charles. The Group of Seven: Art for a Nation. Ottawa: 1995.
- Horton, Donald J. André Laurendeau: A French-Canadian Nationalist. Toronto: 1992.
- Hubbard, R.H. The Development of Canadian Art. Ottawa: 1963.
- Hughes, H. Stuart. Consciousness and Society: the Re-Orientation of European Social Thought. New York: 1958.

- Jasen, Patricia. Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1915. Toronto: 1995.
- Jones, Robert. Richard Strauss. Alexandria: 1977.
- Kallmann, Helmut. A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914. Toronto: 1960.
- Keshen, Jeffrey. Age of Contentions: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1900-1945. Toronto: 1997.
- Kuklick, Henrika. The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945. Cambridge: 1991.
- Kuper, Adam. Anthropology and Anthropologists: The British School. London: 1973.
- _____. The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion. London and New York: 1988.
- Lambert, R.S. The Adventure of Canadian Painting. Toronto: 1947.
- Lasch, Christopher. The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics. New York: 1991.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920. New York: 1981.
- Leslie, J. and R. Maguire, eds. The Historical Development of the Indian Act. Ottawa: 2nd ed., 1983.
- Levine, Lawrence. Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America. Cambridge MA: 1988.
- Lord, Barry. The History of Painting in Canada: Toward a People's Art. Toronto: 1974.
- Maclaren, Angus. Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada. Toronto: 1990.

- Marcus, George E. and Michael M.J. Fischer. Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences. Chicago and London: 1986.
- Marx, Leo. The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America. New York: 1964.
- McGrath, William. Freud's Discovery of Psychoanalysis: The Politics of Hysteria. Ithaca: 1986.
- McKay, Ian. The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia. Kingston and Montreal: 1994.
- Miller, J.R. Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian White Relations in Canada. Toronto: 1989.
- National Gallery of Canada. A Century of Colonial Painting: The Seven Years War to Confederation. Ottawa: n.d.
- Nowry, Laurence. Marius Barbeau: Man of Mana. Toronto: 1995.
- Owram, Doug. The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and The State, 1900-1945. Toronto: 1986.
- Pryke, Kenneth G. and W.C. Sonderlund, eds. Profiles of Canada. Mississauga: 1992.
- Rabinow, Paul. An Anthropology of Reason. Berkeley: 1995.
- _____. Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco. Berkeley; 1977.
- Reid, Denis. A Concise History of Canadian Painting. Toronto: 1973.
- _____. "Our Own Country Canada": Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto. Ottawa: 1979.

- Roy, Carmen. An Introduction to the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies. National Museum of Canada, Mercury Series No. 7. Ottawa: 1973.
- Said, Edward. Orientalism. New York: Vintage ed., 1979.
- Schorske, Carl. Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture. New York: vintage ed., 1981.
- Sheets-Pyenson, Susan. Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial National History Museums during the Late Nineteenth Century. Kingston and Montreal: 1988.
- Sioui, Georges. For an Amerindian Autohistory. Trans. S. Fischman. Montreal: 1992.
- Stocking, George W., Jr. After Tylor: British Social Anthropology, 1888-1951. Madison: 1995.
- _____. The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology. Madison: 1992.
- _____. Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology. Chicago: Pheonix ed., 1982.
- Taylor, C.J. Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites. Montreal and Kingston: 1990.
- Tehariolina, Margueritte Vincent. La nation huronne: son histoire, sa culture, son son esprit. Québec: 1984.
- Thomas, Nicholas. Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government. Princeton: 1994.
- Thompson, Dale C. Louis St. Laurent: Canadian. Toronto: 1967.

- Thompson, E.P. William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary. New York: Pantheon ed., 1975.
- Tippett, Maria. Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission. Toronto: 1990.
- Titley, E. Brian. A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada. Vancouver: 1986.
- Trautmann, Thomas R. Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship. Berkeley: 1987.
- Trigger, Bruce. The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660. Montreal and Kingston: 1987.
- _____. Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered. Kingston and Montreal: 1985.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann, Action française: French-Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties. Toronto: 1975.
- Valverde, Mariana. The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925. Toronto: 1991.
- Vézina, Raymond. Cornelius Krieghoff: peinture de moeurs (1815-1872). Ottawa: 1971.
- Walkowitz, Judith. City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London. Chicago: 1992.
- Whisnant, David. All That Is Native & Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region. Chapel Hill: 1983.
- Williams, Raymond. Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. Glasgow: 1976.
- Young, Brian. George-Etienne Cartier: Montreal Bourgeois. Kingston and Montreal: 1981.

C. Essays and Articles

- Abbott, Frank. "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894." Canadian Historical Review 69,2 (1988): 167-202.
- Ackerman, Robert. "Frazer on Myth and Ritual." Journal of the History of Ideas 36,1 (1978): 115-34.
- Berger, Carl. "The True North Strong and Free." In J.M. Bumsted, ed. Interpreting Canada's Past: After Confederation. Toronto: 1986.
- Brassard, Francois, "French-Canadian Folk Music Studies: A Survey." Ethnomusicology 16,3 (1972): 351-9.
- Campbell, Peter. "'Not as a White Man, Not as a Sojourner': James A. Teit and the Fight for Native Rights in British Columbia." Left History 2,2 (1994): 37-57.
- Carter, Sarah. "Two Acres and a Cow: 'Peasant' Farming for the Indians of the Northwest, 1889-97." Canadian Historical Review 70,1 (1989): 27-52.
- Chapman, William Ryan. "Arranging Ethnology: A.H.L. Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition." In George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. Observers Observed: Essays on Museums and Material Culture. Madison: 1985.
- Clifford, James, "Notes on (Field) Notes." In Roger Sanjek, ed. Fieldnotes: The Making of Anthropology. Ithaca: 1990.
- Clifton, James. "The Re-emergent Wyandot: A Study in Ethnogenesis on the Detroit River Borderland." In K.G. Pryke and L.L. Kulisek, eds. The Western District: Papers from the Western District Conference. Windsor: 1977.
- Coates, Colin. "'Like The Thames towards Putney': The Appropriation of Landscape in Lower Canada." Canadian Historical Review 74,3 (1993): 317-43.

- Cole, Douglas. "Artists, Patrons, and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven." Journal of Canadian Studies 13 (1978): 69-78.
- _____. "The Origins of Canadian Anthropology, 1850-1910." Journal of Canadian Studies 8,1 (1973): 33-44.
- Couville, Serge, Jean-Claude Robert, and Normand Séguin. "The Spread of Rural Industry in Lower Canada, 1831-1851." Journal of the Canadian Historical Association (1991): 43-70.
- Darling, David and Douglas Cole. "Totem Pole Restoration on the Skeena, 1925-1930: An Early Exercise in Heritage Conservation." B.C. Studies 47 (1980): 29-48.
- Darnell, Regna. "The Boasian Text Tradition and the History of Anthropology." Culture 12,1 (1992): 39-48.
- _____. "The Uniqueness of Canadian Anthropology: Issues and Problems." In J. Freedman and J.H. Barkow, eds. Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Canadian Ethnological Society 2 vols. Canadian Ethnological Service, National Museum of Man, Mercury Series No. 28. Ottawa: 1975.
- Dominguez, Virginia, "The Marketing of Culture." American Ethnologist 13,3 (1986): 546-55.
- _____, James Clifford, and Thin T. Mihn-Ha, "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the Salvage Paradigm." In Hal Foster, ed. Discussions in Contemporary Culture. Seattle: 1987.
- Dorland, Michael. "Changing Theorizations of Cultural Production in Canada and Quebec: A Review of Some Recent Literature on the Culture Industries." Journal of Canadian Studies 31,4 (1996-97).
- Duff, Wilson. "The Contributions of Marius Barbeau to West Coast Ethnology." Anthropologica 6 (1964): 63-96.

- Dundes, Alan. "Who Are the Folk?" In Alan Dundes. Interpreting Folklore. Bloomington: 1980.
- Fagin, Nancy. "Closed Collections and Open Appeals: The Two Anthropology Exhibitions at the Chicago World's Columbia Exposition of 1893." Curator 27,4 (1984): 249-64.
- Fortes, Meyer. "Social Anthropology at Cambridge Since 1900." In Regna Darnell, ed. Readings in the History of Anthropology. New York: 1974.
- Fulford, Robert. "The Trouble With Emily." In Donald Avery and Roger Hall, eds. Coming of Age: Readings in Canadian History Since World War II. Toronto: 1996.
- Hall, Judy. "Canadian Ethnology Service, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada." American Indian Art Magazine (Winter: 1983): 50-9.
- Halpin, Marjorie. "A Critique of the Boasian Paradigm for Northwest Coast Art." Culture 14,1 (1994): 5-16.
- _____. "William Beynon, Ethnographer: Tsimshian, 1888-1958." In Margot Liberty, eds. American Indian Intellectual Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society. St. Paul: 1978.
- Handler, Richard. "The Dainty and Hungry Man: Literature and Anthropology in the Work of Edward Sapir." In George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. Observers Observed: Essays on Ethnographic Fieldwork. Madison: 1983.
- Harker, David. "May Cecil Sharpe Be Praised?" History Workshop 14 (1982): 44-62.
- Harkin, Michael. "Past: Presence: Conceptions of History in Northwest Coast Studies." Arctic Anthropology 33,2 (1996): 1-15.

- Horsman, Reginald. "Scientific Racism and the American Indian in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." American Quarterly 27 (1975): 152-68.
- Jacknis, Ira. "'The Artist Himself': The Salish Basketry Monograph and the Beginnings of a Boasian Paradigm." In Janet Berlo, ed. The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting. Seattle: 1992.
- Johnson, I.V.B. "The Gitksan Incident of 1888." In Barry Gough and Laird Christie, eds. New Dimensions in Ethnohistory: Papers of the Second Laurier Conference on Ethnohistory and Ethnology. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Mercury Series Paper No. 12. Hull: n.d.
- Jones, Robert Alan. "Robertson Smith and James Frazer: Two Traditions in British Social Anthropology." In George Stocking, ed. Functionalism Historicized: Essays on British Social Anthropology. Madison: 1984.
- Katz, Israel J. "Marius Barbeau, 1883-1969." Ethnomusicology 14,1 (1970): 129-42.
- Kulchyski, Peter. "Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy." Journal of Canadian Studies 28,2 (1993): 21-51.
- Lutz, Hartmut. "Cultural Appropriation as a Process of Displacing Peoples and History." Canadian Journal of Native Studies 10,2 (1990): 167-82.
- Lutz, John. "After the Fur Trade: The Aboriginal Labouring Classes of British Columbia, 1849-1890." In Chad Gaffield, ed. Constructing Modern Canada: Readings in Post-Confederation History. Toronto: 1994.
- Mah, Harold. "Suppressing the Text: The Metaphysics of Ethnographic History in Darnton's Great Cat Massacre." History Workshop 31 (1991): 1-20.

- Marcus, George and Dick Cushman. "Ethnographies as Texts." Annual Review of Anthropology 11 (1982): 25-69.
- Patterson, E.P. "Nishga and Tsimshian Land Protest in the 1880s" Journal of Canadian Studies 18,3 (1983): 40-54.
- _____. "The Poet and the Indian: Indian Themes in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott and John Collier." Ontario History 59 (1967): 69-78.
- Proctor, Robert. "From Anthropologie to Rassenkunde in the German Anthropological Tradition." In George W. Stocking, Jr., ed. Bones, Bodies, and Behaviour: Essays on Biological Anthropology. Madison: 1988.
- Smith, Allan. "Farms, Forests, and Cities: The Image of the Land and the Rise of the Metropolis in Ontario, 1860-1914." In Chad Gaffield, ed. Constructing Modern Canada: Readings in Post-Confederation History. Toronto: 1994.
- Sonne, Brigitte. "In Love With Eskimo Imagination and Intelligence." Etudes/Inuit/Studies 12,1-2 (1988): 21-44
- Stocking, George W., Jr. "Romantic Motives and the History of Anthropology" to Stocking, ed., Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility. Madison: 1989.
- Thorton, Robert. "'Imagine Yourself Set Down...': Mach, Conrad, Frazer, Malinowski and the Role of Imagination in Ethnography." Anthropology Today 1,5 (1985): 7-14.
- _____. "The Rhetoric of Ethnographic Holism." In George Marcus, ed. Rereading Cultural Anthropology. Durham and London: 1992.
- Tooker, Elizabeth. "Wyandot." Handbook of North American Indians vol 15. Washington: 1978.

Trigger, Bruce. "Sir Daniel Wilson: Canada's First Anthropologist." Anthropologica N.S. 8 (1966).

_____. "The Historian's Indian: Native Canadian Historical Writing from Charlevoix to the Present." Canadian Historical Review 67,3 (1986).

Van West, J. "George Mercer Dawson: An Early Canadian Anthropologist." Anthropological Journal of Canada 14,4 (1976): 8-12.

White, Richard and William Cronon. "Ecological Change and Indian-White Relations." In R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds. Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation. Toronto: 1994.

Whitman, Bruce. "The Publication of Maria Chapdelaine in English." Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada 21 (1982): 50-9.

Young, David. "The Macmillan Company of Canada in the 1930s." Journal of Canadian Studies 30,3 (1995): 117-33.

D. Theses

Avrith, Gale. "Science at the Margins: The British Association and the Foundations of Canadian Anthropology, 1884-1910." Unpubl. Ph.D. Diss.: University of Pennsylvania, 1986.

Kine, Gary Bret. "Chief Man-of-Many-Sides: John Murray Gibbon and his contribution to the Development of tourism and the arts in Canada." Unpubl. M.A. Thesis: Carleton University, 1988.

Nurse, Andrew. "'A Confusion of Values': Artists and Artistic Ideologies in Modern Canada, 1927-1952." Unpubl. M.A. Thesis: Queen's University, 1991.