PROSPECTS OF PLACE
AND
PORTRAITS OF PROGRESS
in the early representations of
the Queen Charlotte Islands,
1878-1922.

by

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**ABSTRACT**

At the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Queen Charlotte Islands were witness to dramatic transformations. Surveyors and scientists mapped the islands, describing the resources and conditions. Because of the favourable climate and locale, settlers and capital flowed to the Islands, changing the landscapes. And although the Islands' indigenous peoples embraced many aspects of the modernisation in the islands, they were excluded from claims to the islands. The modernization of the Queen Charlotte Islands came to a fevered climax in 1913, with the building of canneries, mines whaling stations, and logging camps, and with a flurry of land speculation. Haida frustration also increased at this time, spurned by their alienation from the land and their treatment as wards of the state.

This thesis considers these transformations in the Queen Charlotte Islands by reflecting on various representations of place. Through these disparate images is the common narrative of progress through which the Islands are framed – be it through various prospects of tourism, science, capital, church or bureaucracy. What becomes apparent in all attempts to define and describe this place are the failures of vocabularies that are brought by settlers and visitors and imposed upon the Islands. Rather, the ability to know and control becomes allusive, thus opening more questions into the meaning of place.
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PREFACE: MY POSITION ON PLACE

My thesis began as an attempt to construct a representation of the Queen Charlotte Islands/Haida Gwaii based around the land use controversy of Gwaii Hannas/South Morsbey. I believed that I would arrive in the Islands, interview people and distill the words of the residents and visitors and present an image situation from this resource dependant community, but also their comments would give me insight into the nature and meaning of the more abstract idea of 'place'. What I realised as I drew closer towards my departure from the Islands to return to UBC was that the more people told me about the Islands, the more confused I became about the complex relationship between people and place on the Queen Charlottes/Haida Gwaii. I became aware of the biases, assumptions, and stereotypes that had coloured my perception before arriving on the Islands and of how they had tainted my interviews. I was drawing myself and my research further and further away from any critical conclusions about what place was. By the time I got on the ferry heading towards the Mainland, I realised that I was not of these Islands and was in no position to write about them in the comprehensive way I had wished initially. I also realised that it is extremely difficult and problematic to write about the theory of place through a specific location, especially when one has nothing vested in that community or is not bound in the social, economic, cultural or ecological relationships there. I concluded that no objective view of place can be rendered, and it is this realisation that influenced my research from that time onward -- the struggle to represent place became my thesis. Thus, I began to change the way I wrote about representations of place -- a process that I myself was inescapably engaged in. I also decided to focus my study on the history of place because the past offered a critical means of clarifying current relationships in the Islands.
Once I began writing my thesis, my intention was to consider the meanings of ‘place’ and how it is constructed. I have done this by considering Europeans representations of the Queen Charlotte and its indigenous population – the Haida. The central question in my research was the composition of these representations and the ways certainty was established through commonly accepted scientific and aesthetic assumptions. Initially, I pondered these representations through the idea or contrivance of framing and theories about vision. I drew mainly upon the philosophic writings of Wittgenstein, Heidegger, and Foucault; however, I found by the end of my first draft that I had placed too much emphasis on abstract ideas and not enough on the historical and geographical experience of place. In essence, I was putting the theoretical cart before the empirical horse. That is not to say that empiricism should overshadow theory; rather, abstract ideas can illuminate aspects of a study, but theory itself cannot become the subject of study without alienating audiences. I found that my emphasis on theory had alienated the very people whom the study is about. At the same time I realised that a strict empirical study of the Islands would seem hollow and would miss relevant insights into the experience of place without any critical commentary on the Islands transformation around the turn of the century. Thus, I have chosen a middle ground in my thesis. Although not explicit in this work, many theoretical ideas current in post-colonial or post-structural writings will seem present. They have shaped my way of perceiving the subject of the Queen Charlotte Islands. But there are many assumptions I do not accept “hook-line-and-sinker”, and there are important points where I question the unconditional acceptance of these theories and their broad generalisations. I accept many of the ideas of domination that underlie theories on colonialism, but to say that power was asserted over the Islands as a territory of control and over the Haida as a colonised people limits the ways of viewing the historical and geographical experience of the Queen Charlotte Islands. My reasons for taking this course are twofold. One I do not feel I have the empirical grounding to
substantiate any of these theoretical assertions, especially in regards to agency and power. Further, power is allusive, dynamic and I believe is constantly being challenged. Although the impact of the colonial experience and of racism in early British Columbia can not be dismissed today, to claim that the colonised were simply passive victims without agency is to ignore the accomplishments of the province’s First Nations and overlook the more complex and textured problem of how these abuses came about through contradictions and hypocrisy in government policy and missionary perceptions. The active appropriation of western technologies and ideas by the Haida is a case and point. Second, the human-nature relationship, which is problematised by environmental thought, offers avenues to question the industrialisation of British Columbia at the turn of the century. Values of progress and civilisation framed the Queen Charlotte Islands and saw their settlement and transformation as inevitable. Although the questions of resource use has divided the islands for the past fifteen years, the population of the islands is relatively small, and resource extraction until recently has been spotty and market driven because of the high costs associated with the islands’ isolation. Thus, the predictions of company prospectuses and settlement literature from the turn of the century were overblown and did not reflect the actual degree of development. In other words, the Queen Charlotte Islands did not become the industrial hub that early boosters prophesied they would be, rather, they remained on the margins of provincial development.

The period I have chosen to study, 1878 and 1914, saw the principle wave, such as it was, of settlers and capital to the Islands. I consider the representations of nature and resources associated with this “boom”, representations that in many ways resonate into questions of sustainable resource extraction, wilderness, and Native claims to land to this day, (particularly when one considers the amount of resource extraction that took place in the area of the Islands now known as Gwaii Hannas, a depopulated, class ‘A’ wilderness park, that still reveals the
scares of mines, abandoned retorts, and the pilings of old canneries). What I have achieved is an investigation into the framing of the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Haida around the turn of the century. Through various representations of people and place, I have made reference not only to how these images were steeped in the assumptions and biases of progress, but have also suggested how discourses and rhetorics of progress shaped place. I have concluded that place and peoples’ relationships to place are not static, but are constantly being shaped and reshaped, asserted and resisted, described and challenged. In this way place is slippery and avoids any singular definition. I have also attempted to show how notions of place are integral to understanding modernity, or at least, the modernising process in British Columbia. Descriptions of the Queen Charlotte Islands as a place that was describable, knowable, and therefore controllable were central to the attempt to transform the Islands. And beneath the attempt to transform place were the legitimizing assumptions of progress. But underlying all these attempts to describe, control, and redefine place was the way place itself interpreted the descriptions of surveyors and scientists and the expectations of settlers or entrepreneurs. It is the attempt of this thesis to show how these cultural assumptions percolated into the representations of place, and to consider how the idea of progress framed the Islands and their indigenous population.
Queen Charlotte Islands, consisting of three principle islands, may be regarded as a partly submerged mountain range - a line from the southern extremity of the islands to their north-western point, representing its axis - which, together with several smaller islands, forms a compact archipelago, situated between the parallels of 51° 50' and 54° 15', and the meridians of 130° 54' and 133° 10'W.

The general character of these islands is mountainous and heavily timbered, and the mining resources are very extensive. The only industry at present is the manufacture of oil from the dogfish. The chief item of trade is in fur seals, and value of which is about 10,000 dollars annually.

The channels between the main islands are named Houston Stewart and Skidegate, the former or southern channel separating Prevost and Moresby islands; the later, or northern, Moresby and Graham Islands.¹

¹ British Columbia Coast Pilot, 1888.
Figure 1. Map of the Queen Charlotte Islands.
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE REPORTING ON PLACE

In 1873, James G. Swan of Seattle visited the Queen Charlotte Islands on behalf of the United States Bureau of Fisheries. In a written report reflecting on his voyage, Swan remarks:

These Islands form together a healthy picturesque territory, rich in natural resources, and well adapted to colonisation. Nevertheless, for the space of nearly a century no attempt has been made by the English to colonise them. There still lies waste and fallow, yet marvellously productive, and awaiting nothing but capital, enterprise, and skill to return manifold profit to those who will develop their resources. ¹

Swan’s account of the Queen Charlotte Islands is revealing. His visions of the Islands are bound in the commonly held ambition to make idle wilderness productive. This aspiration to introduce civilisation to the wilds of the North Coast is reiterated in his lecture to the members of the British Columbia legislature, in which he suggests that the settlement of the Islands would be easier if the islands were ‘prepared’ before any attempt to bring colonists to the Islands:

...before any emigrants are invited there, the islands should be thoroughly surveyed, and the interior fully explored; all the information now known is of a very narrow belt of island on the immediate coast, but there is much of value yet to be developed in the interior, of mineral wealth in coal and precious metals and magnificent forest timber.²

Swan’s comments about the prospects of the Islands were not limited to settlement and industry. He also provided an image of place which presented the indigenous population -- the Haida -- as untouched -- a primitive people yet to be studied by anthropologists and yet to be sullied by

¹ James Swan, "Haidah Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia with a Brief Description of their Carvings, Tattoo Desgns." Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1874, vol. 267, p. 1.
effects of civilisation. In the Smithsonian Institute's journal, *Contributions to Knowledge*, Swan wrote:

The field of observation on the Northwest coast is very extensive, and cannot be exhausted for many years. It is a field that would yield such rich returns to ethnology, as well as to every other branch of natural science... The history of the coast tribes is becoming of more importance every year, and a connected description of the Aleuts and other coastal tribes of Alaska, the tribes of Western British Columbia, Washington and Oregon would not only be interesting, but would be valuable in assisting to solve that perplexing question of the origin of the North American Indian.  

Such early portraits of the Queen Charlottes Islands not only to show how people perceived place; equally these images and descriptions provide an understanding of peoples’ changing relationship to place. Swan’s survey was scientific and therefore attempted to represent the Islands faithfully and reliably. His descriptions, like many other contemporary surveys, portray the Islands’ flora, fauna, geological compositions, and soil types, thereby making them comprehensible and knowable. The objective of the reports was to provide useful information that contributed to the production of vast bodies of knowledge, which would be used by governments to attract settlers or facilitate investment in industry. But Swan’s remarks offer another insight into his perception of the Islands and its indigenous population. Swan also presents an image of what the Islands could be like, framing place in terms of primitivism and civilisation. What can be deduced from Swan’s accounts of place, and indeed from similar accounts, be they human or physical, is that landscapes are as much about the imagined as they are about the material. Images such as Swan’s are more than just accurate physical descriptions

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2 James Swan, "A Lecture on the Queen Charlotte Islands, delivered to the Provincial Legislature." in *Resources of British Columbia*, vol. 2, no.1, p. 10.

3 Swan amassed a sizable collection of Indian artifacts that for the Smithsonian Institute.
of the Islands or even projections of imagined space -- these images of place are equally representations of both imagined and actual relationships.

Swan's comments are significant in that they suggest a new period of history on the Charlottes as prevailing methods of industrial production and configurations of capital began to extract natural resources for foreign markets on an unprecedented scale. The industrialisation of the islands in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was accompanied by a flood of images and descriptions unlike previous accounts made by naval officers and traders. These explorers and merchants who had charted the waters of the coast in pursuit of furs had been succeeded by scientists and surveyors, like Swan. Many accounts of the Queen Charlotte Islands that followed were scientific, tourist, agrarian, financial, religious, or bureaucratic views of place. They differed in tone because they served different ends. One can try to unpack these representations and make sense of them through theoretical concepts such as capitalism, colonialism, liberalism, racism, technology, Christianity, or modernity -- isolating each of these distinct theoretical approaches is helpful, but one finds that these disparate portraits of the Islands have commonalities in their perspective. Firstly, the assumed that the Islands were a vacant land, and if inhabited, then by a 'primitive' people. Secondly, they all shared the desire to bring change to this place. But more importantly, all representations of the Queen Charlotte Islands from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were constructed from a prospect of progress.

What follows is a geographical history of vision -- visions framed by progress. It is a history about transformations in the material landscape, but equally, it is a history of peoples' interpretation of landscape and of how they envisioned its potential. What is suggested through each vignette is that biases and interests coloured their perception. The reason for focusing on

\[4\] James Swan, "Haidah Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands," p. 15.
these prospects is because they shaped the relationships of people to place and person to person. Further, it is my belief that such projections onto the land and inhabitants has been the experience of the Queen Charlotte Islands and in many ways of British Columbia, and that these visions and projections have become a part of the soil and are bound up in the relationships of place.

This thesis is divided into six chapters which consider various visions of progress for the Queen Charlotte Islands. The first chapter looks at George M. Dawson’s surveys, for the Geological Survey of Canada (1878), and Newton Chittenden’s, on behalf of the British Columbia Provincial Government (1882). It then considers how these two views of place were framed. Both surveys produced formal representations of place that assisted the industrial development and settlement of the Islands. This chapter also considers the indigenous landscape along with the natural one described in Dawson’s and Chittenden’s reports. The chapter is concerned with how Dawson and Chittenden described place. Dawson relies on discourses and procedures of science whereas Chittenden presents a pragmatic and logistical view of the Islands. The focus is less on what they describe than on how they account for it. Yet, both surveys aided the inclusion of the islands in the modern nation-state. Central to this agenda was the attempt to represent this place relevantly and reliably -- the former being sensitive to prospective development and the latter being the endeavour to substantiate their observations through science.

The second chapter considers how commercial tourism and leisure travel portrayed the Islands and its indigenous population. The tourist view presents a less formal, but equally ambitious attempt to represent and make the Queen Charlotte Islands comprehensible to its readers. It is argued that these popular views of place deployed both aesthetic conventions and
amateur scientific conventions. This chapter seeks to show how early images of the Islands were created, circulated and produced. It concludes that, like the scientific surveys of Chittenden and Dawson, tourism’s view of place wanted to achieve both relevance, as well as a reliable, or scientifically-substantiated view of a primitive and primeval place untouched by the ‘scourge’ of civilisation.

The third chapter considers the representation of place through two real estate brochures presented to settlers who arrived on the Islands between 1900 - 1920. Underlying these two brochures are culturally-based assumptions and values of home, health, and wealth that contribute to the construction of an idealised 'place'. Each brochure portrays the Islands in different ways because each was produced within a different economic and social context. The effectiveness of the Island’s promotion relied on the ability to substantiate claims of the Islands’ tranquillity and fertility whilst also verifying the opportunities for success in the region resulting from opening markets. The images portrayed in these brochures are compared to the experience of two settlements and to the transformation of the material landscape in these communities as the wilderness is supplanted with fields, gardens, and tennis courts.

The fourth chapter uses another boosterish view of the Queen Charlotte Islands from a 1912 prospectus of the B.C. Fishing Co. which sought to raise capital to finance the construction of a modern, mechanised fishery -- a fishery that promoted race as integral to a conception of place. The prospectus constructs an image which minimises risks and enhances rewards for the potential investor by using information with which an investor could make predictions and assess the company’s reliability. The company's president, British fishing magnate Sir George Doughty, held a vision of profit framed by control and efficiency and guaranteed by privileged access to resources. This was to be ensured through licenses, the introduction of technological
innovations in salmon production, and the development of new products. His desire to create a ‘White Fishery’ was to be accomplished by bringing ‘reliable’ fishers and plant workers from Great Britain rather than by relying on Native, Chinese, and Japanese workers. Ultimately, Doughty's notion of economic progress was tied to cultural values of civilisation which framed his prospects in the Queen Charlotte Islands.

The last two chapters focus exclusively on the experience of the Haida in relation to attempts by missionaries and the Department of Indian Affairs to redefine the notion of place for this people. Images of the ‘progress’ of the Haida flowed back to sponsors and superiors through field reports and popular writings in the missionaries society magazines. Portraits of the Haida relied on their physical appearance and the transformations in the community to illustrate to readers the move from primitivism towards civilisation. Ironically it is the perceived ‘evil influences’ associated with industrialism which end up posing the greatest challenge for the missionaries and the Department of Indian Affairs.
CHAPTER ONE.

SLIPPAGES IN SURVEYS:

THE DIFFICULTY OF DESCRIBING

IN DAWSON'S AND CHITTENDEN'S SURVEYS

OF THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS.

Introduction

In 1878 and 1884, the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia were visited by two surveying parties that produced two very new representations of this place. The first of these expeditions was led by George M. Dawson on behalf of the Geological Survey of Canada, the second was by Newton Chittenden on behalf of the provincial government of British Columbia. There are some marked differences between Dawson's and Chittenden's descriptions of the Islands. Dawson, a well-educated geologist, presented a scientific view of place, while Chittenden, a graduate of Cornell's law school, a former American Captain in the Union Army, and career adventurer, presented a more practical and logistical image of the Islands. Dawson's portrait caters to the administrators and the newly-created bureaucracy of civil servants in Ottawa, who would develop public policy out of the knowledge amassed from Dawson's expedition, while Chittenden's writings were to serve the provincial government's attempt to draw crofters through re-settlement schemes.

Contrasting these two surveys of the Queen Charlottes illustrates two different portraits of place. But there are some important similarities which also enhance our understanding of
Dawson's and Chittenden's attempts to represent place. Both surveys ran into problems of constructing a consistent and complete picture. Dawson attempted to create a reliable picture of place through scientific conventions and for the most part his descriptions are consistent and thorough. However, in both his accounts of the natural landscape and the Haida, one occasionally finds that he veers away from his strictly scientific account and instead groped for other conventions which enabled him to describe place. Similarly, Dawson's accounts of the Haida in terms of their culture constructed an image of the Haida as primitive, ignoring elements of Hadia culture that had adapted modern conveniences.

Chittenden's voyage also encountered the difficulties of representing place. His accounts are often generalisations or exaggerations and his claims are unsubstantiated. Often he ends up contradicting himself in his attempt to fit his observations into stereotypes. Thus, his claims sometimes become blurred, especially in photographs which accompanied the survey -- an example being images that smudge the definition of the Haida as primitive.

The representational struggle that Dawson and Chittenden face is partly because a survey, a way of looking at something from a commanding position, requires a measure of consistency, totality, and universality. Once on site or in the field, however, the ability to maintain a distance from that which was observed became compromised. Also, encountering a novel foreign space challenged the very vocabulary with which to represent place. One finds in these slippages and contradictions in the surveys of Dawson and Chittenden moments that reveal the prospect from which they viewed place, a prospect with a bias towards the possibilities of industrial and agricultural development in the Islands. In this way both surveys framed the islands in terms of progress.
In the spring of 1878, Dr. George Mercer Dawson, an eminent geologist from Montreal and member of the Geological Survey of Canada, departed from Victoria heading northward on the schooner Wanderer to map the Queen Charlotte Islands (figs. 2 and 3). Dawson was not the first to do this. British Admiralty hydrographic charts provided very detailed information about the waters and shorelines of the Queen Charlotte Islands; however, few of Dawson's predecessors had recorded the land forms of the Islands and little or no geological information was available. The Geological Survey of Canada sought to remedy this by mapping the terrain of the Islands; but there was more to this survey than just the gathering of geologic knowledge. The party's journey to the Queen Charlotte Islands was part of a larger project to map the newly acquired territories of Canada, which had gained the Northwest Territories and extended its boundaries to the Pacific in 1871. The Dominion Government felt pressured to ensure a presence in these far flung regions of the country which bordered on the newly-acquired American territory of Alaska.

Dawson had proved to be a more than suitable candidate for the expedition to the Queen Charlotte Islands. Although physically handicapped with the side effects of a spinal illness he had developed as a boy, his determination and remarkable intellect contributed to the success of his work. Dawson was an antiquarian, having interests in botany, zoology, and anthropology. He had been brought up in a scholarly household, his father having been the Principal of McGill University, and himself educated at the Royal London School of Mines. Prior to joining the
Geological Survey, Dawson had gained valuable experience on the joint British-American International Boundary Survey of 1872 from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. Following this work, he obtained a posting with the Geological Survey of Canada in 1875, which he spent the first two summers exploring the central interior of British Columbia. In 1878 he began work on the Pacific Coast at the North end of Vancouver Island, which was followed by his voyage to the Queen Charlotte Islands.6

The map is the most obvious product of Dawson's voyage to the Queen Charlotte Islands (fig. 4). Dawson's map of the islands categorises and identifies the Islands' geological composition into broad shades; Miocene, Cretaceous, Agglomerates, Triassic and Intrusive Granite all form a patchwork of colour that overlies the outline of the islands. The different zones are pimplled with topographical circles indicating where mountains, hills and steep terrain are. Labels and letters dot the map and indicate sites where Dawson provides more detailed description of the mineral composition: 'F', 'Fe', 'Cu', 'Pb' signify fossils, iron, copper, and lead. Dawson maintains this ordering through a scientific detachment from what he observes and strives to achieve objectivity. But being a detached observer did not mean he had an impartial view of place. These criteria establish a universal way of understanding the islands.7 Dawson's

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5 Some of the previous mapping voyages of the area were by Captain George Dixon (1786), John Kendrick (1791), Etienne Marchard (1791) and George Vancouver (1792). Following Vancouver, there were well over 50 recorded voyages to the Islands before Dawson arrival.

6 Douglas Cole's brief biography of Dawson life from page six in the edited collection of Dawson's Journal note to the Queen Charlotte Islands is helpful with these biographical notes.

7 What is interesting is not only the product of this map, but its composition, or rather the techniques, strategies, and practices that rendered this place or territory knowable and eventually controllable. The modern mapping techniques that Dawson employed were able to hold together the observable fragments found in the field into a incontrovertible, totalizing scientific view of place, a view that the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein has argued finds its certainty rooted not in its accuracy, but in its acceptance. He asserts: “the questions that we raise and our doubts depend on the fact that some propositions are exempt from doubt, are as it were like hinges on which those turn. That is to say, it belongs to the logic of our scientific investigations that certain things are in deed not doubted.” Wittgenstein, On Certainty. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1979, # 341-2 p.44e. Thus, Dawson's scientific view and
journal narrative also provides another representation of the Queen Charlotte Islands similar to his map. In one entry he wrote:

The rocks appear to be all Tertiary volcanic, in many places and over great areas nearly flat, or gently undulating, and seen in nearly horizontal beds far up in the mountain slopes at the heads of some of the fjords. In other places the beds are locally remarkably disturbed, as perhaps to be expected in a volcanic region. Much siliceous infiltration and many localities where chalcedony and agates abundant.8

The landscape of the Queen Charlotte Islands is translated into a standard, universal discourse. The discipline organises the Islands by breaking it down into rock types through universal criteria so as to make it comprehensible to those who have never encountered this place.

Underlying his observations is a inherent interest in the exploitable potential of the islands. Thus, the landscape that Dawson constructed in his survey is the landscape of the scientific professional. He acted as a detached specialist as one of the first of a generation of scholars who systematically mapped and inventoried information about western Canada for the Dominion government. In this way, the scientific depiction of place complemented the modern nation-state and the desire to settle this potentially cultivable wilderness. One example is his inclusion of information about coal formation:

The geology is interesting enough, though no points of special importance have occurred yet. All the fossils hitherto obtained Mesozoic, but appear to be of two horizons. The highest that of the coal bearing rocks, the lower perhaps Triassic or somewhere in that vicinity.

In another account, Dawson states:

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Figure 2. A portrait of George M. Dawson taken in 1885.  
*(source: British Columbia Archives and Records Service (BCARS)).*

Figure 3. Officers of the North American Boundary Survey of 1873.  
Dawson third from the right.  *(source: National Archives of Canada).*
Figure 4. Dawson’s map of the Queen Charlotte Islands for the Geological Survey of Canada.  
(source: National Archives of Canada).
The mountains on the West Coast are more rounded and lower, without ruling form. Those E. of the axis apparently composed of beds of the Coal-bearing series in great part and show long slopes and abrupt escarpments, after the manner of mountains formed of tilted sedimentary rocks. No extensive granite or gneissic rock seen in crossing the islands by this channel.9

Dawson's geological portrait explains the process by which the Islands were formed, but his geological account unearths more than rock formations it reveals the economic potential of the islands.

Besides relevant mineral formations, Dawson's journal and map also provide detailed observations of the Island's flora. These descriptions echo a similar concern for the economic potential of the Island's forests, detailing the quantity and quality of the species and their location. "Yellow cedar A magnificent grove with trees over four feet through and rising up clear for 80 feet, occurs at the head of a lake above Gold Harbour."10 In another account he provides a more general overview of the species in the area.

Trees. The spruce often attains a good size, and is at times very large. Common everywhere, and well grown away from coast. Yellow cedar not, as far as I can learn, found anywhere in large groves of great trees. Scattered every where hilly district in small numbers. Alder attains fine growth frequently, fringing the shore mixed with the more formal evergreens in many places. Crab apples abundant. Hemlock abundant and well grown. Cedar, fine trees on the flats in some places.11

Dawson's reporting of trees indirectly gives readers not only an account of the species of trees that grow in the area, but also of the climatic conditions and terrain apparently suitable for fruit orchards and other types of agriculture. A better example of Dawson's digression from strictly

9 George Dawson, in To the Charlottes, p. 55.
10 George Dawson, p. 52.
11 Dawson, p. 69.
scientific observation into an interpretation or prediction is found in his account of the landscape at Klunglet Island, near South Moresby; Dawson states: "[t]he Mountains and hills everywhere rise steeply from their shore and there appears to be no arable land, scarcity indeed and soil properly so called anywhere." 12

Dawson’s photographs provide another example of his scientific representations of the Islands, but photos demonstrate Dawson’s attempt to verify his observations and descriptions. One image is entitled ‘Volcanic agglomerates on the North shore of Ramsey Island’ (fig. 5). and another photograph is of Toe Hill on the North east end of Graham Island, (fig. 6) a large basaltic mound, contrasting with the surrounding landscape. These specimens complimented, if not justified Dawson’s observations especially as photography13 was thought to provide an accurate, objective, representation of the world. And although the ambitions of the Geological Survey of Canada can be characterised as scientific, Dawson at times slipped in his depiction of place. In one such description in his journal he states, “Where we anchored in a snug little bay, rocky islets thickly tree clad down to the shore, with the wooded mountains of the North side of the Channel make a picturesque scene.” 14 Another account of the same landscape (fig. 7) gives an example of Dawson's oscillation from scientific observation to artistic judgement:

June 29. Examined and paced a section formerly seen on the NW. part of Burnaby Island, occupying till noon. Lunch, and took a couple of photographs, and then examined north shore of the island, finishing at the outer North East point, from which the Skincuttle Islands visible to the south. A desolate 'World's End' looking spot. Low land spreading out from the base of the hills covered with open growth of large, but gnarled trees, the trunks of which fork upwards. 15

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12 Dawson, p. 25.
13 Rosiland Krauss has considered the artistic and scientific views in nineteenth century photography in her, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View." Art Journal 42, no. 4 (Winter 1982), pp. 311-319.
15 Dawson, p.32.
It appears that Dawson used artistic conventions like the picturesque to make sense presentations of communicate this landscape. In his second description of the “World’s End” he draws on another artistic convention popular with Victorians -- the sublime and its paradoxical evocation of both terror and fascination.\textsuperscript{16} The image harks back to nineteenth century landscape paintings of grandeur rather than to detailed scientific ones. Dawson constructs the image by placing a party member in the picture frame for scale, much as he did in his photograph of the volcanic conglomerates, but instead of providing a rule for the accuracy of the subject -- as in the scientific photo -- Dawson creates the opposite, a vastness that seems to consume the onlooker who is precariously perched on a foreground rock, staring out onto an daunting, endless, horizon. Although photography supported Dawson’s scientific survey, it also allowed a subjective expression of place through "...establish[ed] aesthetic terms that [were] already acceptable and understood... picturesque, sublime, prospects of wealth and development. Views that often were in different pictures, not exclusive, and often complimentary." \textsuperscript{17} Dawson's scientific view contributed to the larger endeavour to link the islands into a picture of the new nation state. Despite the scientific and artistic polarity in Dawson's photographs and more generally in his representations of place, there is a consistent desire in both cases to formalise his perception by using convention to describe place. His artistic view of place reveals his use of other conventional ways of seeing and describing the Islands.

\textsuperscript{16} Kant's reference to the sublime and the picturesque comes from his 1764 essay, "Of the beautiful and the sublime"; whereas Burke writes on the sublime in his "A Philosophical Enquiry into our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful", of 1757.
Figure 5. Dawson’s photo entitled both “Point 4”, to give a visual reference to his map. This image is of the volcanic agglomerates on the islands. *(source: National Archives of Canada).*

Figure 6. Photograph of Tow Hill on the North End of Graham Island. A rock outcropping in an otherwise flat landscape. *(source: National Archives of Canada).*
Figure 7. Dawson’s photo from June 12, 1878 of Houston Stewart Channel. This photo offers a less scientific representation of the Islands and a more aesthetic image. The seated individual provides a negative scale to this sublime landscape which contrasts to Dawson’s use of a person in his Volcanic agglomerates photo which gives a negative scale. 

(source: National Archives of Canada).
Despite the monumental achievement of Dawson's survey work, his portrait of the Islands was not completely neutral or objective. Instead, the scientific reliability of his survey is undermined at points by his attempt to offer information relevant to potential development. Dawson's survey was infused with a bias which saw the Islands as a place of possible industrial and agricultural development, a view that is not an objective nor an "innocent" representation of the natural world.  

Rather, his map is intertwined in a rhetoric of progress justified through scientific rationality. His beliefs in economic progress influenced his descriptions of place and ultimately structured the appearance of his maps. But at the same time, his descriptions of place are not "total". Representing place was a challenge to the experienced Dawson, who moved from the scientific to the aesthetic in order to describe locations of importance, which could not be effectively represented in scientific terms. By reconsidering Dawson's survey in this light, one is provided with insight into the landscapes Dawson saw and also into how he constructed that landscape.

Chittenden: relevance and a practical perspective of place:

Dawson's visit to the Queen Charlottes was followed four years later by Newton Chittenden, who was commissioned by the British Columbia government to report on the islands' potential. He was accompanied by the Victoria photographer, Richard Maynard and a number of

18 J.B. Harley states: "[f]rom the viewpoint of human geography, maps are perhaps better understood -- and used -- not so much as discrete or "unique" images but as accents within a wider theory of representation.", "Deconstructing the Map", Writing Worlds, Routledge, London, 1994, p. 232.
Native guides and canoemen (fig. 8 and 9). The party went up the east coast and down the west of the Islands, making occasional sorties inland. In many ways Chittenden's passage was similar to Dawson's. He too passed through the landscape making observations on mineral composition and the potential for settlement. However, Chittenden's descriptions of 'place' are noticeably different from Dawson's. Chittenden's reports lack the formal or scientific and aesthetic language employed by Dawson. 20 Instead, Chittenden framed the islands from a perspective he called "valuable information", a utilitarian understanding.

The title of Chittenden's first publication on British Columbia, which was published two years prior to his voyage to the Queen Charlottes, conveys his attempt to represent the province:


This guide was written in anticipation of the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and is very general in scope, focusing on regions of the province and treating the climate, geography, flora, and ultimate potential for settlement. In one section Chittenden mentions the Queen Charlotte Islands briefly but favourably:

20 Although Chittenden and Dawson use different ways of describing place, they share a crucial similarity: the cultural assumptions of progress. Therefore, representing the Queen Charlotte Islands through "codes through which a visual world [was] constructed according to systematized constants and from which any inconsistencies and irregularities [were] banished to ensure the formation of a homogenous, unified and fully legible space." Jonathan Crary, "Modernizing Vision", Vision and Visuality ed. Hal Foster, Seattle, Bay Press, 1991, p. 33. In this way, Chittenden, like Dawson, is set apart from the world he is observing and describing.

Graham Island, one of the largest of the group, contains a tract of timberless grazing land sufficient, it is estimated, to support over a thousand head of cattle. The climate is comparatively mild, and snowfall so light that stock would subsist throughout the year entirely upon the native grasses. The Count (Zubboff, a Russian geologist) has discovered an extensive vein of lignite and a four foot vein of anthracite coal, and also coal oil there.22

Chittenden's description lacks the categorisations of rock formations and soil composition found in Dawson's detailed scientific account to justify or legitimate what he sees. However, Chittenden's pithy summary touches all aspects of the potential transformation of the region by settlers and explicitly prophesies resource extraction.

Chittenden's second publication on British Columbia -- *Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands* -- was written as a series of communications to the Department of Lands and Works and the Legislature. It presented the findings of the first and only official expedition commissioned by the Provincial Government to survey lands for a potential settlement scheme.23 Chittenden's "progress reports" inform the Department of his movement along the islands' shores, and give scattered outlines of the characteristics of the landscape. His observations are typically arranged in practical categories: "Agricultural Grazing Lands", "Forest Growth", "Resources: fish etc." that do not require the reader to have a strong technical knowledge. One such report states:

Comparatively Unknown Region, its Physical Features, Climate, Resources, and Inhabitants. (publisher unknown), 1882.
23 The desire to bring British crofters to the province's coast to establish a deep sea fishing industry became formalized some three years after Chittenden's voyage by an act of the provincial legislature, which established a settlement company under the direction of Alexander Beggs and Premier John Robson. The settlement scheme did not come to fruition. Robson unfortunately passed away while in London meeting with British parliament members to negotiate the final terms of the settlement scheme.
The resources of the far west coast, Virago Sound and Massett Inlet country, so far as known at present, are fish, furs, and timber. Its agricultural lands, chiefly those portions of deltas and meadows at the mouths of streams not subject to overflow, embrace in the aggregate, only a few hundred acres, the largest tracts on the west coast, lying at the head of Kio-kath-li, Tattoo and Athlow Inlets, not exceeding twenty acres.24

By characterising the Islands in this way, Chittenden's progress reports provide practical and insights into economic prospects for the Queen Charlottes so as to suggest enticing potential opportunities for the entrepreneur and seductive possibilities for the would-be farmer.

There are upwards of two hundred acres of tide meadows at the mouth of the streams mentioned, the largest and best tracts containing from twenty to thirty-five acres, lying along the Dena and Moresby island. There are also several hundred acres of alder bottoms, with a comparatively light growth of spruce interspersed, available for cultivation. The density of the timber prevents the growth of nutritious grasses, except in very limited quantities upon the immediate shore.25

Chittenden’s account informs prospective settlers of conditions on the islands. He describes the prospects of logging operations on the islands, and although his account lacks Dawson’s detail regarding the size and location of trees, he elaborating on the costs a logging operation would have to factor in:

There is a considerable quantity of accessible spruce and red cedar of merchantable size growing near the shores of the inlet, and much larger bodies on the banks of the streams, and in the valleys a few miles back. It would be expensive to obtain the latter by reason of log obstructions, except where the fall is sufficient for the construction of chutes. On Slate Chuck I saw spruce trees over thirty feet in circumference, and with red cedars nearly as large. Occasional groves of alder used exclusively for fuel by the Skidegate Oil Company, are found on the shores.26

Figure 8. Photograph of Newton Chittenden and Richard Maynard in Victoria, 1884.  
(source: B.C. Archives and Records Service).
Figure 9. Photograph of Chittenden and the Party of Canoemen on Graham Islands. 
(source: BCARS).
Figure 10. Photograph taken by Dawson of Skedans Village from a distance, 1878.
(source: National Archives of Canada).

Figure 11. Photograph of Cumshewa taken by Dawson on July 16, 1878.
(source: National Archives of Canada).
Figure 12. Dawson’s photograph of Skidegate village, its long houses and mortuary poles.
(source: National Archives of Canada).
Figure 13. Dawson's portrait of the Haida Charles Edenshaw and Weah, Massett's two Chiefs. Weah "a decent looking and well dressed old man", according to Dawson, appears quite modern in his western dress and contrasts to the primativist photographs of the villages that Dawson had taken. (source: National Archives of Canada).

Figure 14. Photograph of the Haida present for the first pole raising in the new village of Yatza. Many disliked the idea of being photographed, according to Dawson, and so did not appear in the photo. (source: National Archives of Canada).
In sum, Chittenden described the Queen Charlotte Islands as a logistical landscape and emphasised their potential for settlement and economic development. The images of the islands he provided supported by only occasional reference to the observations of his predecessors. His description is less objective than Dawson’s. Chittenden does strive, however, to present a landscape that is more relevant for potential settlement and development. Whereas Dawson attempts to describe the Islands accurately through detail and measurement.

Dawson’s scientifically “reliable” account of the Haida:

Dawson’s descriptions of the Haida were similar to his geological descriptions of the natural landscape. He used science to try and uncover the remnants of a traditional Haida culture that was being subsumed under the influence of the missionaries and the arrival of modern material culture on the Pacific introduced by settlers. Dawson’s human landscape, although successful in its ability to piece together a relatively accurate semblance of a disappearing ‘traditional’ Haida culture, ignores the very process of modernisation that the Haida were undergoing. In this way the accuracy of his images of a traditional Haida culture overshadow the relevance of the current experience of the Haida at the time of Dawson’s voyage.

Once in the Charlottes, Dawson visited settlements marked on British Admiralty hydrographic charts. He attempted to survey these villages by enumerate the population and the describing the conditions of habitation within them. However, Dawson quickly realised that his
ability to survey was made difficult by the transitoriness of the Haida and the decimation brought about by smallpox and other diseases. On his first encounter with a Haida village he wrote in his journal: "See no sign of Indians. Rowed round to bay in which village marked on the plan, in the evening, but found only the marks of some old houses." Dawson's entries reveal his surprise in encountering consecutive empty villages on the south end of Moresby Island. In another encounter he states: "...No Indians appear, nor have we met with any recent signs of their habitation, which least odd. The very abundance of gull eggs on rocks would seem to urge their prolonged absence." What Dawson came to realise was that the Methodist missionaries had based themselves in Skidegate and convinced the remaining populations of the affected villages to consolidate into larger communities around Skidegate.

Once Dawson arrived at larger, inhabited villages, he carefully described their arrangement and relation to the surrounding landscape. This was followed by descriptions of the houses and their architecture and internal layout. His descriptions were more narrations of what he encountered and observed. On Dawson's arrival in the village of Clue, he entered into one of

27 Dawson's encounter with these abandoned villages corresponds with an epidemic of diseases that had huge tolls on the population of Natives and the missionaries' attempts to consolidate populations for reasons of practicality and efficiency. These accounts are reconfirmed in the written accounts of missionaries such as Robinson, Spencer, Freeman published by the United Church. There is little information outside of this missionary literature to give us an accurate idea of the demise of these villages at the southern end of the Queen Charlottes.

28 Dawson in To the Charlottes, p. 24.

29 Dawson in To the Charlottes, p. 24.

30 Although Dawson's allusions to dwindling populations are correct and should not be denied, there is another way of considering these same accounts of vacant Haida villages. His deductions of the empty villages were based on his culturally biased assumptions of what constitutes human settlements -- that being sedentary or permanent, not transitory or multiple. These same villages that one might imagine as being ghostly haunts of devastation, were just as often seasonal villages or sites for fishing or resource gathering. In this way, Dawson may very well have overlooked a Haida concept of habitation that may not have co-ensided with his own. The point I am wanting to allude to here is that these same sort of assumptions of what constitutes "home" and "place" plagued the Haida when O'Reilly came to survey the reserves, ideas that will be unravelled in later chapters. His notion of "home" and "place" was bound to modern, liberal concepts of property that assumed that land should be productive and not allowed to go to waste, as John Locke suggested some 200 years earlier. Dawson, too, despite his sensitivity and
the houses through a small entranceway at the base of a house-pole, which was the structures’ ordinary door. Descending some steps into the main chamber of the house, Dawson describes the rectangular depressed area below the level of the ground outside, with broad steps running around it, on which the family goods and bedding was placed. In the Centre of the building, a square area not boarded in which a bright fire burns, the smoke passing off through apertures in the roof above. Dawson’s description is methodical, scanning the interior of the building and its main features as well as describing his own interaction with the Clue people and the relationships amongst them.

Clue with some of his friends occupied positions on the further side of the fire from the door. Squatting on clean mats several women, who however kept in the background. A couple of boxes brought out on which a well educated Siwash asked Self and R in tolerable English, to sit down. These places near Clue, and the Indian having first asked who was tyle, accords the nearest post to Clue and me. Had a short conversation and then pleading the late hour got off again on our way to the Schooner.31

Similarly, one of his few descriptions of the Haida depicts not a people integrating into modern society, but a people who are primitive. Dawson’s account is of a ceremony performed for him and his party upon their arrival in one of the villages.

The Audience nearly fill the building, squatting in various attitudes on the floor, & Consisting of Men & women & children of all ages. Their faces all turned forward & expressive of various emotions lit up by fire. The performers in this instance about twenty in number, dressed according to no uniform plan but got up in their best clothes, or at least most gaudy ones, with the addition of certain ornaments &c. appropriate to the occasion. All or nearly all wore head dresses, variously constructed of cedar-bark rope ornamented with feathers &c. or as in one case with a bristling circle of the whiskers of a

31 George Dawson in To the Charlottes, p.36.
Sea-lion. Shoulder girdles made of cedar-bark rope, variously ornamented & coloured, with tassels &c. very common. One man wore gaiters covered with string of puffin bills which rattled as he moved... Rattles were also in order.32

Like his attempt to present the geology of the Islands, Dawson scoured the village for samples or fragments that offered clues to the composition of the Haida in their pre-contact culture; however, this search for historic fragments deliberately overlooked the modern elements of Haida culture which they had appropriated from the burgeoning, modern industrial culture developing to the south. Items such as clothing, tools, furniture, and bedding, which the Haida had in their possession at this time, were possessions that Dawson’s descriptions, for the most part, ignores. The influence of the missionaries had positioned the Haida very much between two worlds. However, Dawson constructed a stereotypical image of the Haida is a primitive people.

The methodical character of Dawson’s construction of the Haida becomes equally apparent in his photographs. Each composition is carefully planned and arranged to articulate what Dawson conceived to be the essence of traditional Haida culture. Rarely are his photographs of people. Instead he presents a depopulated landscape, much like a museum of artefacts. His landscapes are of villages, with long-houses strewn along the beach, graced with a forest of totem poles before them. His photos carefully capture examples of art and architecture but these images are just as much portraits of Dawson’s assumptions (fig. 10, 11, 12). His prospects are distant and create an overview for the viewer with little sign of detail. With this distance he is able to maintain an image of a people who are pristine, untouched. But the accuracy of these photos is questionable. On closer inspection one notices some "modern

32 George Dawson in To the Charlottes, p.46.
objects” that seem to seep into the frame of the picture -- glass windows on the walls of long houses or even wool blankets. This ‘slippage’, the appearance of modern conveniences or technologies, gives away any attempt by Dawson to construct a reliable image of the Haida as pristine and primitive.

Dawson’s narrative contrasts with one of his rare portraits of human subjects. His photo is of the men of Massett, one of them the famed Charles Edenshaw, renowned for saving the crew of the American trading vessel the Susan Sturgess, (fig. 13, 14). What is striking in this photograph, after reading Dawson’s account, is the modern dress -- trousers, shirt, boots -- that Edenshaw and the others are wearing. Here we have a supposedly primitive subject who transgresses the boundaries of the primitive. Yet, Dawson's description represents the Haida as primitive rather than as a people who retain their traditional culture whilst also embracing modern western culture.

Another journal entry about his first encounter with the Haida also speaks of this transgression, if not blurring between primitive and civilised.

Shortly after supper a canoe full of Indians came alongside, they having observed our sail, and as we had supposed seen made the smoke. All young men, several of them just returned from Victoria with their earnings, and as they informed us "lots of whiskey". They are having a grand dance today over at the Ranch. The Indian lads well dressed, mostly in civilised costume, and brought with them in their canoe a couple of telescopes!

33 George Dawson in To the Charlottes, p. 25.

Dawson's account gives insight into early relationship of Natives and Europeans on the coast, trading otter and seal skins for western manufactured goods. Ironically, Dawson's encounter and desire to extract information about the islands wealth of natural resources marks the beginning of new relationships between Natives and Whites as the investment of capital, the appearance of large scale resource industry, the arrival of workers and settlers, as well as the demand of markets abroad brought the transformation of the landscape of the Queen Charlotte Islands and unfolding of a new conception of place.
Dawson seems struck by the fact that the Haida would make annual trips to Victoria. He also seems shocked to find that the Haida wear European clothes and are in possession of telescopes. In sum, Dawson's account of the indigenous population as primitive echoes his portrayal of the geography of the islands as primeval. Both of these accounts are steeped in beliefs and assumptions of civilisation and progress which provide a safe perspective from which to view the islands. Further, Dawson’s survey is bound up in formal conventions of science or aesthetics that frame his understanding of the islands as primitive/primeval; but the accuracy and consistency of his representations of place are challenged once he is in the field conducting the survey. Chittenden faced a similar dilemma.

Chittenden's reports of the Haida:

Like Dawson, Chittenden describes the Haida in his ‘progress reports’ to the provincial Commissioner of Land and Works, Wm. Smythe, but his accounts of this people are separated from the main body of his text on the physical geography of the Islands and are placed in a separate appendix. He describes them as a curious people, and focuses on their spectacular, exotic customs rather than on their traditional patterns or material culture. Thus, like Dawson, Chittenden’s accounts are framed by his beliefs in progress and steeped in stereotypes of the primitive. What comments he does make about their culture are sweeping generalisations based on popular myth rather than first-hand, empirical observation. In other words, Chittenden’s observations lack the reliability that Dawson achieved in his empirical observations of Haida
traditional culture. Even though Chittenden's descriptions lack the reliability of Dawson's, and his own biases against primitivism seem to colour his descriptions, his accounts do have a relevance that Dawson's lacked. In this light, Chittenden's observations offer insight into the modernising experience of the Haida, which Dawson, for the most part, ignored. What results from Chittenden's descriptions of the Haida is an image of a people who are in a sense blurred -- a 'primitive' people who are being transformed or who are progressing with the arrival of modern, industrial society in British Columbia.

Chittenden begins his reports of the Haida by describing the physical and racial characteristics of this people and comparing them to Europeans and to the other indigenous coastal peoples.

The islands are inhabited by about 800 Hydah Indians, a very remarkable race of people. The most common type of the adult unmixed Hydah is about five feet, seven inches in height, thick-set, large boned, with fairly regular broad features, coal black hair and eyes, and bronze complexion. 34

Chittenden states that the Haida are more advanced than other aboriginal peoples, "it is peopled by the Hydahs, evidently of Asiatic origin, the finest specimens, physically, and the most courageous of all the native tribes" 35 and "[t]here are probably, more well formed and featured people among the Hydahs than any other aboriginal race, though there are none which can be considered handsome." 36 In this description Chittenden is complimentary of the Haida physical stature, but he does not equate the Haida to European standards. In another entry he seems to contradict himself, distancing the Haida from Europeans, claiming:

34 Chittenden, Explorations, p. 29.
35 Chittenden, Explorations, p. 29.
They are generally much inferior both in stature and in form to the white race. A few of the Queen Charlotte Haydah's are fairly good looking, and well formed, though it would require an exceedingly fertile and romantic imagination to discover among these people a single specimen of the beautiful Indian maiden, we have all read about, but whom so few have ever seen. 37

Chittenden's description of the physical appearance of the Haida seems to parallel his assumption that this people are moving from a "primitive" state towards a "civilised" state -- beliefs also conforming to his assumption that the wilderness be transformed into productive land. For the most part, Chittenden does not attempt to substantiate his beliefs or his descriptions; instead he relies on the fact that these beliefs are commonly held. There is, however, one incident where Chittenden does try to account for the Haida's racial characteristics as culturally and geographically determined, claiming:

A few well-formed legs, through the greater number are defective in this respect from much sitting, or rather squatting in their canoes, in and around their lodges..."38

The observation of geographically determined physical characteristics of the Haida is absurd, more than insightful, but it does reflect the fact that Chittenden drew some of these observations from hypothesis very much in vogue in the end of the nineteenth century.

Like his unsubstantiated view of the Haida's physical features, Chittenden's descriptions of Haida culture rely upon stereotypes and popular myths to provide an image of this peoples'

38 Chittenden, *Explorations*, p. 29.
past. But the past that Chittenden presents is more one of European domination, control and transformation than a reliable image of the Haida’s history:

Haydah Indians of Queen Charlotte Island were formerly quite hostile to whites, having cruelly murdered several ship crews cast upon their shores; but through the influence of missionary training, several severe chastisements by English gunboats, and their humane liberal treatment by the government, they are now quite friendly I have visited most of the principal tribes during the past season, and have always been cordially received in their house or wigwam.39

However, Chittenden does provide an insightful observation about how the Haida were becoming an integral part of the modernisation of the industrialising economy of British Columbia. He claims, "large numbers are also employed by the salmon fisheries and canneries, lumber mills, steamboat lines, and railroad contractors, and are considered superior to Chinese labourers."40

Thus, Chittenden’s observation of the Haida are very much like his observations of the physical geography of the islands. He sees place in terms of the potential of progress, and provides a less reliable account than Dawson, but one more relevant in many ways to the readers of the day who sought to use his observations to settle and industrialise the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Richard Maynard, the Victoria photographer who accompanied Chittenden on his voyage, provides an insightful and colourful account of the Haida which in many ways buttresses the image that Chittenden attempts to create. Maynard’s photos are mainly portraits of the

39 Chittenden, Explorations, p. 29.
40 Chittenden, Explorations, p. 36.
modernisation of the islands -- images of the earliest and most remote examples of industrial enterprises (fig. 15), but many of his most interesting photos are of the Haida. At first glance Maynard’s images seem akin to Dawson’s, portraying a landscape of the primitive; such a view is particularly apparent in his photograph of Skidegate Village (fig. 16). Yet, many of Maynard’s photographs differed from Dawson's in the same way that Chittenden's observations offer another view of the physical landscape of the Islands. Maynard's photos are a 'lay' account of the Islands, of a professional photographer seeking a visual composition instead of an accurate scientific record. In this way, he contradicts the meticulously constructed formal frames or conventions used by Dawson, which clearly demarcated the modern and the traditional. Maynard’s prospect, or the point of view in his photos, does not try to capture solely this traditional character of Haida culture so much as to blend modern and traditional elements in the same images. In this way Maynard’s photos blur rather than differentiate the distinction between Europeans and Natives. Consider two photos by Maynard: one is of the exterior of Chief Anetlas's house; the other is of the interior of Chief Weah's house. The photo of the exterior shows not only the totem poles outside and the typical proportions of the house, but also the European construction techniques and tastes that detail the house (fig. 17, 18). The walls use horizontal clapboard instead of vertical planking, and the windows and gingerbread detailing are typical of Victoria architecture. Another photograph of the interior of Chief Weah's house (fig. 19) portrays traditional interior configurations, but also reveals the Haida accumulation and use of European implements, an account which seems to differ from Dawson's written account of the interior of Haida long-houses and focus on traditional cultural artefacts.
This non-scientific view of the Haida is reflected in the work of other professional photographers who followed in the wake of Maynard, including Dossetter, Robert Reford, and Brooks. They shared Maynard's commercial view of place, but many of their images better exemplify this 'popular' view of the Haida; one finds a more ironic, or ambivalent, blending in these distinct frames of primitive and civilised, whereas Dawson's photographs embodied either one or the other. One good example of such hybrid images which contain a sense of informality is Maynard's self portrait in the village of Massett (fig. 20). In this photo one can see in the background both totem poles and canoes, associated with Haida tradition, and modern balloon frame cottages, of a sort built throughout the province. Like Dawson, Maynard uses people to give the image perspective, but Maynard transgresses these conventions by placing himself with his camera and a child in the image. Another photograph of Haida culture which blurs the distinction between civilisation and the primitivism is by the Victoria photographer Brooks. His image of Kasan, like Dawson's, captures the exotic and 'primitive' totem poles and the traditional clan houses apparent in photographs of Native villages, but Brooks explicitly places four Haida men wearing dapper, modern dress in the centre of a photo, a contradictory message. (fig. 21).

Whereas Dawson's images contain a homogeneous totality with one point or message, Maynard, Brooks, and Dossetter create images that confuse in an almost playful way. Another of these photos is of an old Haida woman weaving a hat (fig. 22). In one way it is documentary, but in the background there is a small boy peering around the corner of a doorway looking at the viewer, (in a way posing the question implicitly, who is the viewer, Dossetter with his camera focusing on the Haida or is it the Haida looking back at Dossetter who no doubt had to lug his
cumbersome photographic apparatus through the village, (which, in the case of Maynard, the Haida suspiciously mistook for surveying equipment)\textsuperscript{41}.

In sum, images of the Haida taken by commercial photographers incorporated a rhetoric of the Haida as primitive in their representations. However, Dossetter, Brooks, Green and Maynard \textsuperscript{42} create images that lack the consistent, homogenous scientific point of view that Dawson constructed. In contrast, these commercial views capture the Haida in contradictory or hybrid states -- as both civil and primitive. Thus, these different photographic perspective can be attributed to the different prospects from which each was taken. Maynard, Dossetter, and Green were businessmen who specialised in studio photography, and the compositions of subjects used to represent the Haida are similar to the portraits taken by these photographers in their studios in Victoria; whereas Dawson's images reflected his scientific inquiry, his status as a visitor to British Columbia, and his introverted nature.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Conclusion}

Dawson's and Chittenden's surveys of the Queen Charlotte Islands attempted to achieve a complete picture of the Islands for very different ends -- ends that determined the language they used to describe place and shaped the features they described. Dawson offered a scientific account of place which attempted to inventory resources and bring this space under the domain

\textsuperscript{41} Chittenden, \textit{Explorations}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{42} There is little written recorded of Maynard's work or life. All that remains are his images, and one sees in many of his portraits from his Victoria studio many of these same playful shots with his explicit manipulation of the image which seem to trangress the formality of Victorain convention.
\textsuperscript{43} Douglas Cole documents this introversion in his edited journal and letters about Dawson.
of the Dominion of Canada. Chittenden attempted to portray the islands in a way that would justify a settlement scheme to attract crofters to the Islands. Despite the language, the fact that these were surveys meant that Dawson and Chittenden both had to position themselves from a 'commanding position' so as to achieve consistency and totality in their descriptions. For Dawson this prospect was achieved through the use of scientific disciplines ranging from geology to anthropology. For Chittenden, a prospect was obtained through his use of stereotypes and commonly-held assumptions to frame the Islands. In both cases these prospects rested on the belief and assumptions of progress, which sought to transform the Charlottes into a productive and civilised place. Despite the achievements of both surveys, the accuracy of their observations and the legitimacy of such surveys is brought into question by the representational difficulties both encountered. Dawson relied on formal conventions like aesthetics to expand his accounts of place, whereas Chittenden's stereotypes often contradicted themselves or were left unfounded. In either case, their inability to complete their portraits bring to light the complexity of describing place.

Place is not just something that is located, described, mapped and thereby controlled, but rather, something that challenges the very notion of what we know and how we know -- especially when we are not of that place. Thus, the survey of place becomes not an accurate description, but an outline that blurs in corners and is unknown in spots, regardless of generalisations and categories imposed that might lead us to think otherwise.
Figure 16. Maynard's photograph of Skidegate Village, 1884. (source: BCARS).
Figure 17. Maynard’s photograph of Chief Anetlas’s house with its mixing of Haida building techniques and Victorian details. This was the last of the long-houses built in Massett. (source: BCARS).
Figure 18. Chief Weah’s house at Massett taken in 1884. Subtle changes to Haida architecture include the use of Windows. (*source*: BCARS).
Figure 19. The interior of Weah’s house. Maynard’s photograph shows a further blending of modern furnishings, such as tables, chairs, and bedding to the traditional Haida longhouse, 1884. 
(source: BCARS, courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History).
Figure 20. Maynard's self portrait with the village of Massett in the background. (source: BCARS).
Figure 21. Brook’s photograph of modern dressed Haida in-front of traditional Haida house at Haina, Maude Island, gives the viewer a contradictory impression of the primitive and civilisation. (source: BCARS).
Figure 22. Dossetter’s image of woman weaving a ‘traditional’ Haida hat.
(source: BCARS).
CHAPTER TWO

A VIEW FROM THE DECK:

PROSPECTS OF TOURISM.

**introduction**

Just after Dawson and Chittenden surveyed the Queen Charlotte Islands for potential industrial development and settlement, commercial tourism was launched in the region because of improved transportation. The role of tourist literature was to inform the would-be traveller of the novel landscape in Alaska and northern British Columbia and to a large extent, it shaped the way they were to perceive place. Tour guides signified sites of importance for tourists and, giving orientation as well as entertainment, they moved the reader's gaze from the imaginative into the actual. As a result, "tourism [was] not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it [was] also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; framing that [had] the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs."\(^{44}\) Tourism attempted to create a sense of order in the landscape, but it achieved this through different means, relying upon organised travel facilities such as tours, steamers, trains, boats, and hotels which moved travellers to their various destinations. At the same time, the tour guide attempted to draw the tourist's attention to points

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\(^{44}\) Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist Papers*, Routledge, New York, 1993, p. 1. Although MacCannell has contemporary tourism in mind, his summation seems equally applicable to tourism from around the turn of the century on the north coast of British Columbia and in the Queen Charlotte Islands.
of significance, choreographing expectations during the voyage. Tourists and travelers usually encountered foreign landscapes from a prospect of security, observing from a distance, and at the same time trying to maintain that distance from the observed. I argue that travel literature illuminates a western 'point of view' and the distancing between observer and observed constructs in the tourist's mind the civil and the primitive/primeval. Tour guides drew upon the findings of experts in fields of geology, anthropology, zoology, and geography to substantiate their claims. The point here is that tourist literature narrated the experience, be it through prospects of sites that constructed the way people saw the landscape or the comforts and accoutrements of travel facilities (or 'European' spaces) -- both combined to meditate place and prescribe its meanings. These meanings were invested with social and cultural values. In the Queen Charlotte Islands, such meanings were imposed upon the islands and rarely offered any opportunity for alternative meanings to enter into the tourist experience. Through this mediated, one-way gaze, the landscape of the Queen Charlotte Islands became a landscape of spectacle comprehended through cultural conventions like the sublime, the picturesque, the pastoral, the primitive, and wilderness.

**tourist prospects and cultural baggage**

Commercial tourism blossomed in British Columbia after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886. To promote this type of travel, the CPR produced a number of tour books to entice travellers as well as to prepare them for their journey; appropriately the CPR series is entitled "Canadian Pacific Primers", and each "primer" focused on a particular voyage. The 1888 edition of *To Alaska* begins in the following way:
That a large portion of the globe, easily accessible, remains almost unexplored, is sure to be interesting information to intelligent people everywhere. The world now seems a very small, and pretty well-known sort of place. Regions that a few years ago were considered beyond civilisation, not only, but beyond knowledge, have been described, photographed and mapped in so rapid succession, that little seems left to reward the tourist in search of novelty. Yet in the coast region of Alaska exists a vast area of novel scenes, glorious landscapes and infinite opportunity for sport and adventure, as yet unmarred by the contact of civilisation.

To successfully persuade tourists, the guidebook had to instil a sense of urgency to see these exotic and still unknown sites before they also became overrun with tourists. But the reason for the rapid growth of commercial tourism to the north coast of British Columbia and Alaska was not only the result of the region’s novel landscapes and relatively untouched wilderness; equally important was the rise of a upper-middle class with more leisure time and money. Therefore, the role of the tour guide was to present clients with information that was both relevant in preparation for their trip, and reliable in terms of what they would experience. The tour guide attempted to frame place in cultural terms that would appeal to this socio-economic group.

What one finds in these descriptions of the North coast of the continent, and Queen Charlotte Islands in particular, are images, metaphors, and comparisons steeped in ideals of health, adventure, and wilderness.

One of the first tasks of the successful tour guide was to dispel any negative preconceived notions of the region, and to inject it with appeal. *To Alaska* begins by clarifying any "misconceptions" travellers might have of the area as cold, wet and dreary. Instead, it claims,
The prevalent idea of Alaska is, that it is excessively distant, to be reached only after a voyage through gale-swept seas, and that its attractions are limited volcanoes, beach-dwelling Indians of a peculiarly degraded sort, and a few fur-trading post or two. The coast is considered a region of rain and general desolation, and the interior a waste of ice and snow.

But the Alaska of this picture is only its Arctic border, where Eskimos chase the Walrus, whalers occasionally land, or a few agents look after the fur seal on the Aleutian islets. It is no more a true account of Alaska than a description of the Orkney would justify a condemnation of Great Britain.46

After dispelling the negative aura of the region, the tour guide paints it in a more appealing and mystical light.

Along the southern part of Alaska, and upon the coast of British Columbia, there extends a series of archipelagos, where the climate is like that of England, and where, even in winter, gales seldom ruffle the land locked sounds; where vegetation flourishes with particular luxuriance... 47

To convey the spectacle of these foreign places, guide books re-inscribed the landscape, using a palate of commonly-held aesthetics and alluring comparisons to familiar landscapes in Europe while at the same time drawing attention to the uniqueness of the Northwest Coast.

Like the CPR Primers, Appleton guidebooks were very popular around the turn of the century in part because of their ability to create convincing landscapes, that were familiar yet novel:

...the veritable "Sea of Mountains." Glaciers gem all these Cordillera slopes, and the tidewater glaciers at the head of Alaskan inlets are paralleled only in the strait of Magellan, in Iceland, Greenland, and polar regions. The scenery is sublime beyond description, and

46 “To Alaska”, p. 1.
47 “To Alaska”, p. 23.
there is almost a monotony of such magnificence in the cruise along the Northwest Coast. The mountains are covered with the densest forest, all undisturbed game preserves, the waters teem with hundreds of varieties of fish....\textsuperscript{48}

In another section, the Appleton brochure states:

The Queen Charlotte Island group lies off the island belt of the immediate mainland coast, placed much as the Lofoden Islands are with respect to Norway, and, like them, bordered with extensive cod banks.\textsuperscript{49}

Through comparison to familiar landscapes in Europe, the tour guide is able to convey a reliable image of the landscape of the north coast of the Pacific. The brochures make the region comprehensible prior to the prospective tourist’s first-hand experience. In one instance, the Appleton guidebook suggests that cruising along the B.C. and Alaska coast surpasses what might be expected in Europe: "[a]s a yachting region it offers more than the Hebrides or the Norwegian coast."\textsuperscript{50}

The tour guide provides passengers with an idea of the conditions and activities on board. The steamer provided all the amenities and luxuries of home that even the most genteel traveller would expect: "The... accommodations... are first class in every respect -- the excursions steamers catering to an expensive class of pleasure travel, offering most luxuries and comforts."\textsuperscript{51} Preconceptions of place were re-confirmed as tourists perched on the deck of the

\textsuperscript{48} Eliza Skidmore, \textit{Appleton Guidebook to Alaska and the Northwest Coast: including the shores of Washington, British Columbia, Southeastern Alaska, the Aleutian and Seal Islands, The Bering and Arctic coasts, the Yukon River and Klondike District}. New York, Appleton and Co., 1896, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{49} Eliza Skidmore, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{50} Skidmore, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{51} Scidmore, p. 2.
ship, observed the landscape passing before them from a vantage of security and comfort. The tourist brochures directed their view towards sites of interest:

[The voyage] offer[s] unknown delights of ocean travel, and from the deck chairs tourists view near at hand the tide water glaciers and the highest mountains of the continent, pursuing the placid channels of water-floored canons for a fortnight with scarce a ripple encountered.52

The social activities and rituals of urban living are not left behind on the ship's departure, but are in fact encouraged on the voyage. The Appleton guidebook describes this metropolitan feel on the steamer in a brief description of travellers:

"Good-bye to Victoria is said at noon, when the bustle of departure makes a lively picture on the wharf, where people of a dozen nationalities mingle in an eager crowd -- natty naval officers and government officials; snug looking citizens with wives and daughters; tourists from the Atlantic states and Europe; perhaps a swarthy Mexican or Chilean and his wife, rich and polite, fraternising with a Parisian literary wanderer, but casting puzzled glances at a German naturalist, who is so solicitous about his instrument-boxes and photographic apparatus; a mercantile traveller or two, having an eye upon speculations in Nanaimo or Sitka, some inland gold mine or off-shore fishery. Plenty of women-folk, too, dressed all the way from the height of fashion, and, as a picturesque background, a democratic commingling of labour, lumbermen, gold-miners, sailors, loungers, Chinese and Indians.53

In addition to giving a sense of urbanity on the steamers, the descriptions appear to have catered to a bourgeois middle class searching for social legitimacy -- the brochure's description of 'well to do' travellers put the socially-aspiring reader's mind at ease.

52 Skidmore, p. 2.
53 Skidmore, p. 40.
Just as guidebooks or cruises constructed a tourist's conception of the Queen Charlotte Islands and the north coast of the continent, another part of the tourist experience that was the traveller's attempt to 'capture' a part of the visited place and bring it home with him/her. An important part of the tourist 'ritual' was to bring evidence or proof back of one's journey. However, getting such mementoes or proof was not a simple venture. Tourists often faced a "representational ineptitude" upon arriving in these foreign landscapes "rendering him incapable of recording the differences he can only observe...".54 They would have been stupefied in these new landscapes; nonetheless, tour guides and travel handbooks contain countless pages with suggestions of how a tourist might acquire mementoes to bring home as a reminder or proof. Thus, tourists made consistent attempts to depict the Queen Charlotte Islands and the North coast of the continent; and amateur biologists, anthropologists, artists, and hunters, scoured the region in the attempt to capture, represent or collect images or specimens.

Photography was the most common means of trying to represent place by tourists. By the 1890s, photography was becoming popular, culminating with the technical developments of the compact Kodak camera by the first decade of the twentieth century. So popular was photography on these tours that the Royal Geographical Society included a chapter on the subject in one of its tourist companion books. This type of book did not describe specific places as much as give travellers practical tips in preparation for their journey. In his chapter "Photography" in the R.G.S. Hints to Travellers, W.F. Donkin outlines techniques and technical considerations of landscape photography on tours:

The traveller who wishes to take photographs of the scenery he may pass through has first to decide on the size of plate he intends to employ, for on this will depend the size and weight of all the necessary apparatus. The next point to decide is as to the selection of the sensitised medium for receiving the image -- glass plate, celluloid, or other film.

Donkin's chapter breaks down the camera into its parts, bringing to the reader's attention the fact that the quality of a photograph depends upon the technical apparatus like cloth, slides, tripod, lenses, exposure tables, chemicals; he then continues with techniques of taking photographs and the particular effects they render, adapting apparatus to different conditions depending on the subject. The artistic element of photography is another subject altogether. He then suggests the best aesthetic effects and conventions for placing a specific subject within larger themes.

Thus, for tourists photography acted as a technical means of capturing images of their destination which would comprise mementoes upon returning home. But there is another way of considering amateur tourist photography -- that the choice of photographic subjects was a means of reconfirming or reconstructing expected landscapes that travellers anticipated before arriving at their destination.

Some tourists in the late nineteenth century also pursued scientific pastimes while travelling. Amateur taxonomy was popular with tourists around the turn of the century. In the same Royal Geographic Society publication a chapter is dedicated to those interested in Natural History. The chapter by H.W. Bates gives the traveller specific techniques for identifying and collecting different specimens of flora, fauna, soil and rocks. He details the procedures of classification of specimens, but much of his detail goes into the techniques of preserving plants and especially mammals, providing gory descriptions of field preservation methods:

55 W. F. Donkin, "Photography", in *Hints to Travellers*, Royal Geographical Society, London, William Clowes and
Immediately after killing a small mammal or bird, make note of the colour of its eyes and soft parts, and, if time admits, of the dimension of its trunks and limbs, skinning animals cleaning the body and dismantling the skeleton specimen into jars.56

The specimens that are captured and rendered observable through preservation provide samples of the species found in the regions, thereby giving an insight into the nature of place. Taxonomy provides the traveller with a specific way of seeing place that eliminates or erases other aspects of place -- reducing it to a configuration of species. In the process of pursuing amateur activities such as taxonomy tourists limited their experience of place to a single ‘frame’ of reference -- be it animal, rocks, landscape painting. It is impossible to generalise the experiences of all tourists engaged in scientific recreation. Certainly many were avid and sought to make reliable observations. Others however must have seen these activities in terms of amusements. In either case, the prospect of adventure must have lured the keener of visitors. The experience of one adventurer, Charles Sheldon, exemplifies the attempt to pursue a scientific quest to stalk and bag the mythical Dawson caribou.

Sheldon, a retired businessman, who in the summer and fall of 1906, spent several months in Alaska hunting, before he decided to voyage to the Queen Charlotte Islands from Ketchican. He wrote many articles in popular magazines of his hunts for big game (fig. 23). His pursuit of the Dawson caribou is typical of early twentieth century adventure tales describing his struggle with inclement autumn weather and occasional disorientation while tracking the caribou. The plot picks up with him coming across tracks and dung, but what is striking about Sheldon’s tale is that it comprises less a tale about a hunting trip than a scientific investigation into “the

Sons, 1893, p. 321.
occurrence of caribou which were supposed to exist there". Sheldon goes to some length to provide a scientific explanation of the origins of the species by drawing on previous accounts and encounters from the likes of George Dawson, the Hudson’s Bay post manager, Alexander Mackenzie, the missionaries Keen and Collison, in addition to naturalists like Canada’s Earnest Thompson Seton and W.H. Osgood of the U.S. Biological Survey. Sheldon interspersed his narrative with other descriptions of the flora and fauna of the islands elaborating on the scientific significance of this place, stating:

The mammal life of the Queen Charlotte Islands is interesting from the fact that more species have been evolved there than in the other islands of British Columbia and Alaska. The black bear, ursus charlotte, has developed different skull characteristics; the marten, mustela nesophila, land-otter, lutra canadenis peridyzone; the weasel, putorius haidcrum and eight other species of indigenous mammals-shrews, mice, bats, including all known to occur on the islands have been described as new.

What is significant in Sheldon's description here is the way he speaks of the Queen Charlotte Islands and their ecological significance, making similar deductions about the islands' animals and plants as Darwin had many years earlier about the Galapagos archipelago.

Sheldon's tale ends with his unsuccessful departure from the Islands.

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58 Sheldon, p. 300.
59 Sheldon finishes his article with the destruction of this species by two local Haida, Matthew Yeoman and Henry White, who slaughtered the last remaining herd to have these specimen ironically sent to the Victoria museum to be preserved for posterity (fig. 23). Unfortunately, the embalming processes failed and the two specimens decayed. The demise of the species and Sheldon's hand in the Caribou's demise was very much a reflection of human attitudes towards nature, as something to be controlled and extracted for human use, this even being the case with tourism.
Yet even after such a complete failure amongst dismal surroundings, I felt keen regret at leaving the repeated monotony of the hunt that was in some degree compensated for by the continual craving to see one of those mysterious caribou which I knew were there. The hunting was in the open and my senses were constantly keyed to a high pitch as each bit of new territory comes within the field of my strained vision.

Sheldon’s closing remarks give insight into the amateur naturalist/tourist’s experience of place. The desires to take from place very specific fragments and experiences are matched by tourist’s bringing a series of expectations and practices that shape the way they relate to place. In these practices tourists sought to represent place in ways that corresponded to what they expected or anticipated.

the view of the Haida body

Travel guides also attempted to represent the human landscape of the Queen Charlotte Islands, and like Dawson’s accounts of the Haida, many guide books framed the indigenous population predominantly in terms of their traditional culture. What resulted from these images is that indigenous people like the Haida were stereotyped as savage -- physically inferior and culturally less advanced than Europeans. At the same time, tourists actively recreated these stereotypes by engaging in travel activities that further reinforced their notion of primitivism.

Integral to the construction of indigenous people by tour guides was a focus on the body. The Appleton guidebook claimed that the,
discerning and intelligent traveller will notice the subtle (physical) differences of the
different linguistic groups -- or "families... The Native people are the most interesting
study... and totemism in a living and advanced stage may be studied on the spot.60

The guidebook To Alaska made similar claims about the tourist's ability to distinguish between
different native peoples of the coast, alluding to the relevance of the encounter with Natives as
integral to the tourist experience while also establishing indigenous people as objects to be
examined or beheld:

The red Natives of this North-Pacific coast become familiar objects to the tourist, from
the time he reaches the valley of the Fraser until the steamer anchors in Glacier Bay; he
observes any one group with sufficient care, to distinguish those differences by which
they are in fact divided into large number of different families.61

Objectifying Natives not only detached the observer from the observed, it allowed the tourist to
more easily construct an image of First Nations people as primitives by searching for specific
physical characteristics or cultural traits. In the nineteenth century there was a strong belief that
physical characteristics were the product of not only environmental conditions but also cultural
and economic conditions. To Alaska attempted to deduce how these different tribes acquired
different physical attributes:

North of Discovery sound the tourist will meet with a diversity of Indian tribes belonging
to the great shore family of T'linkits. These are not robust and shapely people like the
Hairdos and from their constant life in canoes, where they sit doubled up, making no use
of their legs, they have a spindle-shaped and dwarfed look far from elegant; the muscles
of their chest and arms, on the other hand, are developed in the highest degree, so that
while you might tire out one of these red-skins in a walk, with little exertion upon your
part, he would paddle a "canim" ten times as far as the best of you.62

60 Scidmore, p. 1.
61 "To Alaska", p. 25.
62 "To Alaska", p. 25.
The Appleton guide also highlights distinctive racial characteristics amongst the Haida in comparison to neighbouring linguistic groups:

... are nearer to the T'linkit than to any other people. [Yet] They are aliens to the T'linkit, and differ from all their neighbours physically and mentally, in speech and customs, and many similarities are more often the result of Haida influences.63

And, "[t]he Haida are the fine flower of the native races of the coast. They are taller, fairer, with oval faces and more regular features than any of the Columbian coast tribes...".64

The supposedly objective description of physical characteristics of the coastal natives in tour guides end up reconfirming racial stereotypes of the coastal natives as primitive. However, by today's standards, such representations and assumptions are quickly brought into question as dated and unfounded, but for the traveller in the nineteenth century, who would have likely spent time in museums or reading popular scientific reports of people in far off lands, primitivism acted as an opposite of the commonly upheld notion of civilisation. Tour guide accounts of indigenous peoples only reconfirmed the belief that coastal natives were primitives.

Recording encounters with Native peoples was central to the tourist experience. As a form of recreation on the voyage, jotting down notes of, or capturing images of, Natives allowed the tourist to believe that he or she was in some way contributing to the accumulation of a vast storehouse of knowledge. Amateur anthropology and the adaptation of scientific techniques enabled the tourist to better record and interpret differences in physical traits. E.B. Taylor's article, "Anthropology" in the Royal Geographical Society's *Hints to Travellers*, offers keen tourists the opportunity to mimic these scientific procedures on their travels:

63 Scidemore, p.37.
64 Scidemore, p. 38.
Figure 23. Henry White and Matthew Yeoman, both Haida from Massett tracked down and killed the last known Dawson caribou in November 1908, two years after Sheldon's journey to the Islands. (source: BCARS).
The character of men's bodies and minds being matter of common observation, Europeans not specially trained in anthropology, who have happened to be thrown among little-known tribes, often bring home valuable anthropological information. Though explorers, traders, and colonists have made their way into almost every corner of the earth, it is surprising to find how many new facts may still be noted down by any careful observer. If familiar with anthropological methods, he will, of course, observe more and better. The hints here given will serve to draw attention to interesting points which might otherwise may be overlooked.65

Taylor, an Oxford anthropologist, provided the reader with a general method for observing the physical traits of the body:

Physical Character -- On first coming among an unfamiliar race, such as the Negroes, the traveller is apt to think them almost alike, till after a few days he learns to distinguish individuals more sharply. This first impression, however, has a value of its own, for what he vaguely perceived was the general type of the race, which he may afterwards gain a more perfect idea of by careful observation.66

Taylor conveys to the reader the need to make reliable observations of data on the physical make up of different peoples. He claims that by accumulating empirical data, this information can be distilled into knowledge through a schemata which draws on similarities and distinctions between different cultures. “Such a table can afterwards be so classified as to show not only the average or mean size, but the proportion of the persons who vary more...”67 These systems of classification provide reliable scientific knowledge, thereby clearly facilitating an understanding of the development and progress of different cultures. For the tourist, however, viewing indigenous people this way and attempting to record the appearance of the Native’s bodies again reinforced stereotypes of primitivism.

66 E.B. Taylor, p. 419.
Another form of representation of indigenous peoples that Taylor prompts travellers to use in his handbook is photography. The camera, like ethnographic techniques, standardised observations of indigenous people, providing an accuracy that enabled comparison of these 'characteristics' that photographs could capture. Taylor claimed that,

[t]he consequence is that the traveller among a rude people, if he has something of the artist's faculty of judging form, may select a whole group for photography which will fairly represent the type of a whole nation or tribe.68

In the same Royal Geographical Society travel guide, Francis Galton wrote an article on photography with a subsection entitled "statistics of strength, stature, etc." from which the following comes:

Always photograph, if you can, in preference to drawing. A really careful drawing is of course as good as a photograph, but it will not be received by scientific men with the same amount of trust in its authenticity as a photograph...If possible, your photograph of groups and individuals should be taken instantaneously, and without deliberate posing, which will never represent your subject in their natural aspect. You should watch your opportunity with some one of the many handy little pocket-cameras now in vogue, and photograph the natives in their most characteristic attitudes and engaged in their customary occupations.69

What underlies these scientific uses of photography is not so much an authentic representation of Natives, but rather an attempt to standardise and make uniform the way of portraying aboriginal people -- the uniformity ensuring in the mind of Taylor an accuracy and an authenticity that

67 E.B. Taylor, p. 419.
68 E.B. Taylor, p. 419.
allows different peoples to be comparable. Articles like Galton's provoked amateur quests for the ideal primitive subject.

Descriptions of the material culture of the coastal aboriginal in popular magazines also constructed an image of primitivism which circulated widely and coloured a tourist's perception of the Haida before travelling to the region. One tourist account that portrayed the Haida in such terms is found in a 1891 edition of the British missionary magazine, The Church Missionary Gleaner. Its author, the Reverend J.H. Keen, tells readers of his first impressions upon arriving in Massett, his new mission, with a party of tourists.

The steamer's boat landed us on the beach, where a crowd of Hydahs had gathered to see the vessel, which happened to be the largest they had ever known to enter their inlet. Their type of countenance does not appear to differ much from that of the Indians on the mainland opposite, though their skin is distinctly lighter. They looked well dressed and happy, and were evidently much interested in the arrival of the strangers. Their general demeanour was such that we felt at once that we had set foot in a Christian Village, and could not help contrasting what we saw with the spectacle which would probably have presented itself on these shores not many years ago... the tourists walked round the settlement and examined objects of interest, to which the Bishop had directed their attention in a little lecture he had given them on board the steamer the previous evening.71

The lecture by Arch-Bishop DeVern and the tour through the village of Massett set up the Haida as objects for the tourist's gaze. Keen's remarks about what the traditional Haida settlement would have been like are insightful about his own expectations upon arriving at Massett Village. No doubt he expected to see the material example of Haida culture; however what he found was

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70 Edward Curtis's photographs of the Haida seem to be a document consistent with Taylor's aspiration to represent both the physical and cultural particularities of different indigenous peoples. In fact, Curtis's photographic essay of 1916 was an attempt to represent the North American Indians before its assumed extinction.
a people who had both adapted elements of industrial society as well as being subjected to the influences of Anglican missionaries. The tourists walk around the settlement forms an other interesting feature of Keen’s testament. In a way, the Bishop’s lecture functioned in the same manner as a tour guide, directing the tourist gaze toward examples of the Haida’s former material culture.

The houses, some sixty in number, are scattered along a high bank that rises abruptly from the pebbly beach. The majority of the houses are cottages very much of the English type, except that they are built of wood, and have no upstairs rooms. Here and there, however, one sees a genuine Indian house, though these are for the most part very old and some quite in ruin. They are easily recognisable by being very low and very large, with the main entrance always at one end. Formerly, as many as eight or ten families occupied one house, which consisted merely of one large room with the fire in the centre. Of late years, however, the Haidahs have adopted the custom of having a separate house for each family. In front of each of these old houses stands a totem pole, now, like its owner's dwelling, showing unmistakable signs of age. One of these poles, which I measured, was 44 feet high, with a girth of 16 feet at its base. They are all grotesquely carved, some of them from top to bottom, with figures of birds, animals, and sometimes men. These birds, animals, and sometimes men. These devices represent a rude system of heraldry, but have not as I am aware, any religious significance.72

Keen’s perception of the Haida moves from a ‘modern' Christian people who inhabit a village of "very much English type" towards an imaginary pre-contact village based on the remnants and his reminiscence of earlier times. These stereotypes construct a movement between the actual or contemporary Haida and the imaginary which sees the Haida as primitive based on Keen's romanticised reinterpretation.

Tour books used similar strategies. By placing an imaginary Haida culture before the eyes of the tourist, they created an impression of primitivism that contrasted with the reality of

72 Keen, p. 36.
the Haida villages. An account in the CPR's *To Alaska* recreates a traditional cultural landscape, (although it mentions the modern Haida as participants in the trade and goings-on of southern cities); which had correspondence with their reality.

The Haida family originally occupied the Queen Charlotte Island, but these people have lately spread widely, and are often seen in Victoria and the Puget Sound ports. They are stalwart, adventurous Indians, of fine figure and pleasant countenance, who are accustomed to perilous sea voyages, hunting whales and fishing for halibut in deep water, and to making extensive tours through the archipelagos... It is upon these islands that the cedar reaches its most magnificent proportions, so that out of a single trunk the clever Haida are able, by process of charring and scraping, to dig a canoe which sometimes exceeds sixty feet in length. These canoes are so finely modelled that they are both swift and seaworthy. Their prows are extended into a great beak like that which decorated the galley of ancient Greece, and these prows and the cutwater of the canoe are decorated in gaudy colours with symbols and conventions designs drawn from their totemic mythology.73

The guide describes the Haida briefly in their modern state, but it is not long before it slides towards an imaginary place inhabited by a primitive people. Skidmore's account of the Haida also describes this people in terms of ancient, European history -- equating the Haida to the ancient Greeks, a people the reader would be able to identify with -- a 'Noble Savage'. In a similar way, the Appleton guide book also uses European metaphors to make Haida culture comprehensible to readers: "...these Pacific Norsemen rivalled the earlier Vikings in their journeys to distant shores.... They once seized a schooner in Seattle harbour and murdered all on board, and the Haida was a name of terror."74 Whether the Haida lacked science or plundered a ship, their portrayal as savages was glorified through metaphors of European history. A similar exaggeration which drew parallels between Europeans and the Haida's

73 “To Alaska”, p. 27.
74 Scidmore, p. 37.
industriousness by saying, "Massett Inlet is the Clyde of the coast and canoe-making is always in progress". Although, this metaphor blurs the distinction between the Haida's primitiveness and European civilisation, this rhetoric of similarities seems to allude to the Haida's inevitable progress towards civility.

Another way that tourists constructed the Haida as primitive was through photography, painting, and collecting -- be it amateur ethnography or the purchase of mementoes. Travel guides aided tourists in representing or collecting by providing relevant information which tourists could use to fulfil their desires.

Tourists who sought to engage in amateur ethnography were provided with a plethora of literature on the subject that would ensure the effective employment of scientific practices in the collection and representation of indigenous peoples. Again, the British Royal Geographical Society travel guide provides insight into amateur ethnography. The chapter by E.B. Taylor gives practical advice on the techniques of portraying indigenous cultures.

Another point on which travellers have great opportunity of seeing with their own eyes the working of primitive society is the holding and inheritance of property, especially land.... communalism is associated with savagery... 

Taylor suggests that the amateur focus on the material culture of the subject people, keeping in mind notions of ownership. He claims that "primitive" cultures are communal whereas 'civilised' cultures possess advanced notions of individualism and possession typical to the laissez-faire capitalism of the day. The ambition of anthropology of the time was the ability of

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75 Scidmore, p. 36.
76 E.B. Taylor, p. 422.
"gauging the [state of] civilisation" of indigenous cultures. In this vein, Taylor concludes that, "[n]aturally, nations below the upper levels of culture have little or no science to teach us, but many of their ideas are interesting as marking stages in the history of human kind." Therefore, anthropology's endeavour was to establish a continuum between the clearly demarked polarities of civilisation and primitivism. Taylor wished to establish an ordered understanding of indigenous peoples through cultural attributes so as to discover inherent laws of human evolution. In this way, the techniques of anthropological observation were steeped in scientific methods that utilised measurements, standards, and norms rooted in objective science. One example of this amateur ethnography can be found in the journal notes of George Muskett of England who accompanied Dr. C.F. Newcombe of Victoria to the Queen Charlotte Islands on an expedition to collect artefacts for eastern U.S. and European museums in 1907.

Muskett's journal notes give an indication of the rigour of these collecting voyages and of the methodical acquisition of artefacts and data.

Started 8 a.m..... reached Tanu 11:30 fine houses and poles, all old... work measured clew houses width 50 feet length 53 feet height 23 feet width of terrace 10 feet and six feet of second terrace 4 feet 9' height of step 2'4" and 2'6". Measured Mrs. Oliver's burial pole. 29 ft. 4'6" diameter. ... anchored for night, looked for skeletons, doctor found one.

This entry reveals the technical procedures of recording these sites. Prior to this Muskett's entries are quite elaborate and poetic, reflecting his frame of mind while sightseeing in the Rockies. However, the focus of his journal entries reflect both his single mindedness once in the

77 Taylor, p. 421.
78 Taylor, p. 421.
79 Henry Joseph Muskett diary, 1902. Newcombe Collection, Add. Mss. 2232. BCARS.
islands and a lack of free time while collecting. Throughout Muskett's journal there is little attempt to describe the islands or the Haida other than in terms of collecting artefacts.

The following entry by Muskett clarifies the appropriation of objects from these villages. It tells of Newcombe and his party taking poles and even skeletons from burial poles from these sites, "[m]easured burial boards 4/7.3. took photos [fig. 24, 25]. 4 skeletons 4 p.m. off again... lost one skeleton overboard hoisted sail."80 And again, "vacated up burial bones, board and another bone ...".81 After the artefacts were collected they were packed and transported to the sponsor, be it a museum or individual. Muskett's journal describes the processes of packing objects for shipment: "Making box for packing things to Chicago [Field Museum]. Writing labels. basket $.50."82 These processes of measuring, accounting, and shipping were all techniques of constructing a 'primitive' Haida culture. And although few tourists would have partaken in archaeological expeditions as Muskett did, it is arguable that tourists participated activities which constructed the Haida as primitive as well as bringing to the Islands assumptions and stereotypes cultivated before their arrived in the islands.

The relevance of Haida artefacts goes beyond the tourists' opportunity to recreate anthropological studies. Museums were popular at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. They provided another way to reiterate the image of the Haida (and other indigenous cultures) as primitive. Many tourists would have already seen the Haida and West Coast Native artefacts displayed at museums and exhibitions prior to their arrival on the Islands (fig. 26). The main purpose of the exhibiting these objects was to entertain and educate.

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80 Muskett, BCARS.
81 Muskett, BCARS.
82 Muskett, BCARS.
However, but in the process they also formed the Europeans' imagination of the inhabitants of the rest of the globe and gave currency to the stereotypes of 'primitive' people in far off lands.83

In 1897, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, England, published a small brochure for visitors describing two Haida totem poles -- one being acquired by the museum (fig. 27) and the other being added to the collection of a private owner. At first glance this brochure appears to be typical of museums and exhibits throughout Europe at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. It portrays the exotic customs of peoples in strange, far-off lands. However, on closer inspection, the brochure also provides insight into Western ways of seeing -- and more specifically, Western perceptions of place.

The brochure begins with a photograph of a Haida totem pole located in a pastoral English country garden with a pleasantly dressed young girl, who provides scale for the pole (fig. 28). The girl's presence, however, gives the reader more than just perspective. The totem pole, the girl and the garden combine to form an unusual landscape that portrays a profound sense of displacement. The photo begins to make more sense with the title of the first article: "[on] the Totems from the Haida Village of Massett, Queen Charlotte Islands, Now Erected in the Grounds of the Fox Warren, Near Weybridge". The author of the articles, Oxford anthropologist Edward B. Taylor, begins:

In the beautiful grounds of Fox Warren, near Weybridge, the residence of Mrs. Charles Buxton, there is set up a monument contrasting curiously with the surrounding landscape. This is one of the huge totem-posts of the Haidas, the sculptured trunk of a cedar, now rising 41 feet from the ground as shown in Plate XII. It is understood to have been more than 10 feet longer, but the lower end embedded in the ground was sawn through about

the ground line, and the upper portion, supported by an iron framing, now rests on a foundation of concrete.84

Taylor acknowledges the irony of the pole’s relocation in this ‘curious’ English pastoral countryside in a upper-middle class garden -- a sort of centre of the British Empire.85 However, like the museum itself, the museum guide actively constructs another culture. The exhibit constituted a literal enframing of cultural fragments into orderly displays, and used scientific discourses, and spatial arrangements of objects to enframe cultures of the globe. This served to complete the European idea of the primitive. The significance of European enframing of ‘exotic’ cultures is not the truth that is revealed about the exoticised as much that that truth was being established through scientific procedures and methods. This enframing required a specific way of seeing artefacts, which translated into a specific way of seeing people and place.86

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85 The rest of Taylor's article provides a detailed account of the meaning and cultural significance of the different figures depicted on the pole.
86 Timothy Mitchell, in Colonizing Egypt alludes to this enframing of the Orient by museums and exhibitions where “[t]he point of view was not just a place set apart, outside the world or above it. It was ideally a position from where, like the authorities in the panopticon, one could see and yet not be seen”. In other words, a museum's authority resides in its ability to make a culture visible to the viewer through a privileged position and distance but this position is also maintained through the movement of the viewer through the museum or exhibit. The result of this movement through the building is a logic that constructs strange and exotic places and peoples for the European public, a practice Mitchell claims is based on the European contradiction to make the world comprehensible through representations, or as he stated "the fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture.” Spectacles, like museums, "were not just reflections of this certainty, but the means of its production, by their technique of rendering history, progress, culture, and empire -- ideas I will call civilization -- in 'objective' form. (Mitchell p. 7). "They were occasions for making sure of such objective truths, in a world where truth had become a question of what Heidegger calls 'certainty of representation.'” (Mitchell, p. 7). A certainty that Wittgenstein calls "language games", which are justified by scientific investigations, "[t]hat is to say, the questions that we raises and our doubts depend on the fact that some propositions are exempt from doubt, are as it were hinges on which those turn. That is to say, it belongs to the logic of our scientific investigations that certain things are in deed not doubted." Ludwig Wittgenstein, On Certainty. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1979, p. 44, 341-2.
Figure 24. Newcombe’s photo Ninstints mortuarial and house poles, taken in 1901.  
*(source: BCARS).*

Figure 25. Newcombe’s photograph of mortuarial poles in Ninstints, 1903.  
*(source: BCARS).*
Figure 26. The Pitt River Museum at Oxford with two Haida totem poles located at the far end of the room in the photo. Artefacts are organised in an rational and detached manner.  
Figure 27. A photograph of the Haida poles acquired by the Pitt Museum from Taylor's anthropological brochure.

(source: BCARS).
Figure 28. A Photo from Taylor’s brochure of a Haida pole with a young girl next to it, re-located in a garden in Fox-Warren England.
(source: BCARS).
This interest in artefacts is repeated in the various tour guides to the region. Tour guides often refer to the material objects of the Haida in the same way as the museum, ordering cultural objects systematically:

These Indians also make dug-out canoes of great size and excellent outline. The T'linkits, like the Haidas, are clever decorators, embellishing with carved designs of mythological import their boats, their halibut clubs, fish hooks, and almost every implement and utensil. Like the Haidas, too, they are skilful in weaving matting from the barks, seaweeds and rushes; and in weaving cloth and matting out of grass, inner bark and various vegetable fires; while the Chilkats, seen at the northern extremity of the voyage, produce from the fleece of the mountain goat blankets which surpasses in texture and equal in good taste of their colours and ornamental design any barbarous fabric in the world. 87

The Appleton tour guide lays out in an orderly fashion a pre-contact Native culture and portrays the Haida in this pre-contact state. There was much discrepancy between these descriptions and the Haida's condition. Appleton catalogues these various mementoes which the tourists can purchase to take back home. As the guidebook To Alaska suggests: "where an extra-ordinary native population interests the students of human nature" it then "offers to the collector a wide choice among curious implements and fabrics..." 88. Haida culture became commodified as tour guides gave tourists an idea of a wide assortment of articles and trinkets it was possible to acquire on their travels. The Appleton guide encourages and echoes the same intent to collect:

the Chilkat Indians have long been distinguished as workers in copper and silver, deriving the former from the mountains along their coast and hammering it into implements and ornaments which are almost invariably chased. Coins are similarly treated, and the tourist will be able to buy or have made any quantity of silver or gold bracelets, rings and knickknacks, made and engraved in native design by these Alaskan

87 "To Alaska", p. 24.
artists; but in this particular they no more than equal the Haida Indians, who often bring similar wares for sale to the towns along the southern coast.89

For the tourist, the artefact serves as a means not only to comprehend the Haida as primitive but also to mimic specific scientific practices in the collecting of artefacts which recreates this image in the mind of the visitor.

An equally popular portrayal of the Haida as primitive is found in aesthetic representations -- be they paintings or landscape photographs. In these images indigenous people’s primitive state is often romanticised; in the Appleton guide book a Haida village is described in such a way: "the draped canoes along a village beach are the most picturesque adjuncts of native life."90 For tourists, such an aesthetic encounter with the primitive offered the possibility of transcending the "unoriginality" of the West.91 One such image is captured in the landscape photograph by the tourist and amateur photographer, Bertram Buxton from Surrey England, who visited the Islands in 1882. (fig. 29) His image highlights the primitive elements of Haida culture. The prospect from which the photo is taken centred the ‘exotic’ appearance of the totem poles while hiding any modern influence, (such as the use of modern architectural elements, such as those apparent in the clap-board house of Chief Anetlas which is on the far right side of his photo). Belated tourists to the Queen Charlottes, Northern British Columbia and Alaska encountered an indigenous people who had long since adopted European dress, language, and social custom, into their own culture and had participated in an industrialising economy in the British Columbia coast. These tourists desired to witness the ‘authentic’, which compelled

89 Skidmore, p. 42.
90 Skidmore, p. 36.
them to go further afield. One such belated traveller was the Victoria artist of national renown, Emily Carr. Reflections on her voyages to various Haida villages on painting trips echo these same desires to experience the 'authentic'. The palette of her descriptions was steeped in the aesthetic and the mystical rather than the technical and her view of the Haida similarly saw them as Noble Savages destined to extinction.

In the summer of 1912, Emily Carr ventured from Victoria on the first of her many painting voyages along British Columbia's coast. Carr had just returned from Paris and London where she had studied painting and sought to establish her reputation locally. There is little documentation about Carr's voyages besides her paintings but she did recount her voyage some years later in her book *Klee Wyck*.

Central to the narrative of her voyage are her painting excursions to paint various abandoned villages in the southern archipelago in the Queen Charlotte Islands. One can speculate that Carr's decision to paint Natives, comes from three sources: first, a personal affinity with, if not curiosity about, the marginalisation of Indians in White society; second, early British Columbia would have offered her fewer subjects until she attempted her project under the suggestion of Lawren Harris to paint the British Columbia forests some years later; and third, she was probably encouraged by the 'primitivist' trend in painting she witnessed in Paris, where painting of the simplicity of the French countryside and the exotic islands of the South Pacific were very much in vogue. This was augmented by a strong middle-class interest in museums and their displays of the primitive peoples. Common to these influences and Carr's painting are

91 Behdad, p. 64.
92 As Ali Behdad suggests in his *Belated Travelers*, "The leisurely quality of the tourist gaze provides him with the best prospect for becoming an amateur ethnographer collecting empirical data about the natives and their culture."
attempts to find the authentic in the primitive. Ironically, many of Carr’s images of the primitive, were produced from photographs taken by Maynard or from Anthropological surveys for museums (fig. 30).

In *Klee Wyck*, Carr begins her description of the Haida village with an account of the local geography, its fecundity almost an allusion to the geographically determined character of the Haida.

There was no soil to be seen. Above the beach it was all luxuriant growth; the earth was so full of vitality that every seed which blew across her surface germinated and burst. The growing things jumbled themselves together into a dense thicket; so tensely earnest were things about growing in Skedans that everything linked with everything else, hurrying to grow to the limit of its own capacity; weeds and weaklings alike thrrove in the rich moistness.93

In another account of Skedans, the village and its geography become synonymous. “The twisted trees and the high tossed driftwood hinted that Skedans could be thoroughly fierce as she was calm. She was downright about everything.” Carr’s account clearly articulates her desire for the authentic. Her remark that the village of Skedans "was downright" implies this sense of authenticity that Carr feels is lacking in modern society, she states: “[w]hen the fire roared, our blankets were spread on platforms, and Louisa’s stew-pot simmered. The place was grand -- we had got close down to real things. In Skedans there were no shams.”95

Carr’s attempt and, some would say, ability to transcend the boundaries of her own society and culture, through an artistic communion with an authentically primitive place is

Although Behdad is speaking of tourism in the Orient, his suggestions of the "epistemological apparatus" of European travel extends beyond the Middle or Far East to the North coast of British Columbia.

94 Carr, p. 19.
evident in her representations of these surroundings. Despite Carr's assertions about the authenticity of her experience of Skedans, her 1912 painting of the village shares the same prospect, and frames the village in the same way as Dawson's, Maynard’s, and other survey photographs from some 30 years earlier, provoking the question as to Carr's own authenticity (fig. 32).

All [villages] have the West Coast wetness but Cumshewa seems always to drip, always to be blurred with mist, its foliage always to hang wet-heavy. Cumshewa rain soaked my paper, Cumshewa rain trickled among my paints.96

She has the reader believe that the essence of place literally becomes part of her images, with the rain moving her water-colours across the page - the place is actually shaping her art.

Carr recognises that this 'authentic' state no longer exists, it has disappeared and can be glimpsed at only through remnants such as derelict poles and degraded houses.

There were many fine totem poles in Cha-atl -- Haida poles, tragic and fierce. The wood of them was bleached out, but looked green from the mosses which grew in the chinks, and the tufts of grass on the heads of the figures stuck up like coarse hair. The human faces carved on the totem poles were stern and grim, the animal faces fierce and strong; supernatural things were pictured on the poles too. Everything about Cha-atl was so vast and deep you shrivelled up.97

For Carr, the decline of the Haida people and the impinging contrivance of modern society is synonymous with the disappearance of totems and the fading oral culture that went along with the material culture.

95 Carr, p. 19.
96 Carr, p. 20.
In that part of the village no other houses were left, but there were lots of totem poles sticking up. A tall slender one belonged to Louisa's grandmother. It had a story carved on it; Louisa told it to us in a loose sort of way as if she had half forgotten it.98

Carr is clear about the demise of the Haida which becomes reflected in the personified totem poles:

His mate had sat there but she had rotted away long ago, leaving him moss-grown, dilapidated and alone to watch one on either side of the doorway of a big house that had been full of dead Indians who had died during a smallpox epidemic.99

Carr's conception of the Haida people as Noble Savages destined for extinction was typical of the day. Travel literature echoes similar sentiments in its accounts of Native peoples. The Appleton guide provided a brief aside, "The Haida are fast dwindling"100, but it never provided a rationale, such as smallpox or urban migration. In another account the implication of the disappearance of the 'traditional' was a loss of an aesthetic vantage, "[I]ts old lodges are being abandoned, its famous totem poles are tottering to decay, and the spirit of progress is fast eliminating every element of picturesqueness"101 (fig. 33). What this disappearance means is never made clear in the tourist literature. Rather, the Haida were portrayed as primitive, and as the primitive becomes subsumed by the modern, and or face imminent extinction. In another description from *Klee Wyck*, Carr uses totem poles as a romantic metaphor for the state of Haida people.

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97 Carr, p. 64-5.
98 Carr, p. 13.
99 Carr, p. 21.
100 Scidmore, p. 37.
101 Scidmore, p. 36.
Figure 29. Bertram Buxton of Surrey England view of Masset in the summer of 1882. It includes both Weah’s and Anetlas’ houses. In many ways, Buxton’s image seems similar to Dawson’s formalised image of the Haida as ‘primitive’, excluding any elements of the ‘modern’. (source: BCARS).
Figure 30. Painting of a mortuary pole by Emily Carr.

A painting which not only attempts to capture the same sense of primitivism of Haida culture, but her painting relies upon the same prospect as Maynards, whose voyage preceded her by more than 25 years. Other paintings by Carr capture poles and villages in decay that had long since disappeared once she arrived in the Islands, landscapes very much transformed by the missionaries and the adaptation of modern architecture by the Haida. (source: BCARS).
Figure 31. Emily Carr painting compared to photographic prospect. Her re-production of the Haida as primitive was not unique. (source: BCARS)
Figure 32. Carr’s painting of a mortuary pole compared to Maynard’s photo.

(source: BCARS).
Figure 33. Painting of Carr’s illustrates her romanticisation of primitivism and Haida.  
(source: BCARS).
They were in a long straggling row the entire length of the bay and pointed this way and that; but no matter how drunken their tilt, the Haida poles never lost their dignity. They looked sadder, perhaps, when they bowed forward and more stern when they tipped back.102

Despite Carr's romantic descriptions, the intent of her voyage was "to sketch poles."103 Carr contracted two Haida to transport her and assist her on her sorties. Carr's relationship to the Haida is one of service; "Jimmie, the Indian,... got the sheep dog and me over to the beach first, so that I could get to work right away; then he went back for Louisa and the missionary's daughter."104 But her sketching of poles was not without implications. Carr remarked, "[p]ictures of all the poles were in my sketch sack. I strapped it up and said, "That's that." Then we went away from Tanoo and left the silence to heal itself -- left the totem pole staring, staring out over the sea."105

In sum, Carr's artistic and literary images were very contemporary in that they set up a strong contrast between the modern and primitive, and it is her own fundamental disgruntlement with modern society that compelled her to lament the disappearance of the Haida's 'noble', traditional ways in her paintings.

102 Carr, p. 19.
103 Carr, p. 19.
104 Carr, p. 17.
105 Carr, p. 16.


**conclusion**

The travel literature and tour guides of the North west Coast of British Columbia during the nineteenth century illuminates a European 'point of view' from which the traveller observed both the landscape and the inhabitants of novel places. These places were both constructed, through tour literature, and reproduced through tourist activities like amateur photography or taxonomy. A prospect from which the tourist could view and a vantage from which to engage in tourist activities was essential to the tourist experience of the Queen Charlotte Islands. The tourist experience of place was characterised by the temporary relationship the tourist had to the places they visited. Their view of place was rarely problematised because their experiences did not challenge expectations of grandeur of the landscape or with stereotypes of indigenous peoples. In the Queen Charlotte Islands, exaggerated descriptions of the landscape might have inflated anticipation of the landscape’s beauty and the modern appearance and manners of the Haida might have altered conceptions of natives to an extent, but for the most part the tourist prospect of the Queen Charlotte Islands was one that saw this place and its population as primitive and the landscape as primeval.
CHAPTER THREE

PROSPECTS OF HOME:

IMAGES OF WEALTH AND HEALTH

IN THE REAL ESTATE PROMOTIONAL

LITERATURE OF

THE QUEEN CHARLOTTIS ISLANDS.

introduction

The completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in 1913 caused a dramatic transformation of the landscape of the North Coast of British Columbia. It brought a flood of capital and settlers to the region and allowed natural resource to be exported to larger markets abroad. The railway terminus of Prince Rupert, and its surroundings, including the Queen Charlottes, became increasingly intertwined in the policies and administration of the Canadian state and the visions of British Empire. These new flows of people and commodities into and out of the region were stimulated by promotional schemes which were initiated by the province, entrepreneurs and local communities. The Queen Charlotte Islands were particularly active in the promotional sweepstakes. Boosterism found an outlet in a newly-established local newspaper with an article entitled, Advertising our Land:

There are many ways to bring before the people of the older land the great difference in living in the crowded centres and out in this vast western country, where the poverty and crime extant in places crowded up with men and women eking out a bare existence, brings nothing to their families and themselves but misery. The people of our own race
from England, Ireland and Scotland are leaving their old homes by the thousands for Canada and the United States. Every steamer leaving for Montreal and New York is crowded with emigrants, all seeking to better their conditions. Advertising agents of the provincial governments and railway companies are scattered over the old land, extolling the natural resources of the Dominion, and inducing thousands upon thousands to take up a new life on the prairie and sparsely settled sections of the Eastern provinces... Along the lines of railway, from East to West, new towns are springing up. With the driving of the last spike on the line of the G.T.P. railway, this vast Northern country will see thousands pouring in to Prince Rupert, seeking investment and homes... All we need is advertising.106

This article presents the reader with the two landscapes that permeated most of the promotional literature of the day. The first landscape is one of plenty and prosperity tied to the economic development of the region. The second landscape is that of the home and family. A brochure from the Star Real Estate Company, published in 1913 promoted the landscape of prosperity, catering to prospective Canadian and American settlers and real estate speculators. A second brochure produced by the Queen Charlotte Island Natural Resources Inc., (a local syndicate that promoted the Islands after 1918 at B.C. House in London, England) suggests the idealised landscape of home, health, and security. A comparison of these two settlement guides reveals how the representations of place differs according to the cultural and economic context. These real estate guides give insight into the different ideals of place held by settlers at the beginning of the century. They also indicate how such landscapes were produced, circulated, and consumed, and thereby reproduced.

Reliable information about the conditions of the Islands was central to the production and consumption of these landscapes, which prompted settlers to come to the Queen Charlottes. Descriptions of crops, climate, soil quality were elaborated and even qualified with scientific testimonies. Settlement literature also included relevant information about the prospective

106 Queen Charlotte Islander, Aug. 5, 1912, p. 2.
development of the region and potential markets for produce. Brochures often provided photographs of nearby towns and cities as well as images of mining, forestry or fishing activities on the Islands and on the coast. The representations of prospective settlement were steeped in a rhetoric of progress.

*landscape of plenty and prosperity*

The twenty page brochure produced by the Star Realty Company, in 1913, entitled *Graham Island: The Garden Spot of B.C.* was typical of literature produced in this frenzied climate of speculation that a strong global economy and massive foreign investment in fishing, forest, and mining industries brought about. Entrepreneurs were not the only ones investing in real estate schemes. Anybody with money to invest also sought to take advantage of this bullish market. At the same time settlers from elsewhere in North America and Europe came to the Pacific to better their circumstances through farming. To attract buyers to the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Star Real Estate Company's portrayed the islands as a place where the attainment of wealth and prosperity was inevitable. Land was cast as a basic economic entity that ensured security for the would-be farmer thus offering vast potential wealth for the land speculator. The brochure begins:

> When we look for a safe investment for our savings, we turn to land. Land is the basis of all wealth. There is only a limited amount of it. Its products are essential to our life... Experience shows us that land is the best investment... You see the history of the huge advance in land prices all over Western America... [the farmers] bought land for a song and hold it now at the price of a king's ransom... recall the rich men you may know -- you will find that they invested their earnings in land. The Asters, the Goulds, the Fields, corporations like the Canadian Pacific Railway, all have amassed great fortunes because
they purchased land when it was cheap and held it till its value had multiplied many times.107

The brochure suggests to the reader that the Queen Charlotte Islands, and more specifically Graham Island was about to experience the same seemingly inevitable patterns of development that had occurred across the North American frontier. For prospective buyers who wished to engage in farming rather than just land speculation, the brochure also painted an optimistic picture.

This is the day of the farmer. His product commands a relatively higher price than that of the manufacturer or any other producer. He cannot supply the demand. He makes his own terms and prices. His shack disappears and is replaced by a fine house with all modern conveniences, and he is his own boss.108

To ensure that the notion of wealth and prosperity became attached to the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Star Reality brochure used two maps imbued with an imagined geography of progress. The first map (fig. 34) locates the islands' economic potential in the expansion of communication and transportation to the region. To create a sense of inevitable progress this map emphasises the related proximity of the Queen Charlotte Islands to the Mainland and other centres. This map shows a boldly etched track signifying the newly completed Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. The brochure used photographs to illustrate the rapid growth of the terminal city, Prince Rupert (fig. 35). One of the more suggestive statements in the brochure reinforces the role of railroads for economic development:

It is in British Columbia land that millions upon millions of pounds of British capital has been invested. Railways are being built, industries started and settlers are coming in so that this land has doubled and trebled in value.109

Figure 34. Map of Graham Island and the Queen Charlotte Islands from the Star Realty land promotion brochure.  
(source: Star Real Estate Co., Queen Charlotte Islands Museum).
Figure 35. Images of progress and urbanisation in Prince Rupert following the railway.
(source: Star Real Estate Co., Queen Charlotte Islands Museum).
Figure 36. Map of Graham Islands and the sites of progress.
(source: Star Real Estate Co., Queen Charlotte Islands Museum).
Figure 37. Local photograph of a newly planted garden.
*(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Museum).*
Figure 38 Portrait of Eli Tingley – Graham Island pioneer.
(source: Mrs. Eli Tingley, in Kathleen Danzell’s, The Queen Charlotte Islands vol.1).
Figure 39. Local photo of Queen Charlotte Islander Newspaper Office.  
(source: Allan Jessup, in K. Danzell’s The Queen Charlotte Islands vol. 1).

Figure 40. Naden Harbour cannery.  
(source: Queen Charlotte Island Museum).
Accompanying the railroads on the map were steamer routes to Alaska, Russia, Japan, and Australia, positioning the Queen Charlottes as a new gateway between the Orient and Europe.

Another map in the Star Realty brochure uses a different spatial scale to focus on Graham Island (fig. 36). Again it shows communication routes to the rest of the globe, yet it focuses on the local scale showing well planned communities (here seen as grids), a myriad of resource sites awaiting exploitation, and two proposed railroads (never built) that would tie the communities and resources in a web of progress. To impress the potential market gardener, the brochure attributed the expanding demand for fresh produce in the region to the flourishing resource extraction on the North coast.

... there is a tremendous demand for farm products on the Northern Mainland... [and] the local market, provided by saw-milling, coal, copper, gold and silver mining, oil, fishing and other industries on Graham Island itself is so important as to quite eclipse the outside demand.110

Another device used by the Graham Island brochure is the promotion of the land's fertility, thereby reinforcing the opportunities for prosperous agricultural development in the Islands and thus the inevitable benefits of taking up land there. Individual testaments of settlers validate the Islands' potential:

No one could pass a week among the islands without becoming convinced of their agricultural capacities. Vancouver Island has plenty of good, arable land, but I saw nothing there, either in quality or quantity, to equal what is to be seen on every side along the shores of Queen Charlotte Islands. The soil fit for farming purposes is not only extensive beyond all present calculations, but rich beyond description, and, better still,
unappropriated. It seems to be ever crying to the pioneer of civilisation, 'Come and farm me and I will return an hundredfold.'”

The written text closes with the broad brush strokes of a landscape that blends home, community and land.

Massett Inlet is capable of being made the home of a prosperous community, and the land, when brought under cultivation and carefully attended, can easily produce $250 worth of vegetables per acre, as the land is very fertile.

To reiterate, the Star Real Estate Company constructed Graham Island as a place of wealth and improvement. Even the title of the guide -- "Graham Island, the Garden Spot of B.C." hints that the Islands are a metaphorical return to a garden of Eden which welcomes the progress of human civilisation.

The construction of the Queen Charlotte Islands as a place of wealth was reproduced by settlers of the Islands. In the early twentieth century, Kodak cameras provided a cheap and consistent means of capturing different notions of home for the settlers who could afford them. Photographs taken by local residents constructed an imagery of the Queen Charlotte Islands constant with that of the promotional literature. This suggests that such images of home were not only consumed by settlers but they also actively produced them. Similar images of wealth figured prominently in the photography of place. Images of progress feature in the photographs of the rough hewn towns of Massett, Sewell, and Queenstown between the years 1910 and 1913 as hotels, newspapers, schools, churches, and roads began altering the land. A photograph of C.M. Wilson’s Garden at Detlakathla portrays the changing landscape of the Islands (fig. 37). This is also of the same region that the Star Real Estate Company had its holdings. If one

considers the dense forest that covered the site only a couple of years earlier, this image of cabbages growing in geometric rows at regular intervals in a cultivated field a sense of the radical transformation occurring in the islands' landscape at this time through the introduction of modern agricultural techniques. Another photograph that personifies this pioneer spirit was of Eli Tingley who established the townsite of Queenstown (fig. 38). It portrays Tingley standing on the porch of a log cabin, sternly staring into the distance, like a pioneering visionary. His hand clutches an axe, metaphorically referring to the transformation he sought to bring to the wilderness of Graham Island. Photograph taken some years later of a multi-floored hotel and store in Queenstown owned by Eli Tingley's brother stands as a testament to this clan's endeavours to bring progress to the Islands. Various photographs of other communities similarly depict shops and services such as newspaper offices, (fig. 39) grocers and newly developing industries like the Naden Harbour cannery (fig. 40). These images suggest a sense of advancement and a desire to civilise what settlers considered to be a landscape of primeval wilderness.

*landscape of health*

A real estate pamphlet circulated in 1922 by the Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resource Company in 1922 shares many rhetorical techniques with the brochure *Graham Island: the Garden Spot of B.C.* This pamphlet also stressed location and proximity to markets: "... Prince Rupert... 78 miles distant, is owing to its geographical position, bound to become the

112 *Graham Island: the Garden Spot of B.C.*, p. 15.
It also emphasises the quality of land to construct an image of a place where the purchase of land is a secure investment: "Every acre that is cleared and improved will command immediate sale at very high prices." Despite these brief references to economic development, the main emphasis of the Natural Resources brochure was on the possibility of creating, or forming an English way of life in a new land. Thus, the notion of place in these two brochure differs. The different social and economic climate in which the second brochure was published resulted in a quite distinct representation of the Queen Charlotte Islands. In post-World War One British society, land is portrayed less as a commodity which guarantees a means to fortune, than as a way of achieving security and stability. The 1922 brochure caters to a generation of young individuals and families recovering from the disillusionment of the War experience in a stagnant economy. These prospective buyers are searching for an idealised landscape of a healthy home, that they might not attain in Britain. Thus, the brochure creates a different imagined geography of the Queen Charlotte Islands than the Star Realty’s brochure. The intention of these representations in the Natural Resource Company's brochure was to portray an idealised landscape that potential settlers were accustomed to. To do this, the brochure informs the reader about various plants and animals of the region and of the ease with which the natural landscape could be transformed into a cultivated landscape. The brochure declares:

A few short and long wool sheep have been bred on the island. Hogs can feed in the bush, living on roots, plants and grass and make excellent pork. All kinds of small fruits thrive, and earlier varieties of apples, plums and cherries grow in abundance. The hillsides are covered with wild strawberries, raspberries, huckleberries, etc., excellent

\[113\] *The Queen Charlotte Islands*, The Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resource Company, 1920, p. 5.
\[114\] *The Queen Charlotte Islands*, p. 13.
potatoes are raised, Swede turnips and mangelwurzel do well; sugar beet and English
gooseberries give remarkable results.115

The landscape being presented in the brochure is picturesque conjuring up the ideals of pastoral
England. The physical geography of the Queen Charlottes is cleaned of its indigenous elements
and is portrayed in terms of a European vernacular. Integral to the construction of this pastoral
geography of the Queen Charlotte Islands were metaphors and allusions of growth extended from
the garden to the home and family. The growth of garden and home is alluded to in a description
of the possibilities of introducing flora and fauna from England. The brochure claimed:

Numerous ruby-throated humming birds gather around the honeysuckle and
creepers. The English holly, lilac, Virginia creepers and ivy grow in profusion; roses,
poppies, dahlias, chrysanthemums, violets, primroses, bluebells, marigolds, buttercups
and daisies are cultivated and grow to perfection, similar to those grown on the meadow
lands of southern England.116

In the brochure, home and garden become synonymous. The creation of an idealised landscape
of home is extended to encompass an imagined geography of health, constructed through
descriptions of a mild climate and landscapes of leisure, as portrayed in one of the brochure's
photographs of the seashore (fig. 41). The brochure states: "[h]otsprings are found in the islands,
sponges on its coast, and the abalone, or ear-shell fish (helitois), containing the valuable black
pearl; also the razor clams of every variety."117

Photographs offer a rhetorical strategy to construct the landscape of home in the Natural
Resources Company's brochure. They accompany and complement the written text, yet there

115 The Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 11-13.
116 The Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 11.
117 The Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 11.
seem to be additional narratives that run through these images. The photographs are mainly of residents of the Queen Charlotte Islands and they depict prosperity, tranquillity, and abundance (fig. 42). The images of homes move from the modest "pre-emptors home" (fig. 43) to the picturesque homestead and the established pioneer's residence with white picket fence, gardens and gables. (fig. 44). The brochure also suggests a sense of family, community and civility through a picture of a pleasant school house (fig. 45). The photograph of the home of local businessman (fig. 46) suggests that affluence and legitimacy have already been cultivated in the Islands.

The advertisement in the pamphlet provide an insight into the landscape of home represented in the Queen Charlotte Islands. Here, the Cunard Shipping Line's advertisement presents an image of a family and their farm on the shores of the new land (fig. 47). The white cottage in the background is clean, modest, yet prosperous. Accepted roles are re-affirmed: the father is reaping the benefits of their new life in the fields, while the children, at play under the passive but present maternal gaze, flourish in the healthy environs of beach and forest. The ship on the horizon brings this life into reality. The Grand Trunk Pacific Railway advertisement provides information on further transportation available to immigrants once they are in the country (fig. 48).

Such advertisements give readers helpful hints on how they might prepare themselves the enterprise of moving to a new land easier. Among these are James Carter & Company, a seed supplier (fig. 49), the Thomas Meadows (fig. 50) and shipping insurance company. The advertisements of Charles Boswell gun makers and the Samuel Brothers Outfitters provide other equipment for the supposedly 'civilised' settler so that they might continue the patterns of their leisured life in whatever distant lands they might settle in (fig. 51).
Figure 41. Pastoral image from real estate guide.
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company,
QC Is Museum).

Figure 42. Photo of modest settlers home.
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company,
QC Is Museum).
Figure 43. Photo of a settler home.  
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).

Figure 44. Photo of a home, implying domesticity.  
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).
Figure 45. Photo of a school, reinforcing image of family.
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).

Figure 46. Continuation of the imagery of home, this time conjuring an impression of prosperity.
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).
NEW FLEET
of
LARGE ONE-FUNNEL
OIL-BURNING LINERS

Modern Ocean-going Palaces.

LIVERPOOL—Cunard Building, Pier Head.
29/31, Cockspur Street, S.W.1.
SOUTHAMPTON—Canute Road.
Offices and Agencies Everywhere.

Figure 47. Advertisement – connecting the margins of the Islands to the rest of the Empire. (source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).

Figure 48. Advertisement – connecting the Islands to the rest of the Dominion. (source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).
CHARLES BOSWELL
Practical Gun Maker.
ESTABLISHED 1869.

Boswell Guns are known all over the World for their wonderful shooting qualities, perfect design and everlasting wear. Lowest prices.

CHAMPIONSHIP WINNERS ALL OVER THE WORLD

HAMMERLESS, NON-EJECTOR GUNS £18 & £25
EJECTORS .... £30, £40, £50, £60
BEST QUALITY SIDE-LOCK EJECTOR .... £85
WILDPOWL HAMMERLESS GUNS bored for 2½ or 3" Cartridges .... £25, £35 & £45
SPECIAL "COLONIAL" HAMMERLESS GUN, £18
CASES AND ACCESSORIES AT LOWEST POSSIBLE PRICES.

7, South Molton St. (off Bond St.), London, W. 1

Intending Settlers will be well advised to take out a supply of

CARTER'S
TESTED SEEDS

For FARM and GARDEN.
The finest strains of Root Seeds in the World.
Heaviest Yield of High Feeding quality.
GRASS AND CLOVER SEEDS.
Specially prescribed for all purposes.
COLLECTIONS OF VEGETABLE AND FLOWER SEEDS.
Specially selected to suit all climates.
Prices 5/- to 105/-

Write for Illustrated Catalogues of Garden or Farm Seeds.
Free on application.

JAMES CARTER & CO., Seedsmen to H.M. The King.
RAYNES PARK, LONDON, S.W.

CanADIAN BRANCH:—Carter's Tested Seeds, Ltd., 133, King Street East, Toronto, Canada.

Figure 49. Advertisement for a seed company. Important to settlers was the recreation of a familiar pastoral landscape through the introduction of species of plant familiar to home.
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).

THOMAS MEADOWS & CO., Ltd.
35, MILK STREET, LONDON.
Shipping, Insurance and Passenger Agents.
EXPORT PACKERS.

LIVERPOOL: Tower Buildings, 22, Water St.
GLASGOW: 114, Hope Street.
BIRMINGHAM: 1 & 2, Ludgate Hill.
LEICESTER: 39, London Road.

PARIS:
Sec. Anonyme Thomas Meadows & Co., 24, Rue de l'Echiquier.
ANTWERP:
Sec. Anonyme Thomas Meadows & Co., (Belgique), 102, Quai Van Dyck.
MONTREAL:
Thomas Meadows & Co., Limited (Canada), 418,Corantine Building.

ST. JOHN:

MANCHESTER: Royal London Buildings, 196, Deansgate.
SOUTHAMPTON: 14, Canute Road.
BRADFORD: 21, Forster Square.
LEEDS: 14, Park Row.

BRUSSELS:
Sec. Anonyme Thomas Meadows & Co. 15 bis, Rue du Chiliou.
TORONTO:
THOMAS MEADOWS & Co., Limited (Canada), Foy Buildings, 33, Front Street.

Figure 50. Insurance Company – need for security.
(source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).
Colonial and Foreign Outfitters.

Ninety years’ experience in equipping travellers and settlers in every quarter of the Globe has placed us in a unique position to advise as to the requisite outfit, which necessarily varies enormously according to the climatic conditions and the nature of the occupation.

We are supplying, at very moderate prices, an approved Outfit for Miners and Settlers proceeding to the Queen Charlotte Islands.

PRICE LIST UPON APPLICATION.

Any part of Outfit mailed to the Islands or Canada upon receipt of remittance to cover order and parcel postage.

Outfits for all parts of the World.


For Colonists, Tourists, Explorers, Farmers, Missionaries, Miners, Prospectors, Settlers.

Oxford Circus, W. 1, London.

And 26, Guildhall Street, Folkestone.

Figure 51. Advertisement for outfitters.

Example of settlers and travellers being enabled to transplant lifestyles of home into their new destinations. (source: Queen Charlotte Islands Natural Resources Company, Q C Is Museum).

Figure 52. The Gillatt home.

(source: The Charlottes: A Journal of the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Q C Is Museum Society, no.4, 1976.).
These advertisements, like the brochure in general, give an idea of the proliferation of institutions that made it more efficient to move people, goods, capital and culture throughout the globe. But at the same time, the Natural Resources Company brochures deploy emotional images that conjure idealised conceptions of pastoral home and health.

Again, local, amateur snap-shots illustrate the transformation of the Island’s landscape. They also constitute reproduction of settler images of a healthy home. The Gillatt family is one such family who attempted to transplant a pastoral home in the islands. Captain Gillatt was a retired British military officer who had served in both the Boer War and in India. He desired an affordable yet tranquil setting in which to settle. After leaving the army, Gillatt arrived in British Columbia with Marie his wife and their two daughters.118 Impressed by tales of the Islands they had heard from Captain Oliver, another Sandspit resident, Gillatt decided to leave their new homestead on the Mainland. The Queen Charlotte Islands proved to be fertile and reasonably priced. The Gillatt's built a frame house with architectural finery and landscaped gardens that rivalled any in the islands at that time. The Gillants hoped to grow daffodils, hyacinths, tulips, and roses and sell them at the Grand Trunk Pacific terminus, Prince Rupert.119

Photographs of the Gillatt home and ranch exemplify their desire to establish a pastoral and picturesque landscape (fig. 52). One of Gillatt’s photographs illustrates a landscape of home and health. It depicts his wife standing in one of his daffodil fields dressed in her fashionable spring finery, clothes quite unsuitable to farming, (fig. 53). Another shows the family's tennis court (fig. 54), a sign of refinement and success as much as it is a symbol of sport and ultimately

Laura Tingley, a school teacher in Queenstown and sister of Eli Tingley was instrumental in bringing about the transformation of the social and cultural landscape in her community. Laura and her two friends, Florence May and Ruth Woods, were ardent tennis players. Together they managed to recruit bachelor volunteers to build a tennis court on a patch of clay near the edge of the beach to the east of Bert Tingley's hotel. A group from Massett was so impressed by the court that soon they too had a tennis court. It was not long before inter-community tennis competitions were being held, with accompanying picnics and dances.

conclusion

In sum, the landscapes of wealth and health portrayed in real estate promotional literature, and early settlers' accounts illustrate the attempts made to create such landscapes provide insight into the ideals of place valued by settlers at the beginning of the century. These images and experiences also offer us an image of how different landscapes of place and home were produced, circulated, consumed and later re-produced by settlers. Through a comparison of these two settlement guides with amateur photographs and the settlers' experiences, I have suggested that the prospect of home was not static. It is defined and re-defined by different cultural, social, and economic contexts. Despite the differences of these views between home in terms of health and wealth, there are consistent themes that frame place in terms of civilisation

120 Mathers, p. 40.
121 Danzell suggests this in her comprehensive local history, The Queen Charlotte Islands vol. I.
and progress. These frames of civilisation and progress shaped some of the imaginary and physical landscape of the Queen Charlotte Islands.
Figure 53. A ‘Kodak’ of the Gillants’ daffodil fields, cultivated for sale in Prince Rupert.
(source: Q C Is Museum).

Figure 54. The Gillant tennis court, built for the burgeoning leisure on the Islands.
(source: Q C Is Museum).
CHAPTER FOUR

PROSPECTS OF THE WORKPLACE:

EMPIRE, HOME, TECHNOLOGY, AND RACE

introduction

At the same time that settlers were drawn to the Queen Charlotte Islands by enticing images of home, industrialists were enticing investor capital. One article in a 1912 edition of the Queen Charlotte Islander entitled “Capitalists Visit Queen Charlotte”, elaborated on the increased interest that was taken in the Queen Charlotte Islands as the Grand Trunk Northern Railway neared completion. The article claimed:

The large and commodious steam tug Dreadful of the Fraser Mills Lumber Company arrived here last Sunday forenoon from Vancouver with a party of prominent British Columbia and eastern capitalists on board.... The party on board were: A.D. McRae, president of the Fraser Mills Lumber Company and the Wallace Fisheries Company, and also an associate of Sir Donald Mann in the Canadian Northeastern Railway Company...; Col. Davidson of Toronto, land commissioner of the Canadian Northern Railway; George Howe of Minneapolis; E.J. Palmer, general manager of the Victoria Lumber Company; T.J. Humbird of Spokane; J.M. McMillian of Vancouver, president of the Cassiar Packing company; Peter Wallace of the Wallace Fisheries; and C.F. Stevenson of Swift and Co. of Chicago.

Mr. McRae and several of the party were interested in Queen Charlotte spruce and for that reason wanted first hand information. Mr. E. Girard, local manager of the Moresby Island Lumber Company, showed the party around the sawmill and were evidently well pleased with the quality of lumber manufactured here.123

123 Queen Charlotte Islander, Aug. 19, 1912, p. 1.
The party of investors on the *Dreadful* reflected the large amounts of regional, national, and international capital being invested along the North coast. The Queen Charlotte Islands were rapidly being staked out and then mined, logged, or drilled. Fishing was probably the most interesting industry to discuss as it that transformed the human relationships on the north coast of the province.

One company that established itself in the Queen Charlottes at this time was the B.C. Fishing Co. Ltd. The company's investment prospectus, and in newspaper articles of the day, one can see how this company sought not only to make a profit from the processing of fish and thereby industrialising the landscape of the coast and also how it sought to reshape the Islands in the image of a modern British fishing hamlet. Production was not the only factor that contributed to the 'framing' of place. Sir George Doughty, owner of the B.C. Fishing Co., described the islands in terms of resources, production, and markets. Yet his descriptions framed the workplace in terms of empire and race.

*rhetoric, race, and workplace*

The story of B.C. Fisheries Ltd. is typical of the development of British Columbia's fishing industry in the first two decades of this century\(^\text{124}\). Foreign capital invested heavily in the fishery, buying up old operations or building new plants. Likewise, in the spring of 1912 Sir George Doughty, the renowned British fishing entrepreneur and Member of the British

\(^{124}\) The first manufacturing in the Queen Charlotte Islands was the Skidegate dogfish oil plant, which began operations as early as the 1870s and continued operations on a small scale until the turn of the century. At this time, the Queen Charlotte Islands were witness to arrival of various fish plants -- from crab canneries to whaling stations.
Parliament, formed the B.C. Fisheries Company Ltd. What was atypical of Doughty's venture was his intention to expand and modernise the plant to an extent hitherto unseen on the B.C. coast. He built a cannery at Alliford Bay a cannery in addition to a cold storage and a reduction plant stating: "this is only one of many such fishing stations my company proposes to build." Doughty's enterprise is also of interest as it was his explicit intention "To Establish a White Man's Fishery".

Sir George Doughty visited the Queen Charlottes to investigate the prospects of his "large scale operations." In an interview prior to his return to Britain, Doughty elaborated on his vision for a 'white fishing industry'.

[Governor-General] Earl Grey's object and my own primary object is to establish a white man's fishery on a large scale on the Pacific Coast. These fisheries are now largely passing into the hands of the Japanese. What we want is a British population there, engaged in a sea-faring life, so that we may have a nucleus of a Navy there. This may become highly important in the not so far distant future.

Despite these ventures, probably the most colourful and reflective of the radical changes that were transforming this place occurred in Aliford Bay, under the vision of Sir George Doughty of Grimsby England.

125 Queen Charlotte Islander, Sept.16, 1912, p.1.
126 Queen Charlotte Islander, Sept. 1912, p. 1.
127 Queen Charlotte Islander, Sept. 1912, p. 1.
128 Around 1905 there were attempts by the provincial government to introduce immigration policy that would mean the total exclusion of Asians, but these were disallowed by the federal government which was trying to foster good relations with Japan, but continued pressure by British Columbia lead to the federal government's concession of higher head taxes on Asian immegrants. On August 12, 1907, the Anti-Asiatic feeling culminated with the formation of the Asiatic Exclusion League, organized with the assistance of a similar American associations. The executive was predominately labour unionist but they received support from the likes of Alexander Gilchrist, President of the Liberal Association and C.M. Woodsworth, President of the Conservative Association, both who moved and seconded a resolution declaring that the "aggressive Japanese must be checked, or they would ultimately control this part of Canada." (Canadian Annual Review, 1907, pp. 385). In a similar tone of racist rhetoric, R.G. Macpherson, Liberal Member of Parliament for Vancouver, proclaimed that the slogan "Canadians for Canada" would soon be Asiatics for Canada."
129 Queen Charlotte Islander, June 1, 1912, p. 1.
Doughty's remarks could be reduced to racist posturing, but this would be to 'ignore' that his vision was linked to an intricate web of economy and culture. For a number of owners like Doughty the rhetoric of a white fishing industry meant both the control of the workplace and the protection of British Columbian canning interests. In his speech delivered at the Canadian Club in Toronto, Doughty was particularly blatant about his vision of how economy and culture or productivity and racism meshed:

Referring to the advantages coming to Prince Rupert from the establishment here of the fishing industries, Sir George touched aptly on the question of alien labour in these industries, and brought the thought swiftly into line with his main subject of the Empire by showing that from the fishing population of Great Britain has always drawn her best sailors and naval men. Prince Rupert, he believes, will contribute seamen for the Canadian and Imperial Navy.

On question of Empire, as it affects the future of the British race, Sir George emphatically stated his belief in supremacy of the British race, pointing out what they had done in moulding all that is most cherished in the world today. High principles and religion were the foundations upon which the Empire had arrived at the high pinnacle that it holds today amongst the nations of the earth. The British Empire today owes its foremost position and strength to the possession of a navy of a strength and character never equalled before in the history of nations.130

Doughty's construction of a place of race and empire was rooted in the belief that the supremacy of Great Britain and its Colonies was threatened. It is not difficult to see that his posturing is steeped in a rhetoric of racial superiority and Imperialism. Rhetoric which based British success on its ability to expand and secure territory, markets and access to resources and translate workers into more productive and efficient bodies for both economic and political ends. In the same speech to the Canadian Club in Toronto, he exclaimed:

130 *Queen Charlotte Islander*, Sept. 16, 1912, p. 1.
We feel convinced, of course, that our main stability lies in the continued strength and dominance of the British Navy, and that should anything befall it -- why, of course, we are at once at the mercy of our foes. We feel, too, that from the official statements of the First Lord of the Admiralty there can be no question of the emergent position that naval affairs have today assumed, and that we owe it to ourselves to act promptly so as to place the standard of the Imperial squadrons beyond all per-adventure... 131

In another interview he remarked, "while Canada had been increasing in commercial prosperity as the years rolled by, every dollar of invested capital, depended for its protection upon the strong arm of the Imperial Navy." 132 Doughty's reference to a stronger Imperial Navy echoes the concern held by many that the British Empire was feeling the threat of other European powers, most especially Germany. His comments also reflect how geo-politics and developments in the modern industrial economy became intertwined with discourses and imagery of local representations of place. It is overly simplistic to say that the macro forces of economy, politics, and culture shaped the relations and understanding of the Queen Charlotte Islands of the day as the representations of place were more textured and complex. Doughty did not simply try to impose a pre-formulated set of relations tied to production and ethnicity upon this place to come up with his vision of a 'White Fishery'. In an industry that relied upon a transient and ethnically marginalised and diverse workforce, he thought that the introduction of an ethnically homogenous labour force would mean more efficient production and a more secure investment.

131 The Columbian, Nov. 8, 1912, p. 1.
132 Queen Charlotte Islander Sept. 16, 1912, p. 1.
Doughty guaranteed fishing licenses which preferred his company and white fishers generally. In order to attract investment capital, the B.C. Fishery Co.'s 1912 prospectus stressed that it had access to a variety of fish species and could provide investors security, profit, and prosperity:

The fishing area controlled by this Company, situated as it is on Hecate Straits, is one of the most valuable on the Canadian Pacific coast. An inexhaustible supply of Salmon and Herring is available; also Halibut, Cod, and many other varieties of edible fish. 133

The descriptions of the fish stocks in the region had to be quite detailed because knowledge of the fish stocks of potential investors was limited. The prospectus methodically described the fish, and cultivated an optimistic, varying on enthusiastic tone:

Fish of almost every kind abound in these northern waters, which may be specially regarded as the home of halibut and cod and other white fish in all their varieties. Flat fish of every kind are abundant, and in its season the salmon is to be found in amazing quantities through the Skeena, Fraser, and Nass Rivers and along their tributaries. A prolific supply of herring of fine quality enriches the whole of the inshore waters from Nanaimo to Alaskan Coast. 134

Enthusiasm alone would not guarantee investment, so the prospectus managed to balance its emotional tone with detached, scientific observations. One such account used experts from the Department of Fisheries to underline the abundance of the resource:

134 B.C. Fishing Co. Ltd., p. 3.
The reports which I have received from Professor Prince, of Ottawa, and other fishery officers, as well as many influential authorities who have spent much of their time about the Pacific Coast, have been fully confirmed.

To ensure the company's success to potential investors, the prospectus identifies licenses the company possessed.

The licenses confer the seining rights for fishing over an area of upwards of 500 square miles of water, while the grounds covered by the Herring License are amongst the most prolific around the Pacific Coast... The inlets and approaches thereto possess exceptional advantages for conducting seining operations, the creek and streams forming a natural spawning ground.135

The licence system created boundaries which allowed certain actors to access the resources. In this way it enabled companies to gain control of specific territory, which ultimately led to the transformation of place.

While Doughty and the B.C. Fishing Co. was establishing its enterprise in the Queen Charlotte Islands, the governments of B.C. and Canada were coming to an agreement on new policies that meant "[a]n important change in the fisheries regulations of British Columbia".136 The Hon. Hazen of Premier McBride's government and the Federal Minister of Fisheries, the Hon. J.M. Bowser met in Ottawa to redefine the criteria for issuing fishing licenses on the north coast. Although fishing is a federal jurisdiction in the Canadian political system, the provincial government was concerned about fishing policy as it affected the well-being of the provincial economy and the prosperity of the province's communities. Much of the discussion revolved around licensing on the north coast of the province, where Japanese and Native fishermen

135 B.C. Fishing Co. Ltd., p. 2.
predominated. The intention of the new policy was to draw white fishermen to the region. One hundred and seventy licences were issued to independent white fishers who guaranteed higher fish prices per tonne. In so doing, the new policy sought to establish a white fishery prior to the release of the remaining 680 north coast licences. These were to be split up proportionately amongst the other ethnic groups already engaged in the industry in the northern area. Along these lines, the Hon. J.M. Bowser stated that fisheries regulations would be changed:

provided that the white men to the number of 20 per cent of the bona fide fishermen of the district owning their own boats and gear apply for licenses before March 15th their applications will be favourably received by the department. These are independent licenses and the holders of them may sell their fish to the highest bidder. After that date the licenses will be disposed of as usual in respect to the rating of the canneries... In this district there are about 850 licenses, the majority of which are held by Japanese. It is reported that about 600 Orientals were license holders last year.

Both Japanese and Native fishers were caught in a racial discourse, where they were subjugated and regulated through the kind of identities assumed in discourse. Racism was not simply a legitimisation of class exploitation, although it was that. Racism became intricately intertwined into workplace, establishing hierarchies, divisions of labour. In the case of the White fishery, access to employment in the factories and access to the resources for fishers culminated in a new definition of place on the north coast.

The purpose of the new policy was "to build up the white fishing community on the Pacific Coast." The Canadian government's reduction of Japanese and Native fisheries on the Northwest coast made real Doughty's desire for a stronger presence of whites in the industry

137 "Independent Licences for White Fishermen", The Sun.
139 "Independent Licences for White Fishermen", The Sun.
and for a strengthening of the national and imperial presence on the north west coast. Bowser continued,

At the present stage in the growth of the west, with the present sentiment so strongly in favour of cementing the bonds which hold together the Empire, we have felt it eminently desirable to foster settlement on that great coast line of ours of white fishermen of stock which won for Britain the supremacy of the seas, and who have placed her in the forefront of nations. Both Mr. Hazen and myself realise the necessity for such a policy, and have arrived at a decision only after most careful and thorough investigation.¹⁴⁰

Hazen's and Bowser's decision about licensing was consistent with the racist sentiments in British Columbia and Canada at the time. In British Columbia the Japanese in particular were the focus of this racial discourse.

Popular opinion characterised the Japanese as aggressive, ambitious, and successful and therefore an economic threat. Many Japanese were owners of fishing boats or stores in Vancouver, and managers of lumber camps. Japan had defeated Russians in the Russia-Japanese War of 1903, the first time a western power had been defeated by an Asian people. Together these local and global events resulted in a real fear in B.C. of the Japanese in British Columbia at this time.¹⁴¹ The frequent charge of the Japanese government was that it was deliberately placing nationals in British Columbia in preparation for taking over the province. The Japanese


¹⁴¹ Underlying all the attacks on Asians ran the argument that they could not be assimilated. Even an article which advocated the admission of Asiatique spoke of "races which whether inferior or not, are at least unmixable with Anglo-saxon people." There was a fear that the presence of this alien and 'unassimilatable element' would prevent the coming of desirable immigrants. This racist attitude was not limited to marginalized extremist rabble, but was expressed by the provincial Premier, MacPherson in a letter he wrote to Prime Minister Laurier, warning that: "[t]he Japanese is as full of deceit as he is of urbanity". (Laurier papers, letter from MacPherson to Laurier.) The anti-Asiatic sentiment culminated on September 7, 1907 with the Japantown riot in Vancouver.
government was even believed to be taking over the islands off the coast whereupon the mainland "would fall into their hands". 142

Bowser remarked on the significance of the licensing system after his meeting with Hazen. He concluded that this system went beyond the racial control of the workplace and into a control of the region, the nation and even the Empire. He claimed in a news interview that B.C. was:

Practically the sole frontier of the Empire on the Great Pacific Ocean…To dot this coast line with villages of prosperous white fisher folk available as raw material for the Empire's navy, is the ambition of us Westerners. Mr. Hazen and myself feel that we have accomplished something in this direction in our present proposal. 143

Licensing policy in the fishery benefited companies like Doughty's, which were granted the privilege to fish vast areas around the Queen Charlotte Islands and along the North Coast, but these policies also reflected the government's efforts to attract more white fishers to settle the area. The vision of a white fishery was not limited to Doughty's enterprise, reflected a wider view of place that was held by the majority of white society.

**technique, race, home and the workplace**

Doughty's vision of race and workplace was not unusual. Similar views were held by the

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142 "Independent Licences for White Fishermen", *The Sun.*
143 "Independent Licences for White Fishermen", *The Sun.*
Canadian Canning Company and were articulated by its manager, Captain Flemming. An article in the *Vancouver Daily News* of April, 1913 reported on Flemming's restructuring of the Canadian Cannery on the Fraser River:

Combining public spirit with business instinct, Captain H.M. Flemming, local director and manager for the Canadian Canning Co. is conducting a labour experiment on the Fraser River this season that may tend to make the coast fishing and allied industries a business for white men and white women.... There will be no Chinese employed in the Vancouver cannery this season, the white women, white men and the Japanese men and women doing all the work that has hitherto been performed by the sons of the Flowery Kingdom.144

Flemming's move to eliminate Chinese workers followed the introduction of the butchering machine known as the 'Iron Chink'.145 Mechanisation provided an opportunity for the elimination of Chinese labourers. The divisions of tasks in canneries was historically along ethnic lines, and the Chinese were most often stuck with the job of being the 'number one and two' butchers who would behead and de-finet the salmon. The Iron Chink, as its name implies, automated this job, and although the newspaper article does not explicitly state that Flemming was introducing these machines, one can safely deduce that he was.

Flemming's improvements were not merely an attempt to mechanise the production line, but an attempt to restructure the workplace. Flemming, like Doughty, envisaged a 'white fishery' that echoed many of the same aspirations of the B.C. Fishing Co. The newspaper article entitled, "White Women Replace Orientals", reveals the manager's vision of a homogeneous workplace is revealed.

144 *Daily News*, April 15, 1913.
145 The first prototypes of the automated butchering machines were introduced to the Pacific salmon fishery in 1903, but they did not see full scale implementation until 1910.
A new departure in the shape of employing white women in the sockeye salmon business will be tried out by the Canadian Canning Company of which Captain H.M. Flemming is local director and manager. Mr. Flemming intends to employ a number of Scotch girls, 24 young ladies now being on the way out from Eyemouth, Berwickshire, while others will probably be taken on who are at present living in the district.146

The rationale for introducing Scottish employees is described in the same newspaper article as being based on a sound economic decision, rather than upon cultural bias.

Captain Flemming has not only sentimental reasons for his replacing of Chinese by White girls trained in British canneries. He has investigated their capabilities and believes that he can increase the output of the Chinese crew, which was 32,000 cans a day to 50,000 to 60,000 cans a day, while the fish are running. The Chinese, whom the captain had to secure through Chinese labour contractor, like other canners, and work through a foreman of their own nationality, worked a shift of about fifteen hours. The Scotch girls will be put on in two shifts and are reported to be quicker and more efficient than the Chinese. Another advantage anticipated by Captain Flemming will result from direct control of the working force instead of indirect control of the Chinese secured through the medium of their own head man. That is that the force can be better concentrated, as in the double shift arrangement, for example, when the fish are being caught in large numbers, instead of having to stick to the Chinese idea of one shift, even though it were fifteen hours long.147

The direct control of the workforce is an integral feature of Flemming's imagined workplace. One can assume that shift work enabled the canneries to work continuously once the salmon arrived from the fishing grounds, but also that a mechanised plant also served to retain consecutive shifts.148 The article continues with the further racialisation of the workforce:

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146 Daily News, April 15, 1913.
147 Daily News, April 15, 1913.
In addition to this Mr. Flemming has engaged nine young Scotchmen who have had experience in deep sea fishing off the coast of Scotland. He will supply them with the boats and gear.\textsuperscript{149}

Flemming blatantly attempts to achieve a 'race'-based workplace by establishing ethnic uniformity in this plant. He assumed that such uniformity would bring about increased productivity and efficiency through heightened control in the workplace by upper management. This sense of control is also apparent in Flemming's decision for the company to gain ownership of the boats and gear. Such ownership would reduce the chances of any strikes by fishers and prevent them from providing fish to another company.

Although Flemming's plant was located at Eburne on the Fraser River, near Vancouver he built new accommodations for the Scottish cannery workers based upon the patronly work/home relationships of a Scottish fishing hamlet. "The rooms will be large and airy and four girls will occupy each of them... The men employed in the cannery have their own mess house, a room for each man being furnished by the company." In addition, Flemming added a "well equipped" dispensary with a nurse in case of accident or sickness. The \textit{Daily News} elaborated:

A small innovation, but one in accord with the general principles on which Captain Flemming manages his business, is the installation of a nursery for the children of the women employed in the cannery. This spacious room is located on the main floor where the mothers of the tots will work during the season and the captain will see that its well furnished with toys, from the humble hall to the haughty rocking horse.\textsuperscript{150}

\textsuperscript{148} It is difficult to speculate whether these women were working in mechanized plants in Britain and therefore were familiar with the new mechanical processes. If one is to hold this point, then it makes sense that these women would be able to share the "common viewpoint" of the mechanized work environment.

\textsuperscript{149} \textit{Daily News}. April 15, 1913.

\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Daily News}. April 15, 1913.
Flemming’s move to build new houses for his employees was a break from previous arrangements at fish canneries. Canners always scrimped on living arrangements due to the transient nature of the fishery employees and the lack of loyalty that characterised cannery and employees relations. Often there would be different workers 'on the floor' from season to season. Flemming’s aspirations were also unique in that his employees were predominantly marginalised and easily exploitable populations, such as the Chinese, Natives and Japanese. Flemming not only created more substantial accommodations for his employees, he created a sense of the workplace that extended beyond the production process into the private sphere of family and home. Flemming’s paternalistic vision of the fish processing plant set up new relations of employee dependence upon the cannery. This type of long term obligation would eliminate the unpredictability of finding a skilled work force on short-term contracts. The control of work/home also meant that the employer had more control over the life of an employee and was in a stronger position to direct the employee’s ‘productivity.’

Like Flemming, Doughty made attempts to change production and, literally, the face of the north coast fishery by ridding his labour force of the predominance of Chinese, Native, and Japanese workers and replacing them with British labourers; as Doughty claimed in one newspaper interview: "[t]he employees for the [B.C.] Fisheries are to be brought out from Great Britain." He asserted that he would make it conditional when hiring men in Britain that "each shall promise to bring out his wife and children at the earliest opportunity."
visited the province of British Columbia and inspected the coast, with a view to establishing the fishing trade in all its branches, to be operated by white fishermen.153

One of the only account of these British immigrants was a brief reminiscence by Helen Wilson of Prince Rupert, who worked for Doughty. She claims that she and her husband responded to Doughty's public call through out Britain's fishing communities to work in his cannery in Alliford Bay.

Doughty had great ads in the Aberdeen papers for help in this model plant and especially good were being made for coopers. Well, my husband, Bill, was a good cooper and things were not too flush in Scotland at that time -- so when he heard he would get his fare and all found to come out this new job -- it wasn't long before he talked me into things too."154

Establishing a sense of home that was tied to the plant enabled Doughty's extensive plan to create not just a modern cannery but a fishing hamlet at Alliford Bay. The plant manager, who was Doughty's son, lived in a sizeable home high on a hill at one end of the hamlet. The house was fitted with fine furnishings, including a grand piano, thus island residents began calling it "Doughty castle"155. Doughty also built a company store and bunkhouses, typical of any cannery facility, but he also built permanent homes for year round employees.

Overall, Doughty's vision for Alliford Bay was patronising but was not uncommon. Many industrialists at the time in Britain and the Eastern United States had created single industry company towns, where the influence of the owner extended into the daily social and

153 Queen Charlotte Islander, June 1, 1912, p.1.
155 Danzell, p. 247.
cultural aspects of the employees. What is unique is Doughty's attempt to introduce these configurations of work and home to the British Columbia coast. Doughty introduced a sedentary work place (much like that in Britain's fishing communities), where a community was directly tied to a plant for a longer period of time. This contrasted with the typical cultural and social context of British Columbia's fishery, where transient communities lived at remote canneries for the fishing season.

The B.C. Fishery Company introduced new methods of processing fish as well as new products, with a scale and diversity unprecedented on this coast. Doughty wrote of these advances in the production of fish in the company's prospectus.

In order to run a fish business economically, and I may say to place modern business methods into effect, it is absolutely necessary that a Company carrying on a business of this nature should be in a position to use up all the by-products that come out of the sea, and the only way this can be done is to have in addition to the ordinary cold storage and fish freezing and curing plant, a fertiliser and also oil and glue factory, so that all the refuse and non-edible fish that come from the sea can be turned into money.156

The prospectus promotes the transformation of by-products from processed fish into other commodities, thereby expanding markets and profits:

We intend to start two entirely new industries there. One will be the manufacture of what is called Marvis, which is to fish what Bovril is to Beef, and the other is the manufacture of fish food which will be a cheap food for cattle and sheep. The Marvis is made from halibut, and will be flaked fish in packages -- perfectly delicious stuff, which the grocer will be able to stock. The fish food for cattle is a tasteless powder for mixing with rations that is very nutritious and fattening. Both these commodities are now on the market in England and are meeting with great success. We have the patents for both Canada and the United States.157

156 B.C. Fisheries Ltd., p. 2.
157 Queen Charlotte Islander, June 1, 1912, p. 1.
By developing new products, not only would the B.C. Fishing Company make the fishery more efficient, it would expand the consumption and use of the resource in a new global markets. The company prospectus emphasised the B.C. Fishing Company's foresight in developing these markets:

It is well known that there is, and has been for a number of years a good market for fish oils. Japan is a large user of fertilisers. Hawaiian Islands take large quantities of it every year for their sugar cane plantations. In fact there is a market for it beyond the shadow of a doubt that will never be supplied. 158

New products not only enabled the B.C. Fishing Co. to enhance the economic opportunities, they enabled it to weather fluctuations in the canned salmon market. The scale and diversity of operation became equated with security of investment and longevity of enterprise.

Because of the high capital investment in new machines, the new plants had to be able to process immense amounts of fish. To achieve this, Doughty brought two large gas-powered seine vessels from England which were to become, at the time the largest on the north coast. Doughty also brought the steam trawlers *Triumph* and *Canada*, from Grimsby under their own power to fish the deeper waters off the coast. He also purchased *Edrie*, a small tug; these three boats constituted the core of the local fleet. 159 The scale of Doughty's operation became apparent by March of 1912, when one hundred workers began building the plant in Alliford Bay. So big was the project that the Queen Charlotte City saw mill was running at full capacity to meet the demand for timber needed to build the facility. Wives with children joined their

158 B.C. Fisheries Ltd., p. 2.
159 *Queen Charlotte Islander*, Aug. 19, 1912, p. 1.
husbands, thus forming a temporary community in Alliford. A Prince Rupert newspaper reported that the machinery which equipped the new plants, which was being shipped to Alliford Bay on the *Princess Eva*, was worth $1,000,000. It also claimed that "Doughty's cannery, one of the largest on the coast, has gone into limited production this summer with the processing of 25,000 cases of fish, operating on a limited basis.... and we are establishing a herring plant with the capacity of 20,000 tons a year." To ensure his company's competitiveness, Doughty, like a number of other cannery owners, was introducing new machines into the production line that would make the canning of salmon more consistent and efficient. One of the most noticeable advancements that Doughty's company secured was the patent (and thereby a monopolistic advantage) on mass refrigeration technologies that would make it cheaper and easier to refrigerate salmon prior to canning. Refrigeration reduced the spoilage of products in the processing of fish and eliminated the need for processing plant workers to work excessively long hours. Refrigeration also opened up opportunities to transport fresh-frozen fish to markets, and this gave B.C. Fisheries a unique market advantage.

Despite Doughty's efforts to make the new cannery more 'civilised', these new production processes transformed the work relationships in the cannery. The worker became secondary to the standardisation brought about by the machines, and these changes further accentuated the worker as an object, to be disciplined, controlled, regulated, and directed. It

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160 Danzell, p. 247.
161 B.C. Fisheries Ltd., p. 1.
162 B.C. Fisheries Ltd., p. 3.
163 My argument lies on the notion that scientific rationality brings about an *objective* way of seeing and legitimation, and it is this objectivity that constructs relations of power through its ability to create boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. The task at hand is to show how this logic of seeing by the owners of particular firms effected and constructed notions of labor, race, and place that objectified and sought to exclude vast majority of the existing labouring population, who were already segmented and marginalize in the fishing industry. Thus, the
also meant that the workplace was enframed by notions of efficiency and economy. Doughty's
desire to use white labour in this technological environment goes hand in hand with his attempts
to create a more efficient workplace. The workplace was framed not only in terms of the
effective exploitation of resources for profit through licensing, but also through the control of a
work force that became even more racially segmented as new technologies were introduced
there.

conclusion

The story of the "white fishery" in British Columbia and the B.C. Fishing Co. came to a
closure in a number of remarkable ways. Sir George Doughty's plant went into receivership
in the fall of 1913, having over extended its finances during an unsuccessful second season.
After the First World War, the rhetoric of race and Empire changed its tone, becoming less
forceful as European countries such as Great Britain were plunged into recessions due to war
debts, and their influence abroad began to wane. And by the end of the War, the newly formed
fishermen's and fish cannery unions began to push for better work conditions and wages. These
unions were mainly composed of individuals of European decent, but by the 1920s other ethnic
groups were forming their own associations to represent their own interests.

Although the explicit discourse of a 'white fishing industry' came to an end, this does not
mean that the relationship between racism and capital disappeared in this industry. On the
contrary, divisions of labour still exist along racial and gender lines in the canneries. The
perceived transition from an ethnically segmented, manual labour force to an automated, racially-

workplace is produced through a cultural imagination, biases, values, beliefs, and stereotypes as much as it is a
product of rational decisions to implement new modes of production or attempting to start new markets.
homogeneous workplace reveals how rhetoric was deployed in the attempt by owners to reconfigure work relationships in the processing plants. In the case of the B.C. Fisheries Ltd, its prospectus and Sir George Doughty's speeches presented a vision that entwined rhetoric of race and empire with relationships of workplace and technology to form a new notion of place that stressed uniformity and homogeneity. These notions worked beyond the workplace and beyond the experience of one cannery in the Queen Charlotte Islands. They informed the way many sought to transform the coastline of British Columbia to one that replicated Britain's coastline. Ultimately, the rhetoric of a white fishery not only legitimised the control of resources and the transformation of the relationships in the workplace, it also signalled the automation and technological transformation of the processing of fish. In this way, the vision of a white fishery also reveals how changes in industry are implicated in, to an extent are inseparable from, the social and political context.

Although the vision of a white fishery only lasted a few years, it provides a pithy insight into the intersection of race and capital in the industrial modernisation of the Queen Charlotte Islands and British Columbia.
introduction

From the mid nineteenth to the early twentieth century, missionary literature circulated throughout Europe and eastern North America. It told of church workers’ efforts to civilise indigenous populations on the fringes of new empires. Reports from missions in different parts of the world were similar in their attempt to describe the physical appearance of the missionised and the state of their material culture. Missionary accounts of the Haida in the Queen Charlotte Islands were no different. One such example is from a 1867 edition of the journal Mission Life. Francis Poole, a frontier industrialist who tried to set up a copper mining operation in the Queen Charlotte Islands, wrote an article describing his adventures and encounter with the Haida. It began:

The natives of Queen Charlotte, named Skidegates, have been considered the finest specimen of the Indian race on the Pacific. They are naturally savage and war like, but, at the same time, are quite disposed to be friendly with the white settlers and wish the latter

164 His venture proved unfruitful after five years and ended with Poole returning to Britain.
to live amongst them. They are nearly as white as Europeans. They number about 4500.165

Poole celebrated the Haida, describing them as a noble, strong and hearty people and through his description Poole fosters the reader's affinity for them. However, Poole outlines the contrasts between the Haida and Europeans. By focusing on those same bodies that he had just celebrated, Poole shifted his tone, depicting their cultural practices as alien and exotic.

The men are much disfigured, having rings through their noses and ears, their breasts and arms tattooed, and many of their bodies showing numerous marks, all over their person, of pieces of flesh having been bitten off in some savage ceremony. The more bite-marks he can show on his body, the greater the "brave".166

Poole's ambiguous or apparently contradictory depiction of the Haida as both noble savages and a degraded primitive is typical of its time. In this respect, missionary descriptions of the Haida are little different from other nineteenth century accounts, except that missionary discourses used these glorified and exotic stereotypes for quite different ends. Missionary accounts justified interventions by Church societies intent on guiding "primitive" people not only toward the light of civilisation but also toward the Light of the Gospel. Poole makes a similar plea for assistance claiming: "They are diminishing very fast, disease and smallpox sometimes carrying off hundreds in one single week in one tribe."167 The author laments further:

166 Poole, p. 30.
167 Poole, p. 30.
I have long felt it a pity that there are no Missionaries sent to save those beautiful creatures from the awful fate awaits them;... no one sent amongst them to instruct them in the duties of religion, and the result is immorality of the most loathsome kind...

Poole suggested an attractive proposition to his audience -- an opportunity to save and civilise this hapless people:

What a splendid field there is on these islands for Missionary operations, if bravely and judiciously managed! Every man likes the world to know and see the good he has done. Here there is a rare chance -- a clear field and no opposition. Without attempting to give any directions at length, I will venture to suggest here a plan as I believe might be carried out successfully and cheaply. Let four Missionary members be appointed and let them take out with them from England say, fifty families, many of the younger branches being boys or young men, whose presence and number will prevent hostilities, on the part of the Indians. Engage six young Canadian bushmen accustomed to the axe, and able to instruct the new settlers in building log-houses. On landing at Victoria they would apply for a free grant of land, say fifty acres each (this would be granted with pleasure by the Colonial Government ) in "Skidegate Channel."

In many ways Poole's vision and prescription came true. By the turn of the century, the social landscape of the Natives of the North Coast of British Columbia was radically transformed. The Haida communities that had once been scattered along the coastline of the Queen Charlotte Islands were consolidated into larger settlements; old patterns of food gathering were replaced with employment in the wage economy; and most noticeably, ceremonial practices such as the potlatch had all but disappeared. Essential to all these transformations for the Haida was the influence of the missionaries. Fifty years after Poole's account, an anecdote by the Methodist Reverend D. Whittington in his book *The British Columbia Indian and His Future*, reflected the changed circumstances of the Haida:

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168 Poole, p. 30.
169 Poole, p. 31.
On a coast steamer one Sunday in conversation with two very intelligent, gentlemen, one of them was very severe in his strictures on the Indians, and the futility of the work among them... A little later we called at a cannery wharf and found it lined with Indians in their best clothes. They were Haidas, from our own mission at Skidegate. They would not work on Sunday. As they stood there, tall, powerful, fine looking men, I pointed them out to these two gentlemen as a product of missionary work. They noted everything, the polished footwear, the clean, well brushed clothing, the manly bearing and dignity of the men. They turned their attention on the women and the children, just as clean and as well dressed. When we resumed our journey and our conversation, the latter of the two gentlemen declared that for him the argument was closed; that the comparison of what he had seen on the wharf with what he had seen in pagan villages was simply irresistible evidence of the great and good work that was being done.170

What is noticeable in Poole’s call and Whittington’s parable, which in many ways they typify missionary literature, is firstly that their descriptions of the Haidas’ appearance and material practices focus on the physical appearance and values in the community and secondly, these observations are bound in a rhetoric of progress. Despite this commonality, there existed very different forms of representation. Missionary literature, tended to construct a more dramatic picture of the Haida. These descriptions tended to simplify the reality of the missions by framing the missionising experience of the Haida in terms of the constructs of civilisation versus the primitive. In contrast, missionary dispatches from the field to the headquarters were logistical in their account, attempting to give a more reliable and specific, if often mundane, picture of the Haida experience and the efficiencies or problems in running the mission. But whether dramatic or logistical in scope, accounts of the Haida at this time were all steeped in late Victorian values of progress -- an end to which the missionaries sought to direct the Haida.

Haida Bodies: primitivism and civilisation in the descriptions of the Haida in missionary literature.

In an article in the *Church Missionary Gleaner* from 1886, the Church of England missionary, Charles Harrison (fig. 55, 56, 57) presented a melancholic picture of the Haida's futile struggle against small-pox, tuberculosis, and other diseases:

[I]f we look at the deserted villages, which are numerous on the islands, we are reminded that the time was when the Hydahs could be reckoned almost at the rate of 1,000 to the present 100. Look at the ruined houses at Keyung-Yen, Virago Sound, Edenshaw Village, North Island, and Cloak Bay -- study the works now crumbling to ruin, left behind by their ancient inhabitants -- look at the tall columns, or gehangs, of ancient data -- yea, look at them pointing heavenwards, with their mystical hieroglyphics from bottom to top, and then inquire, Where are the descendants of these people? and the answer will come, "They are gone." Yes, dear friends, you can see remains of many large villages, but where are the people? Where are the people whom Marchand a century ago describes as very powerful and fierce? Where are they or their descendants? Stand in the midst of an old deserted village, and call for the inhabitants thereof, and echo, though the ruins, in wailing tones replies, "They are gone." Look at the obituary gehangs on every side, and inquire to them, and the answer is still the same, "They are not." Where are they? Turn your eyes, and gaze on the boxes placed on two large posts amongst the green bushes, and which are now decaying and fast disappearing, and you will find the mummified remains of all that is now remaining of the ancient Hydahs, fierce and skilful. The question comes, Why have they so decreased? The answer is twofold. Years ago small pox epidemics raged wildly and unchecked amongst them, and many rushed into the open ocean to cool their fever-stricken brows, and so they quickly died. Yes, whole families died, and yet there was no one to care for them, or to direct them to the Great Physician, Jesus Christ...

Harrison's dramatic and tragic sermon of the demise of Haida is rooted in their inability to resist and take the appropriate steps to combat the disease. Instead, Harrison suggests that the Haida had an irrational treatment by jumping into the freezing waters, worsening their condition. Later on in his account Harrison also blames the demise of the Haida on the temptations of modern industrial society, which, to his mind, the 'innocent' people are unable to negotiate. He claims:

171 Charles Harrison, "Superstition of the Haida Indians.", *Church Missionary Gleaner*, vol. 13, 1886, pp. 106,
Figure 55. Photograph of the Church of England missionary,
Charles Harrison and his wife with the Masset Haida. *(source: BCARS).*
Figure 56. Church at Masset Mission. (source: BCARS).
Figure 57. Inside Church at Massett.
(source: BCARS)
Another cause why they are so quickly decreasing is the inducement held out to them at Victoria, New Westminster, and elsewhere, of high wages and good work. These two things are the great attractions for the Indians and consequently they leave their Native homes, either to die in a few short years by the miserable life they lead, and by the evils which surround them by the spirit traffic; or they return to their homes sick, and under the curse of the foul habits contracted when away from home. 172

Harrison's account of the Haida is typical of missionary literature at the end of the nineteenth century. On one level, his tale states the necessity of missionaries to guide this formerly great people through the adversities that they now face. On another level, his account incorporates western, middle class, 'modern' assumptions about sickness and health, primitivism and civilisation, cities and disease. Conflated together, these discourses of the body became a way of gauging progress in the missionisation of the Haida and other indigenous peoples.

To contrast Haida culture with European culture, missionaries used metaphors so as to give the reader a sense of the difference that existed. In a different article for the Gleaner, 173 Harrison sets the tone for his tale with the following introduction: "it is impossible for the people in England to form any correct idea of the strange and demonic notions that exist amongst the elder portion of our community." 174 Harrison’s article begins with his rhetorical claim that the foreign-ness of the cultural beliefs and practices of the Haida is difficult for the reader in Britain to conceive of.

172 Harrison, p. 106.
173 The success of the Church Missionaries Society's activities in British Columbia depended upon the coordination and flow of information through a hierarchy of administration that extended from the field missions, to the "British Columbia Mission" (called North Pacific Mission until 1895), and to the parent or sponsoring body office in London England. In the early years of missionizing in the province, activities were limited to Metlakatla, but as the CMS activities expanded, distinct administrative territories were created. The Diocese of Caledonia, consisting of the northern part of British Columbia, was created in 1879 from the division of the Diocese of British Columbia. The first bishop of the Diocese was William Ridley, who established his first headquarters at Hazelton, but moved later to Metlakatla and by the turn of the century to borgeoning railway terminus of Prince Rupert.
Take the mouse, for example. This harmless little creature is magnified to a devil. The Hydahs formerly, and the old people of the present day, believe that in every one's stomach exists a number of mice, and that each mouse represents a devil; so that if a man is bad tempered, immoral, and passionate, the devil of bad tempers he must have swallowed, in the shape of a harmless mouse.

His example of the mouse demonstrates the primitive and in Harrison's views, confused Haida conception of the body, nature, and the spiritual as all joined holistically. Modern European science and religion have separated the spiritual, the natural, and the human spheres. Therefore, the nineteenth century, middle class reader of this tale considered the Haida belief of the mouse as a devil to be uncivilised. Harrison elaborates:

The next point to consider is, how do the mice get into the stomach? One old chief calmly told me that one summer's morning, having got up very early, he went for a stroll, and came upon some women who were sound asleep, and, to his horror, he saw that their face was covered with mice. So he sat down and watched them. Presently he saw one disappear down the woman's throat, then another, and quickly no less than seven in like manner disappeared. Out of the seven which had disappeared one returned, which then left six little devils inside the unfortunate woman. The old people firmly believe this story, and they confidently tell you that every mouse is a devil; and that when a person is very wicked, he must have swallowed a great number of mice, or devils.175

By using the analogy of demonic mice in the stomach, Collison makes clear to the reader the necessity to expunge the Haida of their irrational beliefs, thereby justifying the mission.

A similar account by the Methodist missionary B.C. Freeman at the Skidegate mission (fig. 58) some years later made similar rhetorical assertions about Haida primitivism. In his book, *The Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands*, Freeman focused on the Haida's conception of the body and the social customs around it. The subject of Freeman's writing is the Haida

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174 Harrison, p.106.
175 Harrison, p.106.
Figure 58. Portrait of Rev. B.C. Freeman, the Methodist missionary, and the Mission Church.
(source: United Church Archive -- Toronto).
Figure 59. Drawing of tattooed Haidas in Swan’s anthropology for the Smithsonian Institute.

(source: BCARS).
practice of tattooing.

Of more permanent character was the tattooing of the body, limbs, and occasionally the face, which was universally practised. The chest, back, thighs, legs, feet, toes, shoulders, arms, hands and fingers, and occasionally the cheeks were ornamented by conventional designs representing the raven, eagle, bear, beaver, frog, whale, moon, or fabulous animals, pricked into the skin in red and black. 176

Freeman equated these inscribed bodies (fig. 59 and 60) with tribalism and degradation. He also expanded on other forms of bodily disfigurements:

Other permanent disfigurements have been left on many by the abundant jewellery which formerly pleased their fancy. The rims of ears were pierced by holes, varying in number according to rank... Every woman with any pretension to social standing had her lip pierced and wore in the opening a bit of metal, bone, or wood, of varying size according to her rank, and frequently distending the lip most hideously. 177

In Freeman's opinion these customs of "disfigurements" were not only a reflection of a primitive conception of beauty, they were tied to the "un-Christian" social values of pride and vanity, which contrasted with the Methodist's tendency towards an austere aesthetic. Freeman's descriptions of the Haida's primitivism culminates in his account of the Society of the Body Eaters.

If he were in the society of "Body Eaters," the performance was still more gruesome. Pulling with his teeth some mouldering human body out of its box, he would devour portions of the putrid flesh. At the time, however, of the coming of the first missionary, this revolting cannibalism had given place to its mere semblance, in the body there having been previously concealed some edible substance which the performer devoured. 178

176 Barnabus Courtland Freeman, *The Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands*. series no. 5, Toronto, Methodist Young People's Forward Movement For Missions, 1904. p. 17.
177 Freeman, p. 17.
178 Freeman, p. 24.
Figure 60. Photograph of Xa' na, a Haida chief.
(source: BCARS).
Freeman's grisly description reinforces in the minds of the nineteenth century audience not only an image of this people as primitive, but also the necessity for continued missionisation and the suppression of these salvage practices and the cultivation of civility.

Another of Freeman's descriptions portrays the Haida's education of children which entails throwing young children into the freezing waters so as to harden them to the harsh conditions of the North coast.

To toughen his body, many a time had the grandfather carried the child to where the winter storms were breaking on the beach, and thrown him into the benumbing waters, tossing him out again and again, as often as the surf cast him ashore, until the little limbs were so stiffened with cold that they could scarcely move. Then to revive circulation, the child's back was switched till the blood started through the skin.¹⁷⁹

The education of a Haida youth is again described as irrational and physically abusive. Unlike late nineteenth century sport which blended the rigour of exercise with a playing field ethic which instilled a values of sportsmanship, the rearing of Haida children's is portrayed as tormenting.

Another example which incorporated the body and the barbarous traditions of Haida culture is found in descriptions of the 'witch doctor'. To the missionaries they embodied all that Christianity sought to eliminate Freeman considers the shaman to be:

sorcerers, parasites of the community, who preyed upon it by their clever deceptions. Disease was said to be caused by evil spirits entering the body or by stones or sticks which had been inserted in the body by these malign powers...¹⁸⁰

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¹⁷⁹ Freeman, p. 9.
¹⁸⁰ Freeman, p. 13-14.
Missionaries like Freeman, understood shamans as perceiving sickness as a metaphor of the soul and as the influence of malign spirits rather than as an affliction of the body. This belief was easily discredited by Freeman a reflection of their underdeveloped culture. Again, Freeman elaborates on the contaminating influences of the shamen in the community through their misguided beliefs about sickness and health:

There were two methods of treatment of the sick usually resorted to, what we may term aboriginal allopathy and homeopathy. The two schools were as adverse to each other in their principles as their prototypes of civilisation, and were similarly liable to be both patronised by the sufferer at the same time."181

The Haida's inability to separate the material from the spiritual, heaven from earth, and body from mind, condemned them, in the eyes of the missionaries, to a primitive existence. He attacks the Haida's misguided knowledge and spirituality as being detrimental to the well-being of the individual and the collective, thus hindering any possibility of progress towards a European sense of civility “The sorcerer was a rascal, and the bitterest opponent the missionary had to meet. But the last vestige of his influence has disappeared from Skidegate for ever.” 182 With the elimination of the "sorcerer", however, Freeman suggested to readers that the opportunity then existed for ‘progress’ -- modern medicine and Christianity liberating the body and soul.

In sum, the missionaries portrayed Haida culture with images that reinforced stereotypes of the primitive through sensationalised and exaggerated descriptions. To convey these images, missionaries often focused on the physical appearance of the Haida and the cultural practices which related to the body; and for the missionary societies the relevance of these images rested in

181 Freeman, p. 12.
182 Freeman, p. 13-14.
their ability to generate moral and financial support for the missionary efforts amongst sponsoring congregations in Eastern Canada or Britain.

**Dispatches on Medical Work**

Medical work in these communities was integral to the missionary enterprise. The typical means of 'improving' the conditions of life for the Haida was through the introduction of hygiene, drugs and modern medical techniques resulted in the decrease of mortality rates. In this way, the body became a site for the missionary efforts, just as it was a measure of missionary success; thus, medical advances were elaborated on in numerous missionary reports to sponsoring societies. In a letters to the Methodist missionary society, Dr. F.C. Spencer, a medical missionary in Skidegate, attempted to give a clear picture of his efforts amongst the Skidegates, writing about the numerous improvements made in medical work.

The health of the people during the year has been exceptionally good. Several cases were sent to the hospital for operation or treatment all of whom came back cured or relieved. 183

Spencer indicates the significance and success of the missionaries with the natives of the Queen Charlotte Islands, but he also wrote about the difficulties in getting them to understand

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183 J.C. Spencer, 1909-10. Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. TEE Shore Papers, 1907-10: United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto. 78.093c, Box 7 of 10, #526/1.
prevention and prolonged medical treatment. In another account, Spencer is clearer about the 'progress' of medical work.

Medical -- Epidemics seldom reach us yet they do sometimes. Simple ailments prevail everywhere as among white people, which when neglected often become serious and hard to manage. There is also more or less of inhibited disease which require long continued treatment, which is difficult to get Indians to fully appreciate. Slight operations are done in the village. Those requiring hospital care are sent to Port Simpson, Bella Bella or elsewhere as opportunity affords.\textsuperscript{184}

The most difficult task facing the missionaries was probably their attempt to introduce notions of hygiene amongst the Haida. Bishop DuVernet of the Church of England wrote a letter to the Indian agent W.R. Robertson suggesting the continuation of missionary attempts to convince the Haida to adopt cleanliness into their life.

Without any remuneration he the missionary in Massett is constantly tending the sick, gives practical advice, tells them the danger of evil germs, urges them to keep their houses clean, his wife is constantly giving the women hints in domestic matters...\textsuperscript{185}

Implicit in DuVernet's report is his equation of civility with a healthy body, Christianity, and home. Also interesting is DuVernet's reference to "evil germs". These assumptions are very much a reflection of the beliefs and values of the day. The medical activities of missionaries were steeped in popular Victorian and Edwardian notions of health. Central in the attempt to the introduce hygiene and health to Haida communities was the need to imbue Natives with the, modern notion of the body. In this effort, missionaries conducted lectures, which were integral in a strategy of informing and educating.

\textsuperscript{184} Spencer, TEE Shore Papers.
...Special meetings are called to discuss important topics of current interest. Addresses are given on subjects of the social life and welfare of the people such as epidemics, tuberculosis, private diseases, sanitary measures, etc.186

Thus, the success of the missionaries in introducing new habits to the Haida depended not on constant, direct, intervention, but in the transformation in the Haida’s daily routine through the acceptance of new values and standards related to health. At the root of this transformation by the missionaries was the Haida’s willingness to implicitly self regulate; this self regulation is what made the missionisation of the Haida more efficient.

Progress in the Haida’s health was not only measured by a reduction in the number of sick, but in the modernisation of the daily life of the Haida. One marked difference was the changes occurred in the Haida diet. No longer was their food produced entirely locally.187 Rather, grains, vegetables, fruits and domestic livestock became part of the native diet. New foods were introduced by the missionaries but the change became really apparent with regular steamer service and the arrival of white settlers on the island in the first decade of the century. As Freeman commented: "...many of the Indians are adopting our food. They all have kitchen stoves. They know how to cook...."188

By 1909, the Church of England felt that enough progress had been made in the attempt to introduce cleanliness, diet and a general sense good health, therefore the presence of a nurse was an unnecessary expense for the financially strapped Church of England missions. The

186 Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. A.C. Farrell Papers 1910-12: United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto. 78.094c, Box 1 of 1, #1290.
187 One exception to this generalization is the Haida's reliance upon imported oolichan fish grease in their diet, which the Haida traded their famed canoes for primarily with the T'Simsean.
missionary efforts by the dioceses of New Caledonia was in the process of losing funding from the Church Mission Society. They therefore had to become more self reliant. Instead, Bishop DuVernet felt that the ability to perform spot checks in the homes of the Haida would be more effective and efficient form of enforcing standards. In a letter to the Department of Indian Affairs appealing for such jurisdiction, Bishop DuVernet wrote:

From the description given of our village it will be seen that a nurse is scarcely needed. Some one should have authority to inspect the Indian houses and order a thorough disinfecting once or twice a year.\textsuperscript{189}

Ultimately, DuVernet felt that through the occasional direct intervention in the private lives of the Haida the missionaries would be able to continue enforce standards. Although no such privilege was granted, it does show the combination of both implicit and explicit attempts to transform the Haida’s notion of health in the process of missionising. These approaches were shaped by whatever resources were available.

In sum, representations and stereotypes of the Haidas’ bodies in British and Canadian mission literature offer a partial insight into the missionary experience with the Haida. Of equal interest are the specific practices the missionaries used to bring about the transformation from a traditional culture, to one that was reflective of the values of a British middle class. The missionaries began to transform the social and cultural landscape of the Haida through the elimination of traditional cultural practices that related to the body coupled with the introduction of habits of hygiene and scientific medical techniques. These changes were part of the transformation of Haida identity and sense of place. Such practices were intended, in the eyes of

\textsuperscript{188} B.C. Freeman, p. 27.
the missionaries, to aid the Haida in their progress towards being assimilated, and were very much implicated in relations of power.

*Christian Community -- missionary tales and reports on Haida industriousness*

Just as the body and health was a subject of missionary discourses for missionary practices, so too was community a site for missionary effort to create a modern Haida place. Missionaries sought to introduce modern relationships of community that were ultimately rooted in Christian ideals and bourgeois, middle class values of self advancement and prosperity. To understand how the missionaries represented traditional Haida culture and the attempt to transform the communities, it is worth considering how the notion of progress was imbued in these representations.

Between the late 1870s and the 1880s, The Church of England missionary, James Deans, wrote a number of articles to anthropological journals such as the *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, and *The American Journal of Folklore* based on his experience stationed in Massett. Although these journals were less concerned with the success of missionising than with the portrait of the last vestiges of a 'traditional' culture being transformed by modernisation, Deans still confused most of his articles with his perception of Native morality and the need for

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Christian values. In one of these articles, Deans described his encounter with a Haida village, pondering the monumentality of an uncompleted house. What struck Deans was the apparent lack of modesty, humility, and equality -- values upheld in the Social Gospel of late nineteenth century Protestantism -- but according to Deans, values not apparent in the Haida. Rather, Deans suggested: "[i]f a Haida was able to have a column longer and broader than his neighbour, it also enables him to rank high among the people." Deans continues:

Upon inquiry I found that the property had belonged to a man who had a beautiful wife, or sister, whose charms were such that she could really bring great earnings to the owner of them. Wishing to have a new house, it was agreed between the two that in order to have a house and column far surpassing anything in the land, he would remain at home and employ the most artistic skills on the work, and she would go down to the southern parts, and there, by the sale of her charms, would raise the funds with which to carry on the work. She went, and regularly, by canoe and steamer, came a supply of goods and money. The column was carved and set up, and the boards were being got ready with which to cover the frame of the house, when suddenly the supply from the south stopped. A few weeks later, word came up that she was dead and buried. Nature, unable to take the drain on her constitution, gave out, and landed her in an untimely grave. Ever after, when I passed this house of, I felt sorry when I thought of the life sacrificed in order to bring it to that state of perfection. Her intention was to return when all was finished and have the pleasure of saying, we have a prettier house and column than any in the village. Had she lived she would have stayed, after all was finished, in southern ports until she had made enough to buy one or two hundred dollars worth of goods and provisions; then returned home again; the tribe would have been invited to a house warming, when most of the provisions would have been consumed and all the goods would have been given away in presents. But she died, and the house remains as a sign of her ruin -- its beauty covering a wreck. (the hut which resides under the frame of the house)

As unreliable as Deans' tale is, it provides a compelling rhetoric which gives a sense of the relevance if not the necessity of Christian influences amongst the Haida. His exaggerated portrait of this people and their impetus to build is rooted in Dean's judgement that the Haida are

a debased and materialistic people. Dean metaphorically depicts this pride to be the moral (metaphorical) folly of Haida and implies how it stands in direct contrast to Christian values of which he seeks to expose them. Thus, Deans legitimises the elimination of this traditional, immoral landscape and suggests it be replaced with a modern Christian one. In same article, Deans’ scorn of the Haidas' pride continues:

A very marked trait in the character of all the Indians on this coast is pride. It shows itself in a variety of forms. In the first place, it gives the desire to acquire property in order to build a house and set up a carved column. At first he is content with a common one, such as I have already described: afterwards, as his wealth increases, his ambition is to have another house and column which shall excel, in beauty and style of carving, all the others in the village. In the second place, it leads them to think lightly of others who are poor and have neither house nor column, and also think themselves and their tribe better than all the other.192

Deans’ story depicts the traditional Haida community as ‘non-Christian’. He elaborates further on the primitiveness of Haida culture by focusing on the totem pole.

Placed on top of it (the pole) was an image of a man, two feet high, naked with the privy member erect, very large and out of all proportion. This image was a totem. The post on which the figure was placed was, like the round towers of Scotland and Ireland, a symbolisation of the male privy member, and in both places was a remnant of the ancient phallic mode of worship, so prevalent throughout the world in by-gone ages. Both this image and the post on which it was placed were emblematic of the origin of life.193

191 Deans, p. 287.
193 Deans, p. 284.
Deans establishes the Haida's primitiveness by referring to their depiction of naked bodies. He also alludes to their pre-modern state by likening the totem poles to the Celtic towers of Scotland and Ireland. In this way, Deans places the Haida on a historic continuum of progress, comparing them to the ancient peoples of the British Isles. In this way he establishes an affinity to the Haida but they are still relegated to a less civilised position than the Europeans of the day and thereby he establishes a distance between the coloniser and the colonised, (re-confirming this imagined history through the reference, to the Irish and the Scots -- two peoples formerly conquered by the English). In Deans tale, Christianity is the norm against which other beliefs are judged. Christianity is equated with “the normal” and “the civil” and Haida with the “primitive” and the “hedonistic”. At the same time Deans encourages readers not to give up on these people. In the same story reproach of Haida culture gives way to a celebration. Deans previous condemnation of Haida art and architecture becomes a comparison between it and ancient European examples.

While he [the Haida artisan] was thinking over his plan [for a house construction] an angel-- or rather, I ought to have said a spirit, for among these people angels and spirits were one and the same -- appeared to his clairvoyant eyes and showed him the style of a house, with measurements and everything connected with the future building in detail, excepting a carved column. In the same manner King David got the plan of the temple of Jerusalem. Deans' second account of the pole brings the Haida into proximity with European culture by drawing comparisons in the divine inspiration of architectural form. The reader develops an

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194 At the same time, Deans' description of the totem pole reveals less about Haida culture than about Deans' own middle class perception of the Haida people as an 'other', a 'primitive'; and in this way, Deans' description tells us more about the missionary's pent up fantasy and denial as well as the missionary movement's desire to transform place.
affinity to the Haida through these similarities. However, Deans’ complements are fleeting, and quickly erects limits between European and Haida cultures highlighting the contrasts between the Haida and modern Europeans with the blasphemy of the "carved columns".

Apparent in Deans’ accounts of the primitive is an ambiguity: condemnation and praise, beauty and horror. It might be argued that this movement back and forth is less his own confusion than a rhetorical strategy. It foster a specific understanding for the reader which supports the missionary effort through stereotypes that reinforce notions of civilisation and primitivism. His tale also gives insight into the very concrete impact of the missionaries on the Haida. This is apparent in his story about the totem pole. His story ends with an encounter with the same 'grotesque' totem pole some years later which, like the Haida, had been modified in its appearance.

In the summer of 1889 I was once more in the vicinity of this house. I found about the same. The post with the little image on the top was there also, but the sexual part was gone. In answer to my inquiry as to what had become of those parts the Indians with me replied: Since we have become Christians we did not like to see it there. So a number of us loaded our guns with bullets and fired at it until we shot it off. 196

The story signifies the missionaries’ influence on both the material landscape of Haida villages and on their values. The conclusion conveys to the reader a measure of progress in missionary transformations of the Haida from an assumed ‘primitive’ position to a more modern, Christian people. These transformations were not brought about by the explicit imposition of rules by the missionaries, but rather by implicit persuasion or conversion of the Haida to judge and censor their own actions and behaviours.

195 Deans, p. 282.
The Haida's adaptation of modern building techniques to their houses changed not only the visual landscape of the villages but also reflected the change in the values and behaviour of the Haida as they began to adapt to European ways under the direction of the missionaries. Thus, a modern Haida community, became re-organised in a way that reflected the cultural and economic relationships that were modernising the coast. Missionary descriptions of modern Haida villages in popular literature conveyed a sense of accomplishment and success in the missionary efforts. Often these accounts were recorded in denominational digests or magazines which kept readers and more specifically donors informed on the progress of the society's efforts -- again framing these stories in terms of the primitive and civilisation.

Haida homes were traditionally post and beam construction; they consisted of one large rectilinear room with a fire in the centre in a lowered section of the structure. Round the perimeter of these older structures were sleeping compartments. At first the Haida adapted modern materials, such as windows and nails; to suit the existing, traditional dwellings such as windows and nails (fig. 61, 62). With the arrival of the missionaries, and the increased influences of modern, non-native society, post and beam structures were replaced with Victorian cottages. The adaptation to European methods such as the balloon frame coupled with access to milled lumber transformed the appearance of the villages (fig. 63).

This transformation did not take place instantly, but subtle hybrid forms of construction and materials began to appear in the villages (fig. 64). James Deans in the Journal of American

196 Deans, p. 284.
197 The question remains whether or not the Haida were passive recipients of such change? Despite the active impositions of missionaries, I argue here that the Haida were also active agents in bringing about change. In addition to being bound by the rhetoric of progress and of advancement, I want to suggest that these new
Antiquarian, remarked on the disappearance of the long houses and poles under missionary influences and the building techniques that Haida were learning at places such as Metlakatla. “This sort of house will soon be a thing of the past. Since 1883 they have been pulling down the old houses and rebuilding after our style.” 198 Windows appeared on the fronts of long houses, flag poles with union jacks replaced totem poles (fig. 65, 66), and as Freeman stated in 1903:

"[m]any of the exteriors are painted; most have been at some time, though some are now free enough from any trace of such experience. The interior is in most cases partitioned into rooms, the woodwork neatly finished, the walls usually either papered or painted." 199

The transformation of individual Haida home and the village as a whole can also be understood as a re-configuration of social relationships. The open structure of the traditional long house, with its one large room with a fire pit in the middle as the focal point of both cooking and socialising, was communal in orientation. A series of cubicles for sleeping in that lined the outside of the structure, the house chief taking the position at the far end of the building opposite the one entrance door. The configuration of the modern, balloon frame house, however, was less open. Sleeping, cooking and socialising rooms were separate instead of integrated. Thus, the notion of family no longer encompassed the extended family thus there was separation from the clan. Private and the public life became more clearly demarcated for the Haida family. The Methodist missionary Rev. Whittington, reflected positively on these changes: “…the modern house, as a home for the family, is now the rule in our Christian villages. In many of them the

relationships were as much a product of the Haida actively pursuing them as they were imposed upon them by missionaries.

198 Deans, p. 284.
199 Freeman, p. 27.
homes are all modern.\textsuperscript{200} Whittington is explicit about the missionaries’ attempts to introduce new relationships in the family as he is about attempts to introduce a European understanding of good and evil. In his view, the cultivation of a sense of ‘privacy’ in the Haida would instil a Christian purity and a sense of civilisation.

The privacy of the home is now generally respected, and as time passes and habits form, it will be more so. The desire for purer living impels the Indian to purify his surroundings. In turn his purified surroundings augment the desire [towards progress].\textsuperscript{201}

The missionaries’ attempts to introduce modern conventions of home were constantly resisted by Haida traditions. Freeman portrays the Haida as metaphorically digressing back into primitive ways. By using the chair as a metaphor of civilisation, he suggests how the older generation of Haida were not comfortable in modern conventions:

For the older people, the chairs of civilisation are the most uncomfortable contrivances, and frequently when calling on the missionary will quietly slip down to the floor from such an elevated position...\textsuperscript{202}

These transformations of a Haida place also extended to the configuration of the village. Originally houses faced the ocean, and the shore was the main focus of the village, the sea being the main mode of transportation. As Europeans settled, and as Masset and Skidegate became tied to the White communities on the islands, road traffic brought a new focus and flow to the villages.

\textsuperscript{200} Whittington, \textit{The British Columbia Indian and His Future}, The Methodist Reading Room, Toronto, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{201} Whittington, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{202} Freeman, p. 27.
Figure 61. Photograph of old Massett in the 1880s with some signs of changing construction techniques.
(source: BCARS).
Figure 62. Photograph of Skidegate and change in the architecture of Haida houses.  
(source: BCARS).
Figure 63. Photograph of Masset in 1909. Appearance of the village had radically changed. (source: Charles Adam, K. Danzall's Queen Charlotte Islands vol. 1).
Figure 64. Skidegate village, 1895. (source: BCARS).
Figure 65. Photograph of Masset. Appearance of village was very much like a modern village anywhere else along the coast, except for the remnant totem poles that were being replaced with flag poles. (source: BCARS).
Figure 66. Masset village in transformation, 1910s.
(source: BCARS).
With the arrival of settlers came institutions of western villages. One dramatic change was the introduction of policing to Masset and Skidegate. As Freeman claimed: "We have a body of native constabulary quite capable of safe-guarding it from any evil designs of the Indians..."203 These policing agents enforced the peace and order in the community.

Other changes in the social order of Skidegate and Masset were prompted by changes to the federal Indian Act that promoted elected, rather than hereditary leaders.

Who would dare to predict at the coming of the first missionary to Skidegate that in but nineteen years the three agnostic heathen villages would be peacefully united in one Christian community, with their own municipal council directing public affairs and administering laws for the maintenance of public morality, and in every way capable of a most favourable comparison with any community of our own race similarly deprived of educational advantages?204

Freeman noted the fading social relations in the community, which resulted from the replacement of the clan system hereditary chiefs with the introduction of an elected municipal/tribal council.

In matters of local government our community has availed itself of the special provisions of the Indian Advancement Act. A council of seven "good men and true" looks after such public affairs as the maintenance of the streets by statute labour, the control of the village police, the allotment of building sites, the guarding against fire, and the enforcement of by-laws against breaches of the peace and other moral misdemeanours by the infliction of fines up to a limit of thirty dollars.205

Freeman's account typically celebrated the 'progress' of the Haida as a result of missionary influences aided by the changes that the federal Department of Indian Affairs introduced. Despite the claims of success by the missionaries, their efforts were constantly compromised by

203 Freeman, p. 30.
204 Freeman, p. 26.
205 Freeman, p. 25.
the very forces of modernisation on the coast which the missionaries sought to introduce. Many stories report on the negative influence of modern society upon the Haida. Of particular concern for missionaries, like Freeman, was the influence of both the fish canneries and the province's southern cities.

When the nucleus of the cities in the south of the Province were forming, the natives discovered through the depravity of the white a short cut to coveted wealth. Unrestrained by their codes of morality, in densest ignorance of the awful evils incurred, Indians from all over the coast flocked by tribes to these centres of pollution, hoping soon to return in opulence, but in reality bringing back with them, such as ever returned, the fateful seal of doom of their race.206

To the missionaries, the temptations of modern materialism and the abuse of alcohol were seen as ongoing problems for Natives. Missionaries were forced to adopt strategies to try to curb these influences. Freeman's prescription was for intervention and guidance on the part of missionaries:

For such a decline we must seek causes which destroyed at once the vitality of the race. With unimpaired fecundity, nations recover from slaughter and pestilence; but with this impaired, the most favourable conditions otherwise are of no avail.207

Ironically, Freeman's account justified the missionaries' desire to shelter the Haida from the temptations of modern society -- the effects of progress. The missionaries' assumption that this contact would result in doom for the Haida rested on a conviction that the Haida were unable to cope with modern society and the problems of the city. Missionaries attempted to protect Natives from the negative external forces of modern industrial society, thinking they would

206 Freeman, p. 9.
207 Freeman, p. 9.
advance under the protection and direction that only the missionaries could provide. The ultimate aim being to assimilate this people into non-native society.

In sum, Haida communities were transformed by a new definition of home. New construction material, furnishings and also the acceptance of new values, and relationships all contributed to a modern Haida place. This modern Haida place was very much a product of the missionaries' ability to re-order the cultural and material landscape of the Haida villages. Popular missionary literature conveyed this transformation of place and the relevance of the missionising effort amongst the Haida through descriptions that framed the Haida in terms of both primitivism and civilisation. Missionary dispatches also sought to portray the progress of the villages and the Haida's daily life, however, they drew upon different conventions to do so.

*a measure of progress: dispatches on ‘improvement’ and a work ethic in Haida communities.*

Missionary field reports focus on changes in Haida communities. Such reports were less concerned with exaggerated portraits of the Haida as primitive, than with communicating the most efficient manner of running the missions. As a result, the reports describe both successes and shortcomings in attempts to missionise the Haida. Although more detailed and mundane than the dramatic missionary literature, these accounts do provide a more reliable view of the daily life of the Haida for the missionary society officers in London, England or Toronto, Canada. Two subjects commonly described by the missionaries in both the Church of England’s
Masset Mission and Methodist Church’s Skidegate Mission were the economic activities of the Haida and the education of children.

One of the most important aspirations of the missionaries was the integration of the Haida in the modern economy. For the most part, the Haida, like other coastal natives, took an active role in this effort. In 1909, Rev. R. Whittington, Superintendent for Indian Missions in British Columbia, reported to the Methodist Mission Society in Toronto on the economic 'advancements' of the Haida. He focused on the participation of this people in the modern industrial economy.

"The source[s] of... income are, catching, curing and canning fish; fur hunting, logging, boat building, stevedoring, as sailors, farming, mining, etc. The women, of course, assist materially, and also the children, at inside work in the canneries; also in selling various kinds of handiwork."

However, it was apparent to missionaries that Natives often comprised the labour force in the new industries on the coast. Yet, when the economy slowed down and the numbers of employed decreased, entire communities experienced financial difficulties. The Methodist missionary, William Allen wrote to his superior:

...I shall write you immediately I get settled down to work at Skidegate. Should you visit the coast this year, you will probably find that great number of our people have decided to stay at the logging-camp all summer, instead of going fishing. They are being asked by the Mill owners to enter upon extended logging contracts at prices ranging as high a $12 to $14 per thousand feet, (unprecedented figures)... I am inclined to feel that this procedure on the part of our people will greatly tend to oust them from fishing connections in years to come. As logging conditions worsen, moreover, although I dare not make any statement in the hearing of the people, I have a fear least, when lumber

208 Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. T.E.E. Shore Papers 1907-10: United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto, 78.093c Box 7 of 10, #526/1.
prices fall, as they show signs of doing, the Mill owners will have great difficulty in handling these great supplies of logs, prouder at such high cost.209

Missionaries sought to help Natives ‘better themselves’ by making them more independent and by providing them with specific skills with which to a better their position in the labour market. Also, they tried to develop the communities into more diversified and self-sustaining entities. The tendency was for Natives on the coast to leave their home communities and migrate to the fish canneries or logging camps. Missionaries resisted this trend by instilling not only skills, but also values and ethics related to work. Dr. J.C. Spencer, the missionary in Skidegate, wrote of this same adaptation, but he added that it had caused the Haida not only to take on new jobs, but also to adopt a work ethic typical of the middle class around the turn of the century. He stated:

New ambitions are taking hold of the men and they are beginning to specialise in their work. Some taking up boat building, carpentry, mining or milling. Two young fellows have built a fine hull and in a few days will have gasoline engines put in her.210

The establishment of denominational industrial schools throughout the province helped provide Natives with a basic knowledge of English and Math. It also provided practical skills and crafts that would enable Natives to participate in the modern economy, and thus attain the particular values that accompanied modern industrial production. In the process of educating, missionary schools attempted to expunge indigenous traditions by distancing youth from their traditional communities and immersing them in ‘pure’ educational environments.

209 United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept., Sutherland Papers, 78.094e box 5 of 11, 1900-1910.
210 Spencer, T.E.E. Shore Papers.
In 1908, F.H. DuVernet, the Bishop of the diocese of New Caledonia for the Church of England in Canada, wrote a letter to the Department of Indian Affairs, signalling a radical shift in the way Natives in British Columbia were to be educated. Up until this time, most Natives "of proper age under the guidance of the Church of England" in the region attended Metlakatla Industrial School; for the Methodists an industrial school existed in both Port Simpson and in the Fraser Valley at Coqualeeza.

Industrial schools began and derived in the United States in the last quarter of the century before coming north to Canada. As the federal government began designing its own Indian policy, the Department of Indian Affairs drafted a report in 1879 that reflected on the success of the American reserve system with particular attention to industrial schools.

The first and greatest stone in the foundation of the quasi-civilisation of the Indians, wherever seen, was laid by missionaries, men who had a supreme object and who did not count their lives dear unto them. Schools are scattered over the whole continent wherever Indians exist, monuments of religious zeal and ... self-sacrifice. These schools should be utilised as much as possible, both on the grounds of efficiency and economy.

"Economy and efficiency" are central values in the running of industrial schools, and they are the values that the missionaries sought to instil in Natives in their crusade to civilise. The report continues:

The industrial school is the principle feature of the policy known as that of "aggressive civilisation". This policy was inaugurated by President Grant in 1869. But, as seen, that the utility of industrial schools had long era that time been amply tested. Acting on the suggestion... [ of the Peace Commission, which] recommended that the

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211 Dept. of Indian Affair CNA School files, RG10 file c-8134, vol. 6001 1-1-1, p. 8.
212 Dept. of Indian Affair CNA School files, p. 13.
Indians should, as far as practicable, be consolidated on few reservations and provided with "permanent individual homes"; that the tribal relation should be abolished; that lands should be allotted in severality; and not in common; that the Indian should speedily become a citizen of the United States and enjoy the protection of law... it was the duty of the Government to afford the Indians all reasonable aid in their preparation for citizenship by educating them in industry and in the arts of civilisation...213

The policy pursued by the United States, and later followed by the Canadian government attempted to situate the Natives on reserves -- bounded spaces, with permanent, sedentary villages. The effectiveness of the Industrial School lay in its ability to physically separate each student from their origin community and hence from his/her identity. It was a strategy of civilisation through separation and assimilation that was focused on individuals.214

The experience of the United States is the same as our own as far as the adult Indian is concerned. Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do little at farming and stock raising, and to dress in a more civilised manner, but that is all. The child again who goes to a day school learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combated.215

In contrast, the education in industrial schools gave students specific skills that were used to help them integrate into modern society.

....At the industrial school in addition to the elements of an English education, the boys are instructed in cattle raising and agriculture; the girls in sewing and bread making... There are, as a rule, blacksmith and carpenter and a shoemaker's shop on each Agency, where boys are taught a trade...216

213 Dept. of Indian Affair CNA School files, p. 1.
214 The reserve system was not only defining what an Indian was by being located in these bounded spaces, but simultaneously traditional relationships were to be abolished.
215 Dept. of Indian Affair CNA School files, p. 2.
216 Dept. of Indian Affair CNA School files, p. 3.
The industrial school was effective in educating, but success for the missionary society lay in recreating idealised relationships of a modern home and community. Whittington, the Methodist Superintendent of Indian Missions of the province, summarised the effectiveness of the industrial boarding schools in instilling these values of home in his small brochure *The British Columbia Indian and His Future*.

When we think of the larger range of subjects in the boarding schools, and still more of the home influences along the lines of cleanliness, neatness, order, industry, truthfulness, and honesty, as well as the flood of new thought that becomes possible through a mastery of the English language, and through contact with intelligent and refined English people, there should be no stopping until boarding school has taken the place of the day school, except in very small villages.217

A Methodist missionary society report from the turn of the century provided data compiled by the Department of Indian Affairs backs Whittington’s argument for more boarding schools:

The habits of the Indians are nomadic. More than two-thirds of the children of school age in British Columbia never entered a school room at all during the year 1904. The Indian Report for that year gives a total of school age of 3694; 1625 were enrolled, 2066 were not.218

Thus, Industrial Schools sought to instil a modern sense of home and community, ironically, by distancing Native youths from their communities and the assumed ‘detrimental’ influence of the children's origin community.

217 Whittington, p. 8.
218 RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1, part 1.
Missionaries would report on the departure of young students in their correspondence with the societies. In one report, Dr. Spencer mentions, "Educational -- Pupils are sent away to Coqualeeza Institute from time to time." 219 and in another report he mentions, "After the fishing season several pupils leave us for Coqualeetza Institute or other schools." The industrial school was probably the most active attempt by the missionary societies to transform the Natives. By sending children away, it was hoped that the young would pick up skills that would better enable them to progress and contend with the adversities of the labour market whilst also strengthening native communities and allowing them to become more independent and prosperous.

A report to the Methodist Missionary Society by Whittington alludes to the success of the industrial schools by mentioning return of young Natives who are using their skills at home. For Whittington, this is a testament to the influx of money and the transformation of the landscape of the reserve:

They are also very handy with tools, and many of them are excellent carpenters. The consequence is that they are rapidly improving their homes, and at no great expense.... This money earning power puts them in the way of supplementing their former style of living by modern food, furniture and clothing in modern homes.220

Mission societies pressed the federal government to fund economic enterprises in the communities to actively promote modernisation. In a letter to the Department from 1909, Bishop DuVernet expresses the missionary society’s desire for government help in the training of Haida boat builders.

219 RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1, part 1.
The very best thing the government could do for our Indians is to employ a first class carpenter and boat builder and have him visit our village in turn forming classes of young men from 16 up. Most of our Indians are very quick with tools, the Masset men build fine schooners.221

The Bishop's plea for a technical education was an attempt to initiate forms of employment other than that found in 'unsavoury' canneries. In turn this would bring an end to the Natives' nomadic life during the fishing season.

Despite praise from administrators like Whittington, the industrial boarding school did have profoundly negative ramifications in native communities like Masset and Skidegate. These institutions thrust an ideal of home and community upon the young, and in the process expunged traditional beliefs. The influence of these mission schools upon Haida communities, such as Skidegate, were substantial. On the one hand, they provided many natives with the tools to adopt to modern society, and these assets were often valued by their communities. Yet, the disadvantages of these institutions seemed to outweigh the positive effects. Children were uprooted and separated from their family. They were immersed in European culture and values and systematically distanced from their own cultural practices, values, histories, and beliefs. Children were discouraged from speaking in their first language to children from their own community. Growing up with Natives from very different parts of the province also re-reinforced the alienation experienced by Native children. The Haida were not alone in their resistance to industrial boarding schools. Despite the previous widespread promotion and use of industrial boarding schools, by 1909 support for them amongst the clergy and government

220 Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. A.C. Farrell Papers 1910-12: United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto. 78.094c Box 1 of 1, #1290.
officials on the Queen Charlotte Islands began to wane. In the Queen Charlotte Islands, the
Methodist Dr. J.D. Spencer, William Hogan of the Church of England, and the newly appointed
Indian Agent, Thomas Deasy all began to recommend other possible ways of educating the
Haida youth. Indian Agent Deasy’s appeal echoes the sentiment of all interested parties in the
Queen Charlottes:

There is another reason adduced by the Indians for not desiring to send their children to Boarding Schools where a large majority of the scholars belong to the tribes living near the place where the school is located. The few from our outlying settlements are not met in a proper spirit by the Indian children of other reserves, and, being in the large minority, they feel out of place.222

This is not to say Hogan, Deasy and Spencer were against the Industrial Schools’ attempts to instil values of orderliness, cleanliness, and discipline as well as rudimentary English, arithmetic and the initial training of industrial skills. They sought to instil rigour and modern values in Haida children but, they pursued a different strategy of conversion and civilising that no longer separated youth from the community. In the Department of Indian Affairs and the missionary society correspondence, distance was detrimental to missionary and government efforts to civilise. A letter from Rev. J.C. Spencer suggests that Haida education should be conducted in the home village of Skidegate precisely because of the parents resistance to sending their children off to the boarding schools:

I herewith send you the quarterly report of our Day School for Indians.

222 RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1 part 1.
I fear we shall not be able to send any pupils to Coqualeetza or elsewhere for years. Several have sickened at Coqualeetza and died shortly after arriving home. This has had a bad effect.223

Thomas Deasy, the Indian Agent of the new Queen Charlotte Islands Agency, in a similar letter to his department in Ottawa, explain similarly that the Haida choose not to send their children to the Industrial Schools.

When at Skidegate Reserve, Dr. Spencer also felt that some means should be devised to keep the children of the Skidegate Band at their homes. A child had just died, one that had been several years in the Coquleetza Boarding School. Dr. Spencer said that it would be almost impossible to send any children to Coquleetza School, for some time now, on account of the death of this girl - the Indians considering that it is too far away and they have no means of quick communication should the children in the boarding school become ill.224

The Methodist missionary B.C. Freeman summed up the problems that the Haida experienced with the Boarding school.

Finally, our children would remain at home, and not as is now sometimes the case, become alienated from our society by being sent to institutions outside of our influence. Even when sent to distant "homes" of our own denomination, after a number of years they return to their people with their sympathies utterly alienated from the old life, and unprepared for taking it up again among them. For all these reasons we keenly feel the need of such an institution, and trust the need may be shortly met.225

223 Spencer, T.E.E. Shore Papers.
224 Deasy, RG 10 vol6402, file 828-1 part 1.
225 Freeman, p. 30.
References to home and the importance of community are implicit in both Spencer's and Deasy's reports, and explicit in Freeman's. Yet they write of a community that existed rather than the idealised or utopian vision of community that underlay much of what the industrial schools attempted to achieve. Rather, the missionaries and Agents in the Charlottes aimed to instil in pupils a more stable sense of home which was tied to their communities and a family relation that was rooted in place. Industrial boarding schools create a sense of home for the Haida by extracting them from their communities and in this way, the industrial school abstracted the relationships of the individual to the community while trying to redefine those relationships according to the values of Christianity and industry. Home and community in the industrial school became synonymous with cleanliness, order, economy, efficiency, and honesty, as stated by Whittington above. Freeman, however argued that these relationships in the industrial school are alienating to the individual and are in fact detrimental to the creation of a sense of place bound to the relationship of home. Freeman, Spencer and Deasy offered instead a reading of home that valued the importance of linking the pupil to the older community rather than trying to separate them. They attempted to instil this sense of home in different educational systems, most particularly the day school (fig. 67).

To the same end, the missionaries and Indian Agent tried to cultivate local industry by converting the Natives into agriculturists. A prospect that seemed viable in the Queen Charlotte

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226 On page twenty nine of his book, The Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, Freeman describes the arrival and departure of teachers at the Skidegate mission, which gives insight into the difference of teachers posted to the missions and the high turnover of teachers as well as giving insight into the perogatives of the missionaries to change the Haida.

In 1894 Miss K.H. Ross was appointed to the charge of the Skidegate mission school, where for three years she did faithful, earnest work. In the fall of 1897 she was succeeded by Miss V.M. Lawson, who continued her devoted labour until compelled by declining health in the summer of 1901 to regretfully resign her charge. Her successor, Miss S. M. Stevenson, is earnestly endeavoring, while instructing in secular knowledge, to impart principles of truth and righteousness, which alone will make that knowledge a real
Islands because of the availability of arable land. Again, mission reports commented on the prospects for agriculture around Skidegate. “The people here are prosperous -- They are settling down to agricultural pursuits and to the various industries, which the rapid development of the country necessitates.”

By converting the Haida into farmers, the missionaries hoped to instil wholesome and honest values in a person, and to keep Natives tied to the reserve thus preventing them from leaving to work in the canneries for four to six months of the year. The endeavour, however, proved unsuccessful, partly because the Haida and other coastal Native peoples were not accustomed to pastoral life and therefore didn’t adjust to the sedentary way of life farming represented. The Haida continued with seasonal occupations located off the reserve.

Although limited, the efforts to introduce agriculture did meet with some success. The Methodists attempted to establish local ventures which would provide secure, local employment whilst giving them control of the modes of production. These enterprises were hoped not only to provide industrial skills, but also instil values and work ethics associated with the responsibilities of such enterprises. Their venture, incorporated under the title "Skidegate Oil and Trading Company," (fig. 68) was structured as a joint stock company, consisting of members of the community.

Founded with $10,000, cash by the lay-church worker William Oliver, the Reverend B.C. Freeman, and the Haida the plant produced dogfish oil, an industrial lubricant, and it eventually canned clams and "other various lines". The missionaries acted as intermediaries, providing advice on business matters, and doing the book-keeping and blessing. Our great hope is in the younger people who, growing up in purer surroundings, and with knowledge with which to combat superstitions, will be comparatively free from those evil influences.

227 Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept. T.E.E. Shore Papers 1907-10: United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto. 78.093c Box 7 of 10. #526/1.
228 Spencer, T.E.E. Shore Papers.
correspondence. Haida fishers caught the dogfish and took it to the refinery at Skidegate Landing to be manufactured. The plant’s "substantial and well finished wharf [ran] out on piles some three hundred feet to deep water". The main building of the processing plant was forty by sixty feet, and contained two parts: one part contained two huge retorts, the refining and storage tanks, and the steam hoist and car used in the process of refining the oil. The other part contained the crates, racks, hand-soldering machines, and other apparatus for canning clams. At the rear was the boiler and wood sheds, the little blacksmith shop with its outfit, the water tank with its half-mile-long flume, and three cabins for the accommodation of the employees. The Haida constructed the entire plant and by the turn of the century had no debt.

In addition to the economic benefits of the plant, the enterprise had a positive social influence, as described by Freeman:

Besides the direct profit from the products, the Indians, thus independent, are able to secure fair rates for their labours as fishermen, which could not otherwise be the case. Nearly all the men and a number of women are shareholders in the company, and naturally feel a commendable pride in the enterprise.

In the eyes of the Methodist Missionaries, the creation of the plant did two things for the Skidegates. It fostered industriousness, discipline and productivity - all of which were central to the modernisation of the Haida. Whittington summed up the adaptation of the Haida in one of his reports to Toronto: “The Indian is also learning the value of money very rapidly. One does not

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229 Spencer, T.E.E. Shore Papers.
230 Freeman's account of the Haida Indians as well as Missionary correspondence provided a fair, but vague, description of the formation of the Skidegate Oil works, but the account lacks any insight into the personal dimension of the operation.
231 Freeman, p. 27.
now see it spent foolishly, and in such childish ways as formerly."232 Also, the plant gave the Haida independence and a rare opportunity in British Columbia's early industrialising economy, which was characterised by harsh and often unfair employment conditions. In another account Freeman elaborates on these benefits: "[the plant] opens for the people a field for independent labour in the manufacture of dog-fish oil and the canning of clams, which has thus far proved very remunerative."233 The oil plant gave Skidegates disposable incomes, which enabled them to accumulate the modern goods found in Skidegate Village, which had a local co-operative general store that accompanied the dogfish oil works, "carrying usually from $1,500 to $2,500 worth of stock...".234

The dog-fish season keeps the men employed from the middle of April to the last of October, with a break of two months, June and July, for the salmon canning season, during which many men and women cross to the Skeena River with the hope of increasing their gains. After the close of the dog-fishing, the salmon and halibut must be prepared for winter consumption...The three winter months, with occasional breaks for halibut fishing, are spent in providing firewood cutting cordwood, making canoes and boats, building and completing odd jobs which accumulate during the year.235

Despite its success, the dogfish oilyery was eventually shut down. The wide circulation and easy access to petroleum based oil products displaced the market for fish and animal oils. The facilities at Skidegate Landing were sold off to Sir George Doughty of the British Columbia Fishing Co.,236 who sought to incorporate the facilities into his new operations. Thus, the

232 United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto, Methodist Church Missionary Society, Foreign Dept., Sutherland Papers, 78.094c box 5 of 11, 1900-1910, p. 2.
233 Freeman, p. 27.
234 Freeman, p. 27.
235 Freeman, p. 27.
236 Prospectus for the British Columbia Fishing Company, 1912.
chapter on the earliest, most successful Haida run industry came to a close. Few ventures matched its co-operation or idealism. A shift in the coastal economy towards capital-intensive industrial operations, restricted the opportunities of smaller community-based operations.

Conclusion

The Methodist Missions in Skidegate and the Church of England Mission in Masset had a profound affect on the Haida and were instrumental in the ‘modernisation’ of these communities. It is difficult to make generalisations about what that modernisation meant or how it was manifested. Representations of the Haida in missionary literature gives insight into how the missionaries framed this people in the terms of the primitive and civilisation. They used descriptions of the body and the nature and appearance of the communities, as measures of the Haidas’ advancement. However to over rely on these two conventions, would lead to an oversimplification of the relationship of the missionaries and the Haida. In a similar way, missionary dispatches were bound up in idealistic, middle class assumptions and values that attempted to promote in ‘advancement’ amongst the Haida. Missionary dispatches were much more mundane in their descriptions, of daily events. They portrayed their efforts in terms of progress focusing on their adaptation of modern habits of hygiene, medical treatments or their industriousness in the efforts of mission schools. The commonality in all these representations of the Haida is the framing of mission work in terms of progress. And implicit in these portraits is the image of the missionaries successfully transforming the Haida. What missionary literature
does not elaborate on is the complexity of the relationship between the missionaries and the Haida. The missionary dispatches give some insight into the complexity of the Native / missionary relations. These letters reveal the influence of the missionaries on the two Haida reserves to be one not of direct control or domination, but rather, one of indirect influence in which the missionaries mediated in the everyday life of the Haida. The influence was constantly contested and questioned. It might be more accurate to describe the Haida’s and the Church’s relationship as one of a negotiation between two parties. The missionaries did bring biases, stereotypes and specific strategies to the reserve in their attempt to control and transform the Haida and other indigenous peoples, but the missionaries had to adapt their strategies to be effective. Although the missionaries introduced many ideas and methods to the Haida, to attribute their modernisation purely to the influence of the missionaries would deny the Haida agency. Going beyond the images and first appearance in various representations could give a more complex narrative of progress. However, one can only speculate on this as there are no written records of the Haidas’ own initiation of self advancement – only allusions to it between the lines of documents, which this chapter has highlighted. It is likely that the Haida adapted and even appropriated modern western culture rather than passively accepting it. In all likelihood what happened was a cultural exchange and adaptation as the missionaries and the Haida negotiated and re-negotiated cultural practise (fig. 69). One can see evidence of such hybridisation of culture in the graveyard on Old Masset and Skidegate (fig. 70) where the headstones of Haida who have died since the arrival of the missionaries stand. The burial of bodies is in the ground rather than in burial boxes behind house posts or trees. This was one of the first transformations in the Haida communities, which resulted from the presence of the missionaries, and it seems to personify the relationship between the Haida and missionaries. The
Skidegate mission graveyard seems typical in its appearance and configuration – wooden crosses and granite headstones marking graves. But on close inspection one notices a number of these headstones, from the last century, which are in the shape of clan figures which one might have found on a totem pole. Here the Haida have adapted old meanings of celebration and respect to new mediums and practices. What this suggests is that rather than thinking about Haida ‘progress’ as one of transformation on a continuum of primitivism and civilisation, the adaptation of western practices in many ways reconfirmed old family and clan relationships, yet under a different guise.
Figure 67. Masset reserve day school.
(source: photo by H. Smith, found in D. Jenness, "Indian Vikings of the North-west Coast.
Canadian Geographical Journal).
Figure 68. Skidegate Oilery, owned and operated for a time by the Skidegate Haida. *(source: BCARS).*
Figure 69. A photo entitled “The Gathering of People” from the turn of the century after the banning of the potlatch. (source: United Church Archive – Toronto).
Figure 70. The Masset Graveyard -- headstones with totem figures express an adaptation and hybridisation of cultures.

(source: photo by H. Smith, found in D. Jenness, "Indian Vikings of the North-west Coast." Canadian Geographical Journal).
In 1912, Ashton Green visited the Queen Charlotte Islands on behalf of the Department of Land and Works and surveyed the Skidegate reserve (fig. 71). Although his map appears to be a faithful representation, on closer inspection it gives insight into the ambiguities that existed for the Haida. At first glance it lays out the Skidegate reserve as a grid, spaced, and paced out — in a configuration parallel to any modern village along the coast. Here one sees the effective assertion of the modern state upon the Haida. By mapping the Skidegate Reserve, the Haida home is represented in a way that makes this community comprehensible, knowable, and controllable by government agents. Without going there one can estimate at the size of the community and see the measures of ‘progress’: churches, roads, and schools. It is simple to deduce that this map describes assimilation -- but does it? At close inspection the map reveals

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237 Indian lands or reserves, were not a provincial jurisdiction, but in British Columbia it may be fitting that the province mapped the existing reserves, because it is the province’s lack of recognition and policies that have presented the signing of any treaties between First Nations and the Nation-state, but this is not the only reason I bring up this map.
other things. Houses can be seen straying off of the grid, sliding to the sides, overlapping, not conforming to the geometry of the survey. In a way the map’s order seems to have been subverted and with it, perhaps the idea of the assimilated Haida.

While Green was surveying the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Skidegate reserve, a joint federal/provincial Commission, known as the McKenna - McBride Commission (1912 -1916), conducted a series of hearings on the "Indian Problem" -- or more accurately, the question of Indian reserve size in British Columbia. In the first year of the Commission's existence, the members visited the two main Native communities in the Queen Charlotte Islands. The significance of these hearings is not only that they provide insight into the problem of reserve size and allocation in the province, but also that the proceedings constitute a brief moment when an authentic Haida voice can be heard. One such voice is the testimony of Amos Russ (fig. 72) of the Skidegate Indian Council:

As far back as we can remember, without any doubt at all, the Queen Charlotte Islands practically belong to the Indians. It came about after a little while that the Islands were called the Queen Charlotte Islands, but we don't know who gave them that name. As far as we can remember we can claim that the Islands fairly belong to us and as far back as we can remember there was never any treaty with respect to this land, between the government and the Indians. We have never had a fight for the Islands. No nation ever came and fought for them and won them from us. We don't know why the Government took them from us. If we had a Treaty with the Government we would not claim the Islands. When the first Missionaries arrived here, the three principle points they taught us, were these. Don't take things that belong to others. They taught us "love one another" and don't kill anybody. These are the three points they taught us. These things they taught us out of the bible. We are glad that we kept the teachings of the missionaries who taught us these things, and as years have past on and on we have seen and know, that the Government has come in and sold our lands. What can we do? ... Up at the North end of the Island, there used to be villages and villages, right from North Island to the present village of Massett, these villages stood side by side, but at the present there is only one village there, namely Massett. North Island was so named by the Indians, and now the government have called it Langara. I can say that myself, if I took a piece of land and
claimed it without any title to it, I would naturally call it another name and that is the case with North Island.238

Russ’ testimony is poignant. His statement recounts the Haida’s grievance with the state and their desire for a resolution of their claims. It is helpful to hold onto Russ’ words while considering what sort of space a reserve is and how the reserve embodies the First Nations position within Canadian society and their relationship with the provincial and federal governments.

The relevance of Green’s survey and the McKenna / McBride Commission becomes more apparent when put into the context of the Queen Charlotte Islands as a dramatically changing place. Settlers arrived and began raising fences, clearing land and planting gardens while logging or mining operations began cutting down timber or extracting minerals. This ‘progress’ had profound implications for the Haida who until 1910 had been virtually the sole inhabitants of the islands. Concepts of property began affecting the way people related to the natural landscape, which in turn altered the way the Haida related to place. Lands that the Haida had use of and hereditary claim to suddenly became alienated. Reserves, which had been laid out some thirty years earlier, suddenly took on new meaning as intensive methods of resource extraction and cultivation were introduced to the islands. At the same time an Indian Agent on the Islands, and the creation of the Queen Charlotte Islands Agency of the Department of Indian Affairs signifies the changing meaning of place.

In many ways the role of the Indian Agent can be compared to that of the missionaries. The Indian Agent was sent among the Natives to aid in their assimilation into Canadian society, and to ensure the existence of modern institutions and facilities -- such as medicine and schools --

- on the reserves. The agent, like the missionary, operated in the field far from his superiors, and both parties relied upon a flow of correspondence which faced and informed the superiors of challenges effecting the Hairdos’ well being. However, where the missionaries sought to elevate the Haida by instilling Christian, middle class values, the Department of Indian Affairs to assimilate them into Canadian society through the institution of modern, liberal citizenship. To achieve this, the Indian Agent would have to guide the Haida on the path of progress, acting as a patron mediating and intervening on their behalf when they transgressed the law. The context of the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1912 posed a unique challenge for Indian agent however, as capital and settler had recently arrived on the Islands, but at the same time it articulates the increasingly rigid boundaries between Indian and state, reserve and crown land, ward and citizen, containment and freedom.

**Making the Boundaries: Surveying and Mapping of Reserves in the Queen Charlotte Islands:**

In June and July of 1887, Peter O'Reilly, the Reserve Commissioner of British Columbia, travelled with a small party to the Queen Charlotte Islands with the specific purpose of surveying the boundaries of the Haida’s reserves. Until O'Reilly’s arrival, the Haida’s relationship with Whites be they fur traders or missionaries was one of two equal parties exchanging and negotiating terms. However, the creation of the reserves in the islands and the eventual arrival of the Indian Agent signalled a new relationship between the Haidas and society, characterised by the state’s intervention in the daily lives of the Haida.
Figure 71. Ashton Green’s map of the Skidegate reserve from 1912. 
(source: BCARS).
Figure 72. Haida leader and Methodist Church worker, Amos Russ.

(United Church Archives – Toronto).
O'Reilly's mandate was to establish reserves for the well being of the province’s First Nations. However, most of the reserves proved to be inadequate in size and land was of poor quality. O'Reilly's ability to interpret the First Nations' relationship to place was important when considering the reserve boundaries – he based his decisions on the history, tradition, or culture of the people. But in the Queen Charlottes, O'Reilly only considered whether or not spaces of indigenous land use could be translated into modern concepts of land use. A number of reserves were based around the ‘gardens’ the Haida used to grow the potatoes previously introduced by Russians several decades earlier. However, these plots were not European gardens, which were constantly weeded and protected so as to maximise the crop output. Instead they were planted in the spring and dug up some months later for consumption. The produce was only a supplement to the Haida diet. Their staples were from the sea or gathered from “wild” locations which would be harvested from year to year. The choice of reserve location failed to account for the locational constraints of the Haida’s traditional food procurement. The exceptions to this are a few small weir sites on a handful of rivers near Masset. The reserves that O'Reilly paced out were not illegitimate, yet they predominantly assigned on the basis of cultivation of food, (or those food procurement techniques recognisable to the European eye). The desire to draw out ‘similarities’ or ‘potentially advanced’ methods directed and legitimated the choice of reserve locations. O'Reilly’s reserves excluded lands used by the Haida in hunting and gathering. These practices were considered primitive by the state.

239 In many ways, British Columbia's Indian policies have been attributed to the efforts and vision of one man -- Joseph Trutch. He served as British Columbia’s Commissioner of Land and Works between 1864 and 1871, and continued in public service until the 1880s. O'Reilly had worked with Joseph Trutch before 1871 and continued from 1880 till 1898, and there little doubt that Trutch's racist perspective on the provinces First Nations effected O'Reilly's drawing up of reserves, especially considering O'Reilly was married to Trutch's sister.
Thus, O'Reilly's framing of the reserves was not only an attempt to constitute a modern Haida place or homeland. The legitimacy of Native's citizenry was questioned as rational land use became the measure citizenship. Thus, the reserve was seen as a means of transforming the Haida, at the same time, it provided a site in which government administration could operate.

visibility, separation and the location of the Agency building

It was not until 1910, in a climate of economic and social change, that the Department of Indian Affairs established the Queen Charlotte Agency. Before then, the Queen Charlotte Islands were part of a larger agency based in Metlakatla on the Mainland. The Agency administration of this extensive territory was difficult because it had two language groups, a multitude of settlements and countless temporary camps, not to mention the increasing number of canneries that brought Natives from throughout the coastal region into the district. As a result, the Agent could only attend to the concerns of a small part of the Native population and concerns of the Haida were often forgotten. However, the department anticipated that the onslaught of settlers and the development resulting from the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific railroad would cause upheaval in Aboriginal communities on the north coast. They also realised that the existing department infrastructure would prove to be too small and scattered to be effective in mediating change. The need for a more obvious government presence was amplified by the growing dissent amongst the disgruntled First Nations, who began asserting their claims to

240 One such entry in his journal differentiates the small resource reserves, set aside for gardening, from the larger
resources and demanding compensation for disenfranchisement implicit in the reserve system. In response to these changes and challenges, the Department of Indian Affairs established a number of new Indian agencies by breaking up existing ones into more easily administered territories. The creation of the Queen Charlotte Agency seemed logical because of the cultural distinctiveness of the Haida and the isolation of the Islands.

The Agency's creation caused a significant transformation in the life of the Haida as new relationships between this people and the state became securely established. The Department of Indian Affairs had perceived its role as protecting the Natives from the effects of rapid industrialisation. Simultaneously, the department sought to assist in the modernisation of the Haida on the reserve, the culmination of which was to be the assimilation of the Haida into non-native society. The intervention of the Department of Indian Affairs in the daily activities of the Haida increased as the Haida and the administration of the department fostered a relationship. This increased intervention also corresponded with the declining role played by Missionaries. One can see the formation of this relationship in the correspondence between Deasy and the department headquarters in Ottawa.

Upon Deasy's arrival in the Islands in the spring of 1910, he concluded that the department and the federal government had no clear presence on the Islands, and his first goal was to change this. The largest hurdle that faced the department was that the two primary Haida villages of Skidegate and Masset were over 100 kilometres apart. By locating on one reserve the department would severely compromise their influence over the other village. Initially Deasy

village site of 'Me-ag-wan': "Two small Islands, connected with this Reserve at low water, on which are Indian gardens, are included in this reserve."

The Nishg'a had been advocating their land claims since 1886, and the Squamish and other tribes had sent a delegation to appeal to the Crown. Also at this time was the Barrier agreements over fishing practices of aboriginals on the upper Skeena.
thought he might find a compromise by establishing a centralised Dominion Government in the
hamlet of New Masset, a couple of miles away from the Masset reserve, where an agency
building could also service the region in a variety of ways, such as immigration or fisheries. Deasy also favoured New Masset because mail arrived there every two weeks on the steamer, making his communication with the department that much easier. He looked into purchasing
land for an agency office from the Anchor Investment Company in the most significant non-
native settlement; however, he was denied the authorisation, and the department made it clear to
Deasy that they intended to have the Agency building on one of the reserves. Deasy changed his
tack and in 1910 he reported on the prospects of the agency office and residence on the Masset
reserve to the Secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs.

In looking over the Reserve, and in consultation with the local Missionary, a site has been
selected along the water front which suite the Clergymen, the Indians and myself. It is
almost midway, along the trail from the new Town site and the residential section of the
reserve. It faces on Masset Inlet and is Reserve property. I am informed by prominent
Indians remaining here that there will be no objection to building on the ground selected,
which is fairly well cleared and unoccupied. Locating on this ground would place the
Agent in a position to keep an eye on all persons passing from the New Town site to the
Reserve, both by land and water.

Deasy's description of a location for the Agency buildings gives insight into the relationship of
the Department of Indian Affairs to Natives and in the Queen Charlottes, and the role of the
Agent to the Haida, but his report also reveals the strategies used to achieve the department's
objective of assimilating the Haida. By choosing an important and specific location on the
reserve the Agent could guarantee control by 'keeping an eye' on the Haida. His report to the

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242 RG 10 vol. 3808, file 53, 780-57, Feb 7 1910, A. W. Powell Supt. Intendent of Indian Affairs
Department Secretary, J.D. McLean, some months later, Deasy was more explicit about the prospect of a good site for the agency building from which to observe the potential movement of alcohol onto the reserve. He wrote:

We have a beautiful location; easily cleared and fenced, with good land and the buildings are located where all must pass when going and coming from the new Town site, where they now have a license to sell intoxicants.²⁴⁵

Deasy's presence on the reserve enabled the department to exercise control over the Haida by placing their activities under scrutiny. The Haida would never know whether he or she was being looked at any moment; but the same individual must be aware of the possibility. The administration of the Masset reserve and the Haida people by the government was achieved by placing the individual passer-by under the potential gaze of Deasy. On the reserve, the effectiveness of surveillance required that the department not only place the Agency building on the reserve, but that the landscape of the reserve be re-arranged to suite specific strategies of visibility.

To ensure an effective surveillance of the Haida via the Agency building, Deasy set out to construct a new road on the reserve that could handle more traffic than the existing footpaths. More importantly, the construction of these new roads meant a re-routing of the traffic past the Agency buildings.²⁴⁶ The road would ensure that the Haida would walk past the department building when leaving or entering the reserve. In this way, location and visibility create an ordering and control that is dependent upon the re-configuration of the reserve and the formation

of new relationships of the Haida to the state. The effectiveness of the administration of the reserve by the Department of Indian Affairs depended not upon a continuous presence of Deasy overseeing all activities on the Islands; rather, it relied upon a presence that was minimal, being as efficient as possible in its ability to separate natives from non-natives. The effectiveness of the department's positioning and observation resides not only in the Indian Agent's presence as an active observer on the reserve, but more importantly, in the fact that people would believe that they were being observed as they passed by the administration office (fig. 73, 74). In this way, the gaze was "unverifiable". The strategy of the department's surveillance attempted to separate the settlers from the Haida community because with the arrival settlers and capital also came the negative influences of modern industrial society. Deasy was very much aware of this problem and in 1910 he wrote to the department in Ottawa about the relevance of separating the two populations:

This location would be of benefit to the Reserve and Town site, adding to the building along the Inlet and putting the Indian Agent in close touch with both the White residents and the Indians. (This location is on cleared land and is so near to the town site that it almost forms a part thereof.)

The largest problem for the Department of Indian Affairs with the arrival of settlers, and in particular industrial workers, was the increase in alcohol on the Islands and its appearance on the reserve, (alcohol being contraband on reserves according to the Indian Act). The Agency building on the reserve was effective only in that it was efficient and economical to the department and successful in separating the Haida from the detrimental forces of progress which were rapidly changing the Island. Once the Islands began to industrialise and the Haida began to
work and interact with people off the reserve. The department's ability to influence the Haida was radically compromised. The rapid arrival of settlers beginning in the summer of 1911 exasperated the situation. The department needed to establish techniques of control which extended beyond the confines of the reserve to where the Haida mingled with new settler communities. Deasy's sentiment is summed up in a report to Ottawa in which he articulates his concern for the arrival of transient, industrial workers in the islands and their influence on the Haida:

They associate with the Whites and appear to imagine that they must adopt some of their evil ways. We are now at the point where the influences of the evil disposed Whites are being felt by the Indian of this Island. We now have saloons within a few miles of our Reserves; there is no police restraint at all.\textsuperscript{248}

Ironically, it was the arrival of industry and the 'advancements of civilisation' that brought these, in Deasy's words, evils to the Haida. Deasy suggested that there was no effective manner of controlling the inflow of alcohol, as there was no police in the Islands at this time. He did claim that the Haida leader, Alfred Adams, was trying to restrain his community from indulging, as much as the "old and ignorant Indians", to which Deasy seemed a little surprised, stating that "the liquor habit is one that appeals to the Indian", but his concern is directed towards "those who, through moral training and education, should know better."\textsuperscript{249}

With the establishment of saloons close to the Reserve, Deasy's ability to administer became radically compromised. He had to turn to advocate more explicit forms of restraint and control, as latent strategies like the Agency building became ineffective; Deasy attests: "Law

\textsuperscript{247} Thomas Deasy, RG 10 vol. 3808, file 53, 780-57, July 13, 1910.
\textsuperscript{248} RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1 part1; letter from Dec 12, 1911.
and order is not enforced and it is to be deplored that the Indians are obtaining intoxicants.”

Deasy expressed concern to his superiors in Ottawa, apparently frustrated by his inability to act according to department policy, claiming: “I cannot arrest men and try them too.”

The solution that Deasy chose was to petition the provincial government for a Provincial Police constable to guarantee the “preservation of law and order.”

An incident in the autumn of 1912 reflected the shifting situation on the Islands. The local newspaper, The Leader, featured an article entitled, “Chinks Fined For Selling Whiskey.”

The article explains the attempt of government officials to punish individuals selling liquor illegally to two Haida women.

At Naden Harbour Saturday Hi Lun and Ah Dog, Chinamen, were heavily fined by Magistrate Harrison before whom they appeared for selling whiskey to Louisa Davis, Emily Harding, klootchmen. Hi Lun was the most pernicious and was fined $125. Ah Dog was let go with a fine of $70. The Magistrate announced the penalties for this offence hereafter would be heavier.

Subsequent newspapers ran similar stories that updated the punishments of the convicted.

Chinamen Imprisoned. -- Two Chinamen from the cannery at Alliford Bay have been convicted of supplying intoxicants to Indians and have been taken to Jedway to serve two months' imprisonment. They were tried by magistrate Sandilands and prosecuted by Constable J.F. MacDonald.

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249 RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1 part; letter from Dec 12, 1911.
250 RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1 part; letter from Dec 12, 1911.
251 RG 10 vol. 6402, file 828-1 part; letter from Dec 12, 1911.
252 Deasy, correspondence Dec 12 1911, RG 10 vol 6402, file 828-1 part 1.
A final story in *The Leader* of October 3rd stated that, "[i]here Indian women were fined $20 each for drunkenness. The case were tried by C. Harrison, S.M., and Indian Agent Deasy".256

The ability of the reserve system's strategies to bring the Haida under the government's watch and to separate this people from the negative influences of modern industrial society dissipated the further the individual was from the reserve. Working in the canneries or travelling to Victoria allowed the Haida the opportunity to intermingle with different cultures, and share different experiences, values, and beliefs. Although it might be assumed that this intercourse could contribute to the assimilation of the Haida into modern society, missionaries and the department of Indian Affairs regarded this intermingling as diluting the effectiveness of the reserve system and compromising the department's aspirations to maintain a bounded, protected space in which it could cultivate its own vision of modern values and habits in the Haida.

*a visible example: establishing the norm of an agrarian Haida "home":*

With the arrival of the modern economy on the Islands, Deasy's inability to maintain control over the Haida's interaction with non-natives as the Haida were drawn away from the Charlottes for work, compromised the department's influence in the lives of the Haida. As a response, Deasy attempted a different strategy that would locate the Haida on the reserve and make them self sufficient by attempting to turn them into 'productive' agriculturists.

256 The system of justice on the Northcoast developed as settlements were established and populations grew. A magistrate, C. Harrison, was assigned to the islands and magistrate Sandilands toured the Northcoast region. Deasy's role, as Indian Agent, aid the state to represent the Haida in such incedents, but more than this, his task was to surveille beyond the boundaries of the reserve.
Figure 73. Photograph of Deasy and the Indian Agent’s Office behind him.  
(Queen Charlotte Museum).
Figure 74. Deasy’s map of the reserve and the location of the Agency buildings in relation to the new foot path and the Haida and non Haida communities. *(Department of Indian Affairs, BCARS).*
Up until that time, the Haida, like many of the aboriginal people on the coast, had been involved in the fishing industry. This work was relatively lucrative for Natives because most were already skilled fishers and fish processors. It was typical at this time for entire Native communities to move en masse from one cannery to another over the course of the season, often being away from the Islands for over six months of the year (fig. 75). For the department and the missionaries, however, the canneries were perceived as immoral places which were detrimental to the Haida’s well being.

Missionaries in Skidegate and Masset had contended with the canneries for over twenty years before Deasy's arrival and the only solution devised by mission societies on tight budgets was to follow the Haida to the canneries. The department's strategies were different. Their influence and control was territorially based, centring around the reserve. The department's rationale for promoting agriculture as an alternative to the fishery was threefold: first, they saw agriculture as a means to integrate the natives into the modern economy; second, they subscribed to the agrarian myth that agriculture was a good and honest existence which could cultivate strong morals and character, third, they believed that farming would keep Natives bound to the reserve. Thus, the inscription of the reserve as a sedentary home was inspired by pastoral and Arcadian ideals. In a report during his second year on the Masset reserve, Deasy reported:

I believe we can show them that it is more profitable for them to stop at home and till the soil, than it is to go away and become demoralised. They are increasing in numbers, and would continue, if we can keep where they will always be under surveillance. We have them interested in the work and will do all we can for them. 257

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257 RG 10 vol. 3808, file 53, 780-57 Feb 15, 1911.
Deasy suggested that the Haida were not sufficiently 'developed' morally or culturally to contend with the negative influences found in modern industrial work environments such as canneries. The assumption was that they needed to be sheltered from the worst influences of modern life and that these circumstances, Natives could not progress without the patronising assistance of the Department.

Deasy’s intention by keeping them on the reserve was to instil western agrarian values of home. The rationale of establishing an Arcadian home for the Haida became explicit in one of Deasy’s reports, when he remarked, “I am willing to give any time at my disposal to make the agency all that it should be, and to aid the Indians in learning to become self-supporting in their own homes.” An important assumption comes out in Deasy’s comments. His intention to make the Haida self supporting percolates into much of the literature and discourses of the day on aboriginal issues and policies. Self-sufficiency is a liberal, middle class ideal which corresponds with a particular view of the citizen and the ideal characteristic of the rational individual’s participation in society. The Haida’s ability to achieve these ideals and their way of life, be it agrarian or labourer, became a measure for the Haida’s participation in Canadian society which was based on their conception of land and the attempt to make it productive (in essence land was commodified and the idea that the value of the land was rooted in productivity and progress). These views and aspirations became apparent in Deasy's correspondence with the department:

I am allowed all the land I may require, for garden purposes -- that was the reason for suggesting that the Government might start an experimental garden, to show the Indians that their land is valuable, and to keep them at work on their Reserve.259

Central to the Haida’s ‘progress’ was their ability to value land in modern terms. Another of Deasy’s reports some months later reiterated this frustrated desire to instil a perception of land: "[t]he Indians know little or nothing of gardening, and they have hundreds of acres of good land, going to waste".260 In the same letter he stated the importance of turning the Haida into farmers so as to keep them on the reserve in the summer. "It is a shame to see the good land, going to waste here, and it is a way of keeping the Indians at home in the Summer."261 This is not to suggest that the Haida lacked any conception of land-value; nor is it an attempt to put forward the naive proposition that natives had an altruistic notion of territory and ownership. On the contrary, the First Nations of the North Pacific coast had a complex notion of property that gave title of land to families and individuals based on an intricate clan and inheritance system. Land was passed from one generation to another within a family and the guardian of the clan's entitlement extended the privileges on behalf of that clan. This system, however, contrasts with the modern British land system introduced to Canada, where land was entrusted to the sovereign, embodied in the Crown, and rights to cultivate or exchange were extended to the individual, but the individual can transfer ownership because of lands commodification and basic value is only found in the potential it has and the intention of not letting it go to waste.

Deasy’s plan of turning the Haida into farmers encountered problems when he attempted to re-allocate gardens on the reserve. He discovered that the Haida already had a rigid

261 RG 10 vol. 3808, file 53, 780-57, November 1, 1910.
conception of property and ownership within the boundaries of the reserve. This seriously retarded Deasy's plans to divide up the reserve into agricultural plots. So rigid was the Haida possession of land that when Deasy initially planned to put the department's experimental garden on the best agricultural land near the village, he found that the land holders were not interested in releasing it to him. In a report to J.D. MacLean at the department in Ottawa, he wrote:

The best land, on the Reserve, in the hands of the Indians is claimed by certain individuals. When I first tried to arrange with them for a site, I was referred to this individual, and told to arrange with them. I knew that meant a money consideration and selected a place where no individual made any claim to possession.262

Thus, Deasy's plans for an effective and productive farming plot were compromised because he had difficulty finding an appropriate site near the Haida village which might inspire them. Instead, he located the department's garden near the Agency building at the other end of the reserve far from the Haida but in view when the Haida passed by on their way to the new village of Masset.

It is difficult to determine the success of Deasy's attempts to convert the Haida to agriculturists, with the end of fostering a sedentary life. However, Deasy's efforts do reflect the new relationships between the Haida and the state in the first decades of this century and the government's strategy through the reserve system and agencies to separate Natives from non-Natives in the attempt to 'elevate' them. The episode also illustrates the difficulties the department faced during the settlement of the Queen Charlotte Islands associated with a European and Canadian sense of home that was more compatible with western ideals of citizenship.
a Haida response to 'home', land, and enfranchisement at the McKenna McBride Commission:

With the modernisation of the north coast of British Columbia came new transportation networks, settlers and capital. At the same time, due to the pressures of rapid change, the natives of northern British Columbia began to assert themselves and voice their opposition to the inadequacies of the reserve system. The McKenna - McBride Commission was an attempt to pacify this growing native dissent. It was a joint provincial and federal commission "to settle all differences between the Governments... respecting Indian lands and Indian affairs generally in the Province of British Columbia", and to make "final adjustment of all matters relating to Indian affairs in the Province of British Columbia." The Commission toured the province, visiting various native communities, holding hearings mainly to determine the appropriateness of the size of the Reserves. The Commission records offer a unique opportunity to read the responses of the Haida, and their claims to entitlement and provide a rare opportunity to hear the Haida's voice.

Although the Commission was attempting to establish suitable sizes for reserves, the question of a suitable Native 'home' as a site of potential citizenship, underlay the hearings (fig. 76, 77, 78) The concerns of the Haida in this regard was accurately summed up in the testimony of James Sterling, of Skidegate. He stated:

262 RG 10 vol. 3808, file 53, 780-57 Spring, 1911.
Figure 75. Snap shot of an entire Haida community arriving back from the canneries in 1911. 
(source: Mrs Frank Van Valkenberg, in K. Danzell’s Queen Charlotte Islands vol.1).
Figure 76. Reserves in the Queen Charlotte Islands surveyed by Peter O'Reilly in the 1880s and subsequently mapped for the McKenna McBride Commission. The small size of the reserves relative to the size of the Islands represents O'Reilly's bias against the province's indigenous population. (source: BCARS).
Figure 77. Map of the Skidegate Reserve mapped by O'Reilly in 1880s. Note the reference to resources and agricultural potential which coloured the surveys by the government of the day which sought to alienate natives from their traditional modes of existence and promote a modern occupation of farming, with the ends being the assimilation of B.C. natives. *(source: BCARS).*
Figure 78. Map of the Masset Reserve used by the Department of Indian Affairs after the formation of the Queen Charlotte Agency in 1908. (source: BCARS).
I know what the Indian Reserves are all right, but although they are reserves set aside for the use of the Indians we are not allowed to do as we like on our own reserves. We have been somewhat cramped and crushed up and we cannot move round as we want to.264

Sterling, on behalf of the Haida, is telling the government that the reserve system did not provide an adequate environment to foster progress and advancement. A clearer sense of the Haida definition of place is evident in the petition submitted to the Commission by Alfred Adams and other Masset leaders at the hearings held in 1912 at the Grand Trunk Inn in Hazelton. Their petition explicitly stated the desire for a home and enough land that would allow for autonomy and self determination. Further, they argued that the current allocation of land had cut them off from their pre-reserve homeland, be they places where they harvested food or cultural and village sites. Adams asserted, that,

until a few years ago, we were in sole possession of the Queen Charlotte Islands, with our homes scattered at the mouths of every river and stream, and with hunting-grounds on the shores of the coast-line. Our forefathers kept out all invaders from Russia, China and Japan, and saved this county to become what it now is, a portion of the Dominion of Canada... They neither bought nor conquered our islands, and made no treaty with us. In the Colony days, we were not molested in any way, living where we pleased, fishing and hunting everywhere.265

To make his point about the illegitimacy of the alienation of the Haida from their traditional lands, Adams questions the legitimacy of the reserve system and more specifically O'Reilly’s allocation of reserves on the Islands in addition to his criticism of the patronising actions of the


265 Canada. 1913. "Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia, Evidence -- Queen Charlotte Agency." Originals held in National Archives. stenograph, University of British Columbia House of First Nations Library, RG10, Volume 7150, File 901/3-8-1.
Canadian government in relegating the Haida to reserves. By bringing into question the surveys and recent allocations of lands for settler pre-emption on the Islands, Adams, on behalf of the Haida, interrogated not only the fairness of these allocations, but also the very legitimacy of the Crown's domain in the Queen Charlotte Islands. Adams continued:

In 1887, Peter O'Reilly came to our islands. We had, in the meantime, been imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and considered it proper to move to two central towns to be educated and Christianised. Mr. O'Reilly arrived to apportion Reserves. Our people were away at the hunting grounds and canneries, with the exception of a few old ignorant men. They did not know how to bring before the then Commission the lands we occupied and which were our homes. Anything satisfied these old men, and we were apportioned five acres a piece, of which the thousands of square miles which formerly knew no other owners, and for which our forefathers fought and died. None of the West Coast settlement on Graham Island were given to us, and we have no place on that long coast, once home of many Haidas that we can call reserves. It was fit only for the Indians then. Now it is thought valuable, and is staked; but not receded on, by the Whites.266

Adams address to the Commission exposes the biases that coloured O'Reilly's surveys of the reserves and how he (O'Reilly) gathered the knowledge that informed his survey. According to Adams, O'Reilly based the reserve locations on the statements of a handful of "ignorant old men", as well as on the claims made by a handful of white inhabitants on the islands, rather than getting consensus from the Haida leaders or community. Further, Adams disputed the size of the reserves, which were based on the census of the current population -- dramatically smaller than historic levels due to the devastation of the small pox epidemic -- and granting families between five and ten acres, considerably smaller than the land grant given to settlers in the province which were often ten to twenty times the size of the Indian allocations. Adams continues:

266 RG 10, vol. 7150, File 901/3-8-1.
[there] was, surely no reason for overlooking our claims to the lands where we had houses, and where our forefathers are buried. Take, for instance, Tian village. No government Agent went there to see that it was a hunting ground, and that hundreds of bodies are now tumbling down, all around an oil plant that is working there. Our houses were taken up without our consent and in many instances, we were told that we have no claims to our old homes.267

As reparation for the erroneous reserves that were allocated, Adams suggested that the Haida be granted additional lands or payments.

At the commission hearings a year later on the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Haida leader James Sterling spoke of the particular problem the Haida had with the arrival of settlers in the islands. He and the Haida were confronted not only with the limitations of the reserve system, but also the way in which this system dove-tailed with a system of property. A system that ordered and connected the Islands to the mainland through land use policies and practices which facilitated the potential extraction of resources -- a system that excluded Haida participation. Sterling’s argument put forward the position that this form of land tenure was unfair, if not strange and irrational, in its treatment of First Nations:

Our hearts have been made heavy as the years have passed to see strangers come among us, stay a few days, put a stake in the ground and go away. This seems strange to us at first, but stranger still when we were told that they sold their stakes for many thousands of dollars. We tried to make ourselves believe we were in our own country, but we are more and more reminded that what we supposed was ours, as said on many cases to belong to men who never saw these islands.268

267 RG 10, vol. 7150, File 901/3-8-1.
The commodification of land which Adams described, in fact contradicts the very values of progress which the missionaries and the Department of Indian Affairs sought to instil in the Haida -- attachment to land and the ability to make it productive. Instead, Adams has characterised the growth of what has become known as arbitrage profits of investing in land, where profit is based solely on speculation and holding onto land (or stocks), waiting for the value to go up as demand increases. This type of profit is based on the transformation of resources into a product. In this way, Adams has articulated the Haida’s struggle for land claims based on legitimate access to resources, but he has also accounted for a form of capitalism which was beginning to develop on the coast and in the Queen Charlotte Islands, (much like Doughty’s cannery), a capitalism characterised by speculation, investment and the flow of information -- where offers to potential shareholders were able to bring immense amounts of capital to a place and transform it. It is the ability to generate capital which gives entitlement to resources and the benefit of production. Adams continues his observations on this new configuration of capital, land, ownership and the Haida’s exclusion from production and progress which was taking hold on the Islands at the time:

The land is not ours. We do not own it; but we have the privilege of buying from pre-emptors, with Crown Grants, the land they have taken up and on which our forefathers lived. A British Columbia Indian cannot become enfranchised and a foreigner can take up the land, and own it three years before getting enfranchised. Many of our people are educated and fit to vote; but we are denied that privilege, while many half-breeds, coloured men, and others who know less than we do are allowed to have a voice in the government of the country.269

269 RG 10, vol. 7150, File 901/3-8-1.
For James Sterling the government's allocation of reserves and policies to assimilate seemed equally contradictory:

Many of our young men have been to industrial schools where they learned farming; some of them wished to begin farming for themselves, but as will be evident to you most of our reserves are not all suitable for agriculture. We have been told that the land outside of our small reserves is not for Indians. We supposed it was ours, but are surprised that we can neither pre-empt on purchase land anywhere in British Columbia. To us this seems to be an injustice and a hardship. We have been told that we belong to the British Empire and that we are numbered among the subjects of the king.270

Sterling suggested that the Haida have been given the tools and training to become participants in society, be it as a farmer or in industry, however the land, ownership and the opportunity for private property, upon which the legal and economic systems hinged, was not extended to them. Again Adams appealed to the Commissioners:

Even if the Enfranchisement part of the Indian Act applied to the Indians, we would be on probation for three years no matter how much fitted to take upon ourselves the responsibilities of subjects. Under the Indian Act we are not even recognised as "persons". Our schools are to educate us and our children. For what purpose? we ask. We have taken advantage of the schools; but what good does it do us, if we have not the responsibilities that educated people should assume? we are self-supporting and always have been.... The claim is made that we do not improve the land. Who improves more of the land on Graham Island than we do. Look at our two settlements, they are the largest, and we have good homes and the best streets there. We grow more vegetables than any others on the islands. We have more cattle that we raise there.... 271

What Adams and Sterling are expressing to the Commission is a deep dissatisfaction with their categorical exclusion from participating in modern Canadian society. They exclaim that as a people, they are equal to and even more 'progressive and productive' than many settlers. But

270 RG 10, vol. 7150, File 901/3-8-1.
partly because of the Reserve system which held Native land in common and thereby excluded private ownership, the Haida were prevented from achieving the very end of self-sufficiency and assimilation which the government wanted.

The efforts of Adams, Sterling and other Native were to no avail. The McKenna McBride Commission was drawn out for many years, and in 1927, the government even legislated that Natives were not to be allowed to form political groups for the championing of land claims. In that same year, Alfred Adams and a handful of other native leaders from other coastal communities founded the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. The aim of this organisation was to carry on the fight for land claims that had started over twenty years earlier, but their objectives were also very immediate. The organisation would represent members who could not join White labour unions because of their 'race'. Adams and the organisations membership continued to champion the endeavours of First Nations in education, health, and industry -- areas that the Missionaries and department of Indian Affairs sought to foster amongst First Nations. The Brotherhood's Battle Hymn, uttered by members before meetings to this day, echoes the vision that has motivated Native politics in the province as a legacy of lack of treaties and the inadequacy of the reserve system. It is a vision that extends the participation, aspirations and identity of the province's First Nations beyond the confines of the reserve and beyond being wards of the state through the formation of a political body and through the articulation of a voice.

271 RG 10, vol. 7150, File 901/3-8-1.
"We must come together, we must talk as one, we must act as one. We will have an organisation by organising into a body. Then we will be able to talk to the government of the land. For only through an organised united body will our voice be heard by the world.\textsuperscript{272}

\textit{Conclusion}

The Government of Canada and Department of Indian Affairs had a significant effect on the Haida and the communities of Skidegate and Masset through the survey of the reserves and specific practices of an administration that spatialised the relationship of the Haida to the state, and through the formation of a Haida home, which sought to assimilate the Haida into Canadian society. The Department of Indian Affairs represented the Haida and other First Nations as wards of the state. This translated into the department’s attempt to separate Natives, like the Haida, from settlements through specific practices like the form of surveillance that Deasy attempted in the Agency building. On the reserve the Department promoted agriculture in an attempt to keep the Haida tied to the reserve and a desire to cultivate not only an occupation but a set of cultural values rooted in the land which was assumed to contribute to this peoples’ assimilation and advancement. However, the Haida, like other Natives at this time, found that the opportunity for their ‘self improvement’ was radically compromised by the inadequate size and location of reserves that were laid out some thirty years prior. Despite the attempt to inscribe a vision of what an Indian was onto the Haida and a means of ‘prompting progress’ in their communities, the Haida were not passive agents when dealing with the Department of

\textsuperscript{272} Alfred Adams, Founder, Native Brotherhood of British Columbia.
Indian Affairs. The Haida often ignored ordinances in the Indian Act and asserted their voice in land claims and in the attempt to obtain enfranchisement. Thus, the history of the Haida's relationship with the provincial and federal governments can be easily described as history of resistance as much as it can be described as a history of domination and control.
CONCLUSION

Understanding the historical geography of the Queen Charlottes in terms of the visions that shaped it allows us to consider the islands not only in terms of the material transformations of place, but it also allows us to reflect on how place was perceived, described, and controlled. Attempt to visualise the islands -- be it through a scientific, an aesthetic, an economic, or an administrative lens -- allowed settlers, surveyors, or visitors to describe, know, and thereby lay claim to this space. In so doing they constructed new definitions of place. The preceding six chapters have considered the prospects from which different individuals, groups, and interests viewed the Islands and their indigenous population.

It has been intimated throughout this thesis that a prospect is a construction, a mental foundation, that gives rise to a way of viewing. A prospect produces a landscape that changes or reinforces both the language and meanings that are ascribed to place. Rarely are these meanings neutral. Moreover, place is bound up in such agendas. In the Queen Charlotte Islands at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, representations of place were associated with beliefs and stereotypes about progress, and were expressed in concept like the 'primitive', 'primeval', 'civilisation', and 'wilderness'. Newcomers framed novel landscapes in rigid cultural and economic terms that legitimated their coming and their transformations of place. However, the effectiveness of their control was brought into question by their inability to describe place faithfully and consistently. Each chapter has argued that representations of place are never complete, total, or final. Rather, images of place are constantly asserted, resisted, and
remade in changing social, cultural, and economic contexts. The meaning of place constantly shifts, mirroring changing relationships.

Each of the previous six chapters have considered these different prospects of place and progress. The first chapter contrasts George Dawson’s and Newton Chittenden’s surveys of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Both attempted to achieve a complete picture of the Islands for very different ends -- ends that determined the language they used to describe place and the features they described. Dawson created a scientific account of place which attempted to inventory resources and bring space within the domain of the Dominion of Canada. Chittenden portrayed the islands so as to facilitate their settlement by British crofters. Despite their different languages, both were surveys, and both Dawson and Chittenden located themselves in a ‘commanding position’ so as to achieve consistent, and totalising descriptions. For Dawson this prospect was achieved through his use of various scientific disciplines, ranging from geology to anthropology. For Chittenden, it was obtained by framing the islands in stereotypes and commonly held assumptions. In both cases these prospects rested on the idea of progress, and sought to transform the islands into a productive and civilised place. Despite the achievements of both surveys, the accuracy and legitimacy of their observations is brought into question by the representational difficulties encountered. Dawson relied on formal conventions of aesthetics to expand his accounts of place, whereas Chittenden’s stereotypes often contradicted themselves. In either case, their inability to complete their portraits bring to light the complexity and contradictions inherent in universalising descriptions of place.

Nineteenth century travel literature and tour guides illuminated a European ‘point of view’ from which the traveller observed both the landscape and the inhabitants of novel places. Places were produced through what tourists read and reproduced through tourist activities like amateur
photography or taxonomy. Portraits of grandiose, primeval landscapes or stereotypes of indigenous peoples as primitive were rarely challenged from the safe prospect of the tourist from the deck of a ship or on small sojourns into villages along the coast.

Promotional literature also framed the natural resources of the islands. In both real estate brochures and prospectuses for the B.C. Fisheries Ltd., images of economic progress promised to rework place. The focus of these prospects was the natural conditions of Islands -- wealth and health in real estate, and risk free return on investment in Doughty’s fishery. These portraits of place were representations of expectations rather than depiction’s of the economic conditions of the islands. The Star Real Estate brochure was produced in an frenzied economic climate when huge amounts of capital were being invested in the province in expectation of the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway. It predicted that the Islands would become an economic hub, rich in industry and agriculture, supplying the new terminus in Prince Rupert only seventy miles away. This optimistic vision of the Islands did not last. A year after the publication of this brochure, the economy collapsed following the exodus of capital from investments in the region following the market crash of late 1913. The second settlement brochure was produced by Islanders in 1920 in the wake of World War One, and catered to potential settlers who sought a landscape steeped in pastoral ideals of civility. The brochure overstated the development of the islands; a party of twenty-two settlers, lured by the brochure, found themselves perched precariously on the edge of a vast forest.

Sir George Doughty’s fishing prospectus from 1912 framed islands in terms of profit for potential investors, but he also used a rhetoric of race to construct his vision of a modern industrialised fishery. Doughty tapped into racist sentiments by planning to employ fishers of British stock, rather than the Native or Japanese who had been typically employed. His brochure
also prophesied the use of a new processing technology. Doughty’s vision did not come to fruition. His venture was over-extended and fell victim to a collapse in the global economy and lower fish prices in 1913. His attempts to impose foreign fishery through mechanised modes of production racially homogenous employees, and his poor calculations of the fish market, cost him his venture and the trust of investors. Smaller, more conservative operations, which used local employees, were able to weather the downturn in the economy.

Missionary representations of the Haidas were bound in assumptions and discourses of progress. They attempted to transform this people into modern Christians imbued with middle class values. Popular church literature portrayed the Haida’s move from savagery to civilisation under the watchful eye of the missionaries. Similarly, the missionary dispatches to the authorities in the Church of England and Methodist missionary Society described the industriousness of the Haida, and their advancements and progress under the tutelage of the missionaries. However, the accuracy of those accounts is questioned by the fact that the Haida already possessed such values. The missionaries aided the process of modernisation and in many cases were important agents of change, but the assumption that there was an untouched, pristine, ‘primitive’ Haida culture incapable of its own destiny is incorrect. The Haida, rather, were active agents in their own adaptation or ‘self-improvement’.

Similarly, the Department of Indian Affairs brought to light a set of relationships which had been latent for some years before 1910. The reserves on the Islands were tiny and with the coming of settlers the inadequacies and injustice of the reserve system became quickly apparent. The Haida demanded the franchise and access to land which had been alienated to settlers and industry. Instead, the Department of Indian Affairs, through its agents, sought to survey the Haida and introduce sedentary occupations like agriculture. Such policies were inappropriate for
a fishing people who had established an off-reserve prominence in the industrial fishery. The department’s aspiration to attach the Haida to reserves and turn them into farmers illuminated the inadequacies of the reserves; its insistence that land be held in common, which contrasted with the Haidas’ richly developed property system. Therefore, an idealised agrarian place was not forthcoming in the Queen Charlotte Islands. The department failed to adapt its administration to the Haida’s conception of land and resources, thereby hindering the very sense of progress they sought to cultivate.

Each of the six chapters offers a different vision -- or prospect -- of place and each vision in one way or another is understood in terms of progress. But place is more than a location, bounded, controlled and known through description. Place is equally elusive, inexplicable, with meanings, names, definitions, and relationships that go beyond these boundaries, in part because of the prospects from which we view place. Each prospect is partial. In this way, place is constantly being made and remade, just as the relationships to place are changing, depending on our economic, cultural, or social relationships. Thus, prospects of place can only provide part of the story, giving insight into a locale, territory, landscape, and space, but these insights give no definitive answers about human relationships to their environment. Ultimately, the meanings of place depends upon our frame of reference and thus are very temporally and spatially specific. In the Queen Charlotte Islands / Gwaii Hannas these representations of place at the turn of the century tell us about the attempts to describe and transform place in terms of progress. These representations also inform us about the legacies that have shaped the relationships of people to the islands at present, as the different inhabitants of the Islands, visitors, government officials, and technocrats in industry contend to define and describe place today.
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