
THE NATIVE AMERICAN COLLECTION OF FRIDERIK BARAGA: THE MISSIONARY AS ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTOR¹

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IZVLEČEK

Kot utelešenje kulturnih pomenov in vrednot so predmeti vedno igrali pomembno vlogo pri interakciji med Indijanci in krščanskimi misijonarji, ki niso hoteli doseči samo verske, ampak tudi kulturno spreobrnitev. V tem prispevku raziskujem razmerje med misijonarskim delom in etnografskim zbiranjem in skušam umestiti zbirko Friderika Barage v širšem kontekstu misijonarskega diskurza o materialni kulturi, s poudarkom na Baragovem odnosu in na odnosu drugih misijonarjev do indijanske umetnosti in materialne kulture, s katero so se srečali. Prispevek išče vzporednice z gradivom v drugih misijonarskih zbirkah in z gradivom z zahoda Velikih jezer v depojih evropskih muzejev; tako bi Baragovo zbiranje lahko ocenili v primerjavi s podobnimi prizadevanji drugih misijonarjev.

ABSTRACT

As embodiments of cultural meanings and values, artifacts have always played an important role in the interactions between Native peoples and Christian missionaries, who not only aimed at religious but also at cultural conversion. This paper explores the relationship between missionary work and ethnographic collecting and attempts to place Friderik Baraga's collection in a broader context of missionary discourse on material culture by focusing on his and other missionaries' attitudes toward the indigenous arts and material culture they encountered. Parallels are also drawn to other nineteenth-century missionary collections of western Great Lakes material in European repositories in order to evaluate Baraga's collecting activities by comparison with similar missionary efforts.

Objects created by human hands are much more than simply things to satisfy physical needs or to serve the specific purposes they were made for. They may be regarded as statements about how people conceive the universe around them, how they define their place and that of others within this universe, and

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Third North Americanist Conference, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 28 to 30 September 1996, and at the symposium "Slovenski misijonar Irenej Friderik Baraga (1797–1868) in njegov prispevek k etnologiji," Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, 16 to 20 June 1997. Thanks to Christian F. Feest for his critical comments and for providing some of the photographs used in this article.

how they interact with their natural environment, their fellow beings, and the supernatural world. As such, artifacts are visible and tangible expressions of personal and cultural identities. It is not surprising therefore that material things have always played an important role in cross-cultural encounters, and especially so in the interactions between Native peoples and Christian missionaries.

332 Missionary writings provide ample evidence for the significance attributed to the material manifestations of religious beliefs and cultural practices by the messengers of Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant). Material symbols functioned as potent sources of information on the "Other" and were interpreted by each party according to their own cultural codes. Thus, missionaries perceived and judged many aspects of Native culture on the basis of their artifactual expressions and shaped their efforts accordingly. They aimed at religious conversion, but since their ideological categories were identified with specific material forms (or the absence thereof), it is not surprising that the changes they effected manifested themselves most often and most visibly in the material domain. Christianity was inseparable from a "civilized" lifestyle and its attributes, and indeed, the success of missionary endeavors was often measured by the extent to which Native peoples had appropriated Western forms of dress, houses, or subsistence technologies.

Missionary collecting activities can be understood as one aspect of this continuous and intensive concern with indigenous material culture. One has to keep in mind that to collect objects always means to extract them from their original contexts of use and meaning in order to make them serve one's own interests and needs – whether it be curiosity, science, or missionary propaganda. While it is true that some missionary collections were professedly assembled in the interests of scholarship, their composition and the subsequent use made of them often reveal underlying motives, especially when viewed within the broader context of the missionary discourse on Native material culture.

As a number of recent theoretical studies on the role of material culture in the processes of missionization have demonstrated, missionary collecting activities and attitudes toward Native manufactures cannot be divorced from the wider agendas of evangelization, nor from existing relations of power in a colonial setting. Missionary rhetoric can be shown to oscillate between two imperatives: to represent indigenous peoples as caught in a state of "savagery" and "heathen darkness" and thus in need of missionary intervention, but also to portray them as potentially capable of spiritual improvement and progress in civilization, thus justifying missionary efforts on their behalf. Representations of indigenous material culture are made to serve both these ends. On the one hand, we find praise of all those types of artifacts which for the missionaries documented Native ingenuity, intelligence, industry, or simply creativity – in a word, all those things which could be subsumed under the categories of "beauty" or "usefulness." Such objects were often put forward as basic proof of the Native

peoples' ability to learn and to be "civilized." Other classes of artifacts, on the other hand, were described as evidence of "primitive" or "barbaric" customs (as, for example, in the case of weapons) or "pagan" practices (as in the case of religious paraphernalia). For the missionaries, these artifacts represented cultural domains which needed to be transformed by Christianity. Once this goal was achieved, such objects figured as relics of a past eventually overcome with the help of the missionaries and could thus be valued as some sort of "trophies" of missionary success. In the final analysis, both positive and negative evaluations served to legitimize the missionary project: They "proved" that Native peoples were evidently in need of the double benefits of Christianity and civilization, but also that they were worthy of them.²

It is under these aspects that I would like to discuss the small but important ethnographic collection acquired by the Slovenian missionary Friderik Baraga in the early 1830s among the Ottawa and Chippewa of the western Great Lakes region and today preserved at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana.³ By situating Baraga's collecting activities within the context of the prevailing missionary discourse on Native material culture, insights may be gleaned into Baraga's own appreciation of the artifacts assembled as well as into the principles guiding his selection of objects. This analysis, which aims at a fresh perspective on the quality, composition, and motivation of Baraga's ethnographic collection, draws on an examination of written records and their reflection of missionary attitudes toward indigenous artifacts and the cultural domains represented by them, as well as on comparisons of this particular material with other nineteenth-century missionary collections from the western Great Lakes region.

As one of the missionary pioneers in the vast regions west of the American Great Lakes, then only sparsely populated by White settlers, Friderik Baraga became a role model for successions of missionaries who followed in his footsteps. Born in 1797 and ordained a priest at the age of twenty-six, Baraga arrived in the United States early in 1831. After spending several months in Cincinnati (then seat of the diocese comprising the present states of Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin), he was sent in May of the same year to take charge of the Ottawa mission, where he served first in Arbre Croche and later at Grand River in Michigan. A man of extraordinary ambition and missionary zeal, he saw his calling more in the challenges of converting the Native peoples to the Christian faith than in the routine tasks of a backwoods parish, and he was soon eager to expand his field of labor. Only four years later, in July of 1835, he moved further west to establish a mission among the Chippewa at Lapointe, and later at L'Anse,

² Cp., for example, Thomas (1991: 151–162), Lawson (1994), Kasprzycki (1996), and Eves (1998) for more elaborate presentations of these arguments.

³ On Baraga's ethnographic collection, cp. Orel (1954), Štrukelj (1974, 1979), Golob (1997). Feest (1998) provides a critical evaluation of the collection in comparative perspective and discusses problems of attribution not considered here.

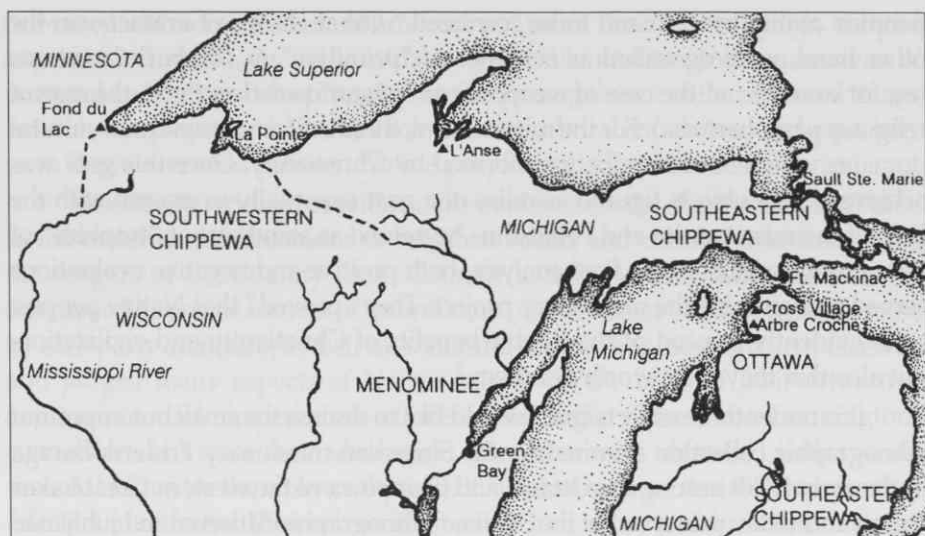


Figure 1: Map of the western Great Lakes region, showing the locations of Friderik Baraga's mission stations among the Ottawa and Chippewa of present-day Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. ♦ Slika 1: Zemljevid zahodnega območja Velikih jezer z lokacijami misijonarskih postaj Friderika Barage pri Otavcih in Očipvejih v današnjem Michiganu, Wisconsinu in Minnesoti.

on Lake Superior (cp. Fig. 1). Since Baraga's ethnographic collection was acquired during the first five years of his missionary activity and was shipped to Europe in 1836 to be donated to the predecessor of today's Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, I need not be concerned here with Baraga's subsequent career, which, as is well known, culminated in his becoming bishop of Sault Ste. Marie and later Marquette.⁴

The history of Baraga's collecting activities, recently summarized by Golob and also critically discussed by Feest, can be traced through a number of documents.⁵ Although his collection is first mentioned in a letter written by the missionary to his sister Amalia Gressel on 3 December 1836, when he had already arrived in Europe to gather financial support for his mission, we know that the first impetus for collecting Native American ethnographic objects for the Carniolan Provincial Museum established in 1821 had come as early as 1833 through a request by Count Franz Joseph von Hohenwart, chairman of the young museum's board of trustees. While Baraga initially pleaded lack of time and pastoral priorities to excuse himself from this responsibility, it cannot be ruled out that one or the other artifact came into his possession before he decided to act upon Hohenwart's request. Immersed in the daily life of their Native communities, missionaries acquired artifacts for a number of different reasons:

⁴ Detailed information on Baraga's biography and clerical career can be found, for example, in Jezernik (1968); cp. also Golob (1997: 210–211).

⁵ Cp. Golob (1997: 218–228); Feest (1998).

Apart from intentionally collecting them, they often received objects as presents from their converts, or they utilized Native manufactures for their own convenience. It can be documented, moreover, that Baraga provided his superior Vicar-General and later Bishop Frederick Résé with ethnographic objects for the latter's collection.⁶ For the purposes of the present paper it should be emphasized, however, as Feest has already pointed out, that Baraga's decision to donate a collection of artifacts to the Carniolan Provincial Museum coincided with his intended fund-raising trip to Europe and thus reflects motivations shared by many other missionary collectors: to promote evangelical work by drawing public attention to the life-ways of indigenous peoples and the achievements of the missionaries in their midst.⁷

Of immediate interest not only for the cultural contextualization of the objects but also for clues to Baraga's own categorization of the artifacts are the two surviving manuscript inventories of the collection drawn up in 1837, one of which was annotated by Baraga himself and served as the basis for a list of acquisitions published only slightly later in the *Illyrisches Blatt*.⁸ Baraga's book *History, character, manners, and customs of the North American Indians* likewise appeared in 1837 in a German, French, and Slovenian edition,⁹ and while some of the ethnographic descriptions contained in it are not based on personal experience but lifted from the published literature, the book is a valuable source reflecting Baraga's general attitudes toward the indigenous cultures he encountered. Closer to his personal observations are his many letters published in the Reports of the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna, which financially supported his and other missions in North America. Even though edited for publication and designed to represent his activities to his benefactors in the best possible light, these letters provide a wealth of ethnographic information and convey a detailed picture of daily life in the mission stations. Apart from these and other writings, Baraga also became known for his linguistic works: He produced a prayer-book and catechism in Ojibwa and Ottawa, followed by an Ojibwa grammar and an Ojibwa dictionary, which were published in various editions.¹⁰

The following discussion of Baraga's collecting activities will draw parallels

⁶ Frederick Résé (or Friedrich Rese), who had been instrumental in the establishment of the Austrian Leopoldine Foundation for the financial support of the Catholic missions in the United States, systematically encouraged the missionaries in his diocese to send him ethnographic items and is known to have collected objects himself during his visits to Native communities. Some of the artifacts acquired by Résé in this way ended up in the collection of Johann Georg Schwarz, the first American consul in Vienna and secretary of the Leopoldine Foundation, and are today preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna; cp. Kasprzycki and Krpata (1988); Feest and Kasprzycki (1993: 16–17).

⁷ Cp., e.g., Kasprzycki (1994: 95); Lawson (1994: 32–33); Eves (1998: 50–51).

⁸ Cp. Golob (1997: 219–224); Feest (1998: esp. note 6); *Illyrisches Blatt* (1837).

⁹ Cp. Baraga (1837a, 1837b, 1837c).

¹⁰ Cp., e.g., Baraga (1850, 1853, 1973). For a comprehensive bibliography of the huge corpus of Baraga's published and unpublished writings, see Ceglar (1991–1992); cp. also Šmitek (1993).

to similar efforts of other nineteenth-century missionaries in the western Great Lakes region, and will attempt to evaluate them in the context of his and other missionaries' writings. In this connection, reference will be made to a substantial collection of Ottawa material in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, which, while not compiled by a missionary, at least derived from a missionary context. It was acquired by the Austrian church painter Martin Pitzer, who visited the Ottawa villages of Arbre Croche and Cross Village in the early 1850s (about two decades after Baraga had been stationed there), at a time when the Slovenian Fathers Franc Pirc (Franz Pierz) and Ignac (Ignaz) Mrak were the resident priests. Employed to embellish the Native churches with his art, Pitzer also found the time to collect a considerable number of artifacts which he displayed back home in a traveling exhibition in order to collect money for the Ottawa mission. He also published a catalog to accompany the show, which offered additional information on the cultural context of the objects as well as their indigenous terms, which were actually provided for him by Baraga.¹¹

A collection of ethnographic objects resembling Baraga's in terms of size and content was acquired between 1859 and 1862 by the Swiss Capuchin missionary Antoine-Marie Gachet among the Menominee of Wisconsin. The Catholic mission among the Menominee, who are culturally related to the Ottawa and Chippewa, had been established about a quarter of a century earlier by the Italian Dominican priest Samuele Mazzuchelli, for whom Baraga had been a role model. During the three years of his missionary labors among the Menominee, Gachet systematically collected ethnographic information and, like Baraga, also devoted himself to linguistic studies and the drafting of a Menominee grammar. In a book published late in his life and in part based on his diaries, he provides extensive commentaries on Menominee life and material culture and also details some of the actual circumstances of his collecting activities. His collection of Menominee artifacts was donated to the municipal museum of his native city of Fribourg in Switzerland and is today preserved in the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Fribourg.¹²

Gachet was not the first missionary among the Menominee, however, to collect ethnographic objects. One of his predecessors, the Belgian priest Florimond Bonduel, who served the Catholic Menominee congregation between 1846 and 1853, had already assembled a small collection of mostly religious paraphernalia, of which only a few artifacts have survived and are presently housed in the Vatican Museum.¹³ Decidedly smaller in scope than either of the previously mentioned collections, these artifacts reflect Bonduel's somewhat different approach to collecting. Salvaged from among the ceremonial objects surrendered

¹¹ Cp. Pitzer (1854); Feest and Kasprzycki (1993: 17).

¹² Cp. Gachet (1890); for a summary account of Gachet's mission among the Menominee and the history of his collection, cp. Kasprzycki (1994: 94-96).

¹³ On Bonduel's biography and the fate of his collection, cp. Kasprzycki (1994: 94-95).

to him by his Native converts, as was the usual and widespread practice, these artifacts were explicitly regarded by Bonduel as tangible proofs of the victory of Christianity and civilization over the Menominee's former "superstitions" and "heathen" practices.¹⁴

While Bonduel is perhaps more articulate in relating his collection to the missionary agenda, the present paper intends to demonstrate that a similar (if less obvious) rhetoric is underlying Baraga's and other missionary collections of this period.

The first group of artifacts mentioned in the 1837 inventory of Baraga's collection¹⁵ are "objects of industry, all made of the bark of the North American birch tree."¹⁶ Birchbark furnished the raw material for a variety of household articles and utilitarian objects used in the daily life of the Native peoples in the western Great Lakes region. Smaller birchbark objects of various kinds, carefully decorated with dyed porcupine quills in geometric or representational designs, were, however, predominantly made for sale to Whites. They were produced in huge quantities and are frequently found in missionary and other collections from the area. A fairly common type of artifact were the small boxes folded from a piece of birchbark, ornamented with quillwork, and filled with maple sugar, of which there are several examples in Baraga's collection (Fig. 2).¹⁷ Mostly sold as souvenir items, they were sometimes also given away as presents to family and friends within the Native community.

Missionary appreciation of such quill-decorated objects was generally quite pronounced. They commended the artistic creativity displayed in the manufacture of these artifacts by the Native women, and they usually encouraged their production. Gachet, whose collection likewise contains two maple sugar boxes, described Menominee quill embroidery as having a "particular charm" and stressed the visual appeal of these objects:

"Nothing more pleasant than the little boxes of maple sugar which they cover with embroideries of this kind to make presents of them."¹⁸

Such praise was, however, not solely based on the artifacts' aesthetic qualities. While favorably impressed with their workmanship, missionaries especially applauded the patience and diligence required by their manufacture – virtues that were not only valued in Native culture but were considered

¹⁴ Cp. Bonduel (1855); Kasprzycki (1996: 46).

¹⁵ In the following, I will refer only to the published list of artifacts (*Illyrisches Blatt* 1837), since neither of the manuscript lists was available to me at the time of the writing of this paper.

¹⁶ "a) Industrial=Objecte, sämmtlich aus der Rinde des nordamerikanischen Birkenbaumes" (*Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 67).

¹⁷ Cp. Golob (1997: 249–252, figs. 1–6). There is some confusion today as to which of the various quill-decorated bark vessels in the collection of the Slovenski etnografski muzej was collected by whom, a problem Feest (1998) has tried to sort out.

¹⁸ "Rien de plus gentil que les petites boites à sucre d'érable qu'elles couvrent de broderies de ce genre pour en faire des cadeaux" (Gachet 1890: 261); cp. also Pitzer (1854: 18).



Figure 2: Small birchbark box decorated with porcupine quills. Height 5.5 cm, length 7.5 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2892 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 2: Majhna škatla iz brezovega lubja, okrašena z bodicami ježevca. Višina 5,5 cm, dolžina 7,5 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2892 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

Christian virtues as well. Thus, missionaries often presented objects like these to visitors to the mission or to their superiors as tokens of the accomplishments of their charges.¹⁹ Skills of this kind were moreover directly related to the Native peoples' potential for progress in "civilization." This inference is made very explicit in the following quotation from Pitzer's little catalog:

"These present works of birchbark [...] unmistakably reveal their sharp intelligence and patience at monotonous work, which makes one wish to do the utmost to furnish them with schools as the means to achieve a better lot."²⁰

In addition, the small maple sugar boxes were representative of a branch of Native economic activity which met the missionaries' decided approval. Detailed explanations of the procedures in maple sugar production are seldom missing in missionary accounts.²¹ Indeed, they could hardly fail to comment on this important part of indigenous subsistence, since the Native people left their villages in early spring to move for a few weeks to their maple sugar camps, so that this season usually constituted a kind of holiday for the missionaries who were left behind. Maple sugar was produced by making incisions in the trees, collecting the sap, and boiling it down to granulated sugar. While the missionaries generally attempted to change the Native subsistence pattern of hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture to large-scale agriculture, which they considered indispensable for sedentary, stable, and independent communities, they

¹⁹ Gachet, for example, once sent a maple sugar box made by a Menominee woman of his congregation to his superior Bishop Martin Henni (Gachet 1861).

²⁰ "Die hier vorliegenden Arbeiten aus Birkenrinde durch Ausschmückung von Weißfedern, den Stacheln des Stachelschweines &c. vereinigt mit ihrer Weise, ohne alle Kenntniß von Chemie aus gesotteten Steinen, Wurzeln und Kräutern glänzende Farben und Farbenmischungen auf Binsen zu Matten &c. überzutragen, lassen unverkennbar ihren Scharfsinn und eine Ausdauer bei einförmiger Arbeit erblicken und den Wunsch entstehen, Alles aufzubieten, um ihnen durch Schulen das Mittel zur Erreichung eines besseren Looses zu verschaffen" (Pitzer 1854: 10).

²¹ Cp. Baraga (1837a: 72–75); Pitzer (1854: 16–17); Gachet (1890: 224–225).

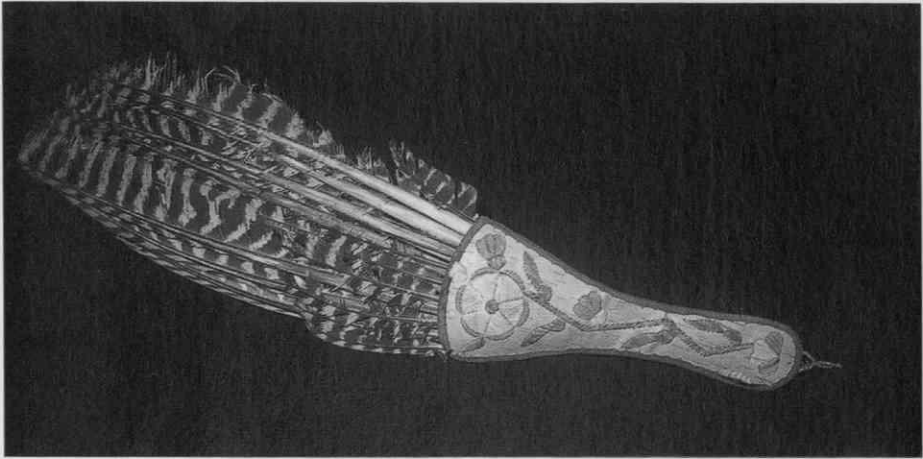


Figure 3: Feather fan with birchbark handle, decorated with porcupine quills. Length 57 cm. Ottawa, Michigan, collected in 1851–1853. Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, cat. no. 131.766 (Martin Pitzer coll.) (photo S. S. Kasprzycki). ♦ Slika 3: Pahljača iz perja z ročajem iz brezovega lubja, okrašenim z bodicami ježevca. Dolžina 57 cm. Otavci, Michigan, 1851–1853. Etnološki muzej, Dunaj, kat. št. 131.766 (zbirka Martina Pitzerja)(foto S. S. Kasprzycki).



Figure 4: Lidded birchbark box decorated with porcupine quills and velvet and silk ribbons. Height ca. 17 cm. Menominee, Wisconsin, collected around 1860. Musée d'Ethnographie, Université de Fribourg, cat. no. 2008 (Antoine-Marie Gachet coll.) (photo C. F. Feest).

♦ Slika 4: Škatla iz brezovega lubja s pokrovom, okrašena z bodicami ježevca, žametom in svilenimi trakovi. Višina ca. 17 cm. Menomini, Wisconsin, okrog 1860. Etnografski muzej univerze v Fribourgu, kat. št. 2008 (zbirka Antoine-Marie Gacheta) (foto C. F. Feest).

recognized maple sugar production as a labor-intensive pursuit and valued it for this reason. The sometimes enormous amounts of sugar produced in one season were often brought forward by the missionaries in evidence of Native industriousness and work morale.²² Since the maple sugar surplus was sold or exchanged for food and other goods, missionaries likewise perceived and encouraged its production as a means for Native people to become integrated in a market economy. Missionary judgments on the culinary attraction of maple sugar differed; while Baraga thought that Europeans needed to get accustomed

²² Cp., e.g., Baraga (1837a: 73).

to it because it caused stomach burn and a bitter aftertaste when consumed in pure form, Gachet, whose collection also contains several pieces of maple sugar formed in a mold, favorably compared it even to Swiss candy.²³

While the small, quill-ornamented birchbark boxes correspond in their form and construction to the larger, mostly undecorated bark containers used for storage of maple sugar or wild rice, the function and shape of other types of quilled artifacts specifically designed for sale to White tourists more obviously reflect Euroamerican expectations. Pin-cushions, needle books, feather fans, bags, trays, or cigar cases made favorite souvenir items by adding a semblance of practicality to their aesthetic appeal. Apart from two nicely made but comparatively simple bark bowls,²⁴ Baraga's collection does not include any such artifacts, but numerous examples of this sort were collected, for example, by Pitzer (Fig. 3). A lidded birchbark box acquired among the Menominee by Gachet can likewise be regarded as fairly typical and indicative of the endeavor to adapt the outward form of these objects to Euroamerican tastes (Fig. 4).²⁵

Missionary appreciation of this branch of Native manufacture is perhaps best reflected in the use they made of it for the embellishment of their churches and in the context of Christian rituals. Articles of church equipment and the material apparatus required by the Catholic liturgy were often difficult to procure in the frontier settlements. Since the missionaries prided themselves in their "holy religion, which tries so hard even in outward things to do due honor to our Lord and God,"²⁶ indigenous materials and techniques were employed to make up for this lack. Thus, the missionaries encouraged the emergence of a specific material culture of Native Christianity, one of the most intriguing examples of which certainly is the magnificent altar arrangement made of birchbark and lavishly decorated with porcupine quills used by the Catholic Ottawas of Cross Village in Michigan and collected by Martin Pitzer.²⁷ Holy water containers of birchbark, of which there are two in Pitzer's collection, were at the time in use in the Catholic Ottawa households (Fig. 5).²⁸ The above mentioned Italian missionary Samuele Mazzuchelli is even known to have sent a Chippewa bark box designed to hold communion wafers to the Pope.²⁹

Next to birchbark products, the male domain of woodcarving was a craft highly praised by the missionaries, especially in view of the often very simple

²³ Cp. Baraga (1837a: 72); Gachet (1890: 225).

²⁴ Cp. Golob (1997: 253–254, figs. 7, 8).

²⁵ Cp. also two comparable bark boxes of unclear collection history in the Slovenski etnografski muzej (Golob 1997: 261–263, figs. 20, 21); Feest (1998: 301, fig. 7). Gachet's collection also contains two quill-decorated pincushions and originally included a feather fan now lost.

²⁶ "Welch eine hohe Idee wird ihnen alles dieses von unsrer heiligen Religion geben, die sich sogar in allem Äußeren so sehr bemühet, unserem Herrn und Gott die gebührende Ehre zu bezeugen" (Baraga 1836: 52).

²⁷ Cp. Feest (1968: 53–54, pl. 6).

²⁸ Cp. Pitzer (1854: 23); Feest and Kasprzycki (1993: 70, fig. 55).

²⁹ Cp. Crepeau (1932: 73).



Figure 5: Holy water container of birchbark, decorated with porcupine quills. Height 28.5 cm. Ottawa, Michigan, collected in 1851–1853.

Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, cat. no. 131804 (Martin Pitzer coll.) (photo S. S. Kasprzycki). ♦ Slika 5: Posoda za blagoslovljeno vodo iz brezovega lubja, okrašena z bodicami ježevca. Višina 28.5 cm. Otavci, Michigan, 1851–1853. Etnološki muzej, Dunaj, kat. št. 131804 (zbirka Martina Pitzerja) (foto S. S. Kasprzycki).

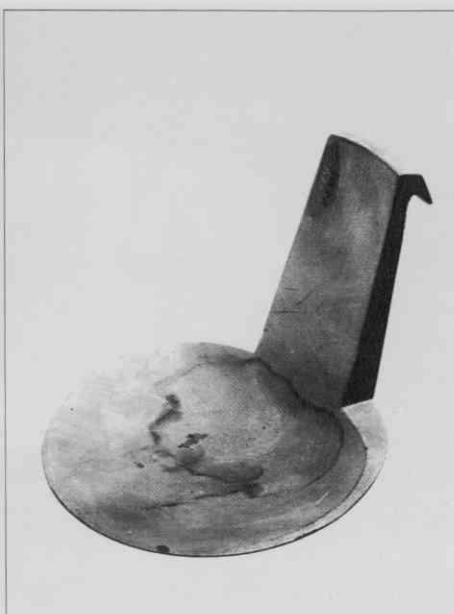


Figure 6: Wooden spoon. Length 14.5 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2888 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 6: Lesena žlica. Dolžina 14,5 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2888 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

tools with which Native carvers achieved impressive results. Baraga, whose collection also comprises a group of wooden objects, remarks in his book that such artifacts were skillfully made by the Indians.³⁰ Similar examples to the spoons and small wooden bowls collected by Baraga³¹ can also be found in Pitzer's and Gachet's collections (Figs. 6, 7). Pitzer stressed in his catalog that these nicely made objects were created merely with the help of an old knife; Gachet likewise commended the skills of the Menominee carvers and mentioned that much of their woodcarving was still made with a tool consisting of a beaver tooth.³²

It has to be emphasized, though, that this recognition of manual skills applied to the manufacture of "useful" artifacts only and usually had in mind the advance of the Native craftsmen in "civilized" trades as carpenters, tool makers, and the like. Religious sculpture, for example, though often of remarkable

³⁰ "b) Haus- und Holzgeräthe" (Illyrisches Blatt 1837: 68); cp. Baraga (1837a: 67).

³¹ Cp. Golob (1997: 254–256, figs. 9, 10, 12, 13, 14).

³² Cp. Pitzer (1854: 19); Gachet (1890: 261).



Figure 7: Wooden bowl. Length 20.5 cm. Ottawa, Michigan, collected in 1851–1853. Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, cat. no. 131.787 (Martin Pitzer coll.) (photo S. S. Kasprzycki). ♦ Slika 7: Lesena skleda. Dolžina 20,5 cm. Otavci, Michigan, 1851–1853. Etnološki muzej, Dunaj, kat. št. 131.787 (zbirka Martina Pitzerja) (foto S. S. Kasprzycki).

workmanship, was usually condemned by the missionaries because of its “heathen” connotations and could not be judged according to the same criteria. Thus, while articles of daily use like bowls, ladles, or cradleboards, of which Baraga’s collection likewise contains a specimen (Fig. 8), could be considered “artfully carved,” religious sculpture was mostly rejected as “hideous.”³³

Baraga, whose ethnographic interest in indigenous religion was virtually non-existent and who was content to indiscriminately characterize such beliefs as “absurdities” and “silly nonsense,” did not care to collect any artifacts relating to Native religious practices, even though scattered references to “wooden idols” and other “superstitious things” can be found in his writings.³⁴ That this is not necessarily typical of the missionary outlook is documented by the sometimes profound fascination with Native belief systems voiced by some of his fellow workers in the field. Since converts were generally expected to surrender all their ritual paraphernalia before or after baptism, missionaries, moreover, had ample opportunities to get hold of such artifacts. There are numerous references in Baraga’s writings to the ritual burning of ceremonial paraphernalia brought to him by his converts; other than some of his colleagues, however, Baraga did

³³ In connection with the wooden dishes and ladles it is interesting to note, however, that in the inventory of his collection Baraga could not refrain from adding a critical comment on indigenous eating customs, which he perceived as irregular and lacking proper ceremony (*Illyrisches Blatt* 1837: 68). Cp. Golob (1997: 293–294, fig. 54).

³⁴ Cp. Baraga (1832: 11; 1834b: 21; 1837a: 132).

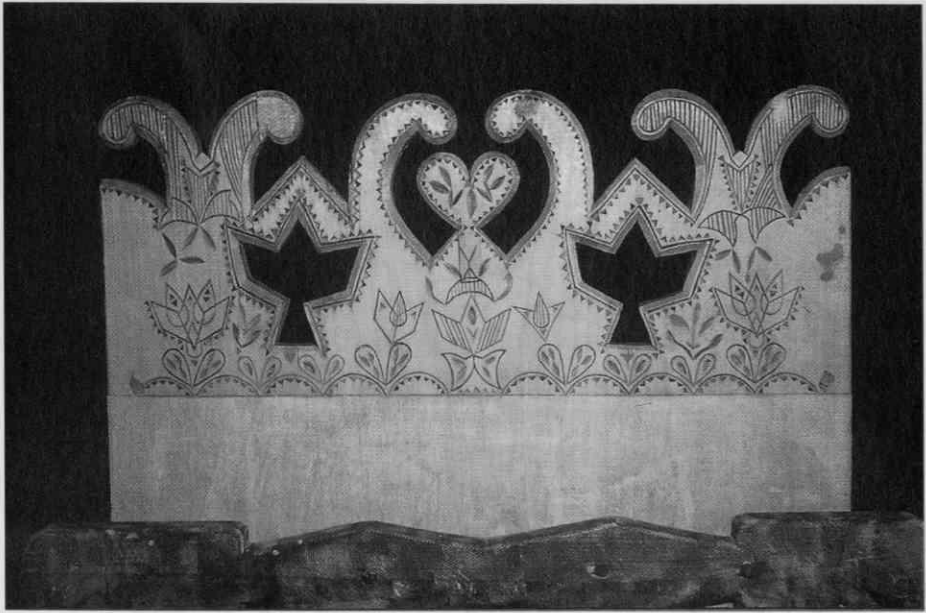


Figure 8: Detail of wooden cradleboard, chip-carved, painted, and decorated with file brand marks. Height 64.5 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2948 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 8: Detajl lesene zibelke, zrezljane, pobarvane in okrašene z vžganimi znaki. Višina 64, 5 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2948 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto C. F. Feest).

not choose to rescue any of them from destruction.³⁵

Other missionaries preserved some of the material expressions of Native religious life, if for differing reasons. It has already been mentioned that the small ethnographic collection assembled around 1850 by the Belgian missionary Florimond Bonduel is almost exclusively made up of Menominee ceremonial objects, including various anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures carved of wood (Fig. 9). Bonduel's primary goal in collecting these "hideous objects" seems to have been his desire to display them as tangible evidence of the vast progress the Menominee had made from being "committed to magic and all the superstitions of paganism" to representing true "models of virtue and Christian piety," thus underscoring "the force of grace" as well as his own achievements.³⁶ Another conspicuous object in Bonduel's collection (and one of the very few still extant today) is a wooden board, whose engravings relate to the personal vision of a Menominee religious specialist. A similar board was also collected by Gachet, whose interest in Menominee ceremonial art was apparently inspired by curiosity and a desire to better understand their religious views and customs.³⁷ This interest

³⁵ Cp., e.g., Baraga (1832: 11; 1833: 16).

³⁶ Cp. Bonduel (1855: 6).

³⁷ Cp. Kasprzycki (1994).

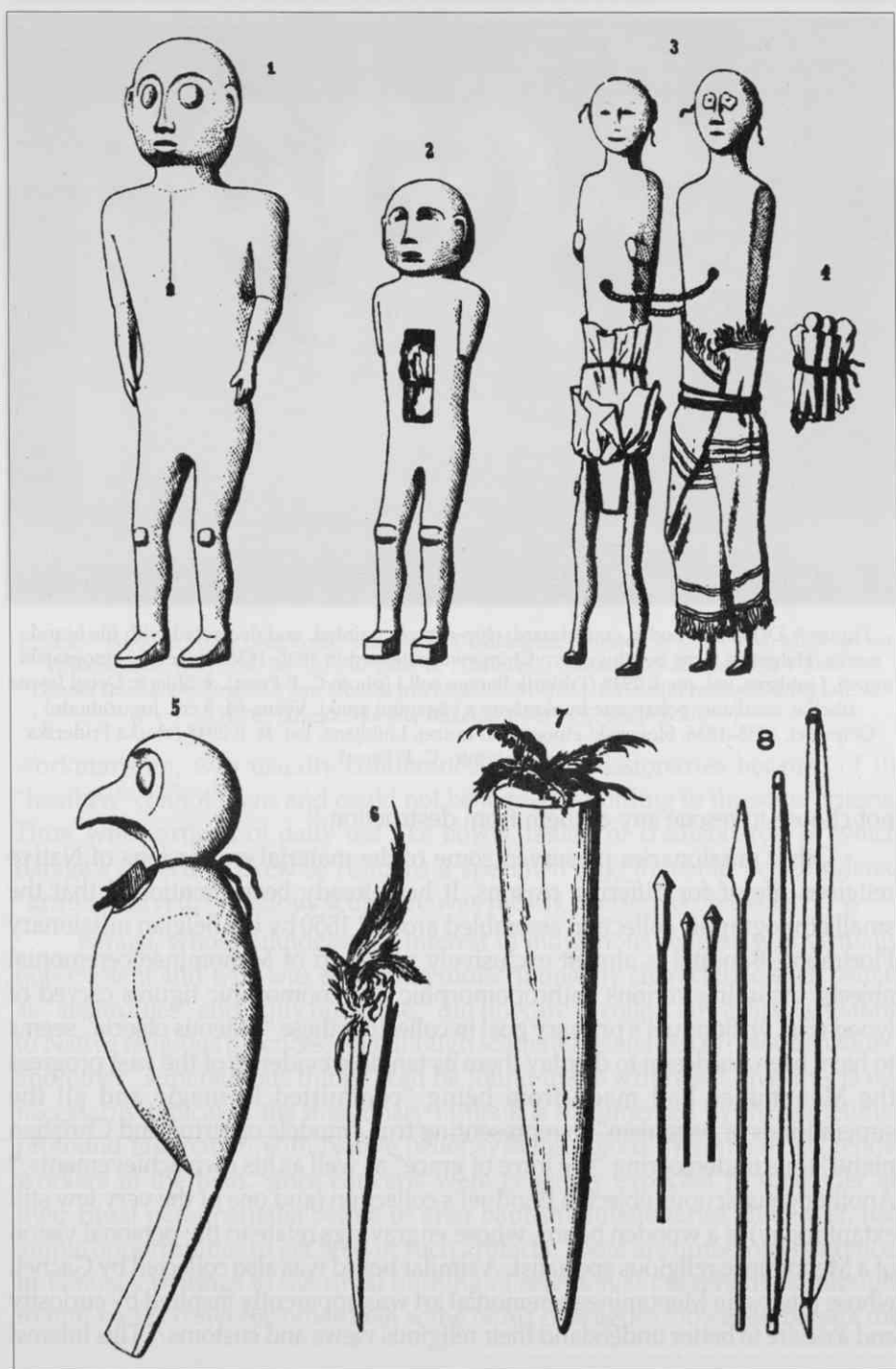


Figure 9: Ceremonial objects carved of wood. Menominee, Wisconsin, collected by Florimond Bonduel around 1850. After Bonduel (1855: pl. facing 7). ♦ Slika 9: Obredni predmeti, izrezani iz lesa. Menomini, Wisconsin, Florimond Bonduel okrog 1850. Po Bonduelu (1855: plošča nasproti 7).

did not, however, favorably influence his aesthetic judgments, nor can it be separated from his missionary priorities, since it has to be borne in mind that knowledge about indigenous cultures was one of the most important prerequisites for changing them.³⁸ The Pitzer collection likewise includes a few items of religious significance, among them an Ottawa medicine bag used for storing various medicines and paraphernalia and related to the rituals of the Medicine society; obviously alienated from its original purpose by its Catholic owner, this object had come into Pitzer's possession as a "arrow quiver" or "storage bag."³⁹

A segment of Native material culture which impressed missionaries and other White visitors to the area alike were means of transportation. While quilled birchbark manufactures or carved wooden objects were appreciated for their beauty or skillful making, indigenous means of transportation were admired simply for their practicality or their ingenuity in coping with environmental conditions, and they were often also adopted by White people who recognized their superiority. Listed under the category of "household and wooden utensils," Baraga's collection includes a pair of Chippewa snowshoes of the "swallow tail"-type, the construction of which is also described in his book.⁴⁰ Baraga availed himself of this "ingenious and useful invention" on his winter travels, and that his example was followed by his successors is documented by a pair of snowshoes in the Pitzer collection, which had been used by the Slovenian missionary Ignac Mrak.⁴¹ Both Baraga and Pitzer commented on the ease and speed with which Native people covered long distances on snowshoes, even though Baraga had to admit that effective walking on snowshoes required a lot of practice and severely taxed his strength. Similar descriptions of the manufacture of snowshoes among the Menominee (including their ability to construct provisional ones when surprised by snow on their travels) are likewise offered by Gachet, who was especially taken by Native survival skills.⁴²

Another means of transportation widely used in the eastern Woodlands were the birchbark canoes, whose advantages were also valued by many White people on the frontier. These boats combined considerable carrying capacity and speed with light weight, which made them easy to transport over portages and thus optimally suited to the terrain. Missionaries seldom failed to describe the construction of birchbark boats, and Baraga, who termed them an "artistic production," declared that they would "arouse admiration in any stranger who saw them for the first time."⁴³

³⁸ Cp. also Eves (1998: 52–53).

³⁹ Cp. Pitzer (1854: 15); Feest (1968: 46, pl. 5).

⁴⁰ Cp. Golob (1997: 292–293, fig. 53); Baraga (1837a: 84–85).

⁴¹ Cp. Pitzer (1854: 17); Feest and Kasprzycki (1993: 66, fig. 50).

⁴² Cp. Baraga (1834a: 5; 1837a: 85); Gachet (1890: 264); cp. also comparable descriptions by Mazzuchelli (1967: 77).

⁴³ "...eine Art von Kähnen, welche, wenn ein Fremder sie zum ersten Mahle sieht, Bewunderung in ihm erregen" (Baraga 1837a: 82). Cp. Baraga (1837a: 80–84); Gachet (1890: 225–226, 264).

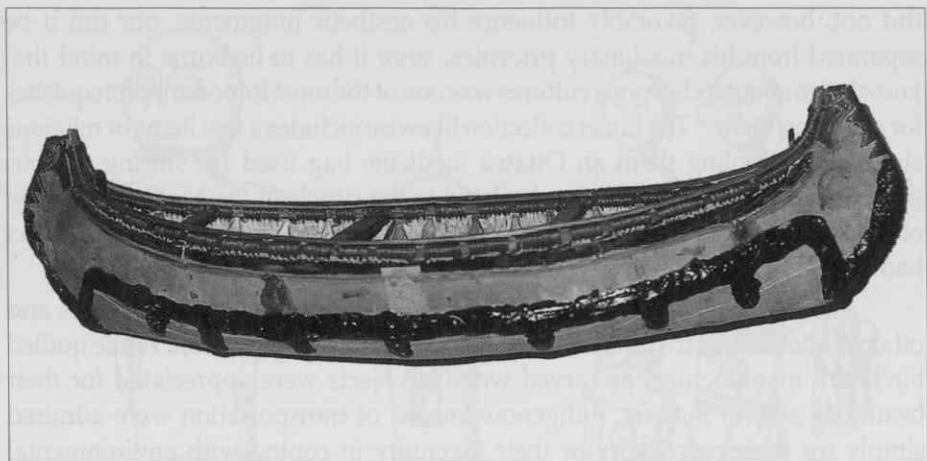


Figure 10: Miniature birchbark boat. Length 64 cm. Menominee, Wisconsin, collected in 1860. Musée d'Ethnographie, Université de Fribourg, cat. no. 2066 (Antoine-Marie Gachet coll.) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 10: Miniaturni čoln iz brezovega lubja. Dolžina 64 cm. Menomini, Wisconsin, 1860. Etnografski muzej univerze v Fribourgu, kat. št. 2066 (zbirka Antoine-Marie Gacheta) (foto C. F. Feest).

Models of such boats, like the one in Baraga's collection, were produced in great quantities for the tourist trade and are present in many collections.⁴⁴ Apart from lacking the sail with which Baraga's model is equipped, a Menominee miniature bark canoe collected by Gachet bears a strong resemblance to the former; it was given him as a present by one of his converts (Fig. 10). While both of these miniatures correspond in the details of their construction to the large boats, the model canoes in Pitzer's collection are less realistically made and decorated with colored quills, and thus maybe more typical of the average tourist item. Gachet's collection also contains a model of the other boat type in use among Native peoples of the region, a dugout canoe made from a hollowed tree trunk. The dugout model is also furnished with a jacklight, i.e., a device for holding a torch by the light of which one could spear fish in the dark. Paul Kane painted such a scene in 1845 among the Menominee; its picturesque aspect was much admired by Gachet, who also praised the dexterity which the Menominee displayed at spearing fish in this way.⁴⁵

In stark contrast to the admiration for Native means of transportation expressed by missionaries and other Whites, indigenous house forms usually came under severe attack and constituted a focus of Euroamerican assimilation projects. Next to subsistence patterns and forms of clothing, houses and building techniques were considered important markers of the extent of the Native peoples' progress in "civilization." Baraga's harsh criticism of Native dwellings is quite

⁴⁴ Cp. Golob (1997: 289–292, fig. 52).

⁴⁵ Cp. Gachet (1890: 233, 234, 245, 274).

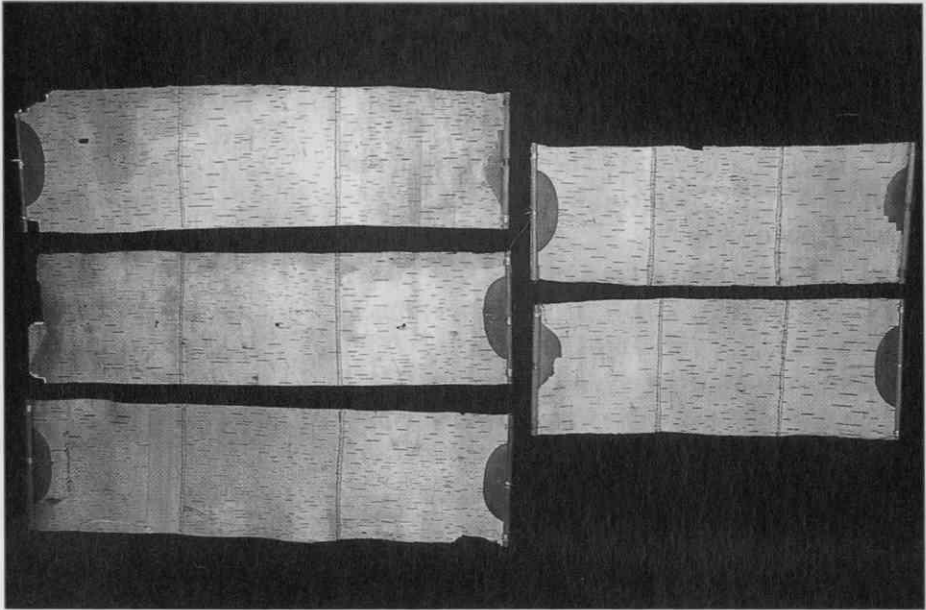


Figure 11: Miniature wigwam covers of birchbark. Ca. 47 cm x 13 cm and 36 cm x 13.5 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. nos. E 2870, E 18151, E 18152, E 18153, E 18154 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 11: Miniaturne kritine za wigwam iz brezovega lubja. Okrog 47 cm x 13 cm in 36 cm x 13,5 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836, Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat št. E 2870, E 18151, E 18152, E 18153, E 18154 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

typical of missionary civilization programs, which aimed at persuading the local people to give up their traditional homes in favor of European-style houses. This part of indigenous material culture figures in Baraga's collection in the form of five pieces of birchbark representing miniature wigwam covers, which were used for the conical as well as for the dome-shaped structures built by the Chippewa (Fig. 11).⁴⁶ In his book, Baraga commented on the difference between traditional house forms and the dwellings built by the Christianized Indians and described the former thus:

"The only difference is that the Indians already converted to Christianity, whom one guides in every way to a decent and civilized life, build themselves decent houses like the civilized country folk in this part of the world. Only the pagan Indians still make for themselves very miserable little huts, in the way of their forebears. They plant long thin poles in a circle in the ground, and bend and bind them together in the form of arches; then they cover this weak structure with large pieces of birchbark or mats, which they manufacture from a kind of rushes, or with buffalo hides, and fasten them all around to the poles. On top they leave an opening, which serves them at the same time as window and

⁴⁶ Cp. Golob (1997: 264–266, figs. 24–28).

chimney. On one side they leave another opening, through which they go in and out. In the middle of the hut a fire is kept burning constantly, around which the Indians sit or lie on mats or on birchbark, smoking tobacco. In these miserable huts the smoke is often so strong that one can hardly see the other."⁴⁷

Among the Ottawa of Michigan, Baraga's instructions quickly brought on results and in 1833, he proudly reported his successes in a letter to the Leopoldine Foundation in Vienna:

"The way of life of the converted savages of this mission station, especially in parish village itself, now resembles very much the way of life of the Whites. In the parish village of Arbre Croche, there are already 36 finished houses, which are only of wood, but very solid and habitable. [...] In the branch villages, the converted Indians likewise begin to build comfortable houses instead of their miserable huts, and in this way, the temporal blessings which Christianity gives to humankind become more and more visible."⁴⁸

Thus, the presence of this object in Baraga's collection represents a kind of irony: the attempt to preserve in a glass case an aspect of Native life and material culture, which missionary and government programs for the "improvement" of the Native populations in real life tried very hard to replace with Euroamerican standards of living.

Baraga's group of "household and wooden utensils" also comprises a number of textile products: a cradle wrapper of cloth, decorated with silk ribbon appliqué in an early, geometric style, a twined bag (apparently lost today), and two small rush mats. A Chippewa bandoleer bag, of interest because it combines the two techniques of finger-weaving and heddle-weaving, is identified by Baraga as a "tobacco pouch" and as such included in the category of "men's and war implements."⁴⁹ Textile techniques, like ribbon-work, embroidery, basketry, or weaving and twining were usually regarded in a favorable light by the

⁴⁷ "Der einzige Unterschied besteht darin, daß die bereits zum Christenthume bekehrten Indier, die man in jeder Rücksicht zu einem ordentlichen und civilisirten Leben anleitet, sich ordentliche Häuser machen, wie das civilisirte Landvolk diese Welttheils. Allein die heidnischen Indier machen sich noch immer, nach Art ihrer Vorfahren, sehr elende kleine Hütten. Sie stecken lange dünne Stangen in der Runde in die Erde, und biegen und binden sie bogenförmig zusammen; dann bedecken sie dieses schwache Gerüst mit großen Birkenrinden oder mit Matten, die sie aus einer Art von Schilf verfertigen, oder mit Büffelhäuten, und binden sie rundherum an die Stangen. Am Gipfel lassen sie eine Öffnung, die ihnen als Fenster und zugleich als Rauchfang dient. An einer Seite lassen sie eine andere Öffnung, durch die sie aus und eingehen. In der Mitte der Hütte wird ein beständiges Feuer unterhalten, um welches die Indier auf Matten oder auf Baumrinden sitzen oder liegen, und Taback rauchen. In diesen armseligen Hütten raucht es oft so stark, daß kaum einer den andern sieht" (Baraga 1837a: 64–65).

⁴⁸ "Die Lebensweise der bekehrten Wilden dieser Missionsstation, besonders im Pfarrdorfe selbst, gleicht nun sehr viel der Lebensweise der Weißen. Im Pfarrdorfe Arbre=Croche gibt es bereits 36 vollendete Häuser, die zwar nur von Holz, jedoch sehr solid und gut bewohnbar sind. [...] Auch in den Filial=Dörfern fangen die bekehrten Indier schon an, gut bewohnbare Häuser an die Stelle ihrer elenden Hütten zu bauen, und so werden auch hier die zeitlichen Segnungen, die das Christenthum den Menschen gibt, immer sichtbarer" (Baraga 1834b: 20).

⁴⁹ Cp. Golob (1997: 256–258, 263–264, 294–295, figs. 15, 16, 22, 23, 55); cp. Feest (1998) for comparative notes and a discussion of various problems of attribution.



Figure 12: Rush mat. 77 cm x 35.5 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2864 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 12: Rogoznica iz ločja. 77 cm x 35.5 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2864 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

missionaries and promoted as appropriate and useful female occupations.

Of these objects in the collection, the two rush mats are particularly intriguing (Fig. 12). The manufacture of such mats was a labor-intensive process, starting in early summer, when the rushes were gathered, dried, bleached, and dyed in preparation of weaving, which combined plaiting and twining techniques and was sometimes done in cooperation by several women. Apart from simple striped designs, the center panel of these mats sometimes figured complex geometric or representational motifs. Missionaries generally held these artifacts in high estimation, especially since they were usually not aware of the fact that in Native culture such mats functioned not merely as simple household articles but also fulfilled various ritual purposes. Some of these mats, for example, were used as wrappers for ceremonial bundles and occasionally displayed images of supernatural beings. Given these symbolic associations, the use of rush mats in the Christian churches as floor coverings, wall hangings, or even altar cloths decidedly favored the “indigenization” of the Catholic ritual.⁵⁰ A mat collected by Martin Pitzer, which had served as an altar decoration in the Ottawa church of Cross Village, aptly illustrates this point: Obviously unnoticed by the priests, the design panel of this mat shows rows of Thunderbirds, the powerful supernatural beings of Algonquian mythology, thus indicating a blend of traditional and Christian concepts in the practice of Native Catholicism.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Cp. Kasprzycki (1996: 47–49) for an extensive discussion of the role of rush mats in the practice of Catholicism among the Menominee of Wisconsin.

⁵¹ Cp. Pitzer (1854: 12); Feest and Kasprzycki (1993: 64, fig. 48).

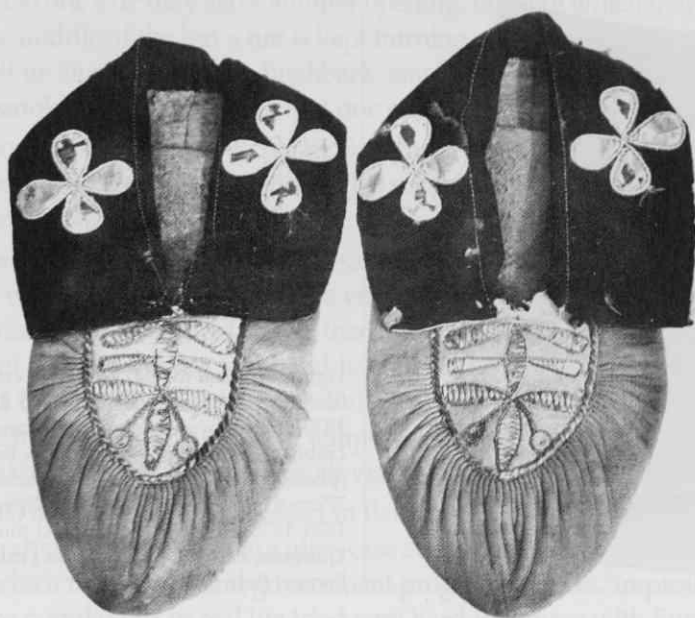


Figure 13: Moccasins of tanned buckskin and cloth, decorated with porcupine quill, silk ribbon and glass bead appliqué. Length 24 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2917 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦

Slika 13: Mokasini iz strojene jelenove kože in blaga, okrašeni z bodicami ježevca, svilenimi trakovi in aplikami iz steklenih biserov. Dolžina 24 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836.

Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2917 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

Baraga's category of "clothing" comprises only three pairs of moccasins (Fig. 13).⁵² As has already been mentioned briefly, Native forms of dress, like house forms, were a part of indigenous material culture heavily influenced by the missionaries, who expected their converts to exchange their Native garments for European-style dress. In this way, Western clothes quickly became a characteristic feature of the Native Christian communities. Baraga's decidedly critical attitude toward Native dress and personal adornment alternates between accusations of vanity displayed by some of the women and "Indian dandies" and reproaches for negligence of decency and hygiene on the part of others. He hastens to add, however, that this was only true for the "pagans":

"The Christian Indians are carefully encouraged to cleanliness and decency in their dress, and they are strictly forbidden all vanity. As soon as an Indian who owns silver earrings, nose rings, and armbands is being converted to the Christian religion, he has to exchange them at once for more useful articles of

⁵² "c) Kleidungsstücke" (Illyrisches Blatt 1837: 68). Cp. Golob (1997: 266–273, figs. 29–37); a correct attribution of the various moccasins in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana to Baraga's collecting activities is again difficult and has been attempted by Feest (1998).



Figure 14: Detail of pipe-stem, wrapped with plaited porcupine quills. Length 100 cm. Southwestern Chippewa, collected in 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, cat. no. E 2875 (Friderik Baraga coll.) (photo F. Golob). ♦ Slika 14: Detajl pipine cevi, ovite s pletenimi bodicami jezevca. Dolžina 100 cm. Jugozahodni Očipvejci, 1835–1836. Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, kat. št. E 2875 (zbirka Friderika Barage) (foto F. Golob).

dress, must never again paint his face, and put no more feathers in his hair.”⁵³

The fact that Baraga would have had to obtain indigenous items of dress and ornament from the non-Christian faction of the tribe may perhaps explain the lack of such objects in his collection. However, even those who had already taken over Euroamerican forms of dress usually still favored moccasins over European shoes. Interestingly enough, moccasins are also the only example of dress in Gachet’s collection (with the exception of a pair of beaded mittens). That missionary collections do, however, sometimes contain items of dress, is demonstrated by various specimens in the collection of Johann Georg Schwarz in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna. Schwarz himself was not a missionary, but he was the first secretary of the Leopoldine Foundation, and a greater part of his large collection derived from the missions supported by this organization. A

⁵³ “Jedoch muß bemerkt werden, daß alles dieses nur von den Heiden gilt. Die christlichen Indier werden sorgfältig zur Reinlichkeit und Anständigkeit in der Bekleidung angehalten, und alle Eitelkeit wird ihnen streng verboten. Sobald sich ein Indier, welcher silberne Ohrgehänge, Nasenringe und Armbänder besitzt, zur christlichen Religion bekehrt, muß er sie sogleich gegen nützlichere Kleidungsstücke umtauschen, darf sich nie mehr sein Gesicht bemahlen, und keine Federn mehr in seine Haare stecken” (Baraga 1837a: 60). Cp. Baraga (1837a: 57–64).



Figure 15: Ball-headed club. Length 52 cm. Menominee, Wisconsin, collected around 1860. Musée d'Ethnographie, Université de Fribourg, cat. no. 2041 (Antoine-Marie Gachet coll.) (photo C. F. Feest). ♦ Slika 15: Kij z okroglo glavo. Dolžina 52 cm. Menomini, Wisconsin, okrog 1860. Etnografski muzej univerze v Fribourgu, kat. št. 2041 (zbirka Antoine-Marie Gacheta) (foto C. F. Feest).

few pieces of dress decorated with silk ribbon appliqué, for example, were very likely given to Schwarz by Bishop Frederick Résé, who had probably collected them on a visit to the Menominee mission in the early 1830s.⁵⁴

Weapons and related objects, subsumed in Baraga's inventory under the heading of "men's and war implements,"⁵⁵ represented a "savage" side of Native culture which definitely had to be replaced with (ideal) Christian ways of life and which therefore featured strongly in missionary rhetoric. Even if objects like the ball-headed club from the Baraga collection were no longer used in actual combat and mostly served ceremonial functions, missionaries seldom missed the opportunity to dwell in detail on Native warfare and cruelty, or on practices of scalping and ritual torture, sometimes regardless of whether such customs were practiced by the group they were staying with or not.⁵⁶ A weapon similar to the club in Baraga's collection was acquired by Gachet among the Menominee (Fig. 14); even though Gachet notes that such clubs were no longer actively used in war but rather functioned as symbols of authority for the chiefs, he does not fail to draw attention to the marks on the handle of this club denoting the number enemies its owner had slain. Comparable clubs are also found among the artifacts collected by Pitzer, who likewise refers to a similar custom of marking the number of killed enemies.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Cp. note 6; Kasprzycki and Krpata (1988); Feest and Kasprzycki (1993: 59, fig. 43).

⁵⁵ "d) Manns- und Kriegsgeräthe" (Illyrisches Blatt 1837: 68).

⁵⁶ Cp. Golob (1997: 284–286, fig. 49); Baraga (1837a: 147–164).

⁵⁷ Cp. Gachet (1890: 271–272); Pitzer (1854: 14–15).

Bows and arrows likewise belong to this group of artifacts;⁵⁸ while either used in war (a pursuit contrary to Christian values) or in hunting (often denounced as a "lazy pastime" by missionaries trying to introduce European-style agriculture), even the missionaries were impressed by Native marksmanship, which hardly ever missed a shot and which was a skill practiced from a very early age.⁵⁹

The almost complete lack of artifacts relating to Native religious or ceremonial practices has already been discussed earlier; as the only exception can be considered the two "peace pipes" related to the instruments of warfare and included in this group of objects.⁶⁰ While Baraga personally considered smoking a "disgusting custom," he nonetheless described in some detail the various ceremonial functions of pipe smoking in Native culture.⁶¹ Gachet differed from Baraga in this respect: A smoker himself, he did not refuse a pipe when offered one and, indeed, declared that the Indian "kinnikinnic" he had smoked with the Menominee chief Iometah was the best tobacco that he had ever tasted.⁶² Three types of Menominee pipe-stems are represented in his collection: a flat stem with cut-out designs, a stem decorated with file brand marks; and one ornamented with quill-wrapping, horse hair, and silk ribbons; another pipe stem originally owned by a Chippewa religious specialist is unfortunately lost today. While Gachet's stems are missing the corresponding pipe bowls, the two pipe heads in Baraga's collection can be regarded as very fine examples of Native stone carving. Of the two stems, the round one wrapped with quills features a simple banded design; the flat stem, on the other hand, is wrapped with plaited quills in such a way as to form images of the most important supernatural powers of the Algonquian cosmos: Thunderbirds and Underwater Panthers (Fig. 15). In this way, Native cosmology and religious iconography are at least involuntarily illustrated in Baraga's collection.

As a representative survey of Native life, Baraga's collection is certainly not exhaustive. Apart from religious paraphernalia (as featured, for example, in the Bonduel collection), many other cultural domains are missing, among them that of games and pastimes (reflected in Gachet's collection by the presence of a lacrosse stick) or that of music (represented by a flute in the Pitzer collection). The picture of Native life and culture emerging from the selection of artifacts, however, can demonstrably be linked to the aims and processes of evangelization by analyzing it in the context of the missionary discourse of Baraga's time. In keeping with missionary agendas, they emphasize deficiencies of indigenous

⁵⁸ Cp. Golob (1997: 278–284, figs. 41–48). In addition, Baraga also collected a quill-ornamented knife sheath (Golob 1997: 260–261, fig. 19) and a spear head of copper apparently lost today (Illyrisches Blatt 1837: 68).

⁵⁹ Cp. Baraga (1837a: 87–88); Pitzer (1854: 14).

⁶⁰ Cp. Golob (1997: 274–277, figs. 39, 40).

⁶¹ Cp. Baraga (1837a: 6, 50, 167); Illyrisches Blatt (1837: 68).

⁶² Cp. Gachet (1890: 149).

beliefs and customs, while pointing out the Native peoples' intellectual and physical abilities. They advocate missionary efforts and seek to win moral and financial support for missionary ventures among peoples not only so desperately in need of them, but also so deserving.

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INDIJANSKA ZBIRKA FRIDERIKA BARAGE: MISIJONAR KOT ETNOGRAFSKI ZBIRALEC¹

Sylvia S. Kasprzycki

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Predmeti, ki jih ustvarjajo človekove roke, so mnogo več kot zgolj stvari za zadovoljevanje fizičnih potreb ali stvari, ki samo služijo posebnim namenom, za katere so bili izdelani. Nanje lahko gledamo kot na izjave o tem, kako ljudje dojemajo svet okrog sebe, kako opredelijo svoje mesto in mesto drugih v tem svetu in o njihovi interakciji z naravnim okoljem, s soljudmi in z nadnaravnim svetom. Kot taki so predmeti vidni in otipljivi izrazi osebne in kulturne identitete. Zato je povsem razumljivo, da so materialne stvari vedno igrale pomembno vlogo pri srečanjih med kulturami in zlasti pri srečanjih med Indijanci in krščanskimi misijonarji.

V pisanju misijonarjev je veliko dokazov o pomenu, ki so ga poslanci (katoliškega in protestantskega) krščanstva pripisovali materialnim manifestacijam verovanj in kulturnim običajem. Materialni simboli so bili bogati viri informacij o "drugem" in vsaka stran jih je interpretirala v skladu z lastnimi kulturnimi normami. Zato so misijonarji mnoge vidike indijanske kulture dojemali in o njih sodili na osnovi njihovega načina izražanja v predmetih in so svoja prizadevanja temu ustrezno prilagodili. Njihov cilj je bil verska spreobrnitev, ker pa so svoje ideološke kategorije istovetili s specifičnimi materialnimi oblikami (ali z odsotnostjo takih oblik), je razumljivo, da so se spremembe, ki so jih prinesli, pokazale večinoma in najbolj izrazito na materialnem področju. Krščanstvo je bilo neločljivo povezano s "civiliziranim" načinom življenja in z njegovimi atributi, uspeh misijonarjevih prizadevanj pa so dejansko pogosto merili po tem, do kakšne mere so Indijanci sprejeli zahodne oblike oblačenja, bivanja ali tehnologije preživetja.

Misijonarjevo zbiranje predmetov lahko imamo za en vidik tega stalnega in intenzivnega ukvarjanja z indijansko materialno kulturo. Upoštevati moramo, da zbrati predmete vedno pomeni iztrgati jih iz njihovega izvirnega konteksta

¹ Prejšnji verziji tega članka sem predstavila na Tretji konferenci severne amerikanistike, Etnološki muzej, Berlin, 28.-30.9.1996, in na simpoziju "Slovenski misijonar Irenej Friderik Baraga (1797-1868) in njegov prispevek k etnologiji," Slovenski etnografski muzej, Ljubljana, 16.-20.6.1997. Zahvaljujem se Christianu F. Feestu za kritične opombe in za nekaj izmed fotografij, ki jih v tem članku uporabljam.

uporabe in pomena za to, da služijo našim lastnim interesom in potrebam – pa naj gre za radovednost, za znanost ali za misijonarsko propagando. Čeprav je res, da so bile nekatere misijonarske zbirke zbrane na strokovni način in v interesu znanosti, njihova sestava in naknadna uporaba pogosto razkrivata drugačen temeljni motiv, posebno če jih gledamo v širšem kontekstu misijonarskega diskurza o materialni kulturi Indijancev.

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Kot dokazuje vrsta novejših teoretičnih študij o vlogi materialne kulture v misijonarskem procesu, zbiralnih aktivnosti misijonarjev in njihovega odnosa do izdelkov Indijancev ne smemo gledati ločeno od širšega programa evangelizacije ali od obstoječega razmerja moči v kolonialnem okolju. Za retoriko misijonarjev lahko ugotovimo, da niha med dvema imperativnima zahtevama: predstavljati indijanska ljudstva kot ujeta v "divjaštvu" ali "poganski temi", kar pomeni, da potrebujejo pomoč misijonarjev in, na drugi strani, prikazovanje Indijancev kot potencialno sposobne duhovnega in civilizacijskega napredka, kar opravičuje misijonarjeva prizadevanja v njihovo korist. Predstavitve indijanske materialne kulture služijo obema ciljema. Na eni strani najdemo pohvalo za vrsto predmetov, ki jih imajo misijonarji za dokaz iznajdljivosti, pameti, marljivosti ali preprosto ustvarjalnosti Indijancev. To so skratka vse stvari, ki bi jih lahko uvrstili v kategorijo "lepega" ali "koristnega". Take predmete so pogosto izpostavljali kot temeljni dokaz sposobnosti Indijancev, da se učijo in da postanejo "civilizirani". Predmete drugih vrst pa so opisali kot "primitivne" ali "barbarske" šege (npr. v zvezi z orožjem) ali "poganske" prakse (npr. v zvezi z verskimi pripomočki). Za misijonarje so ti predmeti predstavljali področja kulture, ki naj bi jih preoblikovalo krščanstvo. Čim je bil ta cilj dosežen, so ti predmeti bili zgolj ostanki preteklosti, ki so jo Indijanci s pomočjo misijonarjev pustili za sabo, in nanje je bilo torej mogoče gledati kot na "trofeje" in priče misijonarjevega uspeha. V končni analizi sta tako pozitivno kot negativno vrednotenje služili legitimiranju misijonarskega programa: ocene misijonarjev so "dokazale", da so indijanska ljudstva očitno potrebna dvojnih koristi, tj. krščanstva in civilizacije, ampak tudi to, da so bila vredna obojega.²

S teh zgoraj navedenih vidikov bi rada obravnavala majhno, vendar pomembno etnografsko zbirko, ki jo je slovenski misijonar Friderik Baraga na začetku tretjega desetletja osemnajstega stoletja zbral med Otavci in Očipvejci z zahodnega območja Velikih jezer in ki jo danes hrani Slovenski etnografski muzej v Ljubljani.³ Z umeščanjem Baragovih zbiralnih aktivnosti v kontekstu prevladujočega misijonarskega diskurza o indijanski materialni kulturi bomo morda dobili vpogled v Baragovo lastno oceno zbranih predmetov, pa tudi v načela, ki so ga pri izbiranju predmetov vodila. Cilj te analize je svež pogled na

² Glej npr. Thomas (1991: 151–162), Lawson (1994), Kasprzycki (1996) in Eves (1998) za bolj temeljite predstavitve teh argumentov.

³ O Baragovi etnografski zbirki, Glej Orel (1954), Štrukelj (1974, 1979), Golob (1997). Feest (1998) podaja kritično oceno zbirke s primerjalnega vidika in obravnava nekatere sporne pripise, ki niso predmet pričujočega članka.

kakovost, na sestavo in na motive Baragove etnografske zbirke, temelji pa na preučevanju pisnih virov in na tem, kaj povedo o odnosu misijonarja do indijanskih predmetov in do področij kulture, ki jih predstavljajo, ter na primerjavah tega specifičnega gradiva z drugimi zbirkami misijonarjev iz devetnajstega stoletja z zahodnega območja Velikih jezer.

Kot eden izmed prvih misijonarjev v prostranstvih zahodno od ameriških Velikih jezer, kjer so bili belci še redko naseljeni, je Friderik Baraga postal zgled za vrsto misijonarjev, ki so šli po njegovih stopinjah. Rojen 1797 in posvečen duhovnik pri šestindvajsetih letih je Baraga prispel v Združene države Amerike leta 1831. Potem ko je več mesecev bival v Cincinnatiju (takratni sedež škofije, ki je skrbela za današnje zvezne države Ohio, Michigan in Wisconsin), so mu maja istega leta dodelili otavski misijon, najprej v vasi Arbre Croche, pozneje pa v vasi Grand River v Michiganu. Kot človek izrednih ambicij in misijonarske vneme je na svoje poslanstvo gledal bolj kot na izziv pri spreobračanju Indijancev h krščanski veri kot na rutinsko vodenje zakotne župnije in kmalu je želel razširiti svoje delovno območje. Že po štirih letih se je julija 1835 odpravil naprej proti zahodu in ustanovil misijon med Očipvejci v Lapointu, pozneje pa še v L'Ansu na Zgornjem jezeru (gl. sl. 1). Ker je bila Baragova etnografska zbirka zbrana v toku prvih pet let njegovih misijonarskih aktivnosti in ker so jo leta 1836 poslali v Evropo kot donacijo predhodniku sedanjega Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja v Ljubljani, tu ni potrebno, da bi se ukvarjala z Baragovo poznejšo kariero, ki je, kakor vemo, dosegla višek z njegovim imenovanjem za škofa Saulta Ste. Marie in pozneje Marquettea.

Poteku Baragovega zbiranja predmetov, kot ga v novejši knjigi povzame Golob in ki ga kritično obravnava Feest, lahko sledimo skozi vrsto dokumentov.⁵ Čeprav misijonar zbirko prvič omenja v pismu sestri Amaliji Gressel z dne 3. decembra 1836, ko je že prispel v Evropo, da bi zbiral finančno pomoč za njegov misijon, vemo, da je prvo pobudo za zbiranje indijanskih etnografskih predmetov za Kranjski deželni muzej, ustanovljen 1821, dal že leta 1833 grof Franz Joseph von Hohenwart, predsednik kuratorija mladega muzeja. Čeprav se je Baraga najprej izgovarjal na pomanjkanje časa in na prednost njegovih dušnopastirskih nalog, da bi se tako izognil tej dodatni zadolžitvi, ni izključeno, da je kakšen predmet ali več predmetov prišlo v njegove roke, preden se je odločil ustrezati Hohenwartovi prošnji. Misijonarji so sredi vsakdanjega življenja indijanskih skupnosti pogosto dobivali ali pridobivali predmete. Zato je bilo več razlogov: poleg namenskega zbiranja so jih pogosto dobivali kot darila od svojih spreobrnjenec ali pa so indijanske predmete uporabili za lastno udobje. Mogoče je tudi dokumentirati, da je Baraga svojemu nadrejenemu vikarju generalu in poznejšemu škofu Fredericku Réséju poslal etnografske predmete za njegovo

⁴ Podrobne informacije o Baragovem življenjepisu in duhovniški karieri so npr. v Jezernik (1968); Glej tudi Golob (1997: 210–211).

⁵ Glej Golob (1997: 218–228); Feest (1998).

zbirko.⁶ V smislu tega prispevka moramo vendar poudariti, tako kot je storil že Feest, da je Baragova odločitev o donaciji zbirke predmetov Kranjskemu deželnemu muzeju sovpadala z njegovim nameravanim potovanjem v Evropo zaradi zbiranja sredstev in da ta odločitev priča o istem motivu kot pri mnogih drugih misijonarjih zbiralcih: pospešiti evangelijsko delo z opozarjanjem javnosti na način življenja Indijancev in na dosežke misijonarjev med njimi.⁷

Neposrednega pomena, ne samo za kulturno kontekstualizacijo predmetov, ampak tudi za indice o Baragovi lastni klasifikaciji predmetov, sta dva preživela inventarna seznama zbirke v rokopisu, oba sestavljena leta 1837, izmed katerih je enega Baraga sam opremil z opombami in je služil kot osnova za seznam pridobitev, ki ga je kmalu zatem objavil Ilirski list.⁸ Baragova knjiga Zgodovina, značaj, nravi in šege severnoameriških Indijancev je ravno tako izšla leta 1837 v nemški, francoski in slovenski izdaji,⁹ in čeprav nekateri etnografski opisi v njej ne temeljijo na osebnih izkušnjah, ampak so povzeti iz objavljene literature, je knjiga vreden vir o Baragovem splošnem odnosu do indijanskih kultur, s katerimi se je srečal. Bližja njegovim osebnim opazovanjem so številna njegova pisma, objavljena v poročilih Leopoldinini ustanovi na Dunaju, ki je finančno podpirala njegovega in druge misijone v Severni Ameriki. Čeprav so jih pred objavo uredili in čeprav so bila namenjena temu, da dobrotnikom predstavljajo njegove aktivnosti v kar najlepši luči, nudijo ta pisma bogate etnografske informacije in rišejo podrobno sliko vsakdanjega življenja na misijonarskih postajah. Baraga se je poleg s knjigo, s pismi in z drugim pisanjem uveljavil tudi zaradi jezikoslovnega dela: napisal je molitvenik in katehizem v očipvejščini in otavščini, temu pa sta sledila očipvejska slovnica in slovar očipvejščine, ki sta doživela več izdaj.¹⁰

Spodnja razprava o Baragovem zbiranju skuša ugotoviti vzporednice s podobnimi prizadevanji drugih misijonarjev devetnajstega stoletja na zahodnem območju Velikih jezer in jih skuša oceniti v kontekstu Baragovega pisanja in pisanja drugih misijonarjev. V tej zvezi bom večkrat za primerjavo omenila obsežno zbirko otavskega gradiva v Etnološkem muzeju na Dunaju, ki ga sicer ni zbral misijonar, vendar izvira iz misijonarskega konteksta. Zbral jo je namreč

⁶ Frederick Résé (ali Friedrich Rese), ki je odločilno pripomogel k ustanovitvi avstrijske Leopoldinine ustanove za finančno podporo katoliških misijonov v Združenih državah, je načrtno spodbujal misijonarje v svoji škofiji k pošiljanju etnografskih predmetov in znano je, da je tudi sam zbiral predmete med vizitacijami indijanskih skupnosti. Nekaj predmetov, ki jih je Résé na ta način pridobil, je končalo v zbirki Johanna Georga Schwarza, prvega ameriškega konzula na Dunaju in tajnika Leopoldinine ustanove. Danes jih hrani Etnološki muzej na Dunaju. Glej Kasprzycki in Krpata (1988); Feest in Kasprzycki (1993: 16–17).

⁷ Glej med drugim Kasprzycki (1994: 95); Lawson (1994: 32–33); Eves (1998: 50–51).

⁸ Glej Golob (1997: 219–224); Feest (1998: zlasti opombo 6); Ilirski list (1837).

⁹ Glej Baraga (1837a, 1837b, 1837c).

¹⁰ Glej med drugim Baraga (1850, 1853, 1973). Za izčrpno bibliografijo ogromnega Baragovega opusa objavljenih in neobjavljenih del glej Ceglar (1991–1992); glej tudi Šmitek (1993).

¹¹ Glej Pitzer (1854); Feest in Kasprzycki (1993: 17).

avstrijski cerkveni slikar Martin Pitzer, ki je na začetku druge polovice 19. stoletja (tj. približno dve desetletji po Baragovem službovanju tam) obiskal otavske vasi Arbres Croche in Cross Village, v času, ko sta tam službovala slovenska duhovnika Franc Pirc (Franz Pierz) in Ignac (Ignaz) Mrak. Pitzerjeva naloga je bila s svojo umetnostjo olepšati indijanske cerkve, vendar je našel tudi čas za zbiranje precejšnjega števila predmetov, ki jih je doma razkazoval na potujoči razstavi in tako skušal zbirati denar za otavski misijon. Objavil je tudi katalog k razstavi oz. predstavi, ki vsebuje dodatne informacije o kulturnem kontekstu predmetov in o njihovih indijanskih imenih, ki mu jih je povedal prav Baraga.¹¹

Zbirko etnografskih predmetov, ki spominja na Baragovo v smislu obsega in vsebine, je v letih 1859 - 1862 med Menomini v Wisconsinu zbral švicarski kapučinski misijonar Antoine-Marie Gachet. Katoliški misijon pri Menominih, ki so v kulturnem sorodstvu z Otavci in z Očipvejci, je približno četrto stoletja prej ustanovil italijanski dominikanec Samuele Mazzuchelli, ki mu ji bil Baraga za zgled. V treh letih misijonarskega dela med Menomini je Gachet sistematično zbral etnografske podatke in se kot Baraga posvetil tudi jezikoslovju in napisal osnutek slovnice za menominščino. V knjigi, ki jo je objavil kasneje in ki delno temelji na njegovih dnevnikih, so obsežni komentarji o življenju in o materialni kulturi Menominov in tudi podrobnosti o dejanskih okoliščinah zbiranja. Zbirko menominskih predmetov je podaril mestnemu muzeju v rojstnem kraju Fribourg v Švici in jo danes hrani Etnografski muzej univerze v Fribourgu.¹²

Vendar Gachet ni bil prvi misijonar med Menomini, ki je zbral etnografske predmete. Eden njegovih predhodnikov, belgijski duhovnik Florimond Bonduel, ki je v katoliški menonimski skupnosti služboval od 1846 do 1853, je že zbral majhno zbirko zlasti verskih pripomočkov, izmed katerih je preživelo le nekaj predmetov, ki jih sedaj hrani vatikanski muzej.¹³ Čeprav je precej manjša od katerekoli izmed omenjenih zbirk, predmeti v njej pričajo o tem, da je bil Bonduelov pristop k zbiranju nekoliko drugačen. Obredne predmete, ki so mu jih njegovi indijanski spreobrnjenci podarili oz. izročili v skladu z običajno in razširjeno prakso, je Bonduel imel za izrazite in otipljive dokaze o zmagi krščanstva in civilizacije nad prejšnjim praznoverjem in nad "poganskimi" šegami Menominov.^{13a}

Čeprav je Bonduel morda še najbolj odkrit glede povezanosti svoje zbirke z misijonarskimi nalogami, bom v pričujočem prispevku skušala pokazati, da so podobni (čeprav manj očitni) motivi bili izhodišče tudi za Baragovo in druge zbirke misijonarjev njegove dobe.

Prva skupina predmetov, omenjenih na inventarnem seznamu Baragove

¹² Glej Gachet (1890); za kratko poročilo o Gachetovem misijonu pri Menominih in o historiatu njegove zbirke, glej Kasprzycki (1994: 94-96).

¹³ O Bonduelovem življenjepisu in o usodi njegove zbirke, glej Kasprzycki (1994: 94-95).

^{13a} Glej Bonduel (1855); Kasprzycki (1996: 46).

zbirke iz leta 1837¹⁴, so "industrijski predmeti, vsi izdelani iz lubja severnoamerške breze."¹⁵ Brezovo lubje je bilo surovina za vrsto različnih gospodinjskih in uporabnih predmetov v vsakdanjem življenju Indijancev na zahodnem območju Velikih jezer. Vendar so Indijanci razne manjše predmete iz brezovega lubja, skrbno okrašene z barvanimi bodicami ježevca in z geometričnimi motivi ali podobami, izdelali predvsem zaradi prodaje belcem. Izdelali pa so jih v velikanskih količinah in jih pogosto najdemo v misijonarskih in drugih zbirkah s tega območja. Dokaj splošen tip izdelka je bila majhna škatla, zvita iz kosa brezovega lubja, okrašena z bodicami ježevca in polnjena z javorjevim sladkorjem; takih škatel je v Baragovi zbirki kar nekaj (sl. 2).¹⁶ Indijanci so jih večinoma prodajali kot spominke, včasih pa so bila darila, ki so si jih izmenjali sorodniki in prijatelji v indijanski skupnosti.

Misijonarji so o teh predmetih, okrašenih z bodicami ježevca, na splošno imeli izrazito pozitivno mnenje. Pohvalili so umetniško ustvarjalnost, ki so jo Indijanke pokazale pri izdelovanju teh predmetov in so jih celo spodbujali k izdelovanju. Gachet - v njegovi zbirki sta prav tako dve škatli z javorjevim sladkorjem - je opisal menominsko vezenje z bodicami kot "posebno ljubko" in je poudaril zunanjo privlačnost teh predmetov:

"Nič ni bolj ljubko kot te drobne škatle z javorjevim sladkorjem, ki jih krasijo s tovrstnim vezenjem in tako naredijo darila iz njih."¹⁷

Vendar pohvala ni veljala zgolj estetskemu videzu predmetov. Poleg tega, da so bili navdušeni nad njihovo natančno izdelavo, so misijonarji zlasti hvalili potrpežljivost in marljivost, s katerima so jih izdelovali - tj. vrlini, ki nista bili cenjeni samo v indijanski kulturi, ampak sta veljali tudi za pravi krščanski vrlini. Misijonarji so take predmete pogosto podarili obiskovalcem misijona ali svojim nadrejenim kot dokaze o uspehih, ki so jih dosegli pri izpolnjevanju nalog.¹⁸ Tovrstne spretnosti Indijancev so tudi neposredno povezovali z njihovo sposobnostjo za napredek in "civilizacijo". Ta sklep je zelo odkrito povedan v naslednjem odlomku iz Pitzerjevega skromnega kataloga:

"Ti predmeti iz brezovega lubja [...] nedvomno pričajo o njihovi bistri pameti in o potrpežljivosti pri enoličnem delu. Zaradi njih si želimo napeti vse sile za

¹⁴ V nadaljevanju bom izključno omenjala objavljeni seznam predmetov (v Ilirskem listu 1837), ker v času, ko sem ta prispevek pisala, nisem imela na razpolago omenjenih rokopisnih seznamov.

¹⁵ "a) Industrial=Predmete, sämmtlich aus der Rinde des nordamerikanischen Birkenbaumes" (Ilirski list 1837: 67).

¹⁶ Glej Golob (1997: 249–252, slike 1–6). Obstaja nekaj dvoma o tem, kdo je zbral posamezne posode, okrašene z bodicami, ki so v zbirki Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja. Feest (1998) skuša razvozlati ta problem.

¹⁷ "Rien de plus gentil que les petites boites à sucre d'érable qu'elles couvrent de broderies de ce genre pour en faire des cadeaux" (Gachet 1890: 261); glej tudi Pitzer (1854: 18).

¹⁸ Gachet je nekoč poslal škatlo z javorjevim sladkorjem, ki jo je naredila Menominka iz njegove verske skupnosti, škofu Martinu Henniju (Gachet 1861).

to, da bodo s šolami dobili sredstvo za doseganje boljše usode."¹⁹

Poleg tega so majhne škatle z javorjevim sladkorjem bile značilne za vejo gospodarske aktivnosti Indijancev, ki so jo misijonarji močno odobraval. Takorekoč v vsakem misijonarjevem poročilu najdemo podroben opis postopkov pridobivanja javorjevega sladkorja.²⁰ Res pa je, da bi misijonarji težko spregledali to pomembno sestavino preživetja Indijancev, ker so ti zgodaj spomladi zapustili svoje vasi in se podali v tabore javorjevega sladkorja, kar je pomenilo, da je bilo to obdobje za misijonarje, ki so ostali doma, nekakšen dopust. Javorjev sladkor so pridobivali tako, da so v drevesa naredili zareze, zbirali sok in ga kuhali, dokler ni ostal sladkor v zrnih. Čeprav so misijonarji na splošno skušali spremeniti indijanski način preživljanja z lovom, ribolovom, nabiralništvom in vrtnarjenjem v poljedelstvo na velikih površinah, ki so ga imeli za nujni pogoj za stalne, stabilne in neodvisne skupnosti, so na proizvodnjo javorjevega sladkorja gledali kot na delovnointenzivno opravilo in jo prav zato cenili. Misijonarji so včasih ogromne količine javorjega sladkorja, pridobljene v eni sezoni, navajali kot dokaz marljivosti in delavnosti Indijancev.²¹ Ker so presežek javorjevega sladkorja prodali ali zamenjali za hrano ali za drugo blago, so misijonarji v proizvodnji sladkorja videli sredstvo za integracijo Indijancev v tržno gospodarstvo in jo zato podpirali. Ocene misijonarjev o kulinarčnih lastnosti javorjevega sladkorja so se razlikovale: medtem ko je Baraga menil, da se morajo Evropejci najprej navaditi nanj, ker je povzročal zgago in imel gorak priokus, če so ga jedli v čisti obliki, ga je Gachet - v njegovi zbirki je več kosov javorjevega sladkorja, oblikovanih v modelu - celo primerjal s švicarsko čokolado.²²

Majhne škatle iz brezovega lubja, okrašene z vezenjem iz bodic, po obliki in načinu izdelave ustrezajo večjim, večinoma neokrašenim posodam iz lubja, ki so jih Indijanci uporabljali za shranjevanje javorjevega sladkorja ali divjega riža. Funkcija in oblika drugih izdelkov, okrašenih z vezenjem iz bodic, ki so jih namensko izdelali za prodajo turistom, pa veliko bolj očitno skušajo ustrezati pričakovanjem Evroameričanov. Blazinice za igle, posodice za igle, pahljače iz perja, torbe, pladnji ali škatle za cigare so postali priljubljeni spominki, ko so njihovi estetski privlačnosti dodali videz praktičnosti. V Baragovi zbirki takih predmetov, z izjemo dveh lepo izdelanih, vendar dokaj preprostih skled iz brezovega lubja,²³ ni, številne podobne primerke pa je med drugim zbral Pitzer

¹⁹ "Die hier vorliegenden Arbeiten aus Birkenrinde durch Ausschmückung von Weißfedern, den Stacheln des Stachelschweines &c. vereinigt mit ihrer Weise, ohne alle Kenntniß von Chemie aus gesotteten Steinen, Wurzeln und Kräutern glänzende Farben und Farbenmischungen auf Binsen zu Matten &c. überzutragen, lassen unverkennbar ihren Scharfsinn und eine Ausdauer bei einförmiger Arbeit erblicken und den Wunsch entstehen, Alles aufzubieten, um ihnen durch Schulen das Mittel zur Erreichung eines besseren Looses zu verschaffen" (Pitzer 1854: 10).

²⁰ Glej Baraga (1837a: 72–75); Pitzer (1854: 16–17); Gachet (1890: 224–225).

²¹ Glej npr. Baraga (1837a: 73).

²² Glej Baraga (1837a: 72); Gachet (1890: 225).

²³ Cp. Golob (1997: 253–254, slike 7, 8).

(sl. 3). Škatlo iz brezovega lubja s pokrovom, ki jo je pri Menominih dobil Gachet, imamo prav tako lahko za precej tipično in povedno za prizadevanje Indijancev, da so zunanost teh predmetov skušali čimbolj prilagoditi okusu Evroameričanov. (sl. 4).²⁴

Kako zelo so misijonarji cenili to vejo indijanskih izdelkov, morda še najbolj potrjuje dejstvo, da so te predmete uporabljali za olepšanje cerkev in v kontekstu krščanskih obredov. Do predmetov cerkvene opreme in pripomočkov za katoliško bogoslužje so v mejnih naseljih pogosto težko prišli. Ker so misijonarji bili tako ponosni na svojo "sveto vero, ki se celo v zunanjih stvareh tako trudi častiti našega Gospoda in Boga"²⁵, so namesto manjkajočih stvari uporabljali domače materiale in tehnike. Na ta način so misijonarji torej spodbujali nastajanje posebne materialne kulture indijanskega krščanstva: eden najbolj očarljivih primerov je gotovo čudoviti oltarski komplet iz izdelkov iz brezovega lubja, bogato okrašenih z vezenjem iz bodic ježevca, ki so ga uporabljali katoliški Otavci v vasi Cross Village v Michiganu in ki ga je zbral Martin Pitzer.²⁶ Posode za blagoslovljeno vodo iz brezovega lubja - v Pitzerjevi zbirki sta dve - so takrat uporabljali v katoliških otavskih gospodinjskih (sl. 5).²⁷ Za zgoraj omenjenega italijanskega misijonarja Samuela Mazzuchellija celo vemo, da je papežu poslal očipvejsko škatlo iz brezovega lubja, izdelano za hostije.²⁸

Poleg predmetov iz brezovega lubja so bili misijonarji zelo navdušeni nad moško domeno rezbarjenja, zlasti zaradi pogosto izredno preprostega orodja, s katerim so indijanski rezbarji dosegli odlične rezultate. V Baragovi zbirki je tudi skupina lesenih predmetov in v knjigi pravi, da so jih spretno izdelali Indijanci.²⁹ Primerke, podobne žlicam in majhnim lesenim skledam, ki jih je zbral Baraga³⁰, najdemo tudi v Pitzerjevi in Gachetovi zbirki (sl. 6, 7). Pitzer v katalogu poudarja, da so bili ti lepo izdelani predmeti narejeni s pomočjo starega noža. Gachet podobno hvali spretnosti menominskih rezbarjev in omenja, da veliko rezbarij še vedno izdelajo z najbolj preprostim orodjem - z bobrovim zobom.³¹

Poudariti pa vendar moramo, da so te pohvale ročnim spretnostim veljale izključno izdelavi "koristnih" predmetov in so ponavadi izhajale iz misli na napredovanje indijanskih obrtnikov v "civilizirane" poklice - v tesarje, izdelovalce

²⁴ Glej tudi dve primerljivi škatli iz lubja z nejasnim historiatom v zbirki Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja (Golob 1997: 261–263, slike 20, 21); Feest (1998: 301, slika 7). V Gachetovi zbirki sta tudi dve blazinici za igle, okrašeni z bodicami, in nekoč je bila v njej tudi pahljača iz perja, ki je sedaj izgubljena.

²⁵ "Welch eine hohe Idee wird ihnen alles dieses von unsrer heiligen Religion geben, die sich sogar in allem Äußeren so sehr bemühet, unserem Herrn und Gott die gebührende Ehre zu bezeugen" (Baraga 1836: 52).

²⁶ Glej Feest (1968: 53–54, pl. 6).

²⁷ Glej Pitzer (1854: 23); Feest in Kasprzycki (1993: 70, slika 55).

²⁸ Glej Crepeau (1932: 73).

²⁹ "b) Haus- und Holzgeräthe" (Ilirski list 1837: 68); Glej Baraga (1837a: 67).

³⁰ Glej Golob (1997: 254–256, figs. 9, 10, 12, 13, 14).

³¹ Glej Pitzer (1854: 19); Gachet (1890: 261).

orodja in podobno. Tako so misijonarji verske rezbarije, četudi so bile izredno natančno izdelane, običajno obsojali, ker so bile povezane s "poganstvom" in jih zaradi tega ni bilo mogoče soditi z istimi merili. Medtem ko so torej za predmete za vsakdanjo rabo, kot so sklede, zajemalke ali zibelke - en primerek je tudi v Baragovi zbirki (sl. 8) - govorili, da so "umetniško izrezane", so verske skulpture večinoma zavračali kot "ostudne".³²

Baragi, ki ni kazal skoraj nobenega zanimanja za vero Indijancev z etnografskega vidika in ki je njihova verovanja počez označil kot "absurdna" in "neumnosti", ni imel interesa zbirati predmetov, povezanih z njihovimi verskimi običaji, čeprav v njegovih pisanjih najdemo posamezne raztresene omembe "lesenih idolov" in drugih "praznovernih reči".³³ Da tak odnos ni nujno tipičen za pogled misijonarjev, dokazuje včasih globoka prevzetost s sistemi indijskega verovanja, ki so ga izražali nekateri njegovi kolegi duhovniki na terenu. Ker se je od spreobrnjenec na splošno pričakovalo, da pred krstom ali po njem izročijo vse svoje obredne pripomočke, so imeli misijonarji več kot dovolj možnosti, da so prišli do teh predmetov. V Baragovih pisanjih najdemo številne omembe obrednega sežiganja pripomočkov, ki so mu jih prinesli njegovi spreobrnjenci, vendar se Baraga za razliko od nekaterih kolegov duhovnikov ni odločil za to, da bi jih vsaj nekaj rešil pred uničenjem.³⁴

Drugi misijonarji so shranili nekaj osnovnih opredmetenih izrazov verskega življenja Indijancev, pa čeprav iz različnih razlogov. Omenili smo že majhno etnografsko zbirko, ki jo je okrog 1850 sestavil belgijski misijonar Florimond Bonduel. Sestavljajo jo skoraj izključno menominski obredni predmeti, vključno z raznimi antropomorfnimi in zoomorfnimi figurami, izrezanimi iz lesa (sl. 9). Bonduelov glavni cilj pri zbiranju teh "ostudnih predmetov" je menda bila njegova želja, da jih razkazuje kot otipljive dokaze za ogromen napredek Menominov od "zavezanosti magiji in vsemu poganskemu praznoverju" v prave "zglede vrlin in krščanske pobožnosti" in tako podčrta "moč milosti" in obenem tudi lastne uspehe.³⁵ Drugi predmet v Bonduelovi zbirki, ki zbujajo pozornost (in ki je eden izmed redkih danes še ohranjenih) je lesena tabla, v katero so vgravirane osebne vizije menominskega verskega izvedenca. Podobno tablo je zbral tudi Gachet, ki se je zelo zanimal za menominsko obredno umetnost, ker sta ga vodili radovednost in želja bolje razumeti njihove verske poglede in običaje.³⁶ Vendar zaradi tega zanimanja ni popravil svoje ocene glede estetskega videza teh predmetov; prav tako zaradi tega ne smemo pozabiti na njegove prednostne misijonarske naloge, pač pa moramo upoštevati, da je bilo poznavanje indijske

³² V zvezi z lesenimi skledami in zajemalkami je zanimivo, da je Baraga v inventarju svoje zbirke zapisal kritične opombe o prehranjevalnih navadah Indijancev; menil je, da se prehranjujejo neredno in da so pri tem brez primere olike (Ilirski list, 1837, 68). Glej Golob (1997: 293–294, slika 54).

³³ Glej Baraga (1832: 11; 1834b: 21; 1837a: 132).

³⁴ Glej npr. Baraga (1832: 11; 1833: 16).

³⁵ Glej Bonduel (1855: 6).

³⁶ Glej Kasprzycki (1994).

kulture eden glavnih predpogojev za spreminjanje te kulture.³⁷ Pitzerjeva zbirka prav tako vključuje nekaj predmetov verskega pomena, med njimi je otavska medicinska torba, ki so jo uporabljali za shranjevanje raznih zdravil in pripomočkov in ki je bila povezana z obredi vračev; ker jo je katoliški lastnik očitno uporabljal v povsem druge namene, se je ta predmet znašel v Pitzerjevi zbirki kot "tulec za puščice" ali "torba za shranjevanje."³⁸

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Segment Indijanske materialne kulture, ki je naredil globok vtis na misijonarje in na druge belce, ki so obiskovali to območje, so bila prometna sredstva. Z bodicami okrašene izdelke iz brezovega lubja in izrezane lesene predmete so cenili zaradi njihove lepote ali spretne izdelave, indijanska prometna sredstva pa so preprosto občudovali zaradi njihove praktičnosti ali domišljenega način premagovanja pogojev v okolju, v katerem so Indijanci živeli; belci so jih pogosto prevzeli, ker so spoznali, da so boljša. V skupino "gospodinjskih in lesenih pripomočkov" je v Baragovo zbirko razvrščen par očipvejskih krpelj tipa "lastovičji rep", v knjigi pa tudi opisuje njihovo izdelavo.³⁹ Baraga si je nabavil to "domišljeno in koristno iznajdbo" za zimska potovanja; da so njegovemu zgledu sledili tudi nasledniki, pa dokazuje par krpelj v Pitzerjevi zbirki, ki jih je uporabljal slovenski misijonar Ignac Mrak.⁴⁰ Tako Baraga kot Pitzer hvalita lahkoto in hitrost, s katerima so Indijanci na krpeljah premagovali velike razdalje, čeprav je Baraga priznal, da učinkovita hoja na krpeljah zahteva veliko vaje in veliko moči. Podobne opise izdelave krpelj pri Menominih (vključno z njihovo sposobnostjo, da so naredili provizorične krpelje, kadar jih je na potovanjih presenetil sneg), najdemo tudi pri Gachetu, ki ga je zelo očarala indijanska spretnost preživljanja.⁴¹

Drugo prometno sredstvo, ki je bilo zelo razširjeno v Vzhodnih gozdovih, je bil kanu iz brezovega lubja, katerega prednosti so zelo cenili mnogi belci z mejnega območja. Te čolne so odlikovale precejšnja nosilnost, hitrost in majhna teža. Tako so bili optimalno prilagojeni terenu, saj so jih lahko tam, kjer plovba ni bila mogoča, zlahka prenašali ob reki. Skoraj vsi misijonarji so opisali izdelavo čolnov iz brezovega lubja in Baraga, ki si je zanje izmislil pojem "umetniška izdelava", je izjavil, da se jim "tujec, ko jih prvič vidi, ne more dovolj načuditi".⁴²

Modele čolnov, kot je tisti v Baragovi zbirki, so v velikih količinah izdelali za prodajo turistom in jih najdemo v mnogih zbirkah.⁴³ Z izjemo jadra, s katerim je opremljen Baragov model, mu je zelo podoben model menominskega kanuja

³⁷ Glej tudi Eves (1998: 52–53).

³⁸ Glej Pitzer (1854: 15); Feest (1968: 46, pl. 5).

³⁹ Glej Golob (1997: 292–293, slika 53); Baraga (1837a: 84–85).

⁴⁰ Glej Pitzer (1854: 17); Feest in Kasprzycki (1993: 66, slika 50).

⁴¹ Glej Baraga (1834a: 5; 1837a: 85); Gachet (1890: 264); Glej tudi primerljive opise pri Mazzuchelliju (1967: 77).

⁴² "...eine Art von Kähnen, welche, wenn ein Fremder sie zum ersten Mahle sieht, Bewunderung in ihm erregen" (Baraga 1837a: 82). Glej Baraga (1837a: 80–84); Gachet (1890: 225–226, 264).

⁴³ Glej Golob (1997: 289–292, slika 52).

iz lubja, ki ga je zbral Gachet; podaril mu ga eden izmed njegovih spreobrnjencev (sl. 10). Oba miniaturna izdelka sicer glede izdelave ustrezata pravim velikim čolnom, vendar je model kanuja v Pitzerjevi zbirki manj realistično izdelan in je okrašen z barvnimi bodicami, tako da je morda bolj značilen izdelek povprečnega spominka za turiste. V Gachetovi zbirki je tudi model čolna drugega tipa, ki so ga uporabili Indijanci tega območja, in sicer drevaka. Drevak je tudi opremljen z držalom za luč, tj. z napravo, na katero so nasadili baklo in ponoči v njeni svetlobi lovili ribe s kopjem. Paul Kane je 1845 naslikal prizor takega ribolova pri Menominih; njegovo slikovost je zelo občudoval Gachet, ki je tudi pohvalil spretnost, ki so jo Menomini pokazali pri ribolovu s kopjem.⁴⁴

V popolnem nasprotju z občudovanjem indijanskih prometnih sredstev, ki so ga izkazali misijonarji in drugi belci, so bila indijanska bivališča običajno tarča hudih napadov in so bila osrednji cilj asimilacijskih načrtov Evroameričanov. Poleg evropskega načina preživljanja in oblačil so imeli hiše in gradbeno tehniko za pomembne mejnike v napredovanju Indijancev proti "civilizaciji". Baragovo ostro zavračanje indijanskih bivališč je zelo značilno za civilizacijske načrte misijonarjev namenjenih prepričevanju lokalnih ljudstev, da opustijo svoja tradicionalna bivališča v zameno za hiše evropskega stila. Ta segment indijanske materialne kulture je v Baragovi zbirki prisoten v obliki petih kosov brezovega lubja, ki v pomanjšani obliki predstavljajo kritino za wigwam, ki so jo Očipvejci uporabljali tako za stožčaste kot za kupolaste gradnje (sl. 11).⁴⁵ Baraga v svoji knjigi razpravlja o razliki med tradicionalnimi oblikami bivališč in domovanji, ki so jih gradili spreobrnjeni Indijanci; prve opisuje takole:

"Edina razlika je, da Indijanci, ki so že sprejeli krščanstvo in ki jih v vsakem pogledu navajamo na spodobno in civilizirano življenje, gradijo primerne hiše tako kot civilizirani prebivalci tega dela sveta. Samo pogani med njimi še vedno gradijo zelo bedne majhne kočice na način svojih prednikov. Dolge tanke drogove zasadijo v zemljo v obliki kroga, jih upognejo in zvežejo v obliki loka; potem to šibko ogrodje pokrivajo z velikimi kosi brezovega lubja, z rogoznicami, ki jih izdelajo iz vrste ločja, ali z bivoljimi kožami in jih vse naokrog pritrdijo na drogove. Na vrhu pustijo odprtino, ki jim služi hkrati kot okno in kot dimnik. Na eni strani šotora pustijo še drugo odprtino, skozi katero vstopajo in izstopajo. V sredini kočice stalno gori ogenj, okrog katerega Indijanci sedijo ali ležijo na rogoznicah ali na brezovem lubju in kadijo tobak. V teh bednih kočah je dim pogosto tako gost, da se ljudje komaj vidijo."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Glej Gachet (1890: 233, 234, 245, 274).

⁴⁵ Glej Golob (1997: 264–266, figs. 24–28).

⁴⁶ "Der einzige Unterschied besteht darin, daß die bereits zum Christenthume bekehrten Indier, die man in jeder Rücksicht zu einem ordentlichen und civilisirten Leben anleitet, sich ordentliche Häuser machen, wie das civilisirte Landvolk diese Welttheils. Allein die heidnischen Indier machen sich noch immer, nach Art ihrer Vorfahren, sehr elende kleine Hütten. Sie stecken lange dünne Stangen in der Runde in die Erde, und biegen und binden sie bogenförmig zusammen; dann bedecken sie dieses schwache Gerüst mit großen Birkenrinden oder mit Matten, die sie aus einer Art von Schilf verfertigen, oder mit Büffelhäuten, und binden ►

Pri Otavcih iz Michigana so Baragova navodila kmalu učinkovala in 1833 je Leopoldinini ustanovi na Dunaju ponosno poročal o svojem uspehu:

“Način življenja spreobrnjenih divjakov v tej misijonarski postaji, zlasti v sami župnijski vasi, je sedaj zelo podoben načinu življenja belcev. V župnijski vasi Arbre Croche je zgrajenih že 36 hiš, ki so iz samega lesa, vendar so zelo čvrste in primerne za bivanje [...] Tudi v podružničnih vaseh začenjajo Indijanci graditi primerne hiše namesto bednih koč in na ta način se vse bolj kažejo časni blagri, ki jih krščanstvo daje ljudem.”⁴⁷

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Prisotnost tega predmeta v Baragovi zbirki je torej neke vrste ironija: poskus ohraniti v steklenem stolpu značilnosti indijanskega življenja in materialne kulture, čeprav so si misijonarji in vlada v težnji “izboljšati” življenje Indijancev v resnici močno prizadevali, da bi jih zamenjali z evroameriškimi standardi bivanja.

Baragova skupina “gospodinjskih in lesenih pripomočkov” vsebuje tudi vrsto tekstilnih izdelkov: prevezo za zibelko iz blaga, okrašeno z apliko iz svilenih trakov v starem geometričnem stilu, pleteno torbo (danes je menda ni več) in dve majhni rogoznici iz ločja. Za očipvejsko naramno torbo, ki je zanimiva, ker združuje tehniko pletenja s prsti s tkanjem na statvah, pravi Baraga, da je “mošnja za tobak” in jo zato vključi v skupino “moške in bojne opreme”.⁴⁸ Tekstilne tehnike, kot so uporaba trakov, vezenje, pletenje, tkanje in podobne, so misijonarji običajno odobraval in jih spodbujali kot primerna in koristna ženska opravila.

Izmed tekstilnih predmetov v zbirki sta dve rogoznici iz ločja posebno zanimivi (sl. 12). Izdelava takih rogoznic je bil delovnointenzivni postopek, ki se je začel zgodaj poleti, ko so Indijanke zbrale, posušile, belile in barvale ločje pred tkanjem, ki je združevalo tehniko pletenja in ovijanja in so se ga ženske včasih lotevale v skupinah. Poleg preprostih črtastih motivov so osrednje polje teh rogoznic včasih okrasili z zapletenimi geometričnimi ali likovnimi motivi. Misijonarji so te izdelke običajno visoko cenili, zlasti ker se ponavadi niso zavedali dejstva, da rogoznic v indijanski kulturi niso uporabljali samo kot preprostih gospodinjskih predmetov, ampak tudi v razne obredne namene. Nekaj teh rogoznic so na primer uporabljali za ovijanje obrednih (svetih) svežnjev in včasih so na njih podobe nadnaravnih bitij. Zaradi teh simboličnih asociacij je bila

sie rundherum an die Stangen. Am Gipfel lassen sie eine Öffnung, die ihnen als Fenster und zugleich als Rauchfang dient. An einer Seite lassen sie eine andere Öffnung, durch die sie aus und eingehen. In der Mitte der Hütte wird ein beständiges Feuer unterhalten, um welches die Indier auf Matten oder auf Baumrinden sitzen oder liegen, und Taback rauchen. In diesen armseligen Hütten raucht es oft so stark, daß kaum einer den andern sieht” (Baraga 1837a: 64–65).

⁴⁷ “Die Lebensweise der bekehrten Wilden dieser Missionsstation, besonders im Pfarrdorfe selbst, gleicht nun sehr viel der Lebensweise der Weißen. Im Pfarrdorfe Arbre=Croche gibt es bereits 36 vollendete Häuser, die zwar nur von Holz, jedoch sehr solid und gut bewohnbar sind. [...] Auch in den Filial=Dörfern fangen die bekehrten Indier schon an, gut bewohnbare Häuser an die Stelle ihrer elenden Hütten zu bauen, und so werden auch hier die zeitlichen Segnungen, die das Christenthum den Menschen gibt, immer sichtbarer” (Baraga 1834b: 20).

⁴⁸ Glej Golob (1997: 256–258, 263–264, 294–295, slike. 15, 16, 22, 23, 55); Glej Feest (1998) za primerjalne opombe v razpravi o nekaterih problemih pripisovanja.

uporaba rogoznic iz ločja kot talnih ali stenskih oblog ali celo kot oltarnih prticev v krščanskih cerkvah vsekakor v korist "podomačenja" katoliškega obreda.⁴⁹ Rogoznica, ki jo je zbral Martin Pitzer in ki je služila kot okras oltarja v otavski cerkvi v vasi Cross Village, odlično ponazarja to tezo: duhovniki se očitno niso zavedali, da so na okrasnem polju rogoznice vrste ptic gromovnic, močnih nadnaravnih bitij iz algonkinske mitologije, kar kaže na stapljanje tradicionalnih in krščanskih pojmov in praks v indijanskem katolicizmu.⁵⁰

V Baragovi skupini "oblačil" so samo trije pari mokasinov (sl. 13).⁵¹ Kot smo zgoraj že na kratko omenili, so oblačilne navade Indijancev tako kot njihova bivališča tvorile segment njihove materialne kulture, ki so ga misijonarji najbolj napadali: od spreobrnjenecv so zahtevali, da indijanska oblačila zamenjajo za evropsko garderobo. Na ta način so zahodna oblačila kmalu postala značilnost indijanskih krščanskih skupnosti. Baragov odločno odklonilni odnos do indijanskih oblačil in do osebne nakita niha med tem, da ženskam in "indijanskim gizdalinom" očita nečimrnost, drugim pa pomanjkanje spodobnosti in higiene. Vendar ne pozabi dodati, da to velja samo za "pogane":

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"Krščanske Indijance skrbno spodbujamo k čistosti in spodobnosti pri oblačenju in jim prepovedujemo vsakršno nečimrnost. Čim se Indijanec, ki ima srebrne uhane, nosne obroče ali zapestnice, spreobrne h krščanski veri, jih mora takoj zamenjati za bolj koristna oblačila, nikoli več si ne sme barvati obraza in vtikati perja v lase."⁵²

Dejstvo, da bi moral Baraga indijanska oblačila in nakit, če bi jih hotel zbrati, dobiti od nekrščanskega dela plemena, je lahko razlog, zakaj takih predmetov v njegovi zbirki ni. Vendar so si tudi tisti Indijanci, ki so že prevzeli evroameriški način oblačenja, še vedno raje obuvali mokasine kot evropske čevlje. Zanimivo je, da so tudi v Gachetovi zbirki mokasini edini primer oblačil (z izjemo enega para palčnikov s steklenimi biseri). Da pa zbirke misijonarjev vendarle kdaj vključujejo tudi oblačilne predmete, dokazujejo razni primerki v zbirki Johanna Georga Schwarzarja v Etnološkem muzeju na Dunaju. Schwarzar sam ni bil misijonar, ampak je bil prvi tajnik Leopoldinine ustanove in večji del njegove zbirke izvira iz misijonov, ki jih je ta organizacija podpirala. Nekaj kosov oblačil, okrašenih z aplikami iz svilenih trakov, je Schwarzaru najbrž dal škof Frederick

⁴⁹ Glej Kasprzycki (1996: 47–49) za obsežno razpravo o vlogi rogoznic iz ločja v katoliških obredih pri Menonimih v Wisconsinu.

⁵⁰ Glej Pitzer (1854: 12); Feest in Kasprzycki (1993: 64, slika 48).

⁵¹ "c) Kleidungsstücke" (Ilirski list 1837: 68). Glej Golob (1997: 266–273, slike 29–37); pravilno pripisovanje raznih mokasinov v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani Baragovim zbiralnim aktivnostim je problematično in ga skuša razvozlati Feest (1998).

⁵² "Jedoch muß bemerkt werden, daß alles dieses nur von den Heiden gilt. Die christlichen Indier werden sorgfältig zur Reinlichkeit und Anständigkeit in der Bekleidung angehalten, und alle Eitelkeit wird ihnen streng verboten. Sobald sich ein Indier, welcher silberne Ohrgehänge, Nasenringe und Armbänder besitzt, zur christlichen Religion bekehrt, muß er sie sogleich gegen nützlichere Kleidungsstücke umtauschen, darf sich nie mehr sein Gesicht bemahlen, und keine Federn mehr in seine Haare stecken" (Baraga 1837a: 60). Glej Baraga (1837a: 57–64).

Résé, ki jih je verjetno zbral med obiskom menominskega misijona na začetku tridesetih let 19. stoletja.⁵³

370 Orožje in sorodni predmeti, ki jih Baragov seznam uvršča v kategorijo "moške in bojne opreme"⁵⁴ so predstavljali "divjo" plat indijanske kulture, ki jo je bilo treba vsekakor zamenjati z (idealnim) krščanskim načinom življenja, in so zaradi tega bili posebna tarča retorike misijonarjev. Tudi če predmetov kot kija z okroglo glavo v Baragovi zbirki niso več uporabljali v boju, ampak večinoma samo v obredne namene, so misijonarji izkoriščali tako rekoč vsako priložnost, da so podrobno opisovali indijanski način vojskovanja in krutosti ali prakso skalpiranja in obrednega mučenja, ponekod ne glede na to, ali so ti običaji sploh še bili živi v skupini, pri kateri so misijonarji živeli.⁵⁵ Orožje, podobno kiju v Baragovi zbirki, je Gachet pridobil pri Menominih (sl. 14); čeprav celo Gachet omenja, da teh kijev niso več uporabljali v boju, ampak kot simbole moči za poglavarje, vendarle opozarja na zareze na ročaju kija, ki označujejo število sovražnikov, ki jih je lastnik kija ubil. Primerljive kije najdemo tudi med predmeti, ki jih je zbral Pitzer, ki prav tako opozarja na podoben običaj "zapisovanje" števila ubitih sovražnikov.⁵⁶

Tudi loki in puščice pripadajo tej skupini predmetov;⁵⁷ čeprav so jih uporabljali bodisi v boju (kar ni bilo v skladu s krščanskimi vrednotami) ali pri lovu (ki so mu misijonarji pogosto očitali, da je zgolj "preganjanje dolgčasa", ker bi raje videli, da bi se Indijanci lotili poljedelstva na evropski način), so bili celo misijonarji osupli nad natančnim streljanjem Indijancev, ki so redko zgrešili cilj, saj so se spretnosti rokovanja z lokom naučili že v zgodnji mladosti.⁵⁸

Skoraj popolno odsotnost predmetov, povezanih z indijanskimi verskimi ali obrednimi običaji, smo obravnavali že zgoraj; edino izjemo morda tvorita dve "pipi miru" (kalumeta), povezani z bojno opremo in vključeni v to skupino predmetov.⁵⁹ Čeprav se je Baragi osebno zdelo kajenje "odvratni običaj", vendarle dokaj podrobno opisuje razne obredne funkcije kajenja pipe v indijanski kulturi.⁶⁰ Gachet je bil glede tega drugačnega mnenja: ker je bil sam kadilec, nikoli ni zavrnil pipe, kadar so mu jo ponudili, in je celo izjavil, da je indijanski "kinnikinnic", ki ga je kadil pri menominskem poglavarju Iometah, najboljši tobak, ki ga je kdaj okusil.⁶¹ V pričujoči zbirki so trije tipi menominskih pipinih cevi: ploska cev z izrezanimi motivi, cev okrašena z vžganimi znaki in cev ovita z

⁵³ Glej opombo 6; Kasprzycki in Krpata (1988); Feest in Kasprzycki (1993: 59, slika 43).

⁵⁴ "d) Manns- und Kriegsgeräthe" (Ilirski list 1837: 68).

⁵⁵ Glej Golob (1997: 284–286, slika 49); Baraga (1837a: 147–164).

⁵⁶ Glej Gachet (1890: 271–272); Pitzer (1854: 14–15).

⁵⁷ Glej Golob (1997: 278–284, figs. 41–48). Poleg tega je Baraga zbral tudi nožnico za nož, okrašeno z bodicami (Golob 1997: 260–261, slika 19) in bakreno ost kopja, ki je danes menda ni več (Ilirski list 1837: 68).

⁵⁸ Glej Baraga (1837a: 87–88); Pitzer (1854: 14).

⁵⁹ Glej Golob (1997: 274–277, sliki 39, 40).

⁶⁰ Glej Baraga (1837a: 6, 50, 167); Ilirski list (1837: 68).

⁶¹ Glej Gachet (1890: 149).

bodicami, s konjsko žimo in s svilenimi trakovi; druga pipina cev, katere prvotni lastnik je bil očipvejski verski izvedenec, je žal danes izgubljena. Medtem ko so Gachetove pipine cevi brez pripadajočih glav, sta dve pipini glavi v Baragovi zbirki lepa primerka indijanske obdelave kamna. Od dveh cevi je okrogla ovita z bodicami v preprostem pasovnem motivu; ploska cev, na drugi strani, pa je tako ovita s pletenimi bodicami, da tvorijo podobe glavnih nadnaravnih sil algonkinskega kozmosa: ptice gromovnice in podvodne panterje (sl. 15). Tako sta v Baragovi zbirki, pa čeprav nehote, ponazorjeni indijanska kozmologija in verska ikonografija.

Kot reprezentativen pregled indijanskega življenja Baragova zbirka gotovo ni popolna. Poleg verskih pripomočkov (kot jih npr. vidimo v Bonduelovi zbirki) manjka še vrsta drugih področij kulture, med njimi igre in kratkočasenje (v Gachetovi zbirki nanje spominja vsaj palica za lacross), glasba (v Pitzerjevi zbirki je flavta). Vendar podoba indijanskega življenja in kulture, ki jo kaže izbor predmetov, lahko dokazljivo povezujemo s cilji in postopki evangelizacije, če izbor analiziramo v kontekstu misijonarskega diskurza Baragove dobe. Ker so se misijonarji držali misijonarskega načrta, so na eni strani poudarjali pomanjkljivosti indijanskih verovanj in šeg, na drugi strani pa opozarjali na inteligenco in na fizične sposobnosti indijanskih ljudstev. Zagovarjali so misijonarska prizadevanja in iskali moralno in finančno podporo za misijonarske podvige med ljudstvi, ki tega niso samo obupno potrebovala, ampak so bila tega tudi vredna.

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BESEDA O AVTORICI

Sylvia S. Kasprzycki je študirala antropologijo na dunajski univerzi in sedaj končuje svojo doktorsko disertacijo o kulturni interakciji med katoliškimi misijonarji in menominskimi Indijanci v devetnajstem stoletju. Od leta 1989 opravlja intenzivne raziskave v arhivih in muzejih v ZDA in v Evropi in je pomočnica urednika *European Review of Native American Studies* od ustanovitve revije 1987. V svojih objavljenih delih se ukvarja predvsem z raznimi vidiki materialne kulture, likovne umetnosti in etnozgodovine območja Velikih jezer. Pred kratkim je objavila knjigo *IroquoisART: Visual Expressions of Contemporary Native American Artists* (Frankfurt 1998: ERNAS), sodelavala pa je tudi s Christianom F. Feestom pri knjigi *Peoples of the Twilight: European Views of Native Minnesota, 1823–1862* (Afton, MN 1998: Afton Historical Society Press).

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