ISLANDS AT THE BOUNDARY OF THE WORLD:
CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS OF HAIDA GWAIÎI, 1774 - 2001

by

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the ways visitors to Haida Gwaii (sometimes called the Queen Charlotte Islands) have written about the islands. I argue that accounts by visitors to Haida Gwaii fashion the object that they seek to represent. In short, visitors' stories do not unproblematically reflect the islands but determine how Haida Gwaii is perceived. These perceptions in turn affect the actions of visitors, residents and governments. I contribute to that representational process, striving to show the material consequences of language and the ways discourses shape Haida Gwaii.

The dissertation consists of three sections. “Early visitors” focuses on the last quarter of the eighteenth century, studying the earliest documented visits by Euro-American mariners and fur traders. “Modern visitors” concentrates on the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, when some visitors were busy imposing colonial forms of government and social organization, while others were resisting these projects. “Recent visitors” concentrates on the final quarter of the twentieth century, examining the campaign to save a portion of the archipelago from clearcutting and efforts to develop alternatives to resource-extractive economic practices. By examining three case studies for each period, I argue that the ways visitors imagine the islands have been transformed in each of these periods.
# Contents

Abstract / ii  
Contents / iii  
List of figures / iv  
Acknowledgments / v  

Opening remarks / 1

Early visitors (1774 - 1800)  
   Introduction / 17  
   1. Juan Pérez’s accidental visit / 23  
   2. Captain George Dixon and “true commercial principles” / 46  
   3. The Boston men, “transients on a savage coast” / 67

Modern visitors (1876 - 1928)  
   Introduction / 90  
   4. Reverend William Collison’s modernizing project / 97  
   5. George Dawson and “the better Class of old-time unimproved Indians” / 123  
   6. Emily Carr, the ambivalent visitor / 146

Recent visitors (1974 - 1998)  
   Introduction / 167  
   7. Haida Gwaii as “the Canadian Galápagos” / 173  
   8. Bill Reid: the Haida nation in motion / 194  
   9. Econarratives and Haida Gwaii / 218

Concluding remarks / 241  
Notes / 247  
Bibliography / 265
List of figures

Figure 1: Map of Haida Gwaii. Page 3.

Figure 2: "A Young Woman of Queen Charlotte’s Islands." Sketch by Captain George Dixon, 1787. Page 62.

Figure 3: "Skidegate Indian Village." Photograph by George M. Dawson, 26 July 1878. National Archives Canada. PA 37757. Page 139.

Figure 4: *The Raven and the First Men*. Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia. Photo by Bill McLennan, MOA. Used by permission. Page 202.

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Opening remarks

After dreaming for years about journeying to the Queen Charlotte Islands, I embarked on my first visit in 1995. I travelled there in a small commercial salmon-fishing boat I owned. I can reconstruct my arrival by opening the logbook for the Gypsy Ways and turning to the entries for the morning of 14 June 1995:

0420. Passed a dragger working a mile or two to the south. The swell has gone down.

0530. First sighting of land. There is a purple smudge in among the clouds.

0810. I’ve finally located myself on the charts. I’m about ten miles north of where I expected to arrive. The 249 bearing that I’ve steered all night is taking me toward East Copper Island light and Skincuttle Inlet, on chart 3809. I wanted to arrive at Houston Stewart Channel, which separates Kunghit Island from Moresby Island and leads through to Anthony Island and Ninstints. I’m reluctant to turn back and down, even though Ninstints is reputed to have the most interesting Haida totems.

0945. Anchored at Jedway.

Now, years later, the entries remind me of the tense night of navigation. I can recall the physical exhaustion: I hadn’t slept for more than thirty hours and had crossed the widest part of Hecate Strait, an appropriately named stretch of water. The crossing took seventeen hours, with land out of sight for ten hours. No matter how fine the charts, how true the compass, or how modern the loran, radar, depth sounder, and autopilot, navigating a small boat with no land in sight and no consort stretches the nerves. I had left a shoreline that I knew well and crossed into a space that I sensed would be dangerous but exciting.
Once I found my bearings I proceeded straight into a snug harbour. Too excited to sleep, I put the skiff in the water and rowed ashore. As I rowed, I contemplated — the Queen Charlotte Islands; Haida Gwaii (Figure 1). I recalled my first memory of the islands: I was nine; Jack James and Dad were sitting on the steps of the general store we owned, and Jack, with his huge round face and flowing white hair, was telling how Haida raiding parties used to swoop down the coast in their giant canoes, striking fear into the Kwakiutl, who would retreat up the mainland inlets until the Haida passed. The islands became for me a place of wonder, always situated over the horizon, always concealed, always farther west than wherever I happened to be.

I had anchored in Jedway, the site of many stories that swirl around contact and trade and copper and smallpox and more, but as I stretched my legs on shore that morning in 1995 I saw only endless mine tailings sprouting alders. I rowed back to the boat and tried to relax. Restlessness won out. I pulled the anchor and travelled slowly up the eastern side of the archipelago, following the path of George Dawson, the famous Canadian geologist who surveyed the archipelago in 1878. I planned to stop at what I had always heard referred to as Hotspring Island, although one of the charts I had on board marked it in Haida as Gandla K‘in. I noticed that Dawson had applied the English name, an act so routine to Dawson that he would mention the naming in his report to the Geological Survey of Canada, but not in his journal. Late in the afternoon I anchored. As I puttered about the boat, smoke drifted up from two cedar-shake cabins that I assumed housed Haida Watchmen. Other fishers had mentioned the Watchmen:

“There’ll probably be some Haida at the hot springs.”

“They might let you ashore, they might not. Depends how their land claims are
HAIDA GWAI I

LANGARA
ISLAND

GRAHAM
ISLAND

Skidegate

T'än̓uu

Hlk'yaah

Gandla K'in

GWAI I

HAANAS

Sgan Gwai i

Watchmen sites

0 30 km

BRITISH
Columbia

VICTORIA

Prince Rupert

Figure 1
going."

"Two years ago they were charging you to go ashore, but last year they weren't. You never know until you get there."

After dinner I slid the rowboat into the water and went ashore. A path led past the cabins, to a shower hut, and up a few metres to the hotsprings. I gently hailed the cabins. An elder came onto the porch and asked me in "to sign the guest book." It turned out there were four workers for the Haida Gwaii Watchmen program at Gandla K'in: two female elders, a young granddaughter, and a taciturn young man. The elders answered my questions about the strips of halibut that hung curing from every rafter, then pointed me toward the hotsprings. Later they asked where I was headed. When I explained that I would leave for T'anuu in the morning, one of the elders said that her daughter Melody would welcome me there.

Indeed, she did. 1995 was Melody’s second year in the Watchmen Program. She was keen to tell me about the program and seemed comfortable discussing its importance to the Skidegate band and to the islands. As we sat on a piece of driftwood in front of the long-abandoned village, she first explained that during the tourist season the program staffs several Haida hereditary sites on the southern portions of the archipelago and that it is administered by the Skidegate band in cooperation with Parks Canada. She maintained that the Haida had long monitored travel along the archipelago. To illustrate her point, she reached for one of the two books she had brought to the beach and set between us on the driftwood. It was George MacDonald’s Haida Monumental Art. (The other was Hilary Stewart’s Cedar.) Melody turned to a grainy black and white photograph of T’anuu and pointed toward the three watchmen sitting atop most house frontal poles. She showed me
that in each case one peered up the shoreline, one gazed directly out to sea, and the third watched down the shoreline. “The villages were situated so that there was no threat from behind,” she said. The photograph seemed familiar to me. We noted that George Dawson had taken it. I reached into the little daypack I had brought ashore and showed her the two books I had been studying as I travelled along the islands: Emily Carr’s *Klee Wyck* and Dawson’s *To the Charlottes*. Sure enough, the photograph of T’anuu in MacDonald’s book is a cropped, enlarged version of the 1878 “original” reproduced in Dawson’s book.5

Melody and Will were a young couple, probably in their early twenties, she more outgoing than he. Melody and I sat and talked for about an hour, while Will hovered some distance away, keeping occupied with chores around the cabin. As part of the Watchmen Program, the Skidegate band had crafted trails around and through the site, beautifully lined with surf-smoothed stones and sea shells, with information markers posted at key junctures and discreet signs asking that visitors keep to the trails. When Melody took her leave to return to the cabin, I started off on a trail. I noticed that as Melody entered the cabin she spoke briefly with Will. To my surprise, Will came loping along the trail and said, “Would you like a guided tour? This will be my first solo tour, so bear with me.” He carried the MacDonald and Stewart books. Will was a terrific guide: “The deeper the house, the wealthier the family.” “See that pole lying there? It broke off at this end, the top, where it was stuck in the ground. It’s carved at this same end. The carvings were upside down. That means it was plundered elsewhere and towed here, probably along with the captured slaves. To remind them of their subservience.”

Part way through our tour Will reiterated, in his quiet way, Melody’s assertion that the Haida had long monitored travel along the archipelago. He said that in former times
each chief posted numerous lookouts on surrounding islands and vantage points, to warn of approaching raiders and to negotiate passage through Haida territory. "Each village was a toll booth," he grinned.

Will told how he had been born on the islands but had drifted away during adolescence. He said that his teens in the city carried him far away from the spirit of his homeland, and that his relationship with Melody was a path back to health. Melody was mentoring his entrance into the Watchmen Program. They had arrived at T'aniuu just the previous week, in preparation for the 1995 season, and I was one of their first visitors. He related how Melody studies Haida history by consulting both the elders at Skidegate and published sources such as the MacDonald and Stewart books. Several times as we walked along he underscored points by turning to a photograph. I was deeply touched by Will's stories. After we had walked and talked for perhaps forty minutes he returned to the cabin. I took the camera from my packsack and took five pictures of sights along the trails, then went to say "Good-bye" and "howa" to Melody and Will. They urged me to visit Hlk'yaah (Windy Bay). When I said that I had decided to press on toward K'una (Skedans), they told me about the watchpeople there, Charley and Caroline Wesley.

I rowed ashore at K'una the next morning, shortly after a wisp of smoke rose from the cabin. Caroline came onto the porch and told me that Charley would be out after his breakfast, and invited me to wander in the meantime. Charley Wesley is hereditary chief of Cumshewa, an esteemed elder in the Watchmen Program, and an extraordinary storyteller. I was with him for three hours that morning of 16 June 1995. Again, I had my camera in the backpack. But I was so involved with Charley's stories that I had no urge to snap a photograph until Charley ushered me down to the water's edge, at which point I asked him if
I might take his picture. Today that photograph gives me as much pleasure as any I own.

Cradled in Charley's right hand are two copies of a book by Carolyn Smyly and John Smyly, *Those Born at Koon: The Totem Poles of the Haida Village Skedans*. When Charley came out of the cabin that morning he had handed me one copy and kept the other. Throughout the morning, while Charley told stories that made sense of the centuries, we often found ourselves flipping pages and peering at one photograph or another, then comparing Charley's version of Haida history to the captions below the photographs. Charley, like Melody and Will the day before, used the representations of visitors to the islands to illustrate the history he recreated. The photographs we looked at in 1995 were taken by visitors to the islands: travellers such as George Dawson in 1878, Charles Newcombe around the turn of the century, Wilson Duff in the 1950s, and the Smylys in the 1970s.

The afternoon with Melody and Will at T'anuu and the morning with Charley at K'una sparked the interest that would become this dissertation. When I discovered the ways in which Haida watchpeople use representations by visitors to the islands to articulate their own stories or histories or counter-histories about the islands, I became fascinated with the process of building one story from another. I began exploring how that process has built the idea that is Haida Gwaii, the "islands at the boundary of the world" (Bringhurst 7).

I have travelled to Haida Gwaii four times: in 1995 for one week, when I travelled up the east coast and met the Haida Watchmen; in 1996 for one month, during which I camped and hiked near Naikun; in 1997 for five weeks, when I kayaked to Chaatl and other west-coast sites; and in 1998 for ten days that included various camping excursions from a base in Queen Charlotte City.

This dissertation examines representations by visitors whose accounts have inspired
my visits to Haida Gwaii. I was aware of some representations (for example, Captain George Dixon’s naming of the islands, George Dawson’s photographs, Emily Carr’s stories, the preservationists’ campaign to save South Moresby and Bill Reid’s sculptures) before I began visiting the islands. Other materials (for example, early explorer and trader constructions of Haida as cannibalistic, William Collison’s missionary project, and George Dawson’s reterritorialization of the islands as untapped geological resources) came to my attention as I researched the subject. Most of the representations I discuss are written accounts, though I do analyze sketches, photographs and a video that illustrate these accounts.

Names
During the 1980s and 1990s, the Council for the Haida Nation argued that “Haida Gwaii” is a more appropriate name for the islands than is “the Queen Charlotte Islands.” The Haida designation is now widely used, although those who resist assertions of aboriginal title tend to persist with the English designation. Linguist John Enrico and poet Robert Bringhurst are authorities on the Haida language. In 1991, after consulting Enrico, Bringhurst explained the current name: “Earlier generations of Haida called their archipelago Xhaaidlagha Gwaayaai or Xhaaidla Gwaayaai, which means The Islands at the Boundary of the World. The shorter form, Haida Gwaii, which means The Islands of the People, is recent coinage, though the connection it names between the people and the place is ancient fact” (7). I refer to the islands as Haida Gwaii, unless I am directly or indirectly quoting a visitor who knew the islands by only the Euro-American designation. Captain Dixon’s act of naming the islands “Queen Charlotte’s Islands” in 1787 and the Haida act of re-naming the islands “Haida Gwaii” affirm changed consciousnesses. Each act has contested the existing power
relationships. As Bringhurst comments, while “names alone give an inaccurate picture of change and continuity,” the appellation “Queen Charlotte’s Islands” reflected “two bitter centuries of religious and mercantile pressure” just as the designation “Haida Gwaii” signals “twenty years of unequal and unopposite but conscious reaction to that pressure” (7). The changes in terminology acknowledge cultural sea changes.

I explore these changes by analyzing texts in which travellers to Haida Gwaii represent their encounters with the islands. I have worked five components into the title, *Islands at the Boundary of the World: Changing Representations of Haida Gwaii, 1774 – 2001*. The first component, “Islands at the Boundary of the World,” captures the thrill of liminality — the sense of a portal to the unknown — that the archipelago has conjured for me and for many other visitors. “Haida Gwaii,” the current name of the islands, signals the geographic focus of the work. I do not gloss the current name by including the British name that prevailed for two hundred years, as my project contests the ongoing imperial effects signalled by the designation “Queen Charlotte’s Islands.” “Representations,” I will argue, are never innocent; they are always representations of certain interests and they always advance certain interests. They construct knowledge, as opposed to merely reflecting reality. “Representations” suggests that the act of comprehending is framed by conventions and determined in part by the methods and filters that one brings to the encounter. “Changing” suggests that representations are related to contexts and that contexts have evolved, from the moment of contact to the present. The temporal span, “1774 – 2001,” suggests the breadth of the undertaking, which analyzes representations ranging from the earliest arrival of Euro-Americans to today’s ecotourists.
Purposes, theories, methodologies

Haida Gwaii is a cluster of ideas as well as a constellation of islands. That cluster of ideas exists and has long existed well beyond the physical borders of the archipelago, as a discursive formation. Islands at the Boundary of the World concentrates on the intersection of these imagined and physical geographies. By investigating the textual representations of visitors who have physically transported themselves to the islands, I inquire into the creation and evolution of the discursive formation that is Haida Gwaii. Haida Gwaii is, of course, written and created by residents of the islands as well as by visitors to the islands. In particular, Haida create Haida Gwaii through their spoken and written words and through several other forms of expression. Indeed, several scholars have investigated Haida representations of Haida Gwaii. However, there has been less analysis of visitors' portrayals of the islands. Donald Beals and Warren Cook discuss Juan Pérez's 1774 arrival at Haida Gwaii; James Gibson's work on the maritime fur trade recognizes the archipelago as a prime destination for traders; Margaret Blackman has studied photographers who visited the islands late in the nineteenth century; Ivan Doig has written an imaginative account of his fascination with James Swan, an ethnographer who travelled to Haida Gwaii; a few critics have debated Wilson Duff's project to salvage totem poles from the islands; Gordon Brent Ingram and Jeremy Wilson have analyzed the campaign to save South Moresby, as have G. Bruce Doern and Thomas Conway. Although Haida Gwaii was in many ways central to Emily Carr's artistic imagination, I know of no scholarship that focuses on her perceptions of the islands. Scholarly interest in Bill Reid's relationship with Haida Gwaii is developing, and Bruce Braun has written a theoretically informed study of George Dawson's geographical survey of the islands. However, this dissertation is the first scholarly inquiry
that focuses on the evolving process of representing Haida Gwaii.

The thesis divides into three sections. Each section treats a period during which the ways of representing the islands have undergone profound changes; in each instance the ways travellers imagine the islands have been irrevocably altered. The project is organized as a series of case studies rather than as a comprehensive history. By focusing on specific representations from three periods, I draw attention to constructions of knowledge about the archipelago. My project is, of course, another construction about Haida Gwaii. It takes as a guiding principle James Clifford's belief that the "cuts and sutures of the research process" should be left visible, so that "there is no smoothing over or blending of the work's raw data into a homogenous representation" (Predicament 146).

Cultural analysis now accepts that history is never innocent, that it is always constructed on behalf of specific interests. In 1956, Georges Gusdorf wrote that "the recall of history assumes a very complex relation of past to present, a reactualization that prevents us from ever discovering the past 'in itself,' as it was — the past without us" (40). More recently, Derek Gregory has written that histories "are ways of locating claims within traditions that seek to establish them as authoritative and legitimate, and also ways of positioning claims in opposition to other traditions and so establishing their own authority and legitimacy by negation." Because histories are representations, they use rhetorical tactics, including tropes and metaphors, "to persuade readers of their leading propositions" (6). All practices of representation are situated, embodied and partial. Furthermore, the process of representation is not mimetic; representations fashion their objects; discourses do not unproblematically reflect the world but instead intervene in it (8). Names, for example, are representational strategies and components of specific discourses. Just as the application
in 1787 of "Queen Charlotte's Isles" altered the ways residents and visitors would relate to the islands and just as the re-application in the 1970s of "Haida Gwaii" has had real effects, so have other representations. Mariners' charts, fur traders' accounts, naturalists' sketches, missionaries' accounts, government surveys, short stories, environmental tracts and photographs are among the representations that have determined perceptions of the islands, which have in turn determined actions. I intervene in this representational process by striving to show the material consequences of the process itself. I am concerned with the ways discourses shape Haida Gwaii. I see my work as cultural analysis interested in the making and unmasking of common codes and conventions (Clifford Predicament 147).

The first section, "Early visitors," focuses on the final quarter of the eighteenth century. It analyzes the first documented arrival of Euro-Americans to Haida Gwaii, the visit of the Spanish in 1774. It then examines the flood of English and American trading expeditions that made the archipelago the prime destination of the Northwest Coast maritime fur trade in the final years of the century. The second section, "Modern visitors," focuses on the final quarter of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. It investigates the imposition of British forms of social organization and government as a resolutely modernizing discourse that displaced other modes of political power while emphasizing a vanishing past and an increasingly technological future. The section analyzes the arrival of missionaries in 1876, then examines George Dawson's geological survey of the islands in 1878, and concludes with Emily Carr's visits, in 1912 and 1928. The third section, "Recent visitors," focuses on the final quarter of the twentieth century. It studies representations by visitors who have attempted to re-vision the islands as something other than a neocolonial site of primary resource extraction. The section begins with the genesis, in 1974, of the fight
to preserve the southern portion of the archipelago from clearcutting. It then examines Bill Reid's efforts to renew respect for Haida culture. It concludes with accounts of several ecotours undertaken during the 1980s and 1990s.

By concentrating on texts from three periods that span less than one-half of the two hundred twenty-seven years during which visitors have been representing the archipelago, I do not imply that no texts worthy of analysis were produced at other times. Rather, I juxtapose three periods during which representations have significantly altered perceptions of the islands, and explore the political, economic and social reasons why these periods brought great changes that then led to periods of consolidation. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, sailors from New Spain, Europe and New England drew the archipelago into Western circuits of knowledge and political and economic influence. The resulting rush of capital to the Northwest Coast so severely depleted the sea otter population of the islands that there was little foreign interest during much of the nineteenth century. The next sustained visitor interest occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when federal and provincial agencies began to impose British systems of land ownership, law, religion, medicine and education. These forms of government led to developments that informed twentieth-century representations of the islands until late in the 1960s, when Haida and environmentalists began questioning some of this paradigm's assumptions. I conclude by arguing that these recent representations have brought about another major shift in the ways visitors perceive the islands. In essence, the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the last quarter of the nineteenth century were periods during which the terms of colonization were laid out. I believe that during the final quarter of the twentieth century the ongoing discourse of colonialism has been fundamentally restructured.
I am concerned with the ways that representations determine power relations, which in turn produce a semblance of reality and rituals of truth (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* 194). I inquire into accounts about Haida Gwaii with the primary intent of revealing and analyzing the discourses that have structured and in some cases contested power relations between visitors and residents. Encounters between travellers from European or North American centres and a Pacific archipelago suggest “colonialism,” which in turn suggests, to follow colonial discourse theorist and South Pacific historian Nicholas Thomas, “intrusions, conquest, economic exploitation and the domination of indigenous peoples by European men” (1). These aspects of colonialism are crucial focuses in this study, as are neocolonialism and resistance. For Thomas, colonialism is a cultural process, the discoveries and trespasses of which “are imagined and energized through signs, metaphors and narratives” so that even “its purest moments of profit and violence have been mediated and enframed by structures of meaning” (2). As Thomas warns, a great deal of writing on colonialism declares an interest in disclosing the heterogeneity and internal ruptures of colonial discourses and in recovering or reinstating the subjectivity of the colonized, but then paradoxically characterizes colonial discourse in unitary and essentialist terms (3). In striving to heed that warning, I structure each of the nine chapters as a case study that analyzes the representations of specific encounters with Haida Gwaii. Like Clifford in *The Predicament of Culture*, I arrange my study on the model of collage to avoid portraying the object of my interest, the discursive formation of Haida Gwaii, as a unified entity subject to a continuous explanatory discourse (146). By selecting case studies from the beginning, middle and most recent periods in the two hundred twenty-seven years of encounters between visitors to the archipelago and the people who reside there, I reveal similarities and
discontinuities in the ongoing encounters between indigenes and Euro-Americans, residents and visitors, and resources and markets.

Each section begins with an introduction in which I outline the conceptual framework and theoretical influences for my analysis of the respective period. Michel Foucault's theories of power and resistance and their applications through discourse inform the entire project, and I draw on theorists and critics who have applied Foucault's insights to specific aspects of colonial encounters. In the first section, "Early visitors," Mary Louise Pratt's theories about representational practices in contact zones are helpful. In the second section, "Modern visitors," I apply Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff's work on missionary discourses, Bruno Latour's ideas about immutable mobiles and Bruce Braun's analysis of governmental rationality. Mikhail Bakhtin's and Homi Bhabha's theories about hybridity underpin my discussion of Emily Carr's stories. In the final section, "Recent visitors," I call on Michel de Certeau's distinction between strategies and tactics, Johannes Fabian's conceptualization of Time and the Other, and Renato Rosaldo's notion of imperialist nostalgia.

In all nine chapters, I provide extended readings of the texts from a particular encounter with Haida Gwaii, examining their narrative and discursive modes, contexts, methods and purposes. I am interested in uncovering literary assumptions and concerns about the islands. To illustrate, let me cite one example from each section. In chapter 2, I show that Captain George Dixon, the English trader who determined that the body of land he encountered was an archipelago and named that body "Queen Charlotte's Islands," had sailed from England "with an eye to publication," as was common for such ventures (Smith). He sought to prepare a profitable tale for the burgeoning European market in accounts about
Pacific voyages. This literary consideration influenced the route of his voyage to such a
degree that it contributed to his encounter with Haida Gwaii and to his mode of representing
that encounter. In chapter 4, I argue that the demand for missionary accounts in England in
the second half of the 1800s and the generic expectations that had accumulated around these
accounts determined whether, when and where a mission would be located on Haida Gwaii.
I chapter 7, I examine the power of representations (in magazine articles, travelling slide
shows and television newscasts) to mobilize local, provincial, then national and international
public opinion. I show how these representations have changed the ways citizens from near
and far perceive the islands.
Early visitors (1774 - 1800)

On the afternoon of 19 July 1774, Spanish sailors and clergy on board a creaky, crowded frigate that had sailed northwest from New Spain approached land near 54° N, the first land they had sighted in six weeks. Haida paddled out in three canoes to welcome the ship by chanting songs and sprinkling swans' and eagles' down on the water. The Spaniards signalled that they were unable to anchor because of the strongly ebbing tide and that they would return the next morning. They then retreated to stand offshore overnight, at which point the captain, the mate and the two chaplains began scribbling their accounts of the encounter.

Thirteen years later, on 2 July 1787, a British snow manned by merchants avid to acquire sea otter pelts approached the same landfall. Some one hundred twenty Haida paddled out in ten canoes and eagerly sought to trade their cloaks to the sailors. Each cloak consisted of three otter skins. Although the sailors had brought a variety of trade items such as trinkets, mousetraps and copper pots, the Natives desired only iron chisels. Afterwards, the British vessel retreated to stand offshore and prepare for another session of trading the next day. The captain and his accompanying scribe sat down to collaborate on a letter in which they described the encounter.

Four years later, on 10 July 1791, a small brig ten months out of Boston put in at the same spot. The captain had sailed to this location because, two years earlier, the New England vessel on which he was first mate had acquired more furs there than at any other destination on the Northwest Coast. To his chagrin, the Haida spurned the iron objects he
had brought to trade. He found the Haida attired in coats and trousers rather than cloaks, and willing to accept only fashionable clothing in exchange for their furs. The Boston men had little extra clothing. The trader returned to the brig, described his disappointment in the vessel's journal, and pondered possible strategies.

Political and then commercial forces brought these ships to Haida Gwaii and thus drew the archipelago into European and American spheres of representation. Mid-eighteenth-century British, French and Russian incursions into the Pacific awakened Spain from centuries of complacency regarding its exclusive right to the area. The Spanish responded by establishing a naval base on the Pacific coast of New Spain, from which they began a series of expeditions to the Northwest Coast intended to assert their control and discourage other nations. While their 1774 expedition, the first documented voyage to reach the Northwest Coast below Alaska (as we now know it), was a reconnaissance mission without trade motives, it answered forays from Kamchatka that were crossing the North Pacific and extending the Russian search for trade down the west coast of America. Unlike the Spanish excursion, the British expedition that reached Haida Gwaii in 1787 and the American expedition that arrived in 1791 were commercial enterprises that sought exploitable resources, markets, and lands to colonize (Pratt 30). Captain James Cook's third voyage (1776-1780) had precipitated the shift from scientific to commercial goals. Cook set out with two principal purposes, namely to map more of the Pacific and to search for a Northwest Passage between Europe and the Orient. However, when sailors on Cook's voyage traded for sea otter skins at Nootka Sound in 1778, then discovered feverish demand for those furs in Macao and Canton, they returned to England with tales of riches that brought commercial imagination to bear on the Northwest Coast. The spate of accounts from
the voyage that appeared at the beginning of the 1780s tipped the balance from science to commerce, sharply redirecting European interest in the northern parts of the Pacific towards geographies of capital. The accounts directed the search for exploitable resources and trade routes to the Northwest Coast, which became a promised land, where European manufactured goods ranging from beads to copper kettles would be traded for furs on favorable terms. This "soft gold" would in turn command the finest silks, teas, spices and porcelains at Canton. The final leg would return the ships to Europe, laden with Oriental treasures. Traders hastened to organize expeditions from wherever they could cobble together ships, crews and trade items. Expeditions sailed from the Orient, from Europe and from New England, all destined for King George's Sound or Prince William's Sound or Cook's Inlet, or points in between. Some of the ships disappeared without a trace, while traders on board those that arrived on the Northwest Coast encountered physical and cultural geographies that they struggled to incorporate into conventional modes of representation.

In this section of *Islands at the Boundary of the World*, I examine Spanish accounts of Haida Gwaii from the 1774 expedition, British representations from the 1787 visit and American representations from several voyages in the 1790s. Australian historian Greg Dening's analysis of early encounters between European sailors and Natives in the South Pacific provides a helpful analogy when analyzing early encounters in the North Pacific. Dening focuses on voyages (especially Cook's second voyage and William Bligh's fateful voyage) made at approximately the same time as these early visits to Haida Gwaii. In *Performances*, Dening describes the nations of Europe "acting out their scientific, humanistic selves" (109) in a drama that constituted the Pacific as a theatre of empire:

It was a time of intensive theatre of the civilised to the native, but of even more
intense theatre of the civilised to one another. The civilised jostled to see what the
Pacific said to them of their relations of dominance. They vied in testing the
extensions of their sovereignty and the effectiveness of their presence — through
territorial possession, protected lines of communication, exemplary empire. They
shouted to the natives, in that loud and slow way we use to communicate with those
that do not share our language, the meaning of flags and cannons and property and
trade, and lessons of civilised behaviour. (109)

The accounts of Euro-American contact with Haida in the final decades of the eighteenth
century reveal this desire to perform in specific ways for different audiences. As we shall see
in chapter 1, the Spanish sailors who arrived at Haida Gwaii in 1774 performed only briefly
for the Haida whom they encountered. The sailors were, to continue the metaphor, a troupe
dispatched to the northern margins of the Pacific theatre to comply with the directions of the
viceroy to New Spain. The directions, presented to Captain Juan Pérez as a list of thirty-two
articles of instruction, scripted the voyage so that it was performed to discourage European
and Russian interests from making incursions into the North Pacific, a region that Spain
considered its exclusive domain. However, the officers and sailors who acted out the
Spanish performance had little heart for their undertaking. They enacted the voyage only to
the extent that it complied with a sketchy interpretation of the viceroy’s instructions.

The reports of Captain Cook’s third voyage shattered the viceroy’s hopes for
sustaining Spanish dominance in the North Pacific. The jostling of civilized interests in the
area was quickly re-scripted in commercial terms, with the British having an initial advantage
resulting from the availability of capital, ships and sailing expertise. The traders who hurried
to the Northwest Coast with scripts based on commercial principles vied with each other to
acquire furs, the currency with which they would convert the manufactured European goods of their outbound voyages into the Oriental goods they desired for the homeward voyages. To perform these commercial scripts, the civilized had to negotiate trade with the Natives. The British expedition that arrived at Haida Gwaii in 1787, the subject of chapter 2, encountered Haida eager to trade their furs for iron at rates so advantageous to the British that the sailors considered the Natives to be lacking in shrewdness. As the British sailed away from Haida Gwaii, they were satisfied with their performance, for “in one fortunate month” at the islands they named “Queen Charlotte’s Isles” they had acquired more furs than during the rest of their two seasons on the coast (Dixon 229).

Although reports from Cook’s third voyage about trading prospects on the Northwest Coast circulated in New England early in the 1780s, the first Boston ships did not reach the Northwest Coast until 1788 (Scofield 11-27). However, the ensuing jostling between English and American traders to contest relations of dominance in the fur trade was soon resolved in favour of the upstarts. By the early 1790s as many Boston men as King George men plied the Northwest Coast and by the turn of the century the British had conceded the trade to the Americans (Gibson 299-301). As I show in chapter 3, the Americans won the trade from the British by performing their own meanings of flags and cannons and property and trade, and their own lessons of civilized behaviour.

The representations of Haida Gwaii that these early visitors constructed within some twenty years register dramatic differences among the newcomers. This section of Islands at the Boundary of the World analyzes the ambivalence toward the Northwest Coast exhibited in the Spanish accounts, the proclaimed and implicit principles of the British account, and the range of representations — from descriptions of ruthless trading tactics to reflections upon
their own treatment by Haida — found in the journals of the Americans.
In July 1774, the Spanish frigate the *Santiago* plowed northward through chilly southerly storms, keeping well out to sea from what the Spanish referred to as "la costa septentrional de Californias," the northern coast of the Californias. The Spanish king's representative in New Spain had instructed those on board to proceed northward to a suitable point, then to bear eastward until they reached land at sixty degrees of latitude. He also instructed four of those on board — the captain, the mate, and two chaplains — to keep daily accounts of their journeys. All four journals suggest that conditions on board were miserable and the mood was glum as the overcrowded ship ran before one after another unseasonably cold southeaster or southwester. At 8 a.m. on 15 July, the captain called a meeting of the officers and chaplains, at which the officers decided to veer northeastward toward land from their position near the fifty-first parallel rather than continue northward to the assigned sixtieth parallel. After sailing northeastward for three days, on 18 July they sighted land at 53° 53' North latitude. Continual showers, fog and southeast winds prevented them from anchoring on that or the following day, but by late afternoon of 19 July conditions finally allowed the ship to approach land. Natives paddled out to welcome the visitors by chanting songs and sprinkling swan and eagle feathers on the water. The four journals provide the earliest documentation of a visit by Euro-Americans to Haida Gwaii (or to any part of what is now the British Columbia coast); they also reveal many of the preconceptions that the visitors brought to that first encounter.
The voyage of the *Santiago* in July 1774 had among its principal preceding circumstances a 1493 decree, a 1741 Russian voyage that made land just north of Haida Gwaii, and the energetic administration of Spanish interests in the Californias by the newly appointed (in 1771) viceroy of New Spain. These antecedents informed the ways in which those on board imagined their destination before they arrived and understood their landfall when they arrived.

**The decree**

In 1493, the Most Holy Father, Alexander VI, allotted to Spain all territories in the New World, beginning at a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The proclamation was known as the Papal Bull. However, Spain’s exclusive right to “the Indies” was contested by the other preeminent naval power and global player of the day, Portugal. On 7 June 1494, in the Castilian town of Tordesillas, the two nations negotiated a treaty which redefined their spheres of interest in the New World so that Portugal had exclusive rights to unexplored territories east of a meridian three hundred seventy leagues west of the Cape Verdes, while Spain assumed control of all lands west of the line. In practice, the two powers accepted 60° West as the boundary between their possessions, so that, for example, the Portuguese laid claim to Brazil while the Spanish colonized Florida and most of the West Indies. The Spanish assumed that the Papal Bull and the Treaty of Tordesillas gave them exclusive jurisdiction in the Mar del Sur, as the Pacific Ocean was then known. Mariners of other European nations, particularly the Dutch, British, and French, chipped away at this proscription. Thus, for example, the corsairs Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish would terrorize Spanish shipping and outposts in the Mar del Sur in 1579.
and 1587, respectively, while Cromwell would seize Jamaica in 1655. Spain, for its part, initially sent expeditions northward from New Spain to explore the Northwest Coast and establish Spanish presence in the area. However, after a 1602 expedition under the command of Sebastián Vizcaino pushed north to the forty-second parallel, the latitude of southern Oregon, the viceroy of New Spain forbade any further Spanish exploration of the Northwest Coast, arguing that the cost of mounting such expeditions was excessive and that the least troublesome way to prevent foreign interest in the area was to demonstrate no Spanish interest. This policy of indifference persisted for a century and a half.

Challenges to Spain’s exclusive right to colonize the western portions of the New World increased as the balance of maritime power and mercantile strength tilted toward northern European nations, where modernization fostered foreign adventure and colonial expansion. As John Naish states regarding Francis Drake’s rather casual claim to most of the Pacific Coast of North America as the British territory of New Albion, “For Spain, such claims . . . were absurd refutations by a heretic nation of a Papal gift and the subsequent Treaty of Tordesillas. For England, territory was claimed by right of prior exploration or by uncontested settlement, or both. The two countries could never see [eye-to-eye regarding] these fundamental questions of sovereignty” (9).

The Russian voyage

Perhaps surprisingly, the immediate threat that disturbed Spain from its quiescent administration of the areas north and west of New Spain came from Russia, by way of the North Pacific, rather than from England by way of Cape Horn. In 1728, Vitus Bering, a Danish-born officer of the Russian Imperial Navy, sailed northeastward from the Kamchatka
Peninsula into the strait that now bears his name. Recent scholarship has debated whether the main purpose of the expedition was to gather scientific and geographical knowledge or to reach North America with a view toward establishing trade and territorial rights. Bering did not sail far enough east to sight the Alaskan mainland or to prove conclusively that no land bridge existed between Asia and Bolshaya Zemlia, the “big land” to the east. Thus, the Second Kamchatka Expedition was planned, with a greater emphasis on territorial prerogatives as well as an international contingent of naturalists and scientists. In June 1741, the packet-boats Sviatoi Petr (St. Peter) and Sviatoi Pavel (St. Paul) sailed from Petropavlovsk, the harbour on Kamchatka named to honour the two ships, which had been built there. Bering commanded the Sv. Petr, while Alexei Chirikov, a Russian naval captain who had participated in the 1728 expedition, commanded the Sv. Pavel. On 20 June the vessels became separated during a rampaging storm, after which they carried out independent voyages (Divin 139-40). Chirikov sighted land at dawn on 15 July, noting that “We realized without doubt that this was part of America because according to the map published by the Nürnberg geographer Johann Baptist Homann [in 1712] and others several known America places are not very far from this place” (qtd. in Divin 156). The land he sighted is Baker Island, situated west of Prince of Wales Island, at 55° 20’ North latitude; it lies some forty-five nautical miles north of Langara Island, and therefore out of sight of Haida Gwaii. Chirikov turned northwestward along the rocky, surf-swept coast. On 18 July, he dispatched an eleven-member landing party in the ship’s longboat, in search of drinking water and a bay suitable for anchoring. The landing party had instructions about how to interact with any Natives it encountered; it also carried a supply of copper and iron goods (plus two hundred beads and ten rubles) to bestow as gifts. Chirikov instructed the party “to build a big fire”
once ashore, so that various information could be signalled; furthermore, the party was to return to the _Sv. Pavel_ within twenty-four hours (Divin 160). The longboat disappeared around a point, after which the _Sv. Pavel_ stood under sail as near the shore as conditions permitted. After five days of futilely watching for any sign of the longboat or its occupants, Chirikov concluded that the boat must be damaged. He therefore sent, in the _Sv. Pavel_’s only remaining boat, the boatswain, the carpenter, a caulker, and a sailor to assist the original landing party and to signal information to the packet-boat. Chirikov’s written orders to the boatswain are poignant:

> Upon arriving on shore, he was to signal his arrival by fire; and it was specified to him that he should indicate by various fires the condition in which he found the boat with the seamen to be and that he should leave the carpenter and caulker to repair the boat and he, without delay, was to return to the packet-boat bringing the fleet master and as many sailors as possible. For this purpose we will approach close to shore where there have been big waves and from which we withdrew with difficulty for the sails did little against the waves. (Divin 161)

The boat disappeared around the same point of land as had the longboat. Chirikov approached the shore, as near as possible. Alas, he entered in the packet-boat’s log, the boatswain “did not make the signals arranged by me and did not return to us in the expected time” (Divin 162).

On the afternoon of 25 July, seven days after the longboat had been dispatched and two days after the smaller boat had followed, the Russians saw two boats come from the area in question. The _Sv. Pavel_ went to meet them, but Chirikov noted that “we discerned that the boat [sic] being rowed was not ours because it was pointed in shape and . . . they rowed with
paddles at the side" (Divin 162). The men in the boats stood, cried “agai, agai,” and waved their arms. As the packet-boat plodded toward them, the men in the boats speedily returned behind the same perplexing point. Chirikov summed up the conclusions of those on board the packet-boat:

We were convinced that the men sent from us have undoubtedly met misfortune because eight days-and-nights have passed for the fleet master since his despatch, and there has been enough time for him to return. . . . If no misfortune has happened to them, then by the present time they should have returned to us. We can expect this because the Americans did not dare to approach our packet-boat since those on shore dealt with the men sent from us as enemies, either killing them or holding them captive. (Divin 163)

Scholarship is divided about the probable fates of the fifteen Russian sailors. Divin thinks that Chirikov’s explanation is correct (164). Others assume that the boats capsized in the tidal currents of Lisianski Strait, with the loss of all hands, and that the cry “agai, agai” approximates “come here” in Tlingit. Whatever the fates of the fifteen sailors from the Sv. Pavel, for Chirikov and his remaining crew the coast and the aboriginals who forayed from it represented a frighteningly concrete example of the there-be-monsters trope that then marked the boundaries of the known world.

With the loss of the Sv. Pavel’s only two boats Chirikov was forced to turn the packet-boat westward. Desperately short of food and water, with the crew ravaged by scurvy, he miraculously reached Petropavlovsk on 12 October. Bering was less fortunate: the Sv. Petr reached North America one day later than did the Sv. Pavel, approximately two hundred fifty nautical miles further north. Much to the chagrin of the naturalists and
scientists on board, Bering almost immediately turned west, but he dallied as the *Sv. Petr* worked its way southwest along the Alaska Peninsula. The delay proved deadly. Heavy weather hindered their return to such an extent that, on 6 November, Bering beached the packet-boat on what he hoped was Kamchatka, but was actually a small island more than one hundred miles east of Petropavlovsk. He and many of his crew perished there that winter. In August 1742, the survivors sailed into Petropavlovsk in a boat they had built from the wreckage of the *Sv. Petr*.

Russian cossacks quickly took advantage of geographical knowledge that resulted from Chirikov's and Bering's voyages by pressing eastward along the Aleutians to trade for furs. Meanwhile, reports from the voyages circulated in St. Petersburg. In particular, the papers of the French astronomer on board the *Sv. Pavel*, Louis Delisle de la Croyère, who had died of scurvy before the packet-boat returned to Petropavlovsk, reached his half-brother Joseph Delisle, an astronomer at the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. He returned to Paris, where he and his brother-in-law published, in 1752, a map entitled *Carte des Nouvelles Découvertes entre la partie Orient. de l'Asie et l'Occid. de l'Amerique*, which accurately depicts the routes of the *Sv. Petr* and *Sv. Pavel* in 1741. A Russian map published in 1758 by the Royal Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, entitled *Nouvelle Carte des Découvertes Faites par des Vaisseaux Russiens aux Côtes Inconnues de l'Amerique Septentrionale Avec les Pais Adjacents*, outlines the North American Coast from the *Mer Glaciale* as far south as the *Partie de Californie*. The maps, combined with rumours about the expansion of Russian fur trading activity eastward across the North Pacific, eventually drew official Spanish attention. When diplomatic relations between Madrid and St. Petersburg were repaired in 1760, following a twenty-year rift, the Spanish ambassador responded to a direct
query from Madrid concerning Russian activities in the North Pacific with a report “so
detailed” that “he must have had access to excellent sources, committing what surely would
have been considered espionage, had the tsar known of it, to obtain the data” (Warren Cook
46). The ambassador included in his report the 1758 Russian map of the North Pacific.
When, in 1768, the new Spanish ambassador to St. Petersburg reported that Empress
Catherine II was directing increased resources toward expansion into the North Pacific, Spain
was roused to action. In essence, geopolitical circuits centered in St. Petersburg, with links
to Paris and across northern Asia to Kamchatka and the North Pacific, had finally shocked
Madrid from its complacent approach toward la costa septentrional. The Russian incursion
that in 1741 had brought Chirikov to within forty-five nautical miles of Haida Gwaii was
about to be answered.

The instructions
In 1765, Spain appointed a special visitador to assist the viceroy of New Spain in reassessing
and, if necessary, reorganizing Spanish interests in North America. Visitador General José
de Gálvez and viceroy Marqués de Croix drafted a plan that expressed, “better than any other
document, the theory behind the effort that would colonize Alta California, explore to the
Aleutians, and occupy Nootka” (W. Cook 48). The document stressed the complications that
would result if English and Dutch corsairs who sailed into the Pacific from the south or
Russian traders who sailed across from the north established settlements in Alta California:
“it could not be deemed impossible, or even very difficult, that one of the two nations, or the
Russians, when least expected, might establish a colony in the Port of Monterey, and
possessing in it such proportions and commodities as might be desired, we would see our
North America invaded by and disputed from the South Sea as it is from the North.” The 1768 plan also attended to overland threats from the British, noting that “England, owner now, as a result of the late war, of Canada and a great part of Louisiana, will spare no expense, diligence or effort to advance discoveries” toward the western portions of the continent. 30 Thus, the Spanish colonizing of California began in earnest in 1768 with Gálvez’s proposal for a chain of missions, within a day’s ride of each other, extending all the way to Monterey. Concomitantly, he proposed that a base of naval operations on the Gulf of California be established to support the missions and protect them from seafaring foreign incursions. That naval base took form at San Blas.

Meanwhile, in dispatches dated October 1772 and February 1773, the Conde de Lacy, the most recent Spanish ambassador to St. Petersburg, reported details of exciting new Russian discoveries in America, clandestinely obtained from “someone who had ‘read and handled’ the tsarina’s most secret archives” (W. Cook 54). In April 1773, Lacy’s letters were forwarded to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua, the newly appointed viceroy of New Spain, with instructions to determine whether the Russian explorations were going ahead (W. Cook 54-55). Bucareli, like Gálvez an energetic and imaginative administrator, informed Juan Pérez, the senior pilot in the Naval Department of San Blas, of the Crown’s concerns about foreign encroachment along the coasts of the Californias. He requested Pérez to prepare plans for an expedition from San Blas to the northern latitudes to discourage foreign incursions. 31 Pérez’s proposal, submitted to Mexico City in September 1773, recommended that the recently launched frigate *Santiago* undertake the mission; that the expedition should depart in December, January, or February; that it should be provisioned for a voyage of one year; and that provisions and crew could be requisitioned from the presidios of Alta
California (Thurman 120). Viceroy Bucareli informed Madrid of the contemporary view from New Spain of Russian activities on the Pacific and requested full support for the Naval Department of San Blas. In the same dispatch of July 1773, he counselled that “any establishment by Russia, or any other foreign power, on the continent ought to be prevented, not because the king needs to enlarge his realms, as he has within his known dominions more than it will be possible to populate in centuries, but in order to avoid consequences brought by having any other neighbors [there] than the Indians” (qtd. in W. Cook 55). Madrid heeded the warning. King Carlos III approved Bucareli’s request and assigned six naval officers to San Blas. It would take those academy-trained officers some months to reach the colony and cross to the Pacific port. In the meantime, Bucareli issued detailed plans for an immediate expedition under the command of the veteran pilot, Juan Pérez.

On 24 December 1773, Bucareli forwarded to Pérez a set of formal instructions that consisted of thirty-two articles plus an attached formulary or model for taking possession of land deemed terra nullius. The articles specified that Pérez was to receive the full complement of sailors and soldiers that he had requested (III); that the Santiago should be provisioned for a “prolonged sea voyage” of twelve months (IV); that Pérez “should depart” when he considered “it suitable, according to his judgment and experience” (V); that the captain was “strictly” warned to stop at Monterey “only long enough to unload whatever is to remain at that presidio” (VI); that he was to ascend to the latitude which he considered “suitable, keeping in mind that the landing is to be made at sixty degrees of latitude” (VII); that he was to “make the most minute exploration” of the coast as he sailed southward (VIII), without making any settlements (IX), yet following the possession-taking ceremonies outlined in the formulary (X). Should Pérez discover any foreign settlement, he was to
“avoid intercourse with it,” yet “observe whatever he” could from a distance (XIII). If he encountered another vessel “he must be very careful and must use all the means available to avoid communication”; if communication proved inevitable, Pérez was to “endeavor to conceal the purpose of his voyage” (XIV). He was to treat any Natives he found on the lands visited “affectionately,” then gather information about their customs, characteristics, and religion. He would be on the lookout for metals, grains, and spices. The viceroy emphasized that Pérez “must also learn, by any means possible, if the Indians have ever seen other vessels before” (XIX). Bucareli devoted five articles to accounts of the expedition, instructing captain and pilot that “from the very moment” they set sail from San Blas, they were to keep logbooks, from which “nothing should be missing . . . that may be instructive or may furnish information and data for the voyage” (XXV-XXIX). Article XXXI informed the captain: “Notwithstanding that the charts published in St. Petersburg in the years 1758 and 1773, concerning the alleged voyages of the Russians, may be of little use to him, copies are included so that he may not be without this information.” In sum, the viceroy’s instructions manifested his desire to thwart foreign encroachment in northern New Spain without stirring foreign curiosity. He was sending Pérez on a mission that had conflicting goals. The expedition was to gather detailed information about several specified topics, from a vast geographical area, and was to perform possession-taking activities over much of that area. Yet, paradoxically, it was to perform both the reconnaissance and the ceremonial acts without alerting potential rivals to Spanish activity in the area. Significantly, Bucareli made no mention of furs and expressed only fact-finding interest in other exploitable resources. Thus, the Spanish crew had no prospect of profits, unlike the sailors from other nations who followed in the Santiago’s wake. The Spanish impulse was stealthily territorial yet devoid of
commercial underpinnings.

The Spanish voyage

Even as the viceroy awaited confirmation from Madrid of his plans to increase support to San Blas, he carried on a flattering correspondence with Pérez that insisted the veteran pilot imagine an expedition of grand scale. Bucareli had written to Pérez in July 1773, explaining that since “by various means” he had learned of Pérez’s “eager wishes to carry forward discoveries following the coastline from Monterey,” and as such wishes “were laudable and proper of one who would perform with honour,” and as the viceroy was “animated by the same ideas,” would Pérez explain as soon as possible his scheme for such an excursion (Cook 56)? Daunted, Pérez stalled for time. The viceroy responded that complete instructions would be forthcoming and that Pérez should prepare a plan in the interim. By September, Pérez had decided that he would indeed like to sail to 45° or 50° latitude to confirm whether a Russian fort existed there, then reconnoiter the coastline as he returned southward (Cook 56). Scholarship diverges regarding how Bucareli’s instructions of 24 December were conveyed to Pérez: Michael Thurman suggests that Pérez received the instructions in full so that, “material preparation completed, and with his detailed instructions together with the formularies, Juan Pérez was duly outfitted for his quest of the northern coasts of California” (126). Warren Cook takes a strikingly different view, stating that Pérez “was ordered” to keep the “secret instructions” dated 24 December sealed until the Santiago sailed from Monterey, the last port of call on the northward journey (56). In either case, Pérez seems to have followed some of the thirty-two instructions to the letter. For example, while the Santiago, at eighty-two feet in length and twenty-six in beam, was designed to
carry a crew of sixty-four, the viceroy had specified a complement of eighty-six. The frigate sailed from San Blas at midnight on 24 January 1774 with that precise assortment of crew, including the instructed number of stewards, helmsmen, seamen, apprentice seamen, cabin boys, and cooks, as well as captain, pilot, surgeon, boatswain, first and second boatswain's mates, first and second caulker, and two chaplains, plus the requisite deck load of fowl, hogs, goats, and bullocks to keep the cooks occupied. That the majority of the crew were campesinos rather than sailors, entirely unsuitable for such a major expedition, would be proven only when the frigate reached northern latitudes.37

On 28 February, while sailing through the Santa Barbara channel, Pérez realized that, "owing to an oversight at San Blas," the Santiago had sailed without an adequate supply of spare masts (Thurman 131). He therefore turned and sailed south to San Diego, disregarding the tenor, if not the strict letter, of the viceroy's orders, which implied that he should stop only at Monterey, and then only briefly. Some five weeks later, on 5 April, Pérez departed San Diego, arriving at Monterey on 8 May. He departed that final port of call on 11 June, after another respite of five weeks. In my readings of the four journals from the voyage of the Santiago, a plethora of observations such as this case of the "oversight at San Blas" lead me to conclude that the frigate was "creaky," as I claim at the beginning of this chapter. I conclude that at several opportunities Pérez minimized the range, extent and duration of the expedition and maximized the time the vessel remained in various ports. I believe that the frigate, the first vessel built and launched at San Blas, did not inspire Pérez's confidence.

Conditions on board eighteenth-century sailing ships were appalling, especially for "the people" who lived before the mast, crowded into the fo’c’’le.38 The published translations of the journals kept by those on board the Santiago suggest that conditions on
board the crowded frigate were dreadful and morale abominable — although since all the accounts from the journey were written to comply with the viceroy’s specific instructions and to be submitted to him at the conclusion of the journey, criticism is extremely guarded (unlike that found in most journals from the English and American voyages to the Northwest Coast that soon followed Pérez’s voyage). Three factors particularly troubled Pérez as the *Santiago* plodded northward.

First, those on board were encountering weather that may or may not have been unseasonably cold, but for which they had little heart. One month out from Monterey, Fray Tomas de la Peña, the junior chaplain, writes that “a great deal of water came from the fog so that it seemed a storm of rain. This continued all day and the night following. The afternoon was cold and the night more so, and they said that rain fell frozen” (151). The next day, 12 July, the captain relates that the “weather was just as in our country in winter, cold and heavy with dense dark clouds” (Beals 72). The senior chaplain, Fray Juan Crespi, writes the following day that the wind was “so strong that we made three miles an hour. At seven o’clock in the morning a heavy fog came on” (219), while “On Friday, the 15th, the same heavy, damp fog was present at dawn, together with the cold, drizzling rain of previous days” (221). As the *Santiago* approached Haida Gwaii, the Spanish were experiencing that extreme discomfort with northerliness so prevalent among southern sailors. As Alexander von Humboldt would observe about “this coast” some three decades later, it “appears an uninhabitable land, a polar region to colonists from a temperate climate” (2:340).

The second concern was a perceived shortage of fresh water on board the frigate. Crespi writes that, on 14 July, “the Captain said our position was 50° 24’. At nine in the morning the Captain ordered the course to be made north, and said that he had gone about in
order to make a landfall. He did this, he said, because he had examined into the condition of the water supply and found that there was water for, at most, two months and a half” (219, 221). The reported water shortage drew commentary in Mexico soon after the voyage, and continues to be debated. Thurman describes the “unusually high consumption of water aboard the Santiago” as “most difficult to explain” (134 n20). The design of the frigate included ample fresh water capacity, albeit for a crew of sixty-four rather than eighty-six, and Bucareli’s instructions to Pérez specified that the vessel was to be properly provisioned “for the prolonged sea voyage . . . being undertaken” (IV). The water supply would have been replenished at Monterey, the final port of call on the northward journey. That a shortage of drinking water should require the captain to alter the vessel’s course five weeks later is indeed difficult to explain. Thurman hints at a sinister reason when he contends that “this lack of water was caused by the failure of Juan Pérez to fulfill his orders, in sailing to 60° N. latitude and exploring the coastal regions southward from that point” (134 n20). In other words, the water shortage was imagined, an excuse to veer from Bucareli’s instructed course.

The third concern was sickness. Fray Peña reports on 17 July “an observation in 53° 13’,” which would have been in the latitude of Haida Gwaii, opposite the large island we now know as Graham Island. The next day he casually notes that piloto Don Esteban “was bled again . . . bled for the purpose of alleviating an inflammation of the face” (155). On the morning of the 19th Peña laconically notes that “As bleeding had brought no relief to Don Esteban, he had a tooth pulled” (155). As the frigate makes toward land, the piloto or first mate, arguably the only navigating officer and decision-maker on board in addition to Pérez, is at the mercy of el sangrador or blood-letter, whom English sailors would have termed “the leech.” Meanwhile, scurvy begins to debilitate many of the Spanish sailors. A candid
journal entry for 18 August reveals the degree to which the threat of scurvy worries Pérez as
the frigate sails northward toward an unknown destination, during the months of June and
July. In the entry, written after the frigate had made land and turned south, the captain states
that those on board are experiencing “continual very humid fog that looks like rain with
snow, and so cold that it has made nearly all of us sick.” “The entire crew is disheartened,”
he continues. “Some 14 to 16 are much afflicted by scurvy and in very serious condition”
(95). Fray Peña notes on 19 August the belief common among sailors before Captain James
Cook revolutionized attitudes toward scurvy:

> I think that this dampness is the cause of mal de Loanda, or scurvy; for, although
during the whole voyage there have been some persons affected with this sickness,
these cases have not been as aggravated as they are now, when there are more than
twenty men unfit for duty, in addition to which many others, though able to go about,
have sores in the mouth and on the legs; and I believe that if God does not send better
weather soon the greater part of the crew must perish with this disease, from the rate
they are falling sick of it during these days of wet and cold fog. (193, 195)

By the 1770s, British mariners, following the example of Cook, were taking an active interest
in the health and welfare of their crews. In particular, they were beginning to associate
antiscorbutics, hygiene, and exercise with the prevention of scurvy. As a result of his
precautions, during his third voyage of 1776-1780, Cook lost to illness but five men on the
Resolution and none on the Discovery. The Spanish, however, continued to view scurvy as
an ethereal force connected with fog, rain, and dampness, the conditions that prevailed on the
Northwest Coast. At times during the Pérez expedition, scurvy immobilized two thirds of the
Santiago’s crew. The troubled mood had been brewing as the frigate sailed toward land
one month earlier.

On 16 July, Pérez notes in his journal: “At 5 in the evening signs of land were seen which looked like onions because they had a large head and tail. The Chinese commonly call them porras, and they flourish in the water, usually being found 80 and 100 leagues from the coast” (74). Even as they spotted these signs of shore, those on board the Santiago had lost whatever collective desire to sail north they may have had when they began the voyage.

The visit

Fray Juan Crespi describes the Spaniards’ first meeting with Haida:

And we noticed that a canoe came out from a break in the land like the mouth of a river and was paddled toward the ship. While it was still distant from the vessel we heard the people in it singing, and by the intonation we knew that they were pagans, for it was the same sung at the dances of pagans from San Diego to Monterey. Presently they drew near the ship and we saw that they were eight men and a boy. Seven of them were paddling; the other, who was advanced in years, was upright and making dancing movements. Throwing several feathers into the sea, they made a turn about the ship. (225, 227)

A second canoe was manned by “pagans” who were “corpulent and fat, having good features with a red and white complexion and long hair. They were clothed in skins of the otter and the seawolf, as it seemed to us, and all, or most of them, wore well woven hats of rushes, the crown running up to a point. They are not noisy brawlers, all appearing to us to be of a mild and gentle disposition” (227). Crespi perceives the Haida through the lens with which he is most familiar, an ideology of conversion to Christianity. When the canoe “was still distant”
the sailors could gaze from the deck of their frigate, hear the singing, classify the canoe’s occupants as “pagans,” and compare them to other objects of the gaze located “from San Diego to Monterey.” Thus, the welcoming gestures of the Haida are interpreted as lacking, requiring conversion. The Spanish clergyman makes no effort to interpret the overtures of the Natives. Instead, Fray Crespi applies the tropes with which he is versed. He objectifies the occupants of the canoe, and categorizes them so that they fulfill his own need that they be heathens.

Captain Pérez applies a different paradigm:

... at 3 in the afternoon we descried 3 canoes, which came toward us. At 4:30 they arrived alongside, and in the meanwhile we took the occasion to examine the character of these people and their things. ... The first thing they did when they approached within about a musket shot of the ship was to begin singing in unison their motet and to cast their feathers on the water, as the Indians do at the Santa Barbara Channel. ... Their canoes are very well made and of one piece, except for the farca on the gunwale. They are very swift. The Indians row with neatly-made oars or paddles that are one and one-half varas long. All their commerce amounts to giving animal pelts such as seals, sea otters and bears. ... It was not noted that they had any weapons. They invited us by signs to come ashore, and we signaled that on the next day we would go there.43 (Beals 75-77)

Pérez is first and foremost a mariner, concerned for his ship and its crew. As such he gazes at the Haida as they approach, yet focuses on their canoe, calculating its distance in terms of “a musket shot.” He objectifies, calibrates and measures the canoe, its occupants and their equipment in relation to his vessel. In his Diario for the following day, Pérez relates at
length the brisk trade achieved on 20 July, but his commercial interest is clearly secondary to his navigational concerns. When the wind freshens on the morning of 21 July, the Santiago sails south with the captain, chaplains and sailors foregoing the invitations to come ashore. The accounts by Crespi and Pérez are extreme instances of what James Clifford terms "the monological control" visiting writers have traditionally assumed when they describe sites of travel interaction (23). 

I have argued that the Spanish frigate was sent to the area to compensate for the lack of previous Spanish voyages to the coast north of California and to assuage Spanish fear of Russian probes into the area, and that the commanders of the Santiago contravened their instructions. When they made land, the mariners were relieved of much of the uncertainty that had plagued them as they sailed northward into waters that were, for them, largely uncharted and terrifyingly inclement. They also found relief in the appearance and manners of the Natives they encountered. In short, the Spanish were able to perceive the Haida (and later the Nuu-chah-nulth) whom they encountered within the ethnographies they had developed in their interactions with other indigenes. The Haida did not unduly disrupt the Spanish expectations.

Consider the visitors' assumptions about the presence of iron. Captain Pérez "noticed among them some things made of iron in the canoes, such as instruments for cutting, like half of a bayonet and a piece of a sword" (Beals 78). Piloto or first mate Esteban José Martínez wrote in his Diario that he "noticed in their canoes some small plates of iron and some other stone implements. But what surprised me was to see among them half a bayonet and another [paddler] with a piece of a sword made into a knife" (Beals 101). Martínez explains the presence of iron among the Natives by glancing from the Santiago's position, near the
northwest corner of Haida Gwaii, across the body of water now called Dixon Entrance, toward the islands that comprise the southernmost tip of the present Alaskan panhandle.

“This land is at about 55 degrees and 30 minutes,” he writes, then speculates that “it is the same place where the lieutenant of captain Bering, Mons’ Chirikov, lost his launch and crewmen in the same month of July in the year 1741. I believe that the iron possessed by these Indians may be relics from the unfortunate men who embarked in said launch” (Beals 102). Fray Peña, often the more observant of the two friars on board the Santiago, also fastens onto the presence of iron tools among the Natives:

About five o’clock this canoe, and another in which there were six pagans, caught up with us, both drawing up to our stern. The captain made them a present of some strings of beads and they gave us some dried fish. But they would not come on board the ship. These persons are well-built, white, with long hair; and they were clothed in pelts and skins, some of them were bearded. They had some iron implements in their canoes, but we were unable to inquire where they obtained them, for presently they went back to land, inviting us thither, and offering to give us water on the following day. (157, 159)

Similarly, Fray Crespi peered down into the canoes and “saw two very large harpoons for fishing and two axes. One of these seemed, on account of the shining appearance of the edge, to be of iron; but I could not verify this. We saw that the head of one of the harpoons was of iron, and it looked like that of a boarding pike” (227, 229). “It astonished us,” Crespi admits after a lengthy trading session the following day, “to find that the women wore rings on their fingers and bracelets, of iron and copper. These things I saw on several women, and the sailors who saw them nearer assured me that there was a woman who had five or six rings
of iron and copper on the fingers of her hands. We saw these metals, though not to any great amount, in their possession, and we noted their appreciation of these metals, especially those meant for cutting” (239).

The assiduity with which Pérez, Martínez, Peña and Crespi react to the presence of iron among the Natives and write about that iron in their journals signifies ways that these initial Euro-American visitors to Haida Gwaii imagined their destination in advance. Why was Martínez on the one hand surprised by the iron, on the other so ready to trace its presence to Chirikov?47 The Spanish sailors are predisposed to view the Natives of the Northwest Coast as the Spanish had viewed Natives elsewhere in the Americas for two and three-quarter centuries: “Other indigenes do not have iron, so indigenes on la costa septentrional cannot have iron.” When they encounter Natives who indeed possess iron, the Spanish produce an explanation: the Natives must have directly or indirectly acquired the iron from Chirikov’s men.

Assessing the Spanish representations

What did the four diarists on board the Santiago know about the geography of their destination before their arrival? The Pérez expedition did not simply sail six degrees shy of its commissioned destination and then ineffectively retreat to warmer climates. Rather, it sailed into uncharted, fog-shrouded waters, contacted Haida and Nuu-chah-nulth peoples, and recorded these meetings in a spirit dramatically different than the there-be-monsters trope that accounts of Chirikov’s journey had (perhaps understandably) disseminated. However vague their imagined destination, the Spanish did not sail into a void.48 When they made land and contacted Natives, they knew where they were situated in relation to
Chirikov’s misadventure. In advance of their visit, the Spanish had read whatever literature of the islands they could obtain. For Pérez and his three fellow diarists, that literature consisted of both the rumors of Russian advances down the coast and quite specific information about Chirikov’s 1741 journey. Thus, *Piloto Martinez* (mistakenly) locates their encounter with Haida at “the same place where” Chirikov “lost his launch and crewmen in the same month of July” forty-three years earlier. It would be unhistorical to allow our current geographical imaginations to view as naive Martinez’s insistence on the sameness of the 1774 Spanish-Haida encounter to the 1741 Russian-Tlingit encounter.

Charles Lillard, writing affectionately of the earliest accounts as “giv[ing] a shape to the north-coast geography,” points toward ways that Juan de Fuca symbolizes “the urge to go north into the unknown, but not far enough (physically, psychologically, mythically) to possibly lose one’s self.”\(^49\) In Lillard’s reconstruction, “the Haida and the Islands enter our history” in de Fuca’s story of his 1592 voyage to such an extent that “the Islands become the idealization of *the northern mystery and imaginary geography*” (*Ghostland* 43). While the Spaniards on board the *Santiago* in 1774 sought *la costa septentrional de Californias* generically, without seeking Haida Gwaii specifically, it is true that they made no attempt to appreciate the region for itself.

The initial European visitors to Haida Gwaii, the Spanish on board the *Santiago* in 1774, had made land at this latitude merely to satisfy their sailing orders. They had little desire to explore, to trade, or even to put ashore long enough to replenish their waning water supply.\(^50\) They had contacted *la costa septentrional de Californias*, as their instructions directed, and by exaggerating the reach of their voyage they felt justified in turning southward, away from the fog, the chill, and the uncertainties of northern navigation.
Furthering their northern probe would have guaranteed but one certainty for most on board the frigate: death by scurvy.
Unlike the Spanish, who focused on territorial implications of expansion into the North Pacific, British and American interests adopted commercial approaches following the return to England of Cook’s ships in 1780. Whereas Juan Pérez visited Haida Gwaii in 1774 without distinguishing the islands from the Northwest Coast in general, George Dixon would in 1787 identify the archipelago as distinct from the mainland. While Pérez journeyed into the northeastern reaches of the Pacific reluctantly and anxiously sailed away from the Northwest Coast after two obligatory landfalls, Dixon eagerly sought an extended engagement with the region. And, unlike the officers and friars on board the Spanish expedition, who kept terse journals under duress, Dixon observed the clamour for accounts of Cook’s third voyage and hired a scribe to co-author an account of his voyage.

**Accounts of Cook’s third voyage**

James Cook’s third expedition (1776-1780) set out with explicit instructions to sail north through the Pacific, locate the Northwest Passage that led into the polar sea, and then sail eastward through that sea and out into the Atlantic. Accompanying the instructions were books and maps that drew upon the Bering and Chirikov expedition of 1741.\(^5\) Cook had also read a short report of the Spanish excursions along the Northwest Coast that had appeared in the *London Evening Post* on 29 May 1776.\(^5\) He anchored at King George’s Sound on 29 March 1778, some forty-four months after Pérez had made land there on 7
August 1774. During the four weeks that the Resolution and Discovery remained there, officers and crew acquired in trade many sea otter skins. When Cook continued north from Nootka, squally weather and limited visibility kept the vessels well off shore as they sailed past Haida Gwaii, Pérez's other landfall. During the summer of 1778, the expedition probed an inlet Cook named Sandwich Sound (later renamed Prince William Sound, and site of the Exxon Valdez spill on 24 March 1989), then sailed into the Bering Strait until forced to retreat from encroaching sea ice. Cook wintered at the Sandwich Islands (later the Hawaiian Islands), where he met his untimely death in February 1779. Charles Clerke, captain of the Discovery, assumed command of the expedition, which embarked on another unsuccessful search for a Northwest passage. The two ships turned homeward with stops at Petropavlovsk and Macao, where the pelts acquired at Nootka, and some additional skins acquired in Sandwich Sound, fetched such high prices that the crew threatened mutiny, hoping to force an immediate return to the Northwest Coast for more furs. However, the officers prevailed and the ships returned to England, arriving in October 1780.

Information about Cook's voyage and the possibilities for a lucrative maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast spread rapidly. Although the Admiralty required officers and crew to submit all journals kept during the voyage, keen public interest in the expedition ensured a ready market for accounts of the journey. Inevitably some sailors failed to submit their journals, or submitted one copy and kept another, or hastily reconstructed accounts after the voyage: John Rickman, second lieutenant on the Discovery, submitted his journal to the Admiralty, but an unsigned copy soon found its way to the London printer Newbery, which issued the anonymous Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean in 1781. It immediately became a bestseller, with another edition published in
London that same year, a pirated edition published in Dublin, and a translation appearing in Germany. William Ellis, surgeon's mate on the *Discovery*, wrote *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke*, published in London in 1782. John Ledyard, who had served as corporal of marines on board the *Resolution* during the voyage, authored *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage*, which appeared in Connecticut in 1783. The Admiralty-sanctioned account, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, was finally published in June 1784, intended in part to further British claims to the explored areas.\(^56\) The first two volumes of the official account were written by Cook, the third by James King, who had been second lieutenant of the *Resolution* for most of the voyage, then captain of the *Discovery* after Clerke died in August 1779. At the time of Cook's voyages, demand for depictions of the new world was insatiable; more than one hundred editions and impressions of the voyages appeared between 1770 and 1800.\(^57\)

Before the various accounts of Cook's third voyage appeared, the public had generally accepted the stated purposes of New World exploration: these were scientific missions, intended to explore and map the new regions. Their goals were ostensibly humanitarian, to gather knowledge rather than to exploit the newfound peoples and resources. The surreptitious accounts by Rickman and Ledyard and the official account by Cook and King changed those attitudes and concentrated public attention on commercial possibilities. All three accounts marvelled at the ease with which furs had been obtained on the Northwest Coast and the desire they had elicited in Asian markets. King, for example, referred explicitly to the differences between the actual voyages undertaken with humanitarian and scientific mandates and imagined voyages that would be undertaken with commercial views.
When . . . it is remembered, that the furs were, at first, collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterwards preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes, and other purposes, during our cruise to the North; and that, probably, we had never got the full value of them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American Coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the Public. (III, 437)

King then outlined a comprehensive plan for commerce. It included proposals for the types of ships that should be used, the various trade commodities they should carry, the seasons during which they should sail, the arrangements that should be made with the East India Company, and ways to procure victuals for the voyage (437-440). Thus, the reports of Cook's third voyage initiated fundamental changes in the ways that Europeans would conceive voyages to the northern reaches of the Pacific. In these few years, during the first half of the 1780s, the scientific-humanitarian mandates of such voyages began to be replaced with commercial, profit-driven motives, which called for the development of specific geographical and ethnographic knowledge of the area and required appropriate representational strategies. The search for a Northwest Passage, which for two centuries had tantalized European governments and merchants with prospects of linking Asia and Europe, began to give way to specific plans to establish trade along the axes of Europe-Northwest Coast-Asia-Europe circumnavigations. This suggestion to replace the scientific-humanitarian emphases of previous voyages with more immediately pragmatic goals for future voyages came from officers and sailors who had participated in the 1776-1780 voyage,
not from crown, admiralty, or nation. As concrete knowledge about the Northwest Coast made its way back to Europe, plans for future visits to the area began to originate in commercial rather than state spheres. The blank spaces on Cook’s maps of the Northwest Coast were to be filled in by traders rather than by the Admiralty’s cartographers, until Vancouver’s expedition in 1791-1795. However, since private interests planning an excursion to the Pacific would still benefit from state and Admiralty approval, they needed to negotiate the transition in sponsorship with some delicacy. In short, Cook’s three voyages had opened up the Pacific, first for science, then for trade, and finally for literature.

The underpinnings of Dixon’s voyage

The British expedition that would bring Haida Gwaii into this web of exploration, capital, trade and representation responded to the commercial prospects outlined by King. George Dixon and Nathaniel Portlock, officers on Cook’s third voyage, became commanders of the expedition, which departed England in September 1785 and returned in September 1788. Captains Dixon and Portlock produced distinct accounts of the venture with identical titles, *A Voyage Round the World; But More Particularly to the North-West Coast of America: Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon*. The accounts, which appeared in London in 1789, detail the beginnings of the voyage that would claim to discover Haida Gwaii and to distinguish the archipelago with the name Queen Charlotte Islands. Portlock appears to have been the sole author of the account from the *King George*, but Dixon acknowledges that assistant trader William Beresford co-authored the account from the *Queen Charlotte*. Dixon takes credit for the preface, introduction, charts, illustrations and appendices in the version of *A Voyage*
Round the World which bears his name as author. The main body of the account, however, consists of a series of letters written by Beresford to an acquaintance in England. It is unclear whether Beresford actually intends the letters for “Dear Hamlen,” as he purports in Letter 1, or merely adopts an epistolary structure as an intimate way for a travelling scribe to address an English audience. In the letters, Beresford often acknowledges that Dixon is supervising his efforts. Thus, captain and scribe appear to have collaborated to produce a colorful, literary account of the voyage.

Dixon outlines the motives of the expedition in his “Introduction”: Cook’s final voyage had “laid open to future Navigators . . . a new and inexhaustible mine of wealth” available “by trading for furs of the most valuable kind, on the North West Coast of America” (ix). “It was in May 1785,” observes Portlock in his account, “that Richard Cadman Etches and other traders entered into a commercial partnership, under the title of The King George’s Sound Company, for carrying on a fur trade from the Western Coast of America to China” (4). The company purchased a ship of three hundred twenty tons and a snow of two hundred tons, as recommended by Cook and King.58 “In the mean time the owners appointed me commander of the larger vessel, and of the expedition; and George Dixon of the smaller,” Portlock continues. “[B]oth of us having accompanied captain Cook in his last voyage into the Pacific Ocean, were deemed most proper for an adventure which required no common knowledge and experience” (5). Indeed, the organizers of the venture realized the importance of the principles of seamanship for which British naval officers, particularly those trained by Cook, were renowned: perseverance in pursuit of the expedition’s goals, the ability to maintain discipline throughout a lengthy voyage, and attention to the health of the crew. The consortium’s aspirations for the Portlock and Dixon
expedition were perforce more concentrated than those of the Admiralty, which planned and funded the voyages of discovery made to the Northwest Coast by Cook, Broughton and Vancouver. While merchant interests and the Admiralty dreamt of discovering a Northwest passage that would replace the long, treacherous southern voyage, the merchants who comprised *The King George’s Sound Company* had a more immediate and pragmatic concern: to establish a trading framework that would generate profits, if not on the initial voyage, then certainly on successive voyages. The partners were driven by speculative fervor. They deferred to Portlock and Dixon in nautical matters (the vessels were refitted and supplied at considerable expense), but gave detailed instructions regarding trade. The consortium imagined that their captain-traders would implement trade relations modelled on British understandings of law, property, and commerce. Specifically, to “secure the trade of the continent and the islands adjacent,” Portlock and Dixon were “to establish such factories as [they saw] necessary.” The directors deemed one William Wilby “perfectly qualified” to administer the principal factory, which they assumed would be built at King George’s (Nootka) Sound, unless Portlock and Dixon decided otherwise. They instructed the captains that, ultimately,

wherever it is necessary to establish a *factory*, you are to purchase of the natives such a tract of land as you shall think best suited for the purpose of trading, and for security, paying them in the most friendly and liberal manner for the same. You are then to appoint as many men as you shall deem necessary, and who shall turn out as volunteers, to be companions to Mr. Wilby; you are to give them every possible assistance to erect a log-house, or such other building as shall appear to be necessary for their residence, and for carrying on traffic with the natives, &c. (Howay Dixon-
Etches and his merchant partners imagined their capital applied in this liminal space in ways that would integrate the human and natural resources of the coast into a hierarchy consistent with British ideals of property. They assumed that the Natives shared European notions of land ownership, that the Natives would obligingly sell whatever tracts of land the employees of the King George’s Sound Company deemed suitable for company pursuits, and that a physical infrastructure based on “factories” would attract commercial “traffic.” Concomitantly, even as they assumed that Natives shared property- and market-related aspects of European rationality, they assumed aboriginal innocence in such matters, to such an extent that they urged their representatives to pay the Natives “in the most friendly and liberal manner.” According to this line of thinking, the Natives were the same as Europeans (owning and trading tracts of land and welcoming European expansion) yet different from Europeans (unable to determine and obtain the value of their lands). The merchants were equally naïve concerning the crews that Portlock and Dixon would take to the Northwest Coast. To assume that sailors would “turn out as volunteers” and become Company employees stationed in Company factories on a distant coast was to project the merchants’ understandings of sailors and of British employee relations onto a distant geography.

In contrast to their employers, Captains Dixon and Portlock thoroughly understood British sailors and their tendencies, and possessed first-hand knowledge of the Northwest Coast and a few of its inhabitants. They also scrutinized the extant literature about their destination, so that Dixon was able to offer “a brief recapitulation” of previous voyages to the coast, then boast of the Portlock-Dixon expedition “that a more spirited undertaking was never set on foot by individuals, on *true commercial principles*” (xi, xxi). Such principles
distinguished their undertaking from the “shocking barbarities practiced by” the Spanish “in the whole course of their almost unbounded acquisitions of discovery, conquest, and wealth” in the New World (vii). “Indeed, if we regard adventurers from our own Country in a commercial point of view,” Dixon allowed, “we shall find the generality of them little better than free-booters.” However, the “several voyages made” during the previous fifty years “under the patronage” of the British government had, in addition to “improv[ing] Navigation and the different Sciences connected therewith,” brought England to the precipice of the “new and inexhaustible mine of wealth [available] on the North West Coast of America” (viii, ix). Dixon portrays the expedition by the Queen Charlotte and the King George as another step in the modernization and rationalization that European enlightenment was bringing to the remote regions of the world. According to this view, science and rationality had brought radical advances to exploration and, by implication, nation-building, and the Portlock-Dixon undertaking would extend these progressive principles to matters of trade and accumulation of capital.

Traders’ expectations had to be altered, sometimes drastically, as the hopes for the coast became knowledge of the coast. The consortium’s instructions to Portlock and Dixon were consistent with imperial perspectives, but at odds with the situations the commanders encountered en route to and upon arrival on the distant coast (concern about scurvy, challenges in acquiring provisions, fear of Native attacks, for example). The vessels reached the Northwest Coast on 16 July 1786, making land at Cook’s Inlet, some six degrees of latitude and four hundred nautical miles northwest of Haida Gwaii. “Four or five canoes” soon came alongside, with a Native in each, writes Beresford. He admits that “an abundance of furs were already on board, in our imagination: but these pleasing ideas soon vanished, for
we soon found that these people" were thralls to a Russian factory located there (59). During
the ensuing ten weeks, the vessels traded in a generally southeastward course, but acquired
few furs. Portlock and Dixon planned to winter at King George’s (Nootka) Sound, where
they would establish the factory that their instructions requested. However, a severe storm so
complicated their course into the harbour that Captain Portlock decided the vessels should
quit the coast “and stand immediately for Sandwich Islands” (81). On 29 September 1786,
Dixon and Beresford acknowledge the difficulties experienced that first season: “If we take a
retrospect view of occurrences since our leaving Cook’s River, we seem to have been
particularly unsuccessful in all our attempts to gain a second harbour on this inhospitable
coast” (82). Their attempts at trade were equally unsuccessful during that first, partial,
season on the northwest coast: Dixon on the Queen Charlotte had collected “near sixty prime
otter skins; about the same quantity of an inferior kind,” while Portlock on the King George
acquired a “nearly similar” number (83). On 2 October, bound for Hawaii, Beresford
humbly reflects, “Thus ends our first trading campaign, and though not absolutely
unsuccessful, yet it affords a most useful lesson for many situations in life” (82-83).

Encountering Haida Gwaii

The vessels departed the Sandwich Islands, bound for the Northwest Coast, on 15 March
1787, their captains determined to achieve an early and favorable start to the trading season.
Beresford notes that those on board “are now standing for the American Coast, on the
pinnacle of expectation” (140). Again, arrival on the coast would transform expectations.
On 10 May, after the expedition made land near 60° N. and the sailors careened the vessels,
Portlock writes that as “several other ships have at different times been trading on the coast, a
circumstance that we had no idea of at the time we left England, ... instead of four thousand
sea-otter skins, which I at one time hoped to procure, I shall be very happy if in the course of
the season we can purchase a thousand between both ships” (220). In effect, twenty months
had passed since the expedition had left England, and competition for furs had become so
fierce on the Northwest Coast that Dixon’s and Portlock’s voyages were but two of thirty-
three made to the area between 1785 and 1790, with twenty-six British and seven American
ships trading on the coast (Gibson 299-310; Mackie 5).

Portlock devised trading strategies intended to meet the challenge. He planned that
the King George would anchor in Prince William Sound, while its longboat, whaleboat and
yawl probed the surrounding inlets on trading forays. He dispatched Dixon and the Queen
Charlotte south toward King George’s Sound. Dixon acquired few furs as he sailed
southward from Prince William Sound, a region described favourably by Cook, and therefore
an area already visited by many of the earliest traders. Near the end of June 1787, Dixon
crossed a body of water, then sighted a headland. Initially he was unable to make harbour
owing to failing winds and strongly ebbing tides, but on the afternoon of 2 July the Queen
Charlotte advanced close enough to land that Beresford recorded:

A scene now commenced, which absolutely beggars all description, and with which
we were so overjoyed, that we could scarcely believe the evidence of our senses.
There were ten canoes about the ship, which contained, as nearly as I could estimate,
120 people, many of these brought most beautiful beaver [otter] cloaks; others
excellent skins, and, in short, none came empty handed, and the rapidity with which
they sold them, was a circumstance additionally pleasing; they fairly quarrelled with
each other about which should sell his cloak first; and some actually threw their furs
on board, if nobody was at hand to receive them; but we took particular care to let none go from the vessel unpaid. Toes were almost the only article we bartered with on this occasion, and indeed they were taken so very eagerly, that there was not the least occasion to offer any thing else. In less than half an hour we purchased near 300 beaver skins, of an excellent quality; a circumstance which greatly raised our spirits, and the more, as both the plenty of fine furs, and the avidity of the natives in parting with them, were convincing proofs, that no traffic whatever had recently been carried out near this place, and consequently we might expect a continuation of this plentiful commerce.

These events so impressed Dixon and Beresford that two days later they “distinguished” the bay with the name “Cloak Bay” (202). In this case, the serendipitous acquisition of the objects of trade determined the name the visitors assigned. (The island became known as both North Island and Langara Island.)

Dixon determined that Cloak Bay was situated at latitude 54° 14' North, longitude 133° 23' West. The Queen Charlotte had reached the northwest corner of Haida Gwaii and traded with Natives from the village of Dadens, as had Perez thirteen years earlier.

Circumstances induced Dixon to explore the landfall much more extensively than had Perez. Whereas Perez had arrived with uncertain knowledge of the coast or of earlier visitors, by 1787 Dixon was making his third voyage to the Northwest Coast, having sailed with Cook nine years earlier and in consort with Portlock the previous year. He could refer to his charts and determine with some confidence his position on the coast, and understand his present location in relation to Cook’s Inlet and Prince William Sound to the northwest and King George’s Sound to the southeast. Significantly, the sudden change in trading fortunes
promised to satisfy the commercial purposes of his voyage, in contrast to the disappointments of the previous season and the preceding weeks. Furthermore, Dixon knew that the Queen Charlotte was but one of several British vessels seeking furs on the coast; having chanced upon an area where “no traffic whatever had recently been carried out,” he seized the opportunity. When the powerful ebb tide precluded the vessel’s return to Dadens in the ensuing days, Dixon gave up his hope to anchor near the village. “Captain Dixon judged it more advantageous for us to ply along shore,” Beresford writes, “than come to anchor, especially as we had every reason to conclude, that the natives did not live together in one social community, but were scattered about in different tribes, and probably at enmity with each other” (203). On 6 July, having “entirely stripped” of furs those Natives who came alongside, Dixon and Beresford observe: “These people were evidently a different tribe from that we met with in Cloak Bay, and not so numerous.” And, the “furs in each canoe seemed to be a distinct property, and the people were particularly careful to prevent their neighbours from seeing what articles they bartered for” (204). As merchant explorers, the questions Dixon and Beresford raised in their imaginings and representations of Haida Gwaii were primarily those of capital — opportunity, risk, return — rather than those of theology, philosophy, or science. Their account, published in 1789, furthered the premise advanced in King’s 1784 account: Euro-Americans should approach the Northwest Coast as a resource-based economy best understood in terms of resource extraction, with the resources taken from the frontier to various economic, political, and cultural centers where their value could be realized. In short, King and Dixon appropriated the area into an imperial discourse, aspects of which endure to this day.
The discourse of cannibalism

During the ensuing week, Dixon traded his way some fifty nautical miles south, where he anchored the Queen Charlotte behind a small island that featured "a very large hut." Beresford observes that the dwelling was "well fortified in the manner of a hippah, on which account we distinguished this place by the name of Hippah Island" (205). Here a categorizing aspect fundamental to colonial discourse surfaces. Beresford writes:

A number of circumstances had occurred, since our first trade in Cloak Bay, which convinced us, that the natives at this place were of a more savage disposition, and had less intercourse with each other, than any Indians we had met with on the coast, and we began to suspect that they were cannibals in some degree. Captain Dixon no sooner saw the fortified hut just mentioned, than this suspicion was strengthened, as it was, he said, built exactly on the plan of the hippah of the savages at New Zealand. The people, on coming along-side, traded very quietly, and strongly importuned us by signs, to come on shore; at the same time giving us to understand (pointing towards the East) that if we visited that part of the coast, the inhabitants there would cut off our heads. (206)

The surrounding text provides no hint as to the nature of the circumstances that had occurred to convince the sailors that the Natives at the newly christened island were of a more savage disposition than those previously encountered. In fact, the circumstances do not matter: more important than the basis for classification is that the power of the viewer to classify and to temporally distance the Natives into a developmental past (from which the gazers have progressed to their current, enlightened status) is exercised immediately. By invoking the discourse of cannibalism, Dixon creates for himself the power to deal with the Natives and...
their land as he desires. He assigns the Haida to the category of cannibals, which allows him to treat these Natives as Europeans have treated Natives throughout the Pacific (Pratt 32). Specifically, he creates for himself the right to name their island, an initiatory act in taking possession of their land. This purpose of the discourse about cannibalism can be traced back to Columbus, when the idea of cannibalism began developing not as an observable fact but as a political fiction, created by the invaders to justify their exploitation of the Natives they encountered. More specifically, discourses constitute experiences, so that practices name themselves. In Orientalism, Edward Said emphasizes the regularizing aspect of colonial discourse which predetermines and indeed constrains the ways in which contact can be represented: “In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a topos, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of a text, or a citation from someone’s work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these” (177). Paul Lyons relates this anticipatory aspect of colonial discourse directly to cannibalism by making the important point that

the cannibalism found in Euro-American texts about the Pacific is a discourse because it exists, for its authors, as a function of naming, and not in any confirmed, observed social practice. In these texts there are no cannibals except those produced within western discourse. However, discourses are not opposed to real life, but constitute the experience of those held within them, and slip into practice. (40)

Cannibalism exists for Dixon and Beresford as a function of naming (they give no supporting evidence, nor is any necessary), and the discourse determines their experiences (preventing them from accepting the Natives’ invitations to come ashore). However, there are, in this
instance, cannibals produced by the Natives, contrary to Lyons's assertion. The sailors' utter absence of self-reflexivity ensures that they will mark the Natives as cannibals and that they will be held within the discourse without suspecting its illusory aspects. Greg Dening acidly notes, writing about European representations of contact in the South Pacific, "What always embarrasses the stranger's effort to understand the native is the stranger's insistence that the native perceptions should be literal, while the stranger's own perceptions are allowed to be metaphoric" (196). The Haida whom Dixon and Beresford encountered as the Queen Charlotte sailed south along the outer coast of Haida Gwaii resided there precisely because of the vast, varied and steady supply of protein made available by their littoral way of life. They had no reason to engage in cannibalism.

**British iconography, Haida objects: imaging body parts**

I have been illustrating ways in which the Dixon-Beresford 1787 account brought Haida Gwaii into European discourses, particularly those of commercial opportunity, imperial expansion and cannibalism. The account incorporates Haida Gwaii into yet another European discourse, one that further sutures scientific, classificatory projects to imperial expansion and resource extraction. Dixon illustrated his voluminous journal with eleven sketches. One sketch, "A Young Woman of Queen Charlotte's Islands" (Figure 2), is a poignant illustration of the gaze as a technique exercising power. I will attempt to read the sketch as it functioned within the discourse that produced it.

The Dixon-Beresford account includes some thirty pages of written text and four sketches specific to Haida Gwaii. The other sketches in Dixon's three-hundred-sixty-page text are three profiles of land masses sighted en route to Haida Gwaii and seven illustrations
A YOUNG WOMAN OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLANDS.

London. Published under the order of Captain Vancouver January 12th 1789.

Figure 2
of birds and crustaceans in an appendix devoted to the “Natural History” of the Sandwich Islands. Dixon, it appears, saw the four Haida Gwaii sketches as an extension of his natural history project. The sketch I have reproduced is unique among the four in that it alone depicts a person: the others detail Hippa Island in one instance; two sculpted bowls and two carved daggers in another; and a labret, a ladle, and a clam shell in the third instance. I want to focus on “A Young Woman of Queen Charlotte’s Islands” to question the discourse that produced it and that frames it within the Dixon-Beresford text.

The sketch, produced at the intersections of “the mutual engagement between natural history and European economic and political expansionism” (Pratt 38), and against the backdrop of the discourse of cannibalism, is an example of the gaze actively constructing, ordering, and arranging its subject. The conventions of the commanding view arrest and take custody of the body of the imagined primitive, just as the invaders take possession of the lands. Dixon’s sketch exemplifies the often intimate link, in representations of travel through contact zones, between sexual and territorial conquests. As David Spurr writes:

Under western eyes, the body is that which is most proper to the primitive, the sign by which the primitive is represented. The body, rather than speech, law, or history, is the essential defining characteristic of primitive peoples. They live, according to this view, in their bodies and in natural space, but not in a body politic worthy of the name nor in meaningful historical time. (22)

Dixon’s sketch — in its form, in its placement within a series of naturalist depictions, and framed as it is by the Dixon-Beresford classifying and categorizing written text — encourages its viewers to regard the young woman as another discovered object and to position her within natural history rather than human history. As viewers we are invited to
share Dixon's gaze, a gaze which observes the Haida woman with a fixating stare, yet leaves the eyes of the beholder(s) free to move as they desire. This naturalizing discourse, as Lyons has argued, will constitute the experiences of those held within it, and “slip into practice.” It will lead the gazers to stare at her exposed breast, their gazes drawn by the concentration of light there, the shining nipple, the concentric patterns, and the naked sexuality. For late eighteenth-century viewers, the shining nipple, the brightness of the woman’s breast, and the various patterns which portray the contours of the woman’s anatomy would have combined to position the woman on what had become, following Linnaeus’s *Systema Naturae*, a convention of biological classification: a chromatic scale of white, yellow, red, and black races (Comaroff and Comaroff 99). The reflections of light from her skin signify that she is “red,” and therefore already one rung up the ladder of enlightenment. At the same time, the sketch manipulates viewers so that their stares will be drawn to the sharp contrasts between the dark hair, the backlighting which creates a halo effect, and the whiteness of the teeth. The labret inserted in the lower lip attracts the gaze and invites the stare to continue up its slope, to penetrate the waiting orifice above. The eyes of the Haida woman, surrounded by these highlighted features, are presented as flat and blank, so that the young woman is an object before the viewer — passive, ostensibly submissive, a *tabula rasa* awaiting inscription. Such a naturalizing discourse deters viewers from considering alternative interpretations, which could consider, for example, implications of the oval frame, or artistic and cultural aspects of the abalone inlay in the labret, or potential meanings of the dark clouds to the upper right. Most importantly, viewers caught within this discourse will not feel the woman’s eyes examining them as they examine her. They will sense that their gazes are not returned, that there is no threat of a reverse gaze. They will sense the object before
them internalizing their gazes, being conducted as they desire, loosening the garments that cover her bosom, exhibiting her breast. The discourse assumes a hierarchical arrangement that corresponds to the chromatic scale: the fair and sanguine European observer has eyes which are gentle, acute and inventive, is covered with close vestments, and is governed by laws, while the observed object has dark eyes which are severe, haughty and covetous, is covered with loose garments, and is governed by opinions if Asiatic, or customs if American (Pratt 32). In sum, this discourse presents the young Haida woman as synecdochic for the inviting land that waits to be explored, sketched and mapped, penetrated and known. It suggests that neither woman nor land resists the beholder's gaze. It portrays the woman and the land as innocent scapes, cloaked in readily removable garments, there for the taking.  

My reading of the image emphasizes the overwhelming imbalance of power that obtained within this naturalizing discourse. I contend that Dixon's metaphoric portrayal of the woman's body is no longer tenable. We are now duty-bound to be aware, or to make ourselves aware, that such a view is based on strategies of power and not on truth. The power has long resided in "the lettered, male, European eye that held the system" of observation, to recall Pratt's term. So, for example, Crespi the chaplain could classify the pagans as lacking Christianity; Pérez the mariner could weigh the prospects and dangers Haida presented to his voyage, and sail away when he lost interest; Dixon the explorer could categorize and name at the spur of a moment; and Dixon as portraitist could gaze to his content as he imposed and composed his perspective, exposing his subject. Each is an instance within "the Linnaean watershed" (Pratt 39). In each case the visitor/gazer/inscriber applies a discourse that assumes the great chain of being as it portrays a power-charged, unequal situation (Clifford, Predicament 23). In each case the visitor is able to make history,
to position the islands and their inhabitants within various European discourses, and to speak of and to some extent for the Natives he encountered.
The cast of visitors arriving at Haida Gwaii began to assume a decidedly different strain in 1789. The initial visitors in 1774, the Spanish on board the *Santiago*, had made land at this latitude merely to satisfy their sailing orders. They had little desire to explore, to trade, or even to put ashore long enough to replenish their water supply. The English visitors, on board the *Queen Charlotte* thirteen years later, were on a commercial expedition. They had set out on a three-part journey: first, to the Northwest Coast to acquire the "soft gold," which on the second leg they would trade for exotic Oriental goods in Canton, and finally back to England where the teas and silks would bring, they trusted, untold wealth. The English appreciated the group of islands for two closely related reasons: the Natives there had more sea otter pelts than did the Natives at Nootka Sound and Cook's Inlet, the locations touted by Cook and King; and, they traded them so eagerly that the visitors "could scarcely believe the evidence of [their] senses." These visitors were so appreciative that they distinguished the islands with the name of their ship and queen. The *Queen Charlotte* brought the first of a short-lived trickle of "King George men" to visit the islands. As many as six or seven British ships would trade on the Northwest Coast each season until 1794, most putting in at Queen Charlotte's Isles. Yet the British presence soon gave way to the upstarts from the "new" England. The first American vessels reached the coast in 1788; by the early 1790s as many "Boston men" as "King George men" plied the waters; by the turn of the century the British had conceded the trade to the Americans. The sense of ebullient democracy that
distinguished the Americans from their recent masters, the British, was evident in their approach toward trading on the Northwest Coast. As the Boston men entered and came to dominate the maritime fur trade they zeroed in on Haida Gwaii as a source for furs. This chapter examines the islands through the accounts of some of those early American visitors.

**Washingtons Island**

Near the middle of May 1789, a sloop worked its way up the Northwest Coast after wintering in Nootka Sound. The *Lady Washington*, at ninety tons, was just over sixty feet from figurehead to stern, and a beamy twenty feet wide. It drew just eight feet of water. Typical of sloops, the *Lady Washington* required fewer crew than did square-rigged brigs and ships. Also typical of fore-and-aft-rigged vessels, a small crew could maneuver this sloop in the narrow channels and reaches so common to the Northwest Coast. As the vessel rounded Cape Scott, at the northwest corner of what we now know as Vancouver Island, the captain, first and second mates, and crew of ten sailors and tradesmen altered their course to North by West. They did not realize that the landmass on which they had wintered, which had been on their starboard as they sailed north and west, was an island. It would be another three years before the two Spanish *goletas* Sutil and Mexicana, capitans Galiano and Valdés, would circumnavigate the island, followed days later by the ship *Discovery* and brigantine *Chatham*, captains Vancouver and Broughton. Only then would word that Nootka Sound was situated on an island spread among the European visitors to the Northwest Coast.

The journal of Robert Haswell, the twenty-year-old second mate of the *Lady Washington*, relates how the sloop crossed from Cape Scott "to the opposite shore 14 Leagues," reaching the mouth of the present Milbanke Sound, then resumed its
northwestward course, working its way up the coast (Howay, *Voyages* 86). Then, in the entry for 15 May 1789, Haswell writes, “as we ran within ten furlongs of the Shore at Noon at a very great distance we discried land bearing SW b So. it puzzled me much to gess what it could [be] wether an Island or a part of the main Continent and the Sea we were now sailing no other than a large bay or Gulf. But we generaly agreed it must be an Island” (86). When later that afternoon the wind shifted to west-northwest, the sloop stood over for the presumed island, where, the next day, Haswell records these first impressions: “the land nearest the shore had a very pleasant appearance in Land it rises into very high land covered with snow, but its probable later in the season the snow will be melted off. we saw no inhabitants but a vast number of Sea Otters continually playing on the water from the form of the land we may judge thare is harbours and it is not probable so larg a tract of land is without inhabitants we again stratched over for the continent in a NNE direction” (89). The stretch over to the main took the sloop across the shallow waters of what we now call Hecate Strait to Butterworth Rocks and Brown Passage. The pleasing appearance of the land “descried,” and more particularly the vast number of sea otters continually playing in the water, guaranteed that even as the sloop explored and traded along the mainland shore, its captain, Robert Gray, would make known his “intention to asssuraint to a surtinty wether it was an Island we saw on the 15th or part of the continent” (90-91). By 21 May, the *Lady Washington* had sailed westward through Dixon Entrance and out into the ocean surf, confirming that the land on their port side was indeed an island, or, as later navigators would discover, an archipelago. Haswell notes that during their passage the officers had “the great satisfaction to find this Island well inhabited which we could planely discover by the vast number of green banks on the coast which are their residence at some seasons of the year”
When, despite the “purfect gale” blowing, “an elderly man and two lively boys” paddled out to the ship and directed it to the lee of “a small bluff,” the traders “purchased of them several good skins and a number of Pluvers” even though they “could not understand a word of their Language” (92). Haswell then discloses the degree to which, for these initial American visitors, commercial desire underwrote exploration: “For so pleanty as otters are round this Island the natives would be plentifully stocked with their skins.” To pursue this wealth would be risky, not least because “the Straits between this Island and the main appeared very intricked but it perhaps would appear less dangerous were we better acquainted with the navigation of it.” While the traders on board the Lady Washington indeed faced an intricate challenge, they took a logical step in the twin processes of acquainting themselves with and acquiring “this great tract of Land” when they named it “Washington Island in honour of that great American General” (92).

“The winds continued so advurce with such thick weather,” Haswell continues, that several days passed “before we [again] saw Washingtons Island and at 6 PM a vast number of Natives men Women and Children came off and brought with them several sea otter skins” (95). Those in the canoes were able to make the traders understand that they were near a large village, and that the Haida were eager to receive traders. The Americans “soon saw there village from which they lanched twenty or thurty very large canoes and came off in great perade padleing off swiftly and singing a very agreable air” (95). Haswell’s journal entry for 1 June 1789 describes the mother lode the traders tapped:

of those people we purchased to the amount of two hundred skins in a very fue moments for one chizle each we bought all the skins they appeared to have by 10 in the evening when they returned to their Village for the night no doubt intending to
bring off more in the morning but we did not stop but stood on to the southward the natives called their village Custa it is situated in a sandy bay on the NW end of the Island their Chiefs name is Cuneah and appears to be a very good old Fellow his wife was off and had vast authority over every person alongside I was grieved to leave them so soon, as it appeared to be the best place for skins that we had seen.”

(Howay 95-96)

The sailors on board the *Lady Washington* had, since sighting Haida Gwaii on 15 May, sailed northward through the waters now known as Hecate Strait and then westward through what is now known as Dixon Entrance. They had reached the northwest corner of Haida Gwaii, the corner of the archipelago visited by Pérez in 1774 and Dixon in 1787, by sailing counterclockwise around the archipelago, rather than approaching from the open sea, as had their predecessors. The different approach is significant. Unlike the eighty-six Spanish sailing the two-hundred-twenty-five-ton frigate *Santiago* and the thirty-three British on the two-hundred-ton snow *Queen Charlotte*, the thirteen Americans on board the ninety-ton sloop *Lady Washington* were prepared to investigate the intricate coastal channels. The earliest visitors had been essentially deep-sea sailors, their vessels suited to the open ocean, the sailors unable to approach shore with confidence. The Americans’ sustained engagement with the coast and its inhabitants extended to the matter of names (and naming). Haswell has learned that the village where they acquired the two hundred otter skins is “Custa” and that the chief, Cuneah, “appears to be a very good old Fellow.”

The *Lady Washington* had arrived at Kiusta, across from Dadens, on the south shore of what is now known as Parry Passage. When Beresford had written, on 6 July 1787, that the traders on board the *Queen Charlotte* had “entirely stripped” of furs those Natives who came alongside, and that “These
people were evidently a different tribe from that we met with in Cloak Bay, and not so numerous,” he was probably describing Haida from Kiusta. Just two years later, on 1 June 1789, Haswell would interact with Cuneah’s people, and write about them in his journal, with a specificity that sets his representation apart from those of the Spaniards and the British.

The *Lady Washington* then encounters several days of foggy southeasters, after which the sloop cautiously makes its way, well offshore, along the “SE b E” trending outer coast of “Washington Island.” On 11 June, several canoes lead it to shelter behind Sgan Gwaii, where “A brisk trade was soon set on foot by Coya the Chief who bartered for all his Subjects, and a number of Sea Otter skins were purchased before the night” (97). Haswell notes that these southern Haida desired different trade items than had Haida from Kiusta: “Iron was of far less value with them than with those natives we were last with cloathing was most in demand.” He then explains the reasons for their preferences: “these people had been visated by several navigaters they spoke distinctly of Colinnet and Dunkin and they brought a pece of Paper that Informed us the NW American Schooner had been here May the 24th last” (97-98). During this visit “the intercourse with the natives while we lay in this Port was on the strictest Friendship they indeed pillaged aney little trifling thing they could find a good opertunity to take unobserved but as we took no rash meens with them it never interrupted our trade. By this time we had stript the natives of allmost all the skins they were possessed of and we got in redeness to moove the first opertunity the weather and winds should give us” (98). This spirit of tolerance and understanding (or mutual benefit and mutual exploitation) ends the earliest account of an American trading vessel sighting and then circumnavigating Haida Gwaii.
I should mention in passing that another American trader might have visited the archipelago before the *Lady Washington*. While at the Sandwich Islands, John Boit recorded in the log of the *Union*, 16 October 1795, that John Young, the former boatswain of the *Elenora*, which had sailed from New York under the command of Simon Metcalfe, related how his vessel had been trading on the Northwest Coast while the *Columbia Rediviva* and *Lady Washington* were en route from Boston. Young's account, seven years after the events, does not specify where on the Northwest Coast the *Elenora* traded, or whether it touched at Haida Gwaii.

A grammar of the beach

"The Solid Men of Boston," historians Briton Busch and Barry Gough have written, "were transients on a savage coast, and made no provisions under governmental regulations, unlike their English competitors, to regulate the trade, to establish a monopoly, or to licence ships. This was an open commerce where the free-spirited Bostonians had no limits to their needs, and no rivals to interfere with their business" (18-19). The American traders were agents for and representatives of capital: they redirected capital that the War of Independence had displaced from its pre-Revolution applications, and extended the global reach of this restless economic resource. Their efforts to develop trade were crucial to the economy of the newfound nation, which was suddenly isolated from England, the source of nearly all its pre-Independence trade. The Americans' goals in visiting the Northwest Coast were circumscribed and pragmatic: unlike the Spanish, they were uninterested in converting the Natives to Christianity or in establishing a geopolitical presence in the area; unlike the British, they were unencumbered by the monopolies of the English East India or South Sea
Companies. However, American traders, like their British counterparts, acquired furs on the Northwest Coast as but one portion of a trading excursion; it was the segment during which they traded goods manufactured in their home economy for a medium of exchange with which they could procure Chinese goods such as silk and porcelain. The furs were a means toward an end (acquiring fine Chinese trade goods) rather than desired objects in their own right (commodities in demand in the new republic).

Greg Dening writes of "a grammar of the beach" while describing the early encounters between South Pacific islanders and European voyagers. He explains that the meetings were cosmological in the sense that they brought together two dramatically different ways of viewing the world. The disparate cultures had to negotiate a "grammar" that would allow communication to grow beyond the initial eager but limited exchanges (179-80). By the late 1780s and the 1790s, an analogous need for a framework of communication evolved on the Northwest Coast as first British and then American vessels arrived in numbers. The syntax of this grammar or the strategies of this framework included, from the visitors' perspectives, the regular deployment of boarding nets (also called waist nets or waist nettings); limiting at all times the numbers of Natives allowed onto the decks of the ships; sending ashore only heavily armed fishing, wooding and watering parties, that ideally remained within sight of the ship and within range of its guns; and the voluntary exchange of hostages to ensure the safe treatment of Natives who boarded ships and sailors who visited villages. Increasingly sophisticated understandings of trade developed concurrently with these rules of engagement. Natives began to demand a wider array of generally more useful goods; their wants were evolving, and the visiting traders had to anticipate and meet those desires. Colorful beads or crude "toes" would no longer suffice.
Both the kinds of goods desired and the trade value of those goods became increasingly volatile. Thus, for example, when Robert Haswell entered Parry Passage on 22 April 1792, having by then advanced to the command of the sloop *Adventure*, which had been assembled in Nootka Sound the previous winter, “several canoes came off from Tadents village. They had many skins of which I purchased few, for they were so exorbitant in their price as to ask two great coats for one skin” (Howay 321). F.W. Howay, the preeminent early historian of the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast, notes in his collection of journals associated with the *Columbia* and its consort vessels (the *Lady Washington* and, briefly, the *Adventure*) that Dadens was by then a renowned trading site; the Natives were confident that many ships would come in the course of the season, and they therefore held out for favorable rates of exchange. A few days later, in his 25 April entry, having worked his way east to Masset, Haswell describes Haida playing traders against each other: “The natives of this port though we frequently had great throngs of them alongside, behaved themselves with great propriety. They would not indeed sell me their skins without an exorbitant price, telling me the Captains Douglass, Kendrick, Barnett, Ingraham, Crowel, and Keanna would be here soon, and they would give them what they had asked” (Howay 323). Haswell of course knew the respective vessels: the *Grace*, the *Lady Washington*, the *Gustavus*, *Hope*, *Hancock* and *Felice Adventurer*; the Haida were trumping the traders’ tricks. After apparently weighing the Natives’ bargaining position overnight, Haswell shrewdly reflected on 26 April that, “As there are many other places on the coast where it is equally likely to find plenty of skins, and a long season before us to find such places out, I rather chose to keep my goods and trust fortune for a better market for them” (Howay 323). Haswell had, three years earlier, identified Haida at Kiusta and Sgan Gwaii (Ninstints) as individuals capable of bartering
astutely. In this instance, he implies that some Haida had become so well informed about the
number of visiting traders, and their needs and methods, that they skillfully manipulated the
terms and rules of the engagement.

A later Haswell entry suggests that Haida often exaggerated accounts of the trading
activity. After trading well to the south of Haida Gwaii during most of the intervening
weeks, Haswell returned to the islands in July. On 10 July 1792, again anchored at Masset,
he records that “a canoe arrived from Tadents with information that Adamson was at that
place in a ship. That Rogers was there in a brig, and they also speak of Barnett and Douglas,
speaking highly of their generosity as is usual among them. Thus I find the northern coast is
thronged with people well provided with cargoes, there is no doubt” (Howay 342). Howay
notes “some confusion here” (342, n 4). He details which portions of the Natives’
information were “correct,” insofar as which vessels were in the area at that time, which
captains matched which ships, and similar details. However, he fails to consider that Haida
may have been deliberately misinforming Haswell for strategic reasons. Haswell suggests a
more nuanced view when he observes that “speaking highly . . . is usual among” Haida. He
seems aware that trading on the Northwest Coast included rhetorical negotiation and that he
was matching wits with skillful rhetoricians, and that he would be well advised to consider
the extent to which the northern coast of Haida Gwaii was indeed “thronged with people well
provided with cargoes.”

Joseph Ingraham, captain of the small brigantine Hope, provides a similar example of
the need for traders to weigh Haida statements about trading prospects. In one portion of
his retrospective “sequel” (Ingraham’s term for his often extensive reflections about the ways
his journey unfolded, inserted throughout the journal but clearly scripted at later dates,
perhaps during the long passage back to Boston) he describes the response of chief Kow to the trade goods aboard the Hope: “I shew cow the articles we had for Trade which upon the whole he did not seem much enamor’d with saying they had plenty of such things which they had got from Cap” Douglas – Barnett etc who had been there before us and purchased all the skins this was unpleasant news and seem’d to Indicate we were the day after the fair and my only hopes seemed to rest on wintering here and improving the first of the following season to the best advantage however this season terminated more favourable than I expected as will appear in the sequel.” Given that the journal entry describes 10 July 1791, the Hope’s first day of trade after a ten-month passage from Boston, Ingraham no doubt found Kow’s tepid response disheartening. He allows himself a vindicating touch of understatement when he comments that the voyage “terminated more favourable than I expected.” On 2 September, seven weeks after Kow’s appraisal, the crew set the Hope’s course for the Sandwich Islands and Canton. Ingraham writes, “I had now been trading about these Islands for 49 days in which time I had purchased Cutsacks and skins equal to 1400 sea Otters upwards of 300 sables besides Beavers Wolverine &c I esteem’d myself very fortunate indeed.” He had completed the first leg of what promised to be one of the most successful voyages in the maritime fur trade.

Of strategies and tactics

During the early years of the trade, coasting or cruising — keeping the vessel at sea and trading only with Natives who remained in their canoes — proved a prudent strategy. For the sailors, stasis was potentially fatal. Precariousness increased as the traders anchored, allowed the Natives to board the ships, allowed the Natives to board in numbers, and
especially as the traders left their ships and went ashore. To come to anchor was to give over to the Natives in their canoes all the advantages that mobility and maneuverability provided. In a sense, by anchoring, sailors yielded certain powers of their ocean-going milieus to the particularities of the Natives’ coastal surroundings. When the visitors anchored they tethered themselves in what Clayton has described as “non-European space” (86). However, coasting was not always the most successful trading strategy; given the rapid increase in the number of Boston vessels scouring the Northwest Coast, traders had to match tactics to circumstances. As an increasing number of visitors scurried about seeking furs, some traders stationed their vessels in unfamiliar space and learned to negotiate that space. During the Columbia’s second voyage to the Northwest Coast, the several officers who kept journals repeatedly criticized captain Robert Gray for restlessly roving along the coast. For example, when Gray first visited Cumshewa, he anchored for only one day before again pressing northward. Haida chiefs at Cumshewa had established a trading network that acquired furs from the mainland and from both the outer and inner coasts of Haida Gwaii. In his journal entry of 31 July 1791, John Hoskins, the ship’s supercargo, articulates his frustration with Gray’s impatience:

How happy should we have been had this village been known to us on our first coming to the eastern side of these Islands and how much better would our time have been employed and to much more advantage than it has been in beating about to no profit for this village if I may be allowed to judge from the specimen we had during our short tarry will afford a great abundance of skins we having procured no less than forty nine sea otter skins, twenty four pieces of sea otter skin and thirteen sea otter tails mostly purchased with chizzels from two to four for a skin thus in all
probability should we have reaped a most noble harvest and it is with the greatest regret I leave this certainty for an uncertainty. (Howay 215)

Events proved Hoskins's point. During the ensuing three weeks, the Columbia probed what is now the lower tip of southeastern Alaska, venturing as far north as Bucareli Bay. But the excursion produced few furs, Gray's careless navigation nearly wrecked the ship, and Second Mate Joshua Caswell and two seamen were lost when Natives attacked a fishing party to exact vicarious retribution for the transgressions of another trader. When the Columbia returns to Cumshewa, supercargo Hoskins and first mate Robert Haswell mention in their journals that the brigantine Hope, captained by the Columbia's former first mate Joseph Ingraham, has been anchored at Cumshewa for two of the intervening three weeks. On 22 August 1791, Hoskins notes that those on board the Hope "seemed to hint they had purchased an excellent cargo" (Howay 296, compare Hoskins's comments 230-31). Ingraham makes explicit the choices between cruising the coast and anchoring: "Cruising . . . I adopted on my first arrival on the coast but I soon found it more to my advantage to remain awhile when in a good place, for when cruising we were sometimes 2 or 3 days nay once we were 8 and did not purchase a skin, whereas while we were at anchor in Cummashawaas not a day passed but we purchased more or less skins" (2 September 1791). He then notes a further crucial advantage to anchoring, namely that ship and crew were "certainly in less danger at Anchor in a good port than cruising among these Isles where there are strong tides and sometimes heavy gales."

If traders did anchor, they had to increase their guard: to relax for a moment their suspicion and vigilance increased the chances that the traders could be overpowered by the Natives, who typically outnumbered the visitors; in effect, traders had to maintain and
display their firepower at all times. Traders were aware of the theatrics of power as well as the might. Ingraham, in his entry for 18 July 1791, outlines the importance of appearances and the potential havoc should perceptions change. Nicholas, the Hope’s cook from the Island of St. Tagos, has attempted to desert; Ingraham suspects that he is hiding in the village. Ingraham weighs his options: he feels that the brig has ample crew and could easily manage without Nicholas, but then negotiates a gift to chief Kow that results in the cook’s return. Ingraham reasons that the gift is a prudent investment. On shore, Nicholas “would be a generall disservice to all trading vessels as he might instruct these people in the Use of Arms telling them the strength of small vessells etc which might render them very troublesome and occasion much mischief.” Technological advantages were fine, but the display of superiority was needed as a deterrent. A few traders developed rapports with certain chiefs that made the constant brandishing of firepower unnecessary. For example, John Kendrick maintained excellent relations with Maquinna and Wickananish, in contrast to the distrust that existed between both John Meares and Gray and those Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs. Yet when Kendrick ventured among Haida, his carelessness nearly allowed Coyah to seize the Lady Washington (Scofield 221-26). Ingraham cuts to the heart of the matter in his entry for 10 July 1791. Invited ashore during the evening of his successful first day of trading after arriving at the islands, he notes, “I did not examine every thing I saw as particularly as my curiosity prompted me to as it was near dark — and I made a point never to trust boats from the vessel after sun sett, among savages whatever might be the Terms we were upon, which was as far as we saw at present those of the firmest friendship with these people, yet it would be doing wrong to trust to these appearances as will appear by a circumstance I shall have occasion to mention in some of the following pages where some of our countrymen fell victims their
credulity on the mask of friendship worn by these people.”

Ingraham was writing just four seasons after Dixon had traded at Haida Gwaii. The attitudes and desires of both the visitors and Haida were evolving rapidly. Their meetings were without doubt cosmological, in the sense that drastically different ways of understanding the universe had come into contact, a mutual desire to exchange materials had been established, and a grammar of the beach was developing to facilitate the exchanges. It developed by trial and error, but it did have concrete results. The grammar had to facilitate the mutual desire and help to negotiate power. Both “worlds” possessed power, both adapted swiftly and ingeniously to the other’s power, and both incorporated the other’s knowledges, technologies and strategies. Natives had numbers, local knowledge, the ability to maneuver within their familiar geography, and keenly desired trade items. The traders had firepower and related technologies (boarding nets, for example), keenly desired trade goods, and (at times) the abilities to exploit hostilities between chiefs. Furthermore, Natives projected autochthonism while traders had auras of science and reason about them. Their shared desires ensured that the trade would mature and that the Natives would increasingly express their desire to engage with the traders in a more considered manner, given their permanent relations to the land, and the traders’ transient relations. Thus, to cite again Haswell’s journal for the Adventure, he notes that “several canoes came off” on 20 May 1792, “and I purchased several good skins. They were very anxious for me to go in” (Howay 330-31). Haswell carefully seeks a suitable harbour, and the next day discovers the reason the Natives wanted him to “go in,” for “the same people boarded me that were off yesterday. They had been diligently employed since we parted, for they had 6 otter in their canoe, yet warm with life” (Howay 331). Haida wanted to slow the traders’ transience even as the Natives accelerated
their own resource extraction.

The desire for iron

Natives exercised a degree of control over the maritime fur trade by varying their desire for iron (Fisher 5-7). The traders had to anticipate Native demand and adapt to its shifts. For example, Ingraham arrived on the coast in 1791, expecting to trade his supply of iron, the commodity most in demand during his previous visit as first mate of the Columbia, only to find Haida wearing and desiring coats and trousers. As Haida had traded away their otter skins, formerly their principal material for clothing, their need for alternative materials had increased. Blankets, cloths, and European clothing had become important trade commodities. By his third day of trading, Ingraham was aware that the trade items he had brought were receiving a cool reception. An insight turned disappointment into triumph. He noticed a woman with a braided copper collar, and gave the fashion a fortuitous twist. As he notes in his entry for 12 July 1791, “I had the forge set up and set the smith to work to make Iron collars of 3 Iron rods about the size of a man’s finger, twisted, these I had made from a pattern I saw on a woman’s neck alongside when finished they weigh’d from 5 to 7 pounds and would purchase 3 of their best skins in preference to any thing we had on board likewise heavy Iron rings or bracelets were prefer’d before our polish’d copper ones.”

Ingraham’s observation was similar to that of Juan Pérez, who had noted in 1774 that Haida were fond of wearing metal rings on their arms and fingers. But whereas Pérez would note the fashion in passing, Ingraham would incorporate it into his engagement with Haida Gwaii.

As Ingraham prepared to leave the coast some seven weeks later, bound for China, he reflected upon the Natives’ desire for iron. In his journal entry for 29 August, he relates how
Cummashawaa "mentioned several articles he wished us to bring out to barter" should the
Hope return the following season. Ingraham notes that the chief "particularly desir'd me not
to forget Iron collars and to bring plenty of them." The request indicates that Haida were
establishing the terms of their unfolding encounters with traders. It also leads Ingraham to
the following remarkable analysis:

so unaccountable are the customs and fashions of different people These collars
consisting of 3 rods of Iron twisted like a rope weighing from 5 to 8 pounds and Iron
rings for the wrist of a pound weight and upwards are highly valued by these people
and worn with pleasure as marks of distinction among them was the punishment of
wearing these collars and rings inflicted on the negroes in the west Indies I believe it
would be deem'd by the generallity of mankind cruel in the extream but I shall end
this digression with a conversation I heard by chance between my blacksmith and one
of my seamen

Seaman[: ] I wonder how these d - - d fellows came first to like these Iron
collars

Smith[: ] I don’t know, the fashion I suppose and they are not half so bad as
some things they wear in Boston

Seaman[: ] In Boston; what

Smith[: ] What, why Iron hoops under their petticoats which I have made
many a one of or Sheeps wool on their heads:

This conversation togeather with considering the different situations of the two
people lessen’d in my opinion the preposterousness of the Indians whim to bear about
this Cumbrous ornament
It is unlikely that the conversation, apocryphal or not, would have appeared in earlier representations of voyages to the Northwest Coast and Haida Gwaii. The indifference of the Spanish to their destination and the propriety of the British command structure excluded such subject matter from the accounts of their visits. The degree of self-reflection necessary to compare Haida fashion to follies evident in Boston requires anthropological knowledge and the willingness to assess one’s culture in relation to another. James Morrison, writing in 1785 about Tahitians, displays a similarly wry awareness about cross-cultural judgements: “The grand object of these people is Iron and like us with Gold it matters not by what means they get it or where it comes from if they can but get it” (53). Morrison was, of course, one of the mutineers from the Bounty, writing a counter-narrative to save his neck from Captain’s Bligh’s self-serving construction (Rennie 148-58). In the literature of the maritime fur trade on the Northwest Coast, such irony occasionally surfaces in accounts from the little American sloops; it is rare in narratives from the crowded, hierarchically organized ships.

In a similar moment of self-reflection, albeit an instance with a more sinister underside, the American trader John Boit extends the desire for iron from Natives to traders. The 19-year-old Boit set out from New England on 1 August 1794, captain of the recently purchased eighty-nine-ton sloop Union. During the long trip around Cape Horn, the vessel proved cranky and wet, with faulty ironwork. On 27 May 1795, as Boit sailed north from Vancouver Island in “fresh gales and a tumbling swell” and sighted Cape St. James at the southern tip of Haida Gwaii, the Union “parted another Iron strap of one of ye larboard dead eyes.” Boit “fitt’d a rope one, this being the second on the same side which [had] part’d owing to the badness of ye Sloops Iron work.” The sloop traded around the southern and eastern portions of the archipelago during the ensuing weeks. On 19 June, anchored behind
Sgan Gwaii, Boit relates how the Natives brought for trade "ships chains & other iron work," which allowed him to repair the Union's parted straps. On 21 June, Haida in some forty canoes attacked the Union. Boit and crew "paid them for their temerity," killing and wounding "about fifty." Boit writes, "None of us was hurt but their attack was very impolitic — for had they instead of being so intent to board, stood off and fir'd their arrows, no doubt they would have have kill'd and wounded several of us." He concludes, rather pragmatically, "I was too well guarded against surprise for them to have been victorious."

The irony of the situation, in which Koyah's people supply Boit with iron, the commodity that had, dating back to the visits of Pérez in 1774 and Dixon in 1787, registered the visitors' material advantage, becomes evident to Boit after he leaves the coast and sails to Hawaii. There, John Young, who had sailed to the Northwest Coast as boatswain on the Elenora before taking up residence on Hawaii, where he acted as one of Kamehameha's chiefs of staff, related how in recent years Koyah had seized a British ship and an American schooner, killing those on board (Boit 124 n48). On 16 October 1795, while standing off Hawaii, Boit reflects that the exchange in which he had acquired the needed iron from Koyah was actually a brush with death:

How fortunate I must have been, to have escap'd the dilligence of this savage tribe, for 'twas in that very Sound, in June last they meant to have taken my Vessell, but fortunately they perceiv'd, that I was very suspicious of there intentions, & in all probability that was all that sav'd me from destruction, & I could never reconcile it to myself, till I heard this news, why the natives came possess'd of so many Ships bolts, & Hooks, a great number of which, they had the audacity to bring along side of my vessell for sale, some of which I purchas'd. (75)
Only Boit’s unrelenting vigilance had saved his crew from the fate that had befallen those on board the British ship and the American sloop.

**Tensions in trading relations**

From the earliest encounters on the Northwest Coast, some traders unscrupulously used their superior weaponry to obtain furs or supplies from Natives. Haswell records an early instance on 18 October 1788. He describes the “mode of trading with the natives” adopted by the British trader Robert Funter, who captained the schooner *North West America* for John Meares’s interests:

> On their arrival at a village to plunder them of all the fish and oil they could find and give them perhaps a small pese of copper in return far less valuable than the provision they had taken by forse, and leav the poor harmless wretches unprovided for a long and rigerous winter. this cruel behaviour seemed allmost unpardinable. Nay from the snow they would frequently send their boat in chace of them, for they Natives were far more fleet in their Canoes than boats of the european bult are, and rob them of their fish. (Howay, *Voyages* 53)

While Funter’s ruthless methods were not uncommon, in the 1780s descriptions of such strategies tend to surface in accounts written by other traders, as in this instance. However, as American traders increased their knowledge of the Northwest Coast in the 1790s, they began to describe trading relations with Haida in greater detail and with greater self-reflection. In particular, traders who made return voyages to the area often attended closely to the violence of trading. Thus, Boit, after leaving the coast in the fall of 1795, entered a caution into the sloop’s log, perhaps as a reminder to himself:
Yet I humbly am of opinion that small Merchantment have no business to venture
themselves there at all. For I shall always think that no man is safe in ye hands of
savages, any longer than he holds himself independent of them; for when once he gets
in there power, depend upon it, his life is always in a very critical situation, & for the
least error, perhaps is totally undone. For who can suppose that a set of men, brought
up in a state of nature, without the advantages of Civilization or any kind of
education, should be grac’d with any of those humane and finer feelings which adorn
the most civiliz’d nations. (76-77)

William Sturgis was another Boston trader who made repeated voyages and
developed sustained relations with certain Natives. Sturgis visited the Northwest Coast four
times, first sailing there from Boston in August 1798 as a foremost hand aboard the Eliza,
and returning to Boston in the "late spring" of 1800 as its third mate. Sturgis, apparently
promoted from the forecastle to third mate and assistant trader because of his facility with
words and numbers and language, kept a voluminous journal while he was an officer on the
Eliza. The journal details the thirteen weeks, from 13 February 1799 to 17 May 1799, during
which the one hundred thirty-six-ton vessel traded on the Northwest Coast. Sturgis’s desire
to see matters from Native perspectives sets his writing apart from that of earlier traders. As
S.W. Jackman notes in his introduction to Sturgis’s journal, soon after arriving on the
Northwest Coast Sturgis became adroit in his dealings with the Natives. He had a facility for
languages and learned to communicate with Natives from many nations. Scrupulously
honest, he quickly gained the trust of Natives (15).

On 19 March 1799, Sturgis writes that Altatsee and Cunneaw, chiefs from the
northwest corner of the archipelago, came on board the Eliza for a brief visit during which
the chiefs “appeared restive and uneasy” (54). The cause of their concern became clear when they told Sturgis of a confrontation between a group of Haida from the eastern shores of the islands and another Boston trader: “They informed us today that Captain Dodge in the Alexander had a skirmish with Cumshewah’s tribe and had three of his men wounded. He had, however, killed two of them, and got two or three scalps of white people as ransom for the lives of several more he had made prisoners. We bought in the course of the day fifty five Sea Otters’ skins and forty five tails” (54). In the negotiations following this skirmish, the white visitors, having killed two of Cumshewah’s people, spare “the lives of several more,” whom they make prisoners. In return the Natives surrender “two or three scalps of white people.” That is, after some twelve years of fairly regular visits by traders, the items of trade on this cultural and geographical borderland had extended beyond sea otter skins to humans and human skins. It comes as little surprise that some of the American visitors would make human flesh part of their stock in trade. From our contemporary vantage, some two hundred years later, the skirmish appears as an intense, deadly encounter. Yet Sturgis’s casual transition from that topic to the matter-of-fact reporting of the day’s trading results, featuring the quantity and kinds of furs procured, suggests the degree of separation between the discourses of intercultural contact in his day and in ours. Sturgis’s pragmatic response to cross-cultural clashes also separates his discourse from the ways that Dixon and Beresford had speculated about cannibalism twelve years earlier. The unease with which those on board the Queen Charlotte in 1787 had received Haida warnings about the dangers of cannibalism had, by 1799, been replaced with a pragmatism that reflected the economic ideals of the new American nation and the eager redirection of capital from its pre-Revolution applications.
As the maritime fur trade matured and then began to decline early in the nineteenth century, the Boston men bought and sold increasingly varied goods. While trade in humans would remain repugnant to most captains, a few treated Natives as another commodity. To cite an example, in his journal entry for 17 June 1811, seaman Stephen Reynolds relates how those on board the brig *New Hazard* stowed shrowton, or oolichan oil, acquired from Natives at Nahwhitti, near Cape Scott. In the same entry he mentions that the “Captain bought two slaves in the morning.” The *New Hazard* then sailed to the east coast of Haida Gwaii, where on 20 June Stephens writes, “Sold all shrowton and two slaves: one slave five skins, one, three.” His entry for 25 June includes, “Sold a little slave girl for five skins.” In essence, the Boston men were taking advantage of their mobility, carrying capacity, capital, and contacts to redistribute trade items among coastal nations, always with an eye toward extracting from the coast their own most desired commodity, sea otter skins.
Modern visitors (1876 – 1928)

The meanings of “modern” are problematical and the word’s appearance between “early” and “recent” in the sequencing of the three sections in this dissertation requires explanation. Two principal meanings of “modern” have evolved. If we take a long historical perspective, the period since the Renaissance is modern, and the process of modernization correlates closely with capital formation. In this sense, modernity refers to the massive social and cultural changes that have replaced traditional cultures with industrial capitalist society, and modernity itself is “about conquest — the imperial regulation of land, the discipline of the soul, and the creation of truth” (Turner 4). The second principal use of “modern” refers to the ability to be up-to-date: steam power is more modern than sail power, email is more modern than snailmail, and laser eye surgery more modern than graduated bifocals. In this second sense, modernity means the experience of the world as constantly changing, fashionably moving from a past through a present and into a future, which immediately becomes a past. In Exploring the Modern, John Jervis argues that conceptualizing modernity as a project incorporates both senses of the modern. “Project,” colonial discourse theorist and South Pacific historian Nicholas Thomas argues, is a deceptively simple word with significant theoretical implications. When applied to colonial circumstances, the idea of project draws attention to a socially transformative endeavour that seeks to create something new. Settlers seek novel perceptions of identity, action and history, and even if the colonized resist the transformation, they are unlikely to return to former circumstances of indigenous sovereignty and cultural autonomy without correspondingly altered perceptions of their identities and histories (105-106). Jervis describes a modern society as one in which an
orientation to rational purposive control of the natural and social environment becomes the
central dynamic of the society, thereby both understanding and transforming it. The
modernizing project reconstructs humans as appropriate subjects who can “carry” this
process through becoming “civilized” and “enlightened.” As Jervis notes, civilized and
enlightened are evaluative terms that help legitimize such a culture. To construct modern
subjects “involves a difficult process of controlling or expelling aspects of selfhood that fail
to fit in the mould” (6). In Jervis’s conceptualization, the Enlightenment transforms this
civilizing process into a project that calls for the production of better citizens through
political and educational reform. The desire for betterment inevitably leads to a fateful link
between rationalism and imperialism: “if I am enlightened, it is my duty to enlighten you;
Enlightenment becomes a mission, necessarily intolerant of otherness” (7). Modernity as
project employs “rational-purposive strategies of organization and control” to appropriate the
world (8). It is proactive: it entails planning that seeks to harness regions, their peoples and
their resources to the purposes of the project itself (9). The discourses of modernity become
rationalism, humanism and the value of radical transformation. 86

In Modernity and Ambivalence, Zigmunt Bauman defines “modernity” as “a
historical period that began in Western Europe with a series of profound social-structural and
intellectual transformations of the seventeenth century and achieved its maturity” as a
cultural project with the growth of Enlightenment, and as a socially accomplished form of
life with the growth of industrial society. “Modernism is,” quite differently, an intellectual
trend that “reached its full swing” at the beginning of the twentieth century. “In modernism,
modernity turned its gaze upon itself and attempted to attain the clear-sightedness and self-
awareness which would eventually disclose its impossibility, thus paving the way to the
postmodern reassessment" (5 n1). Modernity sets for itself the task of order, and modern consciousness is the consciousness of order. Modernity leads to a process of “modernization” that discovers and then creates order as such. Thus, taxonomy, classification, inventory, catalogue and statistics become “paramount strategies of modern practice,” and modern mastery becomes “the power to divide, classify and allocate — in thought, in practice, in the practice of thought and in the thought of practice” (15). Bauman stresses that modernization, the process through which new regimes of truth are put in place, is enacted through precision and relates directly to power: “Drawing clear dividing lines between normal and abnormal, orderly and chaotic, sane and sick, reasonable and mad, are all accomplishments of power. To draw such lines is to dominate” (174).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the enactment of modernization on Canada’s westernmost margins involved drawing sharp distinctions between the former owners of the land and resources and the newcomers, who sought to occupy the land in some cases, and to extract its resources in most cases. The more clearly the newcomers could mark the former owners as “other” and inferior, the more easily the newcomers could deny indigenous ownership of the land and begin reterritorializing the area. Any uncertainty regarding the superiority of the invaders in relation to the Natives would cloud the justification for (and slow the pace of) the change in ownership. Those who travelled to Haida Gwaii to represent the centre, such as the missionary and the geologist studied in this section, were decisive in their convictions regarding the Natives. To entertain doubts about the appropriateness of their undertakings would have been unthinkable, for, in Bauman’s words, “Power is a fight against ambivalence. Fear of ambivalence is born of power: it is power’s horror (premonition?) of defeat” (174).
Modernity and its grandest manifestation, the nation state, Bauman emphasizes, depend for their existence on order. They define raw existence, that is, existence free of intervention, as “nature,” “something not to be trusted and not to be left to its own devices, something to be mastered, subordinated, remade so as to be readjusted to human needs.” According to modernity’s dichotomous way of ordering the world, “existence is modern in as far as it is effected and sustained by design, manipulation, management, engineering.” A force so obsessed with precision can brook no alternatives: the “typically modern practice, the substance of modern politics, of modern intellect, of modern life, is the effort to exterminate ambivalence” (7). The modern state perceives “under- or over-definition, the demon of ambiguity” as threatening: “Since the sovereignty of the modern state is the power to define and to make the definitions stick — everything that self-defines or eludes the power-assisted definition is subversive” (8). Therefore, the “other of the modern intellect is polysemy, cognitive dissonance, polyvalent definitions, contingency; the overlapping meanings in the world of tidy classifications and filing cabinets.” The sweep of modernity, this juggernaut of rationality and progress, calls forth resistance: “resistance to definition sets the limit to sovereignty, to power, to the transparency of the world, to its control, to order” (9).

I explore the sense of modernity as project, as a socially transformative endeavour, in this section of the dissertation. The early visitors who sailed to Haida Gwaii late in the eighteenth century used modern technologies such as navigational equipment and antiscorbutics to extend the reach of capital beyond previously attainable margins. Modernity, as the contemporary, empowered them; it increased their abilities and therefore the sphere of their influence. Yet, for the first two visitors studied in this second section,
modernity is more than technological empowerment. Their purpose is to gain control over
the social and natural environments they encounter with the goal of appropriating the land
and its resources into the modernizing project of their imperial cultures. The early visitors
sought trade with the Haida; the modern visitors seek to transform the Haida into "civilized"
subjects who will contribute their islands and their labour to the modernizing project as
defined at the centres.

This section treats the accounts of three visitors: the Reverend William Collison, who
arrived in 1876, and resided on the islands for parts of the next three years; George Mercer
Dawson, who conducted a geological survey of the islands in 1878; and Emily Carr, who
visited for several days in 1912 and again in 1928. Collison is overtly concerned with
transforming the social environment that he encounters; he sees the Haida as heathens who
need to be saved. Yet he does more than convert subjects through baptism; he implements
British forms of law and order, British dress codes, and European rules of economic
regulation. His project is to transform the Haida into ideal imperial subjects. Dawson
represents the Canadian federal government; he views Haida Gwaii as a fount of resources
waiting to be incorporated into the new nation and its progressive economy. His methods
involve the cartographic erasure of Haida presence and the reterritorialization of the islands
into a national (and by extension, international) geological scheme. Collison and Dawson
play parts consistent with an epistemology rooted in the Enlightenment. As Dorinda Outram
observes, many Enlightenment philosophers tended to see non-European cultures as merely
developmental stages in the greater harmonization of human cultures. Such a view justifies
colonization as a way of accelerating the progress of indigenous peoples by forcing European
culture upon them. It denies that such peoples may already possess unique cultures handed
down from their forebears, as living and evolving communities (78).

Certainly Collison and Dawson assumed a progressive development that would assimilate Haida into a dominant Euro-Canadian population. In this regard, their accounts of Haida Gwaii partake in the "denial of coevalness," which Johannes Fabian has defined as "a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse" (31). That is, the discourse anthropologists and ethnographers use removes the objects of the accounts from the well-informed modernity that the process of observing and writing assumes for itself. Time defines the unequal relation of self and other, so that "primitive" functions as a temporal concept. The discourse understands and constructs those studied as existing in an earlier, less advanced, less modern state. This denial of coevalness underpins tropes of the vanishing Native and extends beyond anthropology to circulate widely in modern western cultures.

These tropes are central to Emily Carr's representations of Haida Gwaii. The works from much of her long, prolific career seem to participate in what James Clifford refers to as the "allegory of salvage," which tended to dominate the representational practice of fieldworkers in the era of Boasian anthropology. These fieldworkers believed that their representational acts preserved disappearing cultures and vanishing lore from the global entropy of modernization, so that "the other" was "lost, in disintegrating time and place, but saved in the text" ("Ethnographic" 112). Certainly Carr's work has been severely criticized for assuming that Natives would disappear from the British Columbia coast, a view prevalent in her time. I argue, however, that Carr's late works actively sought to correct this view and to challenge many of modernity's assumptions. While Collison and Dawson represent the Haida as heathen and therefore in need of the forms of social and economic restructuring
they, as missionary and geologist, are implementing, Carr’s mature works emphasize that Haida possess worthy ways of perceiving their own world. They also resist the new colonial system’s rules of regulation. Collison and Dawson advance a project that seeks oneness, while Carr introduces an artistic modernism that questions faith in rationalism and advocates in its place relativity and the reconciliation of ambivalence.90

Chapters 4 and 5 concentrate on the decades near the end of the nineteenth century when visitors to Haida Gwaii represented Haida as mute, undifferentiated, unworthy and assimilable. Chapter 6 discusses the decades near the beginning of the twentieth century when artistic modernism began to break down this dualistic logic of exclusion and represent Haida culture as distinct, dynamic, worthy and resistant to assimilation.
Reverend W.H. Collison’s modernizing project

At daybreak on Wednesday, 8 June 1876, Reverend William Collison (1847 – 1922) and a crew of Tsimshian paddlers set out from Zayas Island, off the mainland shore of northern BC. Collison was embarking on his first visit to Haida Gwaii. He was twenty-nine, in his third year of evangelizing on the northern coast. He would live for parts of three years on Haida Gwaii, and establish the first mission, school and church on the islands, before resuming his work on the mainland. In all, his missionary career spanned more than forty years and included many accomplishments (especially at Kincolith, near the mouth of the Nass River) that seemingly matched his achievements on Haida Gwaii. Yet, when, late in his life, Collison wrote his memoirs, *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, that initial crossing marked the transition to the heart of the narrative. The subtitle of those memoirs — *A Stirring Record of Forty Years’ Successful Labour, Peril & Adventure Amongst the Savage Indian Tribes of the Pacific Coast, and the Piratical Head-Hunting Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C.* — signals the prominence of his three years on the islands in relation to his decades on the mainland. By naming the Haida, the subtitle singles them out in relation to other Natives found on the coast. It suggests that Collison placed the Haida at the centre of his imagined geography of the Northwest Coast and that he anticipated Haida Gwaii would be of primary interest to his audience. Granted, the subtitle may have been invented by the London publishers of Collison’s text. Charles Lillard, who edited, annotated and wrote the introduction to the 1971 edition of *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, surmises that “there is
little reason to believe the author saw the pages of his book at any time before it was published” (ix). Whether the subtitle originated with Collison at Kincolith or the publishers in London, its sensational tone promises romantic tales of the frontier and an autobiography of heroism. The title and subtitle point toward a narrative of modernization: the text will describe a disappearing past in which warring, head-hunting and probably cannibalistic savages are civilized through the commitment of a servant of the Empire. Title and subtitle mark this as a narrative of successful labour achieved through devotion to Protestant principles and values. The titles first refer to savagery and war canoes, then progress to describing an imposed English order in which islands situated at the extreme edge of the realm are named after an English Queen and the surrounding territory has become British (Columbia). In this chapter I tease out the assumptions, tropes and genres that determined the ways Collison would represent Haida Gwaii. In particular, I analyze his 1915 memoirs with a view toward revealing the various purposes and effects of his travels to the islands in the years 1876 to 1879.

Missionary accounts as literature

The circumstances that brought Reverend Collison to Haida Gwaii in 1876 can be traced to a chain of events that began on 26 September 1852, when the American schooner Susan Sturgis lost sail and was becalmed off Masset. Haida from Masset paddled out, took the captain and crew of six hostage, plundered the vessel of its cargo (primarily blankets, calico and tobacco), and then burned the schooner to the waterline. In June 1853, Governor James Douglas asked Captain James Prevost to take the British naval vessel Virago to Haida Gwaii and there inquire into reports that had reached Victoria, implicating several Haida from
Masset in the wreck and plunder. Douglas instructed Prevost “if necessary to inflict such a degree of punishment as will induce the savages in future to refrain from acts of spoilation” (qtd. in Akrigg and Akrigg 123). At Masset, Prevost concluded that the settlement should not be bombarded since the spectacle of the Virago itself provided an adequate show of British naval might. Indeed, the paddle-wheel warship surely created an impressive display of imperial firepower: it measured no less than 180 feet along its gun deck, displaced 1700 tons, had a crew of 145, and belched black smoke from its tall stack. The foray of the Virago was one in a series of displays of military prowess staged to impress Haida and to quell competing imperial interest in the archipelago. In 1851, a short-lived goldrush to Haida Gwaii had led Douglas to fear excessive American presence in the area. In a pre-emptive strike, the British government annexed the Queen Charlotte Islands to the colony of Vancouver Island in September 1852. At that time the British frigate Thetis, which carried thirty-eight guns, was sent to the islands to confirm British control of the area. The Virago followed in June 1853. In December 1853, the British warship Trincomalee followed. These vessels tended to perform a common military maneuver: officers would invite Haida to witness demonstrations of the range, power and accuracy of the ship’s guns. Often the accuracy was laughable, but the range and power were stunning.95 Such spectacles of power established British control of the region while ensuring compliance by American and Haida interests. As Cole Harris points out: “In a newly acquired territory . . . the brutal, episodic, and public application of sovereign power established” the usurper’s authority, “and fear bred compliance. Once the realities of sovereign power were demonstrated, other more disciplinary forms of power could begin to be put in place” (101).

In his memoirs, Collison takes up the story of Captain Prevost’s displays of power
and the transition to more rational and regulatory forms of power. He relates how Prevost, during this first tour of command on the Northwest Coast, had "been called into requisition on several occasions to punish" the "almost constantly warring" tribes (7). Once back in England, Prevost stressed to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) "the necessity for a Mission among these too long neglected tribes." The CMS, "whilst sincerely sympathizing with the officer in his appeal on behalf of the Indians," informed Prevost that it had no funds to undertake such a project. It therefore had the officer "write a report on the state of the Indians and their need," which it inserted in the next monthly issue of The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record. The public appeal resulted in numerous contributions to fund work on this neglected margin of the realm. Prevost pressed his campaign by informing the CMS that the Admiralty had reassigned him to the Northwest Coast, "and that he was empowered to offer a free passage to a missionary, should the Committee be prepared to send one" (7). Collison notes that "a young man named William Duncan, at once volunteered for the new Mission," and "embarked as the messenger of the Gospel of Peace, on board a vessel of war, for his distant destination" (7-8). In Collison's reconstruction, a gospel of peace shipping on board a vessel of war is not sufficiently paradoxical to merit comment. The Satellite departed England on 23 December 1856 and delivered Duncan to Victoria on 13 June 1857. Duncan continued to Fort Simpson, where he took up residence on 1 October 1857, and immediately applied himself to learning Tsimshian. He also began submitting accounts of his new surroundings to missionary publications in England.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Robin Fisher argues in Contact and Conflict, missions were losing popularity in Britain. To "whip up enthusiasm for missionary work," missionary publications adopted a technique of showing "how the unredeemed aborigine was
doomed to a life of barbarism. The darker the picture of Indian savagery, the greater the need for missionaries and the more God could be glorified by the Indians’ conversion” (92). The literature argued the need for more missionaries; more missionaries created more accounts; more accounts reinforced the need for more missionaries; thus, a perpetuating cycle was established. When Collison came to write his memoirs and recreate his own path to the Northwest Coast, he would quote extensively from Duncan’s accounts of Duncan’s earliest days at Fort Simpson. Thus, even as Duncan arrived on the northern coast and sequestered himself to learn Tsimshian, he recorded “shocking scenes” that revealed “something of the character of the natives.” A slave woman is murdered on the beach, her body thrown into the sea; two bands of naked medicine men rush into the water and tear the body to pieces; the leaders of each band rush from the water waving parts of the body. In another account that Collison relates, Duncan tells of an intoxicated chief who has a man executed merely because the chief “had been irritated” (9). The accounts imply the severity of the challenges that Collison faces as a missionary soldiering to the dark and distant front.

In *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff analyze the politics of the missionary project in South Africa in the nineteenth century. They argue that accounts of missionary “labors and scenes” became a prominent European literary genre by the late nineteenth-century, “taking its place beside popular travel and exploration writings, with which it shared features of intent and style” (172). Missionary literature, like exploration writing, was written at the margins of Empire and shipped back to London, where it was published and distributed. It allowed British consumers to glimpse the limits of the realm and to confirm their own industrial advancement and superior state of civilization in relation to those peripheries. The literary process juxtaposed the distant premodern
conditions the accounts described with the unfolding modernity at the centre where the accounts were read. Missionary literature also implied that the mother country was meeting its obligation to the least informed subjects in the empire and that intellectual control was being extended over otherness. The Comaroffs point out that the evangelists’ reports featured an assertively epic form: “Being soldiers of a spiritual empire, the churchmen described their deeds and achievements — and especially their battles with the forces of darkness — as conquests of civilization; here was history told, in the true spirit of Carlyle, as the autobiography of heroism” (192). Missionary accounts troped history as a moral progression led by heroic individuals and autobiography as a narrative genre that “Western man” employs in the “systematic conquest of the universe” (332 n3).

In his autobiography, Collison, having situated Duncan at Fort Simpson and initiated the flow of letters from Duncan at the margins of the realm to the CMS and its publications at the centre, begins to relate successes. In April 1860, Duncan wins over a large assembly of Natives by speaking in the Native tongue “with more freedom and animation” than he had previously achieved (10). In May 1862, Duncan removes his flock from the temptations of alcohol at Fort Simpson. Days after they relocate to Metlakatla, canoes arrive at Fort Simpson from Victoria, their occupants infected with smallpox. The epidemic ravishes the large population gathered at the Fort and Native populations inhabiting most other settlements on the coast, but the new converts at Metlakatla are largely spared (10-11). In 1864, an assistant to Duncan, Reverend Doolan, establishes a mission on the Nass (12-14). In all, Duncan’s efforts throughout the 1860s progress so satisfactorily that the CMS arranges “a day of prayer in 1872, that more men might be led to offer themselves for service in the mission field” (17). Collison notices the appeals in the newspaper, communicates his interest
to the secretaries of the CMS, enters the Church Missionary College at Islington, London, and, on 1 July 1873, is instructed “to proceed to the western shores of ‘the great lone land’” (17-18). At the behest of the Committee, Collison marries Marion M. Goodwin, a deaconess with considerable nursing experience, including service on the battlefields of the Franco-German War and in the smallpox epidemic that had occurred in Cork. Collison leaps ahead in his narrative, writing of his bride:

She was thus well prepared to take her part in mission work among the Indian women, with whom she soon gained a remarkable influence. She was the first white woman to take up her residence among the Tsimshian at Metlakatla; afterwards the first among the then fierce Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands, where her skill in ministering to the sick, and in dressing the wounds of those injured, tended in no small degree to bring them under the influence of our teaching. (19)

Missionary memoirs tend to subordinate all romantic and domestic concerns of the protagonist and concentrate on the desire to fulfill the higher calling. The quoted passage is a rare instance in which Collison acknowledges the deaconess’s steadfast presence and abilities. The trope employed in this instance underpins Collison’s narrative, operating on geographical and temporal planes. Geographically, the trope draws parallels between conditions found on continental battlefields and in the poorest corner of Ireland, and conditions encountered on the other side of the world. In all cases, enlightened Englishmen and Englishwomen travel abroad to aid less privileged, less modern sufferers. The trope offers a scale of increasing foreignness that ranges from the battlefields of continental Europe, to an epidemic in southern Ireland, to a “residence among” a distant people with an unpronounceable name, and finally to an initial presence “among the then fierce Haida.” The
subtitle of this heroic autobiography has already established the Haida as the exemplary other who are more than fierce; they are piratical and headhunting. The cited passage also suggests the temporal span of the larger narrative undertaking, which will always link advancing time to progress. The passage progresses from education at the centre, to invaluable practical experience gained just beyond the shores of that centre, to the application of the acquired knowledge in the achievement of two “firsts”: the deaconess is the first to take up residence at the distant mission and first to foray beyond that mission, among the fierce Haida. Furthermore, the narrative offers its consumers a historical perspective from which they can assess the progressions undertaken four decades earlier. They can read Collison’s account in London in 1915 or in Toronto and New York in 1916 and feel proud that the Haida are no longer fierce, for the deaconess’s “skill in ministering to the sick, and in dressing the wounds of those injured, tended in no small degree to bring them under the influence of our teaching.” The “our” extends from the deaconess to Collison the narrator to Anglican mission work and to the readers’ Christian culture.

The Collisons travel by steamship to New York, by rail to San Francisco, and by steamer to Victoria, arriving 11 October 1873. Their journey takes one month, in comparison to Duncan’s passage around Cape Horn sixteen years earlier, which took six months. As they travel the final leg of their journey, from Victoria to Metlakatla on board the HBC’s coastal steamer the Otter, Collison makes clear their descent into regions of darkness. The steamer stops at various villages en route. In some, the Collisons see “the medicine men, in their paint and cedar bark crowns, performing their incantations over the sick.” At Bella Coola, a medicine dance presents “a weird scene” as Natives perform a circular dance in a large lodge and chant “a wild dirge.” The Collisons arrive at Metlakatla
mid-day on a Sunday and are greeted by Duncan and "hundreds of Indians," who "were clean, and dressed in holiday attire," and thus "presented a pleasing contrast to the tribes" the Collisons "had seen in their paint and blankets along the route" (22). The Tsimshian language sounds "strange" to Collison, but the day following their arrival finds him teaching in "a long, low blockhouse, constructed of logs, and poorly lighted." "Over one hundred children" attend in the morning, some one hundred and twenty women in the afternoon, and in the evening the building is "well-filled with men from seven till nine." This educational work enables Collison "to acquire the language quickly, with the correct pronunciation" (23).

Indeed, travellers' attitudes towards Northwest Coast languages often determine how they will experience the area and represent their visits. Robin Fisher notes that by using the Tsimshian language, rather than being satisfied with Chinook as a means of communicating his ideas, Duncan aspired to a different kind of influence over the Natives than the fur traders had. Fisher is right to imply that the roots of Chinook were closely allied with trade, but he fails to recognize that many missionaries did use the creole to different purposes from those of the early traders. According to Fisher, Duncan's "investment in learning Tsimshian was not to preserve what was an essential part of the culture but to facilitate the introduction of cultural change" (129). He argues that Duncan, like most missionaries who evangelized in nineteenth-century British Columbia, "came among the Indians essentially to teach rather than to learn and to convert rather than to conserve" (132). In any case, after arriving at Metlakatla in November 1873, Collison follows Duncan's model and begins to acquire the Tsimshian language. Duncan is always more enthusiastic about the secular than the ecclesiastical aspects of his mission. He delegates much of the evangelical work to Collison, and encourages his assistant to visit other settlements in the region. As a result of his earnest
application to Tsimshian and his travels, Collison begins to hear stories about the Haida. The stories, as related by Collison, invariably emphasize the fierceness of the Haida. Even as Collison comes to know the Natives of the mainland coast, the Natives of Haida Gwaii capture his imagination. However rewarding his introduction to missionary work at Metlakatla, a nobler challenge begins to take shape, farther west.

Haida stories

In the portion of his memoirs that Collison devotes to his apprenticeship at Metlakatla (the three years during which he learns Tsimshian and becomes comfortable with the coast and its inhabitants), he introduces the primary evils that the evangelizing project seeks to eliminate: intertribal warfare, slavery, shamanism and bigamy. What better authority to cite on the matter of intertribal raids and their inevitable result, slavery, than the wise elder of a threatened tribe? Collison ends one early chapter by quoting the words of an “old steersman, a Kitkatlan”; that is, a member of the Tsimshian village situated at the outer edge of the fringe of islands that protect the mouth of the Skeena River. Kitkatla is thus the westernmost Tsimshian outpost, bordering on Hecate Strait, and therefore nearest the historically prominent Haida settlements of Skidegate and Cumshewa. One evening, sitting around the campfire after a long day of paddling up a large inlet so spectacular that it rates as “one of the natural wonders of the northwest coast,” the wise elder entertains the missionary and the younger paddlers by telling stories of intertribal warfare he had witnessed as a youth. During the night all are awakened by a “war whoop” as the old warrior thrashes about while suffering a nightmare. “Oh’,” he tells Collison and the younger Natives, “I have had such a bad dream. We were attacked by the Haida, and I could not find my gun and they were
almost upon us” (36-37). The old steersman’s words build narrative tension. They are dramatically positioned at the end of a chapter and incorporate periods ranging from the Kitkatlan’s youth to his old age, and from time when Tsimshian possessed little European technology to a present when guns allow protection from even the most blood-thirsty heathens. Collison as missionary hero, as adventurer among the heathens, and as correspondent sending an ostensibly realist account from the margins of the civilized world, ratchets up the tensions in his narrative by representing the Haida as the fiercest forces of darkness. They represent the greatest threat in the imagination of “our old steersman, a Kitkatlan”; in the imagination of the narrator, a young man at the time; and, the author hopes, in the imaginations of the narrative’s readers at the centres of the civilized world.

In the ensuing chapter, Collison travels northeast from Hecate Strait and the recalled threat of Haida raids at Kitkatla, to provide an ethnographic account of the oolichan harvest on the Nass River. The chapter begins by explaining that “Nass” translates as “food depot” and that the people of the Nass are the Nisga’a (38), and then provides a wealth of information about the spring fishery. However, in addition to its apparent, indicative function, the chapter develops Collison’s autobiography, embedding the latter in the genre of missionary accounts. It also introduces ethnographic details about the Haida to increase anticipation as the narrative builds toward the hero’s time among those piratical head-hunters. Collison’s description of the oolichan fishery is thorough and insightful: he details its importance to Natives of many nations and mentions the distances these Natives travel to fish or to trade for the oil. He discusses ways the fish and grease are used in Native diets and describes methods of catching oolichans and living conditions at the fishery. All this information establishes Collison’s authority. The reader is privileged to have had such an
observant scribe present at such a distant event. Interspersed among the ethnographic account is missionary validation. Collison emphasizes the newfound benefits to Natives: “Before the coming of the white man if a delay occurred in the arrival of the fish in the river many of the Indians, especially of the older and weaker, died from scarcity of food” (39). In earlier times, “Alaska tribes, the Haida, and the Tsimshian all in turn fought to obtain control of the fishery.” However, with the advent of missionaries “other tribes are content now to barter with the Tsimshian and Nishga for the oil which they extract, and quite a market has been established by the outside demand” (42). The influence of missionaries has been particularly benign in correcting the most unsavory aspect of trade:

not infrequently when pressed by famine, which was not unusual among the inland tribes, they handed over their young children [to the Nisga’a and Tsimshian] in barter for food. These were in turn passed to the Haida as part payment for their canoes, which were so necessary in their hunting and fishing. I found a number of these, who had been sold in exchange for food when young, to the Haida. They had grown up in slavery, and knew nothing of their own people or of their own tongue. Under the teachings of Christianity the Haida granted them their freedom. (39)

Again, Collison offers readers, as a vantage, the span between his 1874 observations (the first spring after his arrival at Metlakatla) and the time at which he writes his memoirs, some four decades later. These early ethnographic observations are underscored by the Christian transcendence that he reflects upon as he composes his memoirs. At this early point in his narrative, Collison relates an instance in which “slaves were duly restored to their own tribe, and the law of liberty vindicated” (29). He is drawing upon an established correlation of Christianity and the abolition of slavery, so well known to his audience that he can refer to
“the law.” Brett Christophers argues in *Positioning the Missionary*, his account of John Good’s evangelizing among the Nlha7kápmx, that the advent of missionaries in British Columbia resulted in part from the determination of the British government to abolish slavery following the petition of 1813 (xviii). In other words, the correlation extended beyond the genre of missionary writing to authorize and help determine colonial policy.

Before turning to his experiences on Haida Gwaii, Collison delineates a fundamental change in Native attitudes toward Christianity and its immediate manifestation, namely missions. He shows the most sagacious chiefs losing faith in the ministrations of shamans and reaching out toward missionaries. During one of his “early visits up the Nass River,” Collison learns the story of young Takomash, the first convert to Christianity among the Nisga’a (45). Dying from exposure, Takomash rejects the incantations of the medicine men and remains true to his newfound faith. His brother and mother, then his uncle, “a hard-hearted chief,” follow his example and convert to Christianity (46). Other Nisga’a chiefs despair of the incessant round of intertribal warfare; when “Christianity triumph[s] among” them, they reach out to their traditional enemies the Taku and “scatter the swan’s-down,” proposing peace (46-47). When a dispute arises between Nisga’a and Tsimshian, the missionary at Kincolith calls on the latter “to surrender their guns, or prepare to bear the penalty.” The Tsimshian comply, correctly surmising that the missionary has access to “a party prepared to support his demand.” Indeed, the government of the new colony sends a vessel of war, the *Sparrowhawk*, “to make peace between the contending tribes and settle the dispute” (51). Collison presents this sequence of events as a beneficial, if often bloody, progression from a system of heathen values to an enlightened state of Christianity. Writing about Native-missionary interactions in the Fraser Canyon at this time, the years following
1858, Cole Harris argues that the essence of the missionary equation was “Native ignorance, missionary knowledge, and with it the opportunity for salvation — the consummate assertion of the relationship between power and knowledge” (118). He explains that missionaries “thought they possessed a particular knowledge with a particular power to save souls, and understood that their social power lay in convincing Native people that this was so” (291).

The most acute manifestation of this relationship between new forms of knowledge that the missionaries possess and that the Natives require involves medicine. During his initial visit to the Nass, Collison notes a pragmatic reason for his acceptance at the oolichan fishery: “with the aid of my medicine chest I was always able to alleviate their ailments, and was welcomed at every camp I visited” (43). Once Reverend Tomlinson, “a medical missionary,” has established a mission and hospital at Kincolith, Natives from nearby “heathen camps” are won over by the treatment they receive at the hospital. As a result, Collison can claim that “they always welcomed his visits and mine” (52). Medical knowledge grants access to the heathens, which in turn allows the missionaries to proselytize. Certainly Collison assumes that his medical knowledge endows him with a particular power to save souls when the Tsimshian wife of a young Haida chief named Seegay sends Collison “an earnest entreaty to come and see him,” as she believes her husband is dying (57).

**On Haida Gwaii**

Collison arrives at Masset and describes the largest dwelling, Chief Weah’s house. He attends in detail to the entrance, “a small oval doorway cut through the base of a large totem, which compelled those entering to bend in order to pass through it” (63). This feature of traditional Haida dwellings fascinated visitors to the islands; it signified their admittance into
another world, their passage through a portal where unwelcome visitors had, in not-so-distant
times, been clubbed to death. However veiled the hint, these accounts always imply that
readers are standing at a threshold, in the company of a welcomed guest. Once through the
doorway, Collison notes other signs of a premodern culture: many of the Haida seated around
the fire have their faces painted in red and black, while some are “besmeared with both
colours”; the chief sits in “a peculiarly shaped seat carved” from “a section of a tree”; and “a
number of his slaves” are busy preparing food (64). Collison is able to penetrate this
otherworld, not only physically, but also linguistically: “as the chief understood sufficient
Tsimshian I was able to inform him of my mission to see his dying nephew, Seegay” (64).
Collison assumes his own worldliness; he can speak Tsimshian, and since Chief Weah
understands the language sufficiently, the premodern (Haida) and modern (English) worlds
are able to converse (in Tsimshian). Collison looks in on Seegay, then holds evening prayers
for his fatigued Tsimshian paddlers, “who were Christians,” while the “Haida looked on in
amazement.” Collison, however, is unable to sleep despite being granted “a place of honour”
in the upper gallery of the great lodge (65). Perhaps he is too excited by the experiences of
the day; perhaps the strange odours prevent sleep. “At the first gleam of the welcome day”
he searches for an answer. Outside he discovers, to his astonishment, “a great pile of the
remains of the dead, some in grease boxes tied around with bark ropes, some in cedar bark
mats which had fallen to pieces, revealing their contents; whilst skulls and bones were
scattered about.” Collison then turns “from the weird sight,” only to be challenged by “a
hungry, wolfish-looking dog” which he “had evidently disturbed” in its “horrid feast” (65).
The narrative implies that the Empire’s intrepid servant has glimpsed Hades. He has
travelled as far from the centre of civilization as imaginable — this must be the nadir. The
narrative challenge will be to bring Christian order (and British spatial and temporal rationalization) to this nether region.

With Chief Weah’s permission, Collison calls a council of the village chiefs. In his memoirs, he recalls the speeches made at that meeting. In long passages, resplendent with rhetorical flourishes, Collison asks permission to bring the good word of the Great Chief of Heaven and to learn the Haida language so that he can make the message clear. The chiefs ask why the Iron People sent messengers first among the Tsimshian, and why there was no help when the Iron Man’s sickness struck? They reason that Whites have now sent another enemy, alcohol, and that if the Great Chief, the Good Spirit, is so concerned about their welfare, why would he send this scourge before sending his messengers? Collison replies that he is a young man, that his hair is not white, and that he has not come too late for the chiefs or for their children. The chiefs respond that they will not give up the old customs, that Collison should return to his own people. But they do allow that perhaps he can lead their children in the new way (68). Collison senses victory: “If they permitted me to teach their children, I knew I should be able through their children to influence them also” (69). He returns to the mainland, and bides his time. The before-after story will be generationally staged, with the heroic protagonist educating the children out of heathenism.

When the HBC steamer *Otter* makes its final trip of the year, the Collisons and their two children cross from Fort Simpson to Masset. They arrive at Masset on 2 November 1876 and the following day move into a small hut in which the HBC trader had stored sealskins, now shipped on the *Otter*. “The worst feature of our hut,” Collison writes, was its position, “within a few yards of a broken-down dead-house,” filled with bodies (81). Adding to the Collisons’ discomfort, the Haida are fascinated by the new residents. They crowd into the
confining space so consistently and so avidly that the Collisons are forced to eat but two meals a day, “breakfast early in the morning, before our visitors began to assemble, and tea in the evening, after all had departed” (81). Collison begins to exert control. His first act is to partition the hut, so that their possessions can be hidden behind a door. He then hangs a half door at the entrance to the hut and fastens a bolt low on the inside, so that visitors can enter the dwelling only when the Collisons wish (87). When Collison is stricken by typhoid, which he attributes to the proximity of the charnel house, the half door and bolt are at the centre of a battle of wills between Christian and Haida spirit worlds, a battle which relates space to spirituality. The leading medicine men wish to expel the evil spirits that have afflicted Collison and, they fear, will spread among the people. When Mrs Collison refuses to admit them, they attempt to force open the door, but it has been built to resist such attacks. They then reach over in an attempt to remove the bolt, but she pushes them away, and they retreat. The Collisons have instituted spatial practices (partitions, doors, locks) consistent with their culture and that allow them to rebuff the Haida spiritual practices. Entrance to their residence plays out as a contest, a politics of space, in which the visitors to the islands determine the spatial and temporal boundaries beyond which interactions with their hosts, the Haida, can take place. It is inconceivable that the visitors could have imposed such spatial practices had they not enjoyed white skin privilege and a physical safety guaranteed by a history of prior punitive expeditions. I do not mean to slight the Collisons’ courage in taking up residence in a tiny hut in Masset in 1876, but I do mean to reveal some of the power relations that obtained. Like other missionaries, the Collisons brought longer-term commitments in return for “total cultural capitulation from the Indians” (Robin Fisher 124). Missionaries were determined to gain control over diseases and well being from shamans. In
Masset, in November 1876, the process of gaining control included a partition, a Dutch door and a draw bolt.

In his account of that first winter at Masset, his family secured in their tiny dwelling, himself recovering from typhoid, Collison invokes the most dramatic sign of wildness, the ultimate register of heathenism: cannibalism. His friend the HBC storekeeper slaughters a pig and gives half to the Collisons. Collison, his condition improved by the aroma of roasting pork, ventures out for his first walk since his illness and witnesses the storekeeper’s three remaining swine “engaged in devouring” a corpse from the Haida burial house (88). He stops Mrs Collison from serving the dinner she has prepared, then magnanimously presents a passerby with “the entire supply, cooked and uncooked.” Collison reasons that the Haida “must have known that these unclean animals were cannibals” (89). The slippage between human and beast is clear: the swine eat human corpses; Collison believes the Haida know, yet they eat the swine; so, he implicitly charges the Haida with cannibalism. He assumes that corpses are recycled in Haida diets, yet overlooks his contribution to the imagined cycle by presenting the passerby with the pork.105

In recounting his first winter at Masset, Collison advances from this description of indirect cannibalism and the battle for space and privacy to a narrative interlude in which he observes Haida ways. He describes a winter potlatch, expressing admiration for the paddling abilities of the arriving guests, the adornments of the chiefs, the extravagance of the assembled foods and the craftsmanship displayed in the freshly carved totem poles (89-92). He reserves negative judgement for two customs associated with potlatching. He witnesses scores of men being tattooed, then notes that those Haida who have since accepted Christianity “are ashamed of the disfigurement.”106 He also notes an “even worse practice”
that had been part of the potlatch tradition, the burying of live slaves beneath a newly erected
totem (93). As so often in *In the Wake of the War Canoe*, Collison contrasts the time of the
narrated events, in this case the first winter on Haida Gwaii, to the time of the narration. He
assures his 1915 readers that

the potlatch of today is not what it was in the past. The same may be said of the
heathenism of the present as compared with that of a quarter of a century ago. Both
have been reformed by the influence of Christianity. The tearing and devouring of
dogs and human flesh was then almost a nightly practice in every heathen camp.
Now it is unknown. Slavery has been abolished. Sorcery is ashamed to declare itself,
and the medicine man has been denuded of all his terrors. (94)

He similarly claims that, following his intervention at Masset, Haida no longer set out for the
mainland intending “to kill and plunder and enslave, but rather to visit the great eulachon
factory on the Nass and procure a supply of the oil extracted” (95). Collison is invoking a
trope fundamental to Christian cultures. As the Comaroffs point out, it “locates progress in a
well-established vision of history, validating the right of the wandering prophet to take
possession of the Promised Land” (175). In this vast wilderness, the act of narration imposes
an order of space and time, making the metaphorical leap from margins where potlatches
occur to known cultural referents. Cannibalism, slavery and sorcery yield to the tidiness and
demarcations of the British ideal of spatial order. The trope relies upon the long-standing
symbolic contrast between world-as-wilderness and church-as-garden. It consigns heathens
to the nether regions, to be saved from their Fall only when God’s servant ventures forth
among them.

The notion that Haida were Falling had gained considerable currency by the time
Collison ventured to Haida Gwaii. Years earlier, on 10 August 1860, George Hills, the Anglican Bishop of British Columbia, attended the Haida encampment outside Victoria, and lamented “how soon will corruption destroy” the trust and innocence he observed there (Bagshaw 213). As Robin Fisher points out, the widely accepted “contamination model” led to “an ambivalence about the settlers’ disrespect for those Indians who most closely approached their supposed future status; although it was an ambivalence that ran deep in British thought about aborigines.” He adds, “Colonists were aware that contact with whites was as likely to degrade as elevate the Natives, and they despised those Natives who succumbed,” even as they continued to regard Natives who still roamed free as noble savages (84). The colonists’ equation was more than ambivalent; it was paradoxical: noble savage and white influence equalled degraded Indian. Missionaries wanted to save Natives from both the heathenism of aboriginal cultures and the baneful aspects of European civilization, including the fatal attractions of the settlement of Victoria, including alcohol, European diseases, prostitution, and the disruption of the aboriginal yearly round, to name a few.

Concerns about contamination are crucial when Collison seeks to establish a mission. He observes that Natives living inland alongside the Nass River had by then obtained “strong drink, with all its attendant evils,” degrading “many of the tribe, so that they were but little better than the Indians [he] had seen in the vicinity of the large white centres” (99). He decides to locate his mission among the Haida, at Masset:

From a geographical point of view, Skidegate may have appeared the most advantageous, being situated almost in the centre of the islands. But the tribes of the southern islands had suffered severely from their periodical visits to Victoria and the cities of Puget Sound. They had imported drink and disease from these centres. The
northern Haida were more vigorous and healthy, with a larger proportion of women and children. I recognized in these the hope of the Haida race. (76)

In deciding to evangelize among the relatively uncontaminated northern Haida, Collison strikes a fine balance between degrees of heathenism. While Nisga’a who live inland along the Nass, Tsimshian who live near Fort Simpson, and southern Haida renowned for travelling to Victoria and points further south could all use God’s help, Collison elects to evangelize among less corrupted souls. He chooses to awaken northern Haida from their innocence, rather than to redeem Nisga’a, Tsimshian or southern Haida from their Fall. There is pragmatism in his decision: he wants to spread the Gospel, and chooses to sow in fertile soil. There is also differentiation: he chooses the Masset Haida as more worthy of his intervention. Nicholas Thomas points out that missionary representations typically separate the candidates for conversion from those who are irredeemably barbarian: “If savages are quintessentially and irreducibly savage, the project of converting them to Christianity and introducing civilization is both hopeless and worthless. The prospect of failure would be matched by the undeserving character of the barbarians, which is why mission discourse must at once emphasize savagery yet signal the essential humanity of the islanders to be evangelized” (128).

Collison takes up the task of converting world-as-wilderness into church-as-garden in earnest during the summer of 1877, by building a Mission House. The architecture and landscaping depict a profoundly British sense of order, featuring English-cottage styling, whitewashed buildings, a pruned hedge, a picket fence, fenced pastures, a lane entrance, and a gateway. Collison introduces a regime of order that imposes tenets of European economic relations and familiar European cultural referents. He is inscribing “the small-scale tidiness”
and "nice demarcations of the British ideal of spatial order" onto the untamed Northwest Coast canvas (Comaroff and Comaroff 174). To construct the mission house, he hires Haida and Tsimshian workers and supervises Native sawyers, who "unfortunately" begin "haemorrhaging, caused probably by the continual up and down motion of the arms acting upon the lungs" (Collison 101). The discipline includes a regulated work schedule, with Sundays reserved for worship. Collison begins to teach his flock "the necessity of something more suitable in which to array themselves than a bearskin or a blanket" (103). The Comaroffs note that "within and alongside" the substantive message of the mission "there occurred another kind of exchange: an often quiet, occasionally strident struggle to gain mastery over the terms of the encounter." The objects of this struggle were the forms of "the conversation itself: among others, linguistic forms, spatial forms, the forms of rational argument and positive knowledge" (199). Collison is clear concerning the scope of his goal, endeavouring "the introduction of law in the community" (148). He entreats the provincial government to appoint a justice of the peace, then duly informs that individual that "the Gospel has prepared the way for the law," and that the formerly fierce Haida would welcome the justice's decisions (149). Collison is prepared to lever the power his particular knowledge yields and to construct a rational argument to achieve his ends. His ongoing discomfort regarding aboriginal burial practices provides an example of his manipulation of different kinds of knowledge. He calls a council of chiefs and attempts to persuade them to "cleanse the camp by burying the dead," arguing on the basis of "sanity, social, and Christian reasons" (150). When his request is refused, he uses the Natives' fear of smallpox as leverage, although he knows that smallpox and burial practices are not directly related (151). Furthermore, when the chiefs acquiesce but Collison is unable to convince any Haida to
participate in the burials, he "succeed[s] in obtaining a number of slaves" to dig deep pits and inter the dead (151). To bring about cultural changes he desires, Collison is willing to use tactics with which he may have been uncomfortable.

Collison dispenses medicine as his currency. This aspect of the interaction between the Collisons and the Haida, more than any other action or exchange, reflects the power that the missionaries held over the Natives and the single-mindedness with which they pursued their advantage. When an "old chief" asks Collison to attend to a slave, Collison quickly diagnoses the ailment, then states that he will act only if the chief banishes the shamans. When Collison's administrations prove effective, he states, "It was a clear victory, and the medicine men were furious. The impression made on the old chief was deep and lasting. He lost all faith in the powers of the medicine men, and both he and his slave, Kowtz, became catechumens" (119-20). Collison proudly recounts how, during a visit to Skidegate, he had been eagerly received by southern Haida as "the medicine man of the Iron People, who had come to their island to tell of the Sha-nung-Eitageda, the great Chief of the Heavens" (120). Collison tells a tale of Native populations that are being decimated by their interaction with whites. In this narrative, he, his wife, and their fellow missionaries wrestle the terms of encounter between cultures from pathologies of smallpox, whisky and prostitution, and recast the encounter in what he believes to be benign terms such as medical attention, education and faith.

In a chapter entitled "A Touching Parting," Collison builds his narrative toward a confident assessment that the Mission is "firmly established" (165). The chapter begins by measuring in aesthetic terms the progress Collison has achieved among the Haida. He notes that, like "the Indians on the mainland, the Haida are fond of music and singing." In their
heathen condition (just three years earlier, when his visit began) they had chanted, accompanied by “rude drums,” cedar trumpets and rattles. The result was “more noise than music,” the chants “more monotonous than melodious.” Collison initially has to act as both “choir and choirmaster,” but he eventually translates some hymns into the Haida language and begins teaching his followers to sing. Soon he is “encouraged to hear the songs of Zion when passing through the camp” (156). The crowning moment occurs when Haida arrive from other villages, “arrayed in paint and feathers,” and are greeted by Collison’s choir, “clean and decently attired,” singing the anthem, “How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings” (157). As Collison reflects on the three years, he summarizes that the language has been “acquired and reduced to writing”; hymns, prayers, Scripture and the commandments have been translated into Haida; the burial ground is now known as “God’s Acre of the Mission”; Haida “rest on the Lord’s Day”; and many of “the leading medicine men” have “surrendered to the truth” (165-66). “Thus it was with courage and hope for the future” that Collison could return to the work on the mainland (166). His autobiography has reached its heroic climax.

Assessing Collison’s position

While Collison learns Native languages and translates various Tsimshian and Haida stories into English, and then relates these stories in his memoirs, his consistent purpose is to demonstrate the heathenism and depravity of Native ways. In these stories, Natives may perform impressive physical feats or demonstrate that they are attuned to nature, but they inevitably show only limited abilities to reason, a deficiency that typically leads to their defeat. Collison never expresses esteem for Tsimshian and Haida myths or worldviews.
Instead, he translates the myths and worldviews of his own culture, as expressed in the Scriptures, into the Native languages, and then imposes these values onto the subordinate culture. His purpose is always on the one hand to introduce Christian myths, stories and values into their culture, and on the other hand to represent the aboriginal worldviews as deficient. Translation between the two worlds takes place in both directions, but fails to result in dialogue. Collison’s interpretations always negate the Native myths and replace them with Christian myths, resulting in a monologue. By demonstrating that Native ways are superstitious and irrational, and therefore depraved, Collison asserts that it is a moral imperative to reconstruct the Natives’ everyday lives. As such, his work is worthy of financial and strategical support from the centres in which his account will be read.

Missionaries tallied their progress by counting the number of catechumens and baptisms, quantifiable categories that disregarded relapses to heathenism. The more enduring measure of their mission has been the degree to which they transplanted the cultural forms of Europe onto the margins of the realm. In the case of Haida Gwaii and coastal BC, specifically English, Protestant values were implanted. Certainly missionaries were not the only ones responsible for imposing European culture. In several other areas of the new colony and then province, missionaries helped the Natives deal with Euro-American settlers or prospectors. On the northern coast, an area of limited prospects for agriculture, changes began with the fur traders late in the eighteenth century, slowed as the nineteenth century unfolded, and then regained momentum as British colonial administration took possession of the land. The sequence extended to “settlers” only when resource extractive industries (especially fishing, mining and logging) began to develop. The settlers were, in most cases, industrialists, entrepreneurs and workers. By then the missionaries had collaborated with
governments (as we shall see in Chapter 5) to make the Natives compliant with European ways of understanding the land and its resources.

In sum, the most Anglocentric aspect of Collison’s account is his intellectual control over the Haida. He, like most modern visitors, simply did not consider that Natives had much intellectual capacity. Regulations of time, dress and space were strategies designed to incorporate Haida into the culture of Empire, specifically a more thorough, hierarchical and less sporadic economy of resource extraction than that put in place by the fur trade.
On 30 April 1878, George Mercer Dawson (1849 – 1901) left his home in Montreal, bound for Canada's newest and westernmost province. He travelled by rail to Toronto, Chicago and San Francisco, then by steamer to Victoria, where he arrived May 13th. In his journal, Dawson relates that in Victoria he chartered the Wanderer, a small schooner of about twenty tons, and, after “two weeks of preparation & vexatious delays,” many owing to the “completion of sails & Carpenter’s work,” set out on his “Northern cruise” to the Queen Charlotte Islands (9-13). Dawson was a man of letters, by profession a geologist, by avocation an ethnologist, and by hobby a photographer. He created representations of Haida Gwaii in all three capacities. His geological survey of Haida Gwaii played an important part in integrating the northwest perimeter into the new dominion of Canada; his ethnological essays appeared in some of the most widely distributed publications of the time; and his photographs of Haida Gwaii, the earliest surviving photographs of the islands, are reproduced in many publications, texts and films that focus on the archipelago.

**Scientific knowledge, centres of calculation**

Dawson was a respected geologist, assigned by the Geological Survey of Canada to explore the archipelago and to assess its potential for resource exploitation. In a recent essay, Bruce Braun explains that on his journey Dawson collected valuable information about Canada's west coast and then returned to centres of economic and political calculation in eastern
Canada, where he correlated the geological information from Haida Gwaii with observations made elsewhere, "fixing . . . the islands within the larger stratigraphical order of Canada's west coast, and locating these strata within a universally accepted geological taxonomy" (9). Braun discusses the work performed by Dawson and the Geological Survey within the context of the social construction of nature, arguing that new forms of political rationality were being imposed and new practices designed to train Canadians to imagine, understand, and use the land as a source of resources. These changing ways of understanding nature were manifested as a discursive restructuring: new bodies of knowledge released new effects of power. For example, by classifying western Canada within the universal system of geological stratification, the federal government took one step toward politically rationalizing the territory and optimizing its use for the nation. Simultaneously, national forms for exercising power yielded new knowledges of the margins (statistics) and their inhabitants (censuses), all of which were transformed to fit the new conceptions of land as source of resources.

Of course, visitors dating back to Pérez in 1774 had socially constructed (or understood) Haida Gwaii, and visitors dating back to Dixon in 1787 had exploited the islands' resources. But the measuring, archiving and taxonomic strategies of government that underpinned Dawson's journey and the specific project undertaken by the Geological Survey of Canada reflected a fundamental change in the relations between state, citizens, and territory. Braun argues that these "governing effects" compelled individuals to conduct themselves and to organize their relation to resources and land in such a way as to optimize the health and wealth of the freshly confederated Canadian nation (12). He stresses that in representing the archipelago as a geological landscape, Dawson reterritorialized the islands,
erased existing social natures and restaged the landscapes to reflect the availability of mineral
resources (15).

Braun believes that during his summer of fieldwork on Haida Gwaii Dawson acquired
objects, data and images that correspond to Bruno Latour's model of "immutable mobiles"
and "cycles of accumulation." Latour is a historian of science, who strives to explain the vast
effects of science and technology by taking into account writing and "imaging
craftsmanship." He explains in the essay "Visualization and Cognition" that such practical,
modest and pervasive explanations deflate "grandiose schemes and conceptual dichotomies"
and replace them with "simple modifications in the way in which groups of people argue
with one another using paper, signs, prints and diagrams" (3). To appreciate "the way in
which someone convinces someone else to take up a statement, to pass it along, to make it
more of a fact," one should focus not on "perception" but rather on specific kinds of material
objects that are retrieved for specific purposes (5-7). Latour illustrates his theories with the
example of La Pérouse's travels through the Pacific.110 He sums up:

If you wish to go out of your way and come back heavily equipped so as to force
others to go out of their ways, the main problem to solve is that of mobilization. You
have to go and to come back with the "things" if your moves are not to be wasted.
But the "things" have to be able to withstand the return trip without withering away.
Further requirements: the "things" you gathered and displaced have to be presentable
all at once to those you want to convince and who did not go there. In sum, you have
to invent objects which have the properties of being mobile but also immutable,
presentable, readable and combinable with one another. (7)

Latour calls these "things" or invented objects that emissaries from European centres would
retrieve from disparate places “immutable mobiles” (7). They include items such as
specimens, maps, sketches, traces, measurements and other inscriptions that could be
transported back to metropolises without being distorted. Gathered at such “centres of
calculation,” the items could be presented “all at once” to individuals who had not travelled
to the peripheral destinations. Viewers who studied the immutable mobiles that were
gathered, classified and displayed in the museums, botanical gardens, mining schools and
private collections could make the assemblages and linkages that draw together people,
mechanisms, theories and practices within new modalities of seeing and knowing. What was
formerly incredible becomes credible through the accumulation and analysis or “cascade” of
“inscriptions.” Inscriptions are immutable mobiles that transform three-dimensional objects
into two-dimensional representations. They greatly facilitate the display and comparison, or
cascading, of retrieved objects and information. For example, latitudes and longitudes, or
Mercator’s projections, were among the most important inscriptions retrieved from the
Pacific by Cook, La Pérouse and other voyagers. They were configured into maps both
during the voyages and in the centres of calculation. When cascaded, the maps
revolutionized geographical knowledge. “We are so used to this world of print and images,”
Latour writes, “that we can hardly think of what it is to know something without indexes,
bibliographies, dictionaries, papers with references, tables, columns, photographs, peaks,
spots, bands. One simple way to make the importance of inscriptions clearer is to consider
how little we are able to convince when deprived of these graphisms through which mobility
and immutability are increased” (14).111

At the end of each cycle of accumulation, a new set of questions would be formulated
to ask of foreign landscapes and peoples, and travellers would set out at the beginning of
each new cycle to retrieve the desired objects and information (18). Thus, in the case of the Northwest Coast, the journeys of Pérez, Cook, La Pérouse, Dixon, Vancouver and Dawson sought different immutable mobiles, or inscriptions. Pérez sought knowledge of foreign incursions into what the Spanish understood to be Spanish waters; Cook sought a Northwest Passage; La Pérouse improved on Cook’s maps and sought scientific knowledge; Dixon sought furs and knowledge that would help establish trading nodes; Vancouver sought to settle the territorial dispute with the Spanish and to refine earlier maps; and Dawson sought geological knowledge of Canada’s westernmost frontier. In short, each successive visitor “saw” the coast differently from his predecessors and sought new objects to display back at his centre of calculation.

Latour further states, “Scientists start seeing something once they stop looking at nature and look exclusively and obsessively at prints and flat inscriptions” (16). For scientists to enact power on a grand scale or to achieve an overview, they must move from the small-scale obtaining of data to the large-scale manipulation of files. In other words, the power of scientific knowledge is created when the scientists work their data into the theories and paradigms they wish to advance, rather than when they gather data. They manipulate the invented objects that they retrieve from the field or laboratory to fit recognizable genres.

George Dawson’s representations of his journey to Haida Gwaii provide an opportunity to compare his three methods of gathering and then re/presenting data about the islands. His geological project was scientific in its gathering of data, in the transportation of that data to the centres of calculation, and in the re/presentation of the retrieved inscriptions. Many of the methods and assumptions that underpinned his geological work were equally prominent in his ethnographic and photographic retrievals.
Dawson journeyed to Haida Gwaii in the employ of the Geological Survey of Canada as part of a project to impose governmentality or “forms of political rationality” (Braun 9). He then returned to central Canada to integrate the information obtained into specific modalities of knowing that furthered the governmental rationality of the new nation. Dawson was a formidable geologist who wrote and published scores of geological articles and monographs during his career. Braun emphasizes that Dawson’s geological representations of Canada’s west coast “were historical rather than natural — situated within specific historical geographies of ‘seeing’ and ‘ordering’ nature” (14). Dawson’s ethnographic and photographic representations were equally historically situated ways of knowing his destination.

Dawson’s ethnographic representations

Dawson used the privileges afforded by his position with the Geological Survey of Canada to pursue his avocation as an ethnographer. Following the 1878 excursion to Haida Gwaii, he published a lengthy article about Haida culture and history, entitled “On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands,” in the Geological Society’s Report of Progress for 1878-79. In 1882, an excerpted version of that article appeared in Harper’s Magazine, a weekly news magazine published in New York for a mass audience. The original version of “On the Haida Indians” is reprinted in To the Charlottes (1993). In the “Introduction” to that volume, editors Douglas Cole and Bradley Lockner state that the article’s “value resides in its description of Haida customs as Dawson learned about them during his trip, partly from a few Haida and partly from the missionary Collison and others” (8). Cole and Lockner point out that Dawson interacted with a limited number of Haida during his visit and that Reverend
Collison provided much of the information that Dawson gathered for the article. The implication is that Dawson did not encounter and observe the islands and their inhabitants in any sort of objective way. Rather, his representations of Haida Gwaii are those of a *bricoleur.* He collected primarily second- and third-hand information from Collison and several published sources, then worked that information into an ethnographic narrative that was consistent with the assumptions of his own culture and milieu.

"On the Haida Indians" draws extensively from early exploration and trading accounts, particularly Dixon and Beresford's *A Voyage Round the World,* from later accounts such as James Swan's 1876 article in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* series; and from preliminary statistical information about the islands, such as the population estimation undertaken by HBC trader John Work in the years 1836-1841. In Victoria and on his travels north on the coast, Dawson was enthusiastically received and informed by those who were introducing European forms of government and commerce to the new province. Back in Montreal, where his father was principal of McGill and Dawson was employed by the new federal government, he had access to a more complete body of historical and ethnographic information about Haida Gwaii than previous travellers to the archipelago. "On the Haida Indians" reveals more than Dawson's assumptions about Haida and other Natives; given Dawson's privileged position at the intellectual centre of the new nation, the essay is representative of the assumptions of the dominant culture about the margins and their aboriginal inhabitants.

A brief introduction and twelve titled sections first describe the people, their food, social organization, religion and medicine, social customs, arts and architecture, then reflect on Haida contact with Europeans, and conclude by describing the villages and population as
Dawson understood them to exist in 1878. He introduces the Haida nation as “one of the best defined groups of tribes on the north-west coast,” its people possessing finer features and “markedly fairer skinned than most of the coast tribes” (97, 98). In Dawson’s view, Haida are indeed noble, since the “average physiognomy of the Haida shows more evidence of intelligence and quickness than that of most of the coast tribes, an appearance not belied on more careful investigation.” Haida are perhaps not as savage as the advance literature suggests, for Dawson has “not been able to discern in their appearance anything of that exceptional fierceness said to be characteristic of them by the earlier voyagers” (99).

Dawson notes that customs are changing among the Haida he encounters: “Tattooing is universally practiced, or rather it was so till within the last few years,” while labrets are now worn by only the older women. “Many middle-aged females have a small aperture in the lip,” into which labrets would have once been inserted, but the “younger women have not even this remnant of the old custom” (102). Underpinning Dawson’s ethnography is the assumption that these customs are disappearing because the Haida are disappearing. (I intentionally use the definite article in this instance, to reflect Dawson’s collective view.) He writes that it “is scarcely necessary to particularize at length” many of the species of fish Haida use as food, such as herring and cod, because “it is not yet known whether at certain seasons and localities they may be sufficiently abundant to attract commercial enterprise” (104). Dawson assumes that the most advantageous use of resources is commercial, and recognizes that Haida participation in the new resource-extractive economy has been and will be limited. Thus, Haida do not eat dogfish, but catch them because “the oil extracted from the liver is readily sold to white traders, and constitutes one of the few remaining articles of legitimate marketable value possessed by the natives” (105). He believes that Haida should
take up agriculture, a means of procuring food that is consistent with English ideals, but "the task of clearing the ground is quite beyond the energy of the Indian" (107). In Dawson's view, the Haida are vanishing while the land is not. He assumes that the Natives will disappear and thus free up the resources of the land, the resources (such as coal deposits) that he hires Haida guides to reveal. He sees aboriginal people not as full citizens or human resources, but as vanishing Natives who hinder the extraction of important resources.

An attitude common to most modern visitors to the northwest coast is evident in Dawson's ethnography. It pivots on the belief, however vaguely articulated, that modernization would first degenerate then ultimately annihilate the aboriginal population. This line of thinking assumes that modernization is so antithetical to aboriginal ways that it will erase them. Yet some visitors sense a paradox: even as they blame the Natives for failing to adapt to modernity and sense that the invading culture is culpable, they begin to express nostalgia for the disappearing past to assuage their guilt. In later stages of modernization this nostalgia will develop into searches for lost origins and authenticity. Dawson's ethnography hints at this sensibility, in ways that require a measure of self-reflection that would be impossible in Collison's representations. For example, Dawson explains that Haida, like other coastal Natives, have permanent villages. While the "general type of construction" of the dwellings in all coastal villages is similar, Haida houses are more substantial, "and much more care is given to the accurate fitting together and ornamentation of the edifice" than elsewhere on the coast. This superior ability "may be due in part to the comparatively late date at which the Haida have come closely in contact with the whites," and specifically reflects that they "have scarcely been reached by missionaries" (109). Dawson recognizes that the imposition of the culture that he is importing is responsible for
the degeneration of aboriginal cultures. However, he fails to question whether the invading culture has the right to extinguish (as he assumed it would) previous cultures. He realizes that the modern and aboriginal cultures are founded on different ways of viewing the world, but assumes the superiority of his own episteme. "The forest of carved posts in front of the village," he writes, "doubtless presents to the native eye a grand and awe-inspiring appearance and brings to the mind a sense of probably mysterious import, which possibly does not in reality exist" (110). In other words, the aboriginal cosmology is already a thing of the past, while the less mysterious, more rational way of knowing the world that has replaced it is the present and the future reality. The rational way is properly progressive.

Dawson's ethnography similarly approaches, without quite achieving, critical awareness of the representative nature of the cultural interactions he discusses. While describing religion among the Haida and Tsimshian, he argues "the childish nature" of the shamans' "mystery performances." The performances invoked in Native religions are implicitly less mature or believable than those invoked by Christianity. However, he does acknowledge that Native religious representations are theatrical, and that foreign observers should not assume literal interpretations. He notes that Tsimshian "dog-eaters" appear to tear to pieces dogs and eat the flesh, but "eat in reality as little of the flesh as they can, disposing of the bulk of it when out of sight." Tsimshian "cannibals" are equally canny, for they assume "a state of real or pretended frenzy" when they "bite flesh out of the arms of the people of the village as a part of their rite" (118). Dawson argues that the "more savage religions pretend to mysterious supernatural powers, and go to great pains sometimes to delude the common people, or those of different creeds" (119). By castigating Haida and Tsimshian religions as "more savage," he exonerates Christian religions from similarly
savage qualities, claiming that Christianity has no pretensions to supernatural powers and
does not delude the common people. Even as Dawson recognizes the performative quality of
Native cultures, he lacks the degree of self-reflection that Ingraham possessed. His
blinded view brings to mind Dening’s wry observation, “What always embarrasses the
stranger’s effort to understand the native is the stranger’s insistence that the native
perceptions should be literal, while the stranger’s own perceptions are allowed to be
metaphoric” (196).

The depopulation of Native villages and nations was apparent by 1878, when Dawson
travelled to Haida Gwaii. Depopulation was arguably the deepest reflection of the shock
that aboriginal cultures experienced from contact with Europeans; it contributed to the
invaders’ conviction that Natives would disappear. The reluctance of modern observers to
recognize their own complicity in the depopulation reveals, from our current vantage, their
lack of self-awareness. Dawson, like his contemporaries, apportions responsibility for the
depopulation to the Natives. Haida desire children and treat them well, he writes:

Very few children are now, however, seen about some of the villages, the women
resorting to Victoria for purposes of prostitution. Their husbands, be it said to their
shame, frequently accompany them, and live on their ill-gotten gains. It is said that in
the early days of their contact with the whites, the Haidas were distinguished by good
morals. If so, they differed from most of the coast tribes, among whom great laxity
has always prevailed. Female chastity is certainly not now prized. (123-24)

The Haida, both female and male, are to blame for the waning population. The women
prostitute themselves while the men paddle along to live off the avails. Haida now lack good
morals; they have reverted to true Native laxity. Female chastity, the control of which
defines and guarantees the Christian family unit, has become meaningless among coastal Natives. According to this line of thinking, no characteristic could more indelibly mark Natives as savage, and further separate them from European notions of civil propriety. In Dawson’s view, Haida revert from their former moral superiority to a natural state of barbarism; his discourse of moral decline implies that Haida, like Natives in general, are doomed to disappear because of their cultural flaws. He attributes responsibility for their moral decline and their impending disappearance to the Natives, largely absolving White culture and himself of culpability.

Despite the depopulation and moral degeneration that he documents, Dawson sees signs of progress in the Haida nation. Like Collison, he is particularly encouraged by the cessation of raids and the diminishing number of slaves found in Haida villages. “The intertribal wars along the coast have now ceased,” he writes, “and such piratical expeditions have been abandoned owing to the wholesome dread of gunboats” (125). The object of Dawson’s approval is the developing governmental rationality of the new nation. He implies that the end (Native compliance with and White implementation of European conceptions of law and order) justifies the means (the display of British naval might). Concomitantly, blankets have become “the recognized currency, not only among the Haidas, but generally along the coast” (129). The Hudson Bay Company is issuing blankets, the value of which the Company has distinguished according to the number of points, or marks sewn into the corners. Natives are amassing wealth in a currency controlled by an international corporation that is in league with the imperial, federal and provincial governments. Natural resources are being brought on stream, to benefit interests located at the centres. And British law and order are being displayed, recognized and obeyed at the margins. Indeed, political rationality is
extending to the limits of the dominion. Revealingly, the changes that Dawson’s ethnography supports both further the political rationalization of the margins and appear to hasten the assimilation of Haida culture into European culture.

**Dawson’s photographic representations**

In addition to his professional work as a geologist and his avocational pursuits as an ethnographer, Dawson was an expert photographer, the first known to have visited Haida Gwaii. The twenty-nine photographs he took while surveying the archipelago have become a mother lode in inventions and re-inventions of the islands. It has become conventional in accounts of Haida Gwaii to reproduce one or more Dawson photographs as the earliest available images of Haida culture immediately before its consolidation into the two villages of Masset and Skidegate. To appreciate the central role that photography, and Dawson’s photographs in particular, have assumed in representing Haida Gwaii, it is helpful to consider the overlaps of modernity, travel and photography.

One aspect of modernization is accelerating travel: as cultures modernize, people travel farther, more rapidly, and more frequently, making excursions that tend to be of shorter duration than those undertaken in earlier times (Urry). At each successive stage of modernization, travellers employ new technologies; by attending to disruptions in the technologies of travel one can pinpoint ensuing stages of modernization. The three stages of modernization that I discuss coincide with major changes in technologies of transportation. “Early” visitors to Haida Gwaii arrive by sailpower. Their knowledge of antiscorbutics enables them to travel farther than their predecessors. Their journeys last longer than those of their predecessors, but the sailors are more likely to survive their journey and relate their
experiences, as well as to undertake further voyages. The middle stage, that which brings "modern" visitors to the archipelago, coincides with the transition from sailpower to steam power and ultimately to internal-combustion power.

Dawson's journey to Haida Gwaii occurs at an important juncture between technologies of travel, as sailpower gives way to steam power. His mode of travel to Haida Gwaii is pre-modern, yet the primary purpose of his journey, to assess the area for the Geological Survey of Canada, is resolutely modernizing, as are his ethnologic and photographic work. The technologies he brings are of the modern period. In his journal, Dawson often expresses unease about travelling by sailpower, observing at one point that "This Northern Coast is so much further off in reality, when one comes to travel to it by the slow means which exist, than it appears on the Map" (23). While Dawson moves about the peripheries of the nation using an older (economical if uncertain) means of power, he sends mail on the Hudson Bay Company's steam-powered *Otter*, and, as the summer wanes and the *Wanderer* prepares to leave the north coast, he arranges a speedier passage south for his brother Rankine, who is scheduled to resume studies in Montreal, on board the steam-powered *Grappler* (75).122

In *On Photography*, Susan Sontag considers the intertwining of modernization, travel and photography since 1839, the date when Louis Daguerre in France and William Henry Fox Talbot in England simultaneously yet independently invented photography. "In modernity people habitually travel," she notes: "large numbers of people regularly travel out of their habitual environments for short periods of time" (9). As the pace of travel accelerates, the range increases, the duration decreases and the undertakings become habitual, travellers find new means to understand and record their experiences. As
technologies of travel evolve, so do technologies used to record the journeys. Dawson travels to Haida Gwaii as steam power begins to replace sail power and brings the technology that will revolutionize the means of recording and representing one's journey. The camera begins to stand in for the pen as the image complements then begins to replace the written word, which has replaced the spoken word. If advances in travel have always been correlated with stages of modernization, at this time the two are joined by photography so that the three become progressively symbiotic. John Urry points out that, coterminous with the advent of photography, the democratizing effects of modernization enable members of the general populace in Western cultures to travel, "to engage in visual consumption, to appropriate landscapes and townscapes more or less anywhere in the world, and to record them to memory photographically" (175-76). Photography becomes the means to give shape to travel.

Without equating the collection and display of photographs with the collection and display of scientific data discussed earlier in this chapter, I would like to consider photographs as a more recent cycle of accumulation. If we apply Latour's terms, photographs become prized immutable mobiles, the inscriptions or invented objects that travellers bring back to their homes, which in turn become personal centres of calculation. In these centres, travellers inventory the photographs they have retrieved, then display them to recall, re/structure and re/present their journeys even as they use the photographs to plan and structure future journeys. Photographs arrange the space of their travels — past, present and future.

The appeal of collecting photographs lies in modernism's material notions of reality. Sontag suggests that as the technologies of taking and reproducing photographs
improve and become more accessible, photography allows photographers to acquire "things" in several ways. First, a photograph is a surrogate possession of a cherished person or object or place or moment. Second, photographs provide a consumer-like relation to these persons or objects or places or moments; consumers of photographs can collect them without limit. Third, through image-making and image-duplicating machines, collectors of photographs can acquire their desired object or destination as information rather than experience (155-56). And fourth, the materiality of travel photographs gives apparent permanency to an activity that otherwise may seem fleeting or receding. Thus, lasting representations of journeys have evolved, over centuries, from oral to written to image form. Dawson's journey to Haida Gwaii propels representations of the archipelago into the most modern and current of these forms; it begins to invent the history of visits to Haida Gwaii as visual.

Like most of the twenty-nine photographs Dawson took during his visit to Haida Gwaii, "Skidegate Indian Village" (Figure 3) positions camera and viewer on the beach with the tide out, so that viewers of the photograph approach the village as Dawson did. Invariably, Dawson's photographs are composed from a low angle, no doubt in part because of his stature: he had been stricken at age nine with tuberculosis of the spine, and was a short, hunched man. However, with a notable exception, in the photographs of Haida and Haida villages, camera and photographer are noticeably separate from the subject matter of the photographs — Dawson seems to gaze toward the scenes without having been admitted to them. In "Skidegate Indian Village" there are just three Haida visible (middle distance right), and they are not engaged with Dawson or the photographic process. According to anthropologist James Faris, "the surveillance mode" is an early motif for photography in general, but particularly relevant for the photography of Native peoples. The motif has
Skidegate Indian Village

Figure 3
sinister implications, he explains, since it “is not an appropriate model for subjects who have
succeeded; it implies control, supervision, command, rule, test, defeat, arrest” (68).

“Skidegate Indian Village” displays this surveillance mode, observing the village from an
exterior position so that signs of activity (such as the conversation of the Haida, the smoke
rising from the third house from the left, and the airing of fabrics further to the right) are
placed at a distance. This separation between the camera and signs of activity suggests a lack
of intimacy and trust; Dawson does not communicate with Haida as subjects, but rather
observes them as objects. In short, the composition of the photograph employs the trope of
the vanishing Native, freezing the Natives into a past and denying them advancement into the
present occupied by Dawson and his technologies. However, to argue that Dawson’s
photographs reveal his separation from the Haida whom he observed is not to imply that all
would have been well if only the photos were close-ups (Ryan, especially 140-82). My
purpose is to analyze Dawson’s representational practices, not to speculate about
hypothetical alternatives.

Parallels can be drawn between Dawson’s photographic perspective and his writing.
Both are expository, observing and surveilling. Both modes of representation are bereft of
dialogue or other interaction between observer and subject: Dawson gazes at Haida Gwaii
through a measuring lens that captures details and structures them into a scientific, positivist
paradigm. Dawson’s representations are authoritative. Yet, when we consider them from
our contemporary vantage, it becomes clear that Dawson wove the life forms before him
rather too confidently into his European-based discourses. Dawson is an uninvited visitor to
the settlements he photographs and describes, and an external observer who represents
foreign desire to change the local culture. Owing to this separation of author from subject,
Dawson’s ethnographic and photographic representations record but a glimpse of existing social natures, just as (in Braun’s analysis) his geologic representations record only partial views of the landscapes. Dawson’s perspectives are partial in their incompleteness and in their intent, which is to reterritorialize the islands by erasing existing social natures and thus prepare the area for the political arrangements that the Canadian government would initiate.

A.D. Coleman argues in his essay “Edward S. Curtis: The Photographer as Ethnologist,” that most early photographers of Native American life stand as casual tourists in relation to the natives photographed, so that the photographer’s “true subjects” become “their alienation from and dominion over the cultures before their lenses” (135). Although Dawson visited Haida Gwaii as a federal official cataloging available resources rather than as a “casual tourist,” Coleman’s point about the tenuous relations between photographers and Natives applies. Dawson assuages his feelings of alienation by melding his photographic pursuits into the routine of his geologic observations, as revealed in his journal entry for 26 July, the day he took “Skidegate Indian Village.” The entry reads:

Off in good time. A remarkably fine bright morning. Went round to Indian village & took three photos. of it. Then examined rocks at next point outward, but finding beyond nothing but Sand & beach, returned, looking at Bare & Tree Islands en route & rowed on to where left off work yesterday. Worked on round Maude and Lina Islands & c. getting back to Schooner with fair wind about 6:30 P.m. (49)

Dawson does not distinguish one photograph from another, nor does he distinguish the purposes of his photography from those of his professional pursuits. He is content to record surfaces, in his writing and photography. As a result, his works fail to seek the ethos of Haida life or to take aboriginality as their subject. In the concluding paragraph of his journal
entry for 24 July, he hints at the reason why he need not engage with Haida as his contemporaries: “The crowd of gaily dressed, gaily painted savages by the kind light of the fire present a rather brave & imposing appearance, & when in the heat of the dance I suppose the Indians may yet almost imagine the old palmy days when hundreds Crowded the village & nothing had eclipsed the grandeur of their ceremonies & doings, to remain” (47). The passage manifests the trope of the vanishing Native, by which modernism posits a progressive development that erases the past. Dawson is duty-bound to record what he believes is a dying way of life, and composes his representations to that end. He portrays the objects of his gaze as voiceless in his writings and faceless in his photographs, assuming that they will vanish without a whisper.

“The most crucial change” modernity brought to the representational process, Scott McQuire argues, “was the declining importance of the oral tradition” (120). As a modern visitor, Dawson could study the extant literature about the British Columbia coast, get Collison’s account of changes in Haida culture and take photographs. He could then return to Montreal and Ottawa, write authoritative ethnographies about the islands and their inhabitants and illustrate those accounts with photographs that were generally received as indexes of the reality he had witnessed. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the value of photography resided in its apparent freedom from values, W.J.T. Mitchell emphasizes, just as, in cognitive terms, its principal connotation or coded implication was that it was pure denotation, without a code (285). In keeping with this classic view that photography, as a process, is transparent, Dawson did not need to converse with Haidas, as earlier travellers would have; his camera could retrieve and record “the truth.” In his ethnographic pursuits as in his geological profession, inscriptions were replacing oral tales
and eliminating the face-to-face contact that oral transmission had required during pre-modern times. Photographs conveyed the purported realities encountered at the destinations back to the centres, where they were arranged in effectively visual displays. The "social relations of photography themselves enacted," in McQuire's words, "a microcosm of the political relation between metropolis and periphery." With few exceptions, "representatives of the West took photographs, while other cultures became photographs" (195). For Sontag, the realistic view of the world so integral to the notions of governmental rationality that Dawson furthered redefines knowledge as techniques plus information (22). Nothing, so the civilized audiences at the centres believed, could be more realistic than a photograph — certainly not an oral tale, or a narrative of any kind.

Assessing Dawson's contributions

In the final paragraph of "On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands," Dawson summarizes his 1878 visit and the fundamental social restructuring he sought to initiate. He concludes that despite "the alarmingly rapid decrease of the Haida people during the century" they are unlikely to disappear as a nation. Their tenacity can be turned to the advantage of the new powers, as Haida "show a special aptitude in construction, carving, and other forms of handiwork." Therefore, "those interested in their welfare" should "promote their education in the simpler mechanical arts, by the practice of which they may be able to earn an honest livelihood" (165). First, however, Haida title to the islands' resources must be disposed of. This, in the case of these people, will be a matter of considerable difficulty, for . . . they hold their lands not in any loose general way, but have the whole of the islands divided and apportioned off as the property of certain
families, with customs fully developed as to the inheritance and transfer of lands.”

(166)

Dawson’s vision is specific: to dispossess Haida of their lands and to establish a resource extractive economy in which Haida are trained as dutiful workers.

Yet, when I assess Dawson’s contributions to various histories of Haida Gwaii, I am reminded of my first visit to the archipelago, when I travelled along the east coast of the southern islands, reading *To the Charlottes*. The Haida men and women who staffed the Watchmen Program’s camps and welcomed me to Gandla K’in, T’anuu and K’una illustrated their histories of the archipelago and the particular sites they guarded by referring to contemporary texts by George MacDonald, Hilary Stewart, and Carolyn Smyly and John Smyly, all of which build their presentations around Dawson’s photographs. The Haida would flip to these photographs, then interpret them to their own ends. The point I wish to emphasize is that Dawson’s photographs are texts and as such their meanings are open to interpretation. While Dawson may have intended the photographs to illustrate his geological and ethnographic works in ways that would facilitate transferring title to the islands to the crown, Haida now use his photographs to illustrate counter-narratives to the colonial and neo-colonial projects.

Bill Reid, whose representations of Haida Gwaii are the subject of Chapter 8, is unequivocal about the central role that the first photographers to visit Haida Gwaii — those “inspired, dedicated, stubborn, persistent eccentrics” — occupy in our current knowledge of Haida culture. 127 In the “Foreword” to MacDonald’s *Chiefs of the Sea and Sky* (1989), Reid pinpoints the photographs made with “the enormous, cumbersome, glorious pieces of equipment that were the early cameras” as the material objects from which bridges can be
built between “the native peoples of the Northwest Coast and members of the strange tribe who inhabit the groves of Academe,” and “the wider community” that will, he implies, read MacDonald’s book. In Reid’s view, “We can all find in these amazingly crisp images an immediately comprehensible record of the major accomplishments of the Haidas” (9). That is, the photographs contain cultural information that can aid contemporary viewers (Haida and non-Haida) in recovering histories of their subjects. Representational practices that originally portrayed indigenous peoples as vestiges of a vanishing culture are now used as repositories of self-knowledge and historical consciousness by the descendants of those peoples. As Pratt puts it, “What colonizers kill off as archeology often lives among the colonized as self-knowledge and historical consciousness, two principal ingredients of anti-colonial resistance movements” (135).
Emily Carr (1871 – 1945) travelled to Haida Gwaii twice. She first visited the islands in late July 1912, travelling on board the Grand Trunk Pacific steamer *Prince John*. Concerned that the five-day tour to the north and then east coast of the archipelago was not allowing enough contact with the scenes she wished to sketch, she put ashore at Skidegate. There she stayed with the Methodist missionary, who helped arrange visits to Cumshewa, Tanoo, and Skedans off the east coast of Moresby Island; to Haina, in Skidegate Channel; and to Chaatl, on the west coast of the archipelago. Finally, she visited Masset and the nearby villages of Yan and KaYang on Graham Island (Blanchard 131-34; *Queen Charlotte Islander*, 12 August 1912, page 2; Tippett, *A Biography* 103-108). She returned to the islands in late July and early August 1928, hoping to re-visit sites from her earlier trip. Foul weather and difficulties with travel arrangements thwarted her plans, limiting her to a few hours at Skedans and longer periods at Skidegate and South Bay (Blanchard 186, 191-92; Tippett, *A Biography* 154-59).

The trips to Haida Gwaii were but two among many sketching trips that Carr made to various coastal Native villages in British Columbia, yet they led to several of her most renowned paintings. She worked sketches from the first visit into such important watercolours as *Skedans in the Rain; Cumshewa; Haida Totems, Q.C.I. (Tanoo)*; and *Skidegate*, all completed in 1912 after she returned to Vancouver. Other sketches from the 1912 visit metamorphosed into three oil paintings that were featured in the Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Indian Art at the National Gallery of Canada in 1927: *Yan, Queen Charlotte Islands; Skedans,*
Queen Charlotte Islands; and Tanoo, Q.C. Islands (Tippett, A Biography 149). Sketches from the second trip to Haida Gwaii inspired some of her best-known Native canvases, such as Vanquished and Old Time Coast Village. The prominence the two trips to Haida Gwaii would assume in Carr’s artistic expressions is apparent in the writings that earned her a national audience. In 1937, in her sixty-sixth year and convalescing in hospital after her first heart attack, she wrote the twenty-one stories that became Klee Wyck, which earned the Governor General’s Award for 1941. Eight of the stories recreate experiences from her trips to Haida Gwaii. Carr’s short stories reveal her mature artistic intentions, which were to challenge the modern regimes of truth that were colonizing the Pacific margins and Native peoples of the new Canadian nation. Carr’s mature art questions the assumptions of people like William Collison and George Dawson. Her late art initiated, and continues to fight for, a reconsideration of modern, resource-extractive ways of relating to geographical margins and their peoples. It critiques the transition to and the imposition of an overtly materialist order, and points toward a socially informed alternative. In doing so, her representations of Haida Gwaii not only leave behind the late-nineteenth-century concerns of Collison and Dawson, but also anticipate late-twentieth-century problems and poetics.

Entering the crowded field of Carr criticism

In an essay entitled “Traditions and Counter-Traditions in Vancouver Art,” delivered as a lecture in 1990 and published in 1991, the Canadian artist, art critic and academic Jeff Wall posits Emily Carr as the originary figure in modern art in Western Canada. He notes that her work is generally viewed as nature lyricism that is rooted in the British romanticism.
exemplified by Wordsworth’s poetics and founded on a sense of unity with nature. This nature romanticism in turn connects to adventurism: the Canadian state has “its origins in the great Western adventure of British colonialism,” an intensely modernist undertaking that projected itself to many parts of the globe, moving from frontier to frontier (67-68). Western Canada appeared to be a final frontier; certainly adventurers such as Collison and Dawson saw Haida Gwaii as an ultimate frontier within Canada. For Wall, Carr’s early paintings (including the work from her first trip to Haida Gwaii) attempt to reconcile the imperial notion that “British culture would domesticate the wilderness and thereby universalize a British, Victorian concept of home and home-culture,” with her concern to report on and preserve “the image of an aboriginal settlement which, from her point of view, was on its last legs, a dying if not a definitively dead culture” (68, 69). That Native peoples were doomed was widely accepted in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries. For example, the belief was expressed in the laws enacted by the federal Department of Indian Affairs, in cooperation with the BC provincial government, to manage and regulate what were seen as the remnants of the Native populations. When Wall turns to Carr’s mature work, he finds that after meeting Lawren Harris and Mark Tobey she began incorporating abstract symbolism and rhythmically distorting natural forms, techniques that allowed her to fuse her fascination for Native cultures with the belief that through modern painting she could experience what other cultures experience (69). These techniques allowed Carr a subjectivism (that is, a faith that the moral judgements of an individual or community are the highest good) which “destabilized British Romantic ideas, even though it grew out of them.” Her faith in the moral judgements of individuals (and of individual cultures) challenged the imperial romanticism by initiating “a protest against the vanishing of the
Native cultures and against the abuse of the forest environment by logging” (70).

Two aspects of contemporary British Columbian culture “abide and mutate” in Carr’s work, Wall concludes. First, by persisting and surviving, Native cultures have proven that the lament for vanishing Natives was premature. Carr participated in the lament, and has been proven wrong. But, against the grain of her times, she sought to reconcile the rising culture and the cultures that were assumed to be vanishing, in contrast to Collison and Dawson, for example, who sought the absorption of Native cultures into their own. The second aspect of contemporary British Columbian culture that is prominent in Carr’s paintings and lends them relevance also pivots on her images of Natives. Precisely because her images of their images have not vanished from our dominant culture, her paintings make us aware “of the incompleteness . . . of the Imperial conquest, of the colonialis world picture” (70). Wall argues that the persistence of images that the intertwined projects of modernization and imperialism were supposed to eradicate encourages us to reconsider and resist the callous ways that multinational capitalism treats the environment. One of the fundamental tendencies in current British Columbian politics fuses the land claims made by Native nations with the ecological protest movements, to seek alternatives to business-as-usual in BC forests. Carr’s work anticipated that fusion.

Wall’s reflections help situate Carr’s painting vis-à-vis a Western Canadian, or more specifically, coastal British Columbian, artistic tradition that emerged during the twentieth century. Her central position within that tradition and her prolific work in several mediums and genres ensure that she has been accorded considerable critical attention. Shortly after Wall argued that contemporary artists who wish to represent (and, by implication, observers who wish to understand) Western Canadian aesthetics must engage with her legacy, Marcia
Crosby, a Haida-Tsimpsian, rocked the field of Carr criticism. "Construction of the Imaginary Indian" (1992) charges that the Native people who were the subject of much of Carr's work "were not the native people who took her to the abandoned villages on 'a gas boat' rather than [in] a canoe." Instead of representing the Natives she actually encountered, Carr's "paintings of the last poles intimate that the authentic Indians who made them existed only in the past, and that all the changes that occurred afterwards provide evidence of racial contamination, and cultural and moral deterioration" (276). Crosby directs her complaint at practitioners in Canadian cultural institutions who uncritically accept the myths created by and about Carr. She asserts that the "academic community today has access to primary source material of First Nations people and postcolonial discourses, and should have a broad enough perspective to consider what Carr did not and perhaps could not see" (278).

Crosby's reference to the modern Natives who transported Carr to abandoned villages "on 'a gas boat'" rather than in a canoe obliquely acknowledges that Carr indeed represents Native peoples as modernizing and situates them contemporarily. The acknowledgement points toward a tension between interpretations of Carr's painting and writing: many viewers of the paintings find nostalgia for a vanishing past, while readers of her writings are more likely to encounter concern with social relations in Carr's present. Crosby fails to separate Carr's earlier paintings and comments from either Carr's later paintings and supporting comments or from the fictional and autobiographical writings that comprise Carr's last artistic expressions. In the years since Crosby's assertions, several critics have attended to the stories collected in *Klee Wyck* to draw out the complexities of Carr's artistic intentions.

In her 1993 essay, "Recovering the Fictions of Emily Carr," Susan Huntley Elderkin argues that Carr's anecdotal style of writing encourages readers "to resist the temptation to
extrapolate a single, consistent subject" (16). Carr’s poetics challenge the exclusivity of
historiography, which typically structures history as the adventures of great men (17).
Because Carr’s anecdotal fictions use “the voices and visions of characters with whom she
identifies, but who cannot be mistaken for the Carr who writes while she is bedridden by a
stroke,” the reader must consider the temporal separation between the narrated acts and the
narrative act (22). In Elderkin’s view, Carr draws attention to the “gaps” between her stories
and the story of herself. Biographers who account for these inconsistencies as evidence of
memory lapses are mistakenly applying “a static male mode/model” rather than appreciating
the “fluid elements” in Carr’s subjectivity (26 n4). I am wary of the simplistic dichotomies
in Elderkin’s analysis, but welcome her suggestion that critics have not adequately attended
to the increasing complexities of her narrative voice as her career matured.

In “Wilderness, Modernity and Aboriginality in the Paintings of Emily Carr” (1998),
Gerta Moray argues that Carr’s documentary images and her written comments explaining
them combine into “a polemic against the assumptions of superiority held by settler society
in British Columbia, a refutation of the negative attitudes of missionaries and administrators
and of the prejudices of urban incomers unacquainted with Native ways” (50). Moray
stresses that Carr painted and wrote about both the sites and processes of Native cultural
change. Following the 1928 trip to Haida Gwaii, for example, she painted large portraits of
her Haida friends Clara and William Russ as modern individuals in contemporary dress.
Carr’s “modernist stylization unravels and she employs a naturalism that allows the viewer a
directness of approach to the sitter[s] and manifests a degree of psychological observation
completely absent from the decorative portraits of Gitskan chiefs in ceremonial robes by
Langdon Kihn that she had seen at the Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art in the previous
year” (56, 58). Moray locates in Carr’s large paintings of this period a tension between, on the one hand, a lament for the destruction of Native cultures and its memorials and, on the other, recognition of images that emphasize Native survival or embody enduring Native insights and values. In Skidegate 1928, for example, abstracted forms that represent landscape, houses and seashore arc toward a totem in the foreground. Raven’s beak protrudes from the totem, forming a protective curve over the modernizing village; Raven’s eyes watch over the transforming setting. The painting juxtaposes modernizing and traditional elements in the contemporary Haida culture that Carr witnessed. Carr always acknowledged superior qualities in traditional Native cultures. She believed that although young Natives were turning away from their ancestors’ beliefs and values, in time “something deep down within them must surely respond to the great art of their past,” as she stated in her 1929 article “Modern and Indian Art of the West Coast.” Moray argues that as Carr’s vision matured her career became deeply marked by an ambivalence between her formalist painting style, which often screened out the contingency of contemporary human activity, and the abiding concern in her writings with the plight of Native peoples. “She gave allegiance to a nationalist ideal that grounded a modern Canada in the assimilation of the Native past, but always maintained an experiential response and a stubborn sympathy for the Native present,” Moray concludes (61).

Douglas Cole, in “The Invented Indian / The Imagined Emily” (2000), similarly argues that careful attention to Carr’s writings would correct much of the recent criticism by scholars “who have judged her by contemporary standards” (148). Ironically, these critics are “guilty of the same offense of which they charge her.” They have taken “the commonplace ideas of our time” and assigned them to Carr, while accusing her of ascribing
her values to her Native subjects (159). He maintains that the myth of the "vanishing Indian" and ideas of salvage anthropology seemed reasonable extrapolations in Carr's time, however wrong they seem now (148-52). As Sharyn Udall notes, Carr's attitudes were "cultural attitudes, held collectively" (33). For Cole, the stories collected in *Klee Wyck* comprise Carr's "most intimate portrait of Northwest Coast Aboriginal peoples" (159), and should be read as "a testament to an outsider's perception of the transitions in Northwest Coast Aboriginal life during Carr's lifetime" (157). The stories will then be seen to subvert and contest White colonization of Natives (162).

**Contesting modernity's obsessive march**

The first story in *Klee Wyck* recreates the fifteen-year-old narrator's initial trip from her urban home, by steamer up the west coast of Vancouver Island to Ucluelet, and by canoe to the nearby Native village and its attendant mission house. The story shows the narrator as uncomfortable with the missionaries' attitudes toward Natives, with whom she has sufficient rapport that they name her "Klee Wyck," which she is delighted to discover translates as "the laughing one." The second story begins an undisclosed number of years later. The narrator hires a Haida couple, Jimmy and Louisa, to transport her to abandoned Haida villages where she observes and sketches the many totem poles. At Tanoo, Louisa tells Klee Wyck the story carved on a pole that had belonged to Louisa's grandmother. Klee Wyck realizes that Jimmy and Louisa experience the visit to Louisa's ancestral village in complex ways that make her own curiosity "seem small," and that her unilingual interpretation of the cultural icons is impoverished in comparison to the shared sensitivities of her guides, who often go "off hand in hand by themselves, talking in Indian" (20). During their second day at Tanoo, the
narrator looks up from her sketching to see her companions returning from an excursion along the beach, in time to prepare the evening meal. Jimmy is “carrying something dreadful with long arms trailing behind in the sand, its great round body speared by the stick on Jimmy’s shoulder.” He has captured a devilfish from a puddle created at low tide, and Louisa prepares “some of the devilfish for supper, fried in pieces like sausage” (22). When the narrator completes her sketching the following day, the party readies to leave Tanoo. An afternoon breeze has come up, and Jimmy makes special preparations to his canoe before shuttling Klee Wyck, Louisa and the young woman accompanying them through the choppy waters to his gas boat. Klee Wyck tells us:

Jimmy spread a sail in the bottom of the boat, and we women all lay flat.

Nobody spoke — only groans. When the boat pitched all our bodies rolled one way and then rolled back. Under the sail where I was lying something seemed very slithery.

“Jimmy, what is under me?”

“Only the devilfish we are taking home to Mother — she likes them very much.”

“Ugh!” I said. Sea-sickness on top of devilfish seemed too much.

Jimmie said, “They’re dead; it won’t hurt them when you roll over.” (24-25)

Klee Wyck, visitor to the islands and narrator of the story, has initially responded to the octopus as “something dreadful,” then responded to its slithery proximity with “Ugh,” and finally equated it with seasickness. The Haida inhabitants of the islands have prized it as food and then valued it as a treat to be taken to their mother, all the while recognizing that it possesses a spirit that should be respected. Carr the author ends the story of the visit to
Tanoo with that contrast between ways of understanding and relating to one's surroundings and the creatures that share these surroundings. The abrupt ending challenges readers to compare competing ontologies; by refusing to resolve the contrast, the story denies readers a comforting conclusion. It is through this disavowal of singular truths that *Klee Wyck* contests the modernizing sensibilities that Collison (who visited in 1876-1879) and Dawson (who visited in 1878) advanced in their institutional roles, in their written texts and in Dawson's photographs.¹³⁵

If modernism is the philosophical, literary and artistic movement in which modernity turns its gaze upon itself (Bauman 5), then Carr's evolution as an artist might well be seen as a lengthy transformation from relative certainty (that Natives were vanishing, for example) to ambivalence, with the stories in *Klee Wyck* situated as her fullest reflection on modernity's hubris. In short, as Carr developed her artistic vision she reconsidered her acceptance of the modern spirit and its unbridled assumptions of scientific and industrial progress. She began to call for alternative truths. In "Tanoo," she suggests that whatever is being advanced by science and rationality is but one truth, and that being sensitive toward devilfish signifies another truth. She reveals that truths are contingent upon one's perspective. She suggests, in her autobiographical reconstruction *Growing Pains*, that both she and her publishers were aware of her opportunity to comment on changing social relations on Canada's west coast. She reveals that they decided to publish *Klee Wyck* before any of her autobiographical writings, as "my Indian pictures had been exhibited quite a bit in the East," and "would, to some extent, lay a foundation for the Indian stories" (269). While Carr could hardly have anticipated how favorably *Klee Wyck* would be received, she seems to have sensed the polarity between Eastern Canadian decision-making centres and western perimeters, and
grasped her opportunity to intervene.

Carr’s portrayal of missionaries illustrates that ambivalence and polysemy may be ways to question and resist the exactitude of the rising modern state. In “Tanoo,” when Louisa shares the story carved onto the pole that had belonged to her grandmother, she tells it “in a loose sort of way as if she had half forgotten it.” The narrator surmises that perhaps Louisa “had forgotten some, but perhaps it was the missionary’s daughter being there that made her want to forget the rest.” Klee Wyck then comments that the “missionaries laughed at the poles and said they were heathenish” (19). The passage illustrates how missionaries were ridiculing Native belief systems and thereby overwriting cultural memory; as early agents of modernity their first priority was to erase the beliefs that they encountered (which they defined as “heathenism”) and institute their beliefs (which they defined as “religion” and “law and order”). The procedure involved mastery and subordination followed by design, manipulation, management and engineering. The missionaries sought to deculturate the Natives from their traditional spirit worlds, which the missionaries denied when they defined Natives as heathens, and acculturate them to the newcomers’ worldview. By highlighting the extent to which missionaries functioned as social engineers, Carr’s story signals that its author travelled to Haida Gwaii with a fundamentally different purpose from previous modern travellers. Carr went not to impose her order of truth, but to experience and then represent the changing order of things.

Carr again raises the matters of cultural memory and the comparative imaginaries of Haida culture and the superimposed Euro-American culture in “Skedans,” the story that follows “Tanoo.” She first describes the setting of the village, pointing out that it is surrounded by light, with the trees standing well back: “Behind the bay another point bit
deeply into the land, so that light came in across the water from behind the village too” (26). The inhabitants of the village had been surrounded by light, before they abandoned their traditional home and relocated to Skidegate, site of the nearest mission. The brightness challenges the missionaries’ notion that aboriginals are lost in darkness and must be saved by the light of Christianity. The narrator then notes the effect that returning to Skedans has on Jimmy and Louisa: “Memories came out of this place to meet the Indians; you saw remembering in their brightening eyes and heard it in the quick hushed words they said to each other in Haida” (27). The relocation to the modern village of Skidegate has separated the Natives from their cultural memories. It has dampened the enthusiasm that shows in their eyes and replaced their quick and hushed Native tongue with the slower and harsher language of the new culture. Commenting on the difficulties of translating anthropological fieldwork into written reports, James Clifford reminds us in *Routes* that the representational challenge is no less than “the portrayal and understanding of local/global historical encounters, co-productions, dominations, and resistances” (24). The task in such cross-cultural accounts is to focus on concrete mediations between the cultural figure “native” and the intercultural figure “traveller,” in specific cases of historical tension. Carr’s subjectivity in her autobiographical fictions depends upon her ability to portray and respond to the speech of the culturally-other speakers in her narratives. If we compare the ways in which Dawson travelled and the ways in which he recorded his expeditions with Carr’s, their differences come into focus: he is isolated and unable to hear the Natives; she is able to hear and narrate dialogue. He charters a schooner in Victoria and surveys the islands for three months, but seldom talks with Haida; she hires Haida guides, and is able to glimpse the worldview of Jimmy and Louisa. His written reports feature geological taxonomy, ethnographic analysis.
and diary, with many passages repeated in the last two. Her fictions feature dialogue that contrasts her own anthropocentric perspective with the spiritual relationship between humans and the spiritual helpers of her guides, as in the devilfish passage in “Tanoo.” Her fictions also contain reflective observations that consider the ways in which the new culture has erased the aboriginal, as in the “light” passages in “Skedans.” The incidents Carr represents juxtapose the two cultures’ foundations of social reality.

In “Greenville,” a story that recalls her visit to the Nass River in July 1928, en route to Haida Gwaii, Carr again presents her belief that, until recently, northern Natives had expressed many of their cultural principles through their totems. She admires their ways of thinking and praises their earlier desire to “be like the creature of their crest,” before “the missionaries came and told the Indians this was all foolish and heathenish.” The indictment of intolerance and social restructuring is direct: “They took the Indians away from their old villages and the totem poles and put them into new places where life was easier, where they bought things from a store instead of taking them from nature” (73). The passage in “Tanoo” in which Louisa’s cultural memory has apparently been overwritten by missionary zeal and this passage in “Greenville” are elided from the 1951 and all succeeding editions of *Klee Wyck*. At least twenty-five passages that directly criticize missionaries, Carr’s fellow travellers, or residential schools are omitted from stories in the expurgated editions, published after Carr’s death in 1945. Carr’s condemnation of the effects of residential schools (106-107) and her concern in “Martha’s Story” for a Native woman forced to give up her white foster child (108-110) are among the criticisms removed. The elisions rob Carr’s stories of critical edge: the unabridged stories contrast Native cosmologies to the imported belief systems that insisted on replacing Native ways; the abridged stories seem to idealize a
vanishing, pre-modern past without critically relating that past to the narrator’s or reader’s present. In their unabridged state the stories express ambivalence about the march of modernity, while in their neutered state the challenge to the new social relations gives way to nostalgia for an idealized past.

**Carr and hybridity**

Hybridity, in its originary biological sense, implies a space between two zones of purity, a space in which a sub-species results from the combination of two pure species. When Mikhail Bakhtin wrote about devices for creating images in the novel, he applied the notion of hybridity to the mixing of two social languages within a single utterance. For Bakhtin, a hybridization is an encounter “between two different linguistic consciousnesses, separated from one another by an epoch, by social differentiation or by some other factor.” Unconscious or “organic” hybridization is unintentional, and “one of the most important modes in the historical life and evolution of all languages” (358). Bakhtin argues that languages change through unintentional hybridization, by mixing various “languages” that co-exist within the boundaries of a single dialect or within a single national language (358-59). Historical, organic hybrids mix not only two languages but two socio-linguistic (and thus, organic) world views, but “the mixture remains mute and opaque, never making use of conscious contrasts and oppositions.” However, such unconscious hybrids are profoundly productive, “pregnant with potential for new world views, with new ‘internal forms’ for perceiving the world in words” (360). Mixing two languages within a novel is, of course, a deliberate artistic device. Artistic hybrids do not so much mix the two points of view, as set them against each other dialogically: “an intentional hybrid is precisely the perception of one
language by another language, its illumination by another linguistic consciousness.” That is, one linguistic consciousness represents the other, which is represented. Bakhtin sums up the characteristics of an artistic hybrid, such as might appear in a novel or short story, “as distinct from the opaque mixing of languages in living utterances that are spoken in a historically evolving language.” The novelistic hybrid, he emphasizes, “is an artistically organized system for bringing different languages in contact with one another, the carving out of a living image of another language” (361).

This notion of carving out a living image of another social consciousness offers tremendous leverage in understanding how Carr’s representations of Haida Gwaii differ from those of previous visitors. Homi Bhabha has shifted Bakhtin’s theories about the subversion of authority through hybridization to a particular manifestation of modernity, the dialogical situation of colonialism. Bhabha’s model of colonial power and resistance first posits a classifying mode of governance that distributes and arranges “differential spaces, positions, knowledges in relation to each other, relative to a discriminatory, not inherent, sense of order” (Location 109). The dominating discourses establish “rules of recognition” as they “articulate the signs of cultural difference” and then “reimplicate” those rules “within the deferential relations of colonial power — hierarchy, normalization, marginalization and so forth” (110-11). One can resist colonial authority by producing ambivalence toward those rules of recognition. To dominate and succeed, authority must disclose and make highly visible its rules of recognition, “those social texts of epistemic, ethnocentric, nationalist intelligibility which cohere in the address of authority as the ‘present’, the voice of modernity” (110). It must produce differentiations, individuations and identity effects which discriminate against its subject populations and mark the members of the conquered country
as almost, but not quite, equal to those who constitute the dominating population. For Bhabha, “Colonial authority requires modes of discrimination that disallow a stable unitary assumption of collectivity”; the part does not equal the whole, contrary to nationalist precepts (111). This splitting between colonial necessities and nationalist ideals is crucial to Bhabha’s concepts:

the reference of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different — a mutation, a hybrid. (111)

This repetition with a difference, this hybridization, can lead to an ironic reassessment: “If the effect of colonial power is seen to be the production of hybridization rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions, then an important change of perspective occurs” (112). Once the single voice of colonial authority begins inscribing and disclosing traces of the colonized other, it reveals itself as double-voiced. If these inscriptions are intentional, artistic hybridizations rather than unintentional hybridizations, they become “strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power” (112). As hybridization becomes increasingly intentional, it begins to deprive “the imposed imperialist culture, not only of the authority that it has for so long imposed politically, often through violence, but even of its own claims to authenticity” (“The Postcolonial Critic” 57-58).

Let us now return to Carr’s stories, equipped with Bakhtin’s notion of artistic hybridity and Bhabha’s application of hybridity to colonial discourse. My argument is that Carr’s later works are the point, within the representations considered in this dissertation, at
which the voice of colonial authority begins inscribing and disclosing traces of the colonized
other in ways that undermine its own claims to authenticity. I do not mean to imply that no
traces of the colonized other appear in earlier representations; traces can be found in
Collison’s account, and in Dawson’s ethnographic depictions and photos, for example.
However, the intentions of Collison and Dawson are patently not to foreground or further
hybridity, but rather to overwrite Haida ways with their dominant truths.142 By contrast, Carr
deploys hybridity to subvert the dominant discourses and thus turn the gaze of the
discriminated and the gaze of her readers back upon the eye of power.

“Friends” begins with an epistolary exchange between Louisa and Carr’s stand-in
narrator (identified as “Klee Wyck” in earlier stories but generally nameless in the later
stories) that crisply establishes the temporal and spatial coordinates of the story. Louisa has
“a good house now,” she and Jimmy would like the narrator to stay with them, and the
narrator would indeed like to be a guest in their house (100).143 Read within the collection
Klee Wyck, this opening foregrounds the temporal gap between the author’s 1912 and 1928
visits to the islands and reaffirms her awareness that she will be received as a guest, with the
attendant obligations. The opening employs the familiar trope of anthropological travel
literature, referred to in the earlier discussion of Collison’s arrival at Masset: we privileged
readers will pass through a portal in the company of a welcomed guest, and glimpse an other
world, another consciousness. The opening also alerts readers to Louisa’s desire to comply
with modernizing ideals of order and progress: she evaluates the house as “good,” implicitly
better than their previous shelter; and she now “has” the house, so is achieving concrete
material progress that complies with the dominating culture’s conceptions of property rights.

“Friends” continues with the narrator’s arrival at the Haida village. Louisa walks out
across the mud flats, wearing gum boots and carrying another pair for her guest. Carr is situating her Haida characters in the modern present, where a key sign of progress is possession of contemporary consumer goods. The narrator observes that the house has “a garden and verandah,” and a kitchen, living-room and double parlours, all registers of status within the dominant culture. In her room is “a handsome brass bed with bed spread and pillow-slips heavily embroidered,” and a “fine dresser” upon which a candle stands in a beer bottle, beside a tin pie-plate that holds hairpins. The narrator notices the fancy clothes prepared for Sunday morning churchgoing, the several musical instruments, the glass case containing Louisa and Jimmy’s many wedding anniversary presents, and the effect of Louisa’s several summers of working in canneries: Louisa cooks well, and visitors “often came . . . to watch us eat.” The narrator fleetingly introduces Louisa’s mother, Mrs Green, who also “drop[s] in very often” (101). In all, the first segment of the story presents a perfectly Victorian scene of domestic tranquility, temporally separate from the recent and receding Haida past. It presents a modern (and modernizing), linear sense of direction that jars against the natural cycles in which Haida culture had been grounded.

After a section break, the second segment focuses on Mrs Green, “a remarkable woman” who clings “vigorously to the old Indian ways,” which sometimes embarrass Louisa. For example, while sitting beside the wood-stove, Mrs Green likes to spit on the wood-pile behind the stove, a habit at odds with Louisa’s sense of decorum. Whenever Louisa sees that her mother is about to spit, she runs “with a newspaper, but she seldom gets there in time.” And, while Louisa is most respectful of her mother, she is “a little ashamed” that Mrs Green smokes a pipe. The narrator then describes how Mrs Green earns money: she knows where herring spawn on kelp, and she goes out in her canoe to retrieve
their roe. The narrator sees Mrs Green “standing barefoot in a trunk which was filled with thick brown kelp leaves dried hard” (102). The kelp is covered with roe, a cherished delicacy in Japan. Once Mrs Green has packed and bound the trunk, she ships it to a merchant in Prince Rupert, thus inserting its precious contents into modern, international trade circuits.

Mrs Green, Louisa and the narrator then peruse the merchant’s store catalogue and compose a letter that requests the goods Mrs Green will receive in trade. At this point the contesting world views are juxtaposed: Mrs Green would like to order a pipe pictured in the catalogue, but Louisa looks ashamed and quotes the missionary, who “says ladies do not smoke.” Mrs Green and the narrator conspiratorially add the request for the pipe to the letter, and that evening the elder sits by the stove, puffing contentedly on her old clay pipe (presumably handcrafted, locally) while anticipating the arrival of her new “patent tobacco pipe” (an imported, manufactured item) (104). The passage illustrates how the exercise of colonial authority, in the form of the missionary’s stricture that “ladies do not smoke,” dominates by producing “discriminatory identities that secure the ‘pure’ and original identity of authority” (Bhabha 112). The character Louisa accepts the rule of recognition; the characters Mrs Green and the narrator do not; the author Carr produces an intentional hybridization that exposes the arbitrariness and particularity of colonial authority. This incident, like the story as a whole, does not argue for the superiority of or return to a nostalgically imagined, vanishing way of Native life. Rather, it asserts the coevalness of Haida and visitors.

After concisely demonstrating the dignity of the Haida women characters by relating their strength and determination in the matter of infant mortality, “Friends” returns to the vexing issue of the implementation of colonial order. On Sunday, Louisa dresses her family in their finest modern clothes, Haida hosts and white guest trundle off to church,
where the missionary invites the narrator to tea the next day. At that meeting, in a passage that reveals Carr’s loathing of Christian hypocrisy, the missionary states:

“For it is good for the Indians to have a white person stay in their homes; we are at a very difficult stage with them — this passing from old ways into new. I tell you savages were easier to handle than those half-civilized people ... in fact it is impossible. ... I have sent my wife and children south.” (106; ellipses in original)

The narrator asks if the school at the reserve is inadequate, to which the missionary replies that he cannot have his “children mix with the Indians.” He then asks the narrator if she will use her influence with Louisa and Jimmy to support his exhortations that they send their two boys to the Industrial boarding school for Natives. The narrator refuses, arguing that there is already an adopted child in Louisa’s home who has attended the boarding school, with disastrous results, and that Louisa is providing excellent nurturing to her sons within the current arrangement. In the final, concise section of the story, the narrator discusses with Louisa the issue she had debated that afternoon with the missionary:

Louisa and I sat by the kitchen stove. Joe, her younger son, had thrown himself across her lap to lull a toothache; his cheeks were thin and too pink. Louisa said, “The Missionary wants us to send our boys away to school.”

“Are you going to?”

“— Maybe Jimmy by and by — he is strong and very bright, not this one —.”

“I never saw brighter eyes than your Joe has.”

Louisa clutched the boy tight. “Don’t tell me that. They say shiny eyes and pink cheeks mean — ... If he was your boy, Em’ly, would you send him away to school?”
"NO." (107; ellipsis in original)

Shiny eyes and pink cheeks mean that the boy is ravished by tuberculosis, and will soon die. If we recall how Collison deployed his medical knowledge and medicine to force Haida to forego their faith in shamanism, and if we contrast the resistance to missionary desires that Carr represents in this passage, we gain some sense of the different intentions of their representations.

The dialogic ending is hybridity in its "radical guise of disarticulating authority," in Young’s wording (24). In Carr’s representations of Haida Gwaii, hybridity has become the form of cultural difference itself: her Haida characters participate in the modern cash economy; they reside in European-style houses; they want their children educated in the new schooling system; and they struggle with contemporary health issues. Yet even as they comply with colonial authority, they resist its onslaught by questioning whether they should forego family togetherness to comply with the government’s desire that their children be institutionalized in residential schools. Carr’s artistic achievement is to represent historical moments at which the subjects of colonial authority ambivalently “turn” from the disavowal of that discourse (Bhabha 113). Bakhtin presents artistic or intentional hybrids as precisely the perception of one language (or social consciousness) by another language (or social consciousness): one linguistic consciousness represents the other, which is represented (361). “Friends” provides a concrete illustration of the discriminatory practices and the hypocrisy of colonial authority, and thereby subverts the established relation of which linguistic consciousness should represent which other. Carr’s representation becomes a defining moment where, within a single discourse, one voice unmask the other.
Recent visitors (1974 - 1998)

Carr’s *Klee Wyck* appeared in 1941. I have argued that the stories in *Klee Wyck* are significant because they incorporate Haida voices into representations of the islands. Unfortunately, however, the culture into which Carr’s stories were released remained largely indifferent to such voices. In the decades following V-Day, Western societies demonstrated unbridled confidence in a basic assumption of capitalism: that expansion of GNP, revenues and earned incomes is unquestionably beneficial. A rising tide of Western capitalism, so it was believed, would lift all boats (Borofsky 12). On Haida Gwaii, this process was manifested most prominently as resource extraction, especially “harvesting” of the islands’ forests.

In his analysis of competing interests in BC’s forests, *Talk and Log: Wilderness Politics in British Columbia, 1965-96*, political scientist Jeremy Wilson writes of two interrelated tales. The first focuses on the efforts of successive BC provincial governments and the forest industry “to legitimate their postwar compact” (79). This story uses the rhetoric of “sustained yield” to appease worries about forest perpetuation. Government and industry advanced a “liquidate-conversion” model that defined old growth forests as wasting assets that would be liquidated and then converted to tree farms, with replanting and improved silviculture ensuring perpetual yield. The second story details the emergence of an environmental challenge to the postwar forestry policy. Wilson argues that the postwar boom peaked in BC during the 1950s and 1960s. The W.A.C. Bennett Social Credit government was entrenched in office and committed to developing the province’s forests,
rivers and mineral resources. It sought to do so by attracting international capital, facilitating the growth of large corporations in the resource and preliminary processing sectors, and ignoring the environmental costs of rapid resource development. In this boom-time atmosphere, a mood of abundance prevailed, so that the public “showed little interest in questioning the government’s priorities” (80). Debate about forestry policy was “totally dominated” by components of the “exploitation axis”: forest companies, forest unions and the government forest bureaucracy. These interest groups generally agreed that straightforward liquidation forestry was a thing of the past and that the liquidation-conversion model would allow an accelerating rate of “harvesting” timber that was sustainable as well as economically ideal (91). The effect of these policies that resulted from the postwar compact was to increase corporate revenues, enable greater wage payouts and increase stumpage revenues, thus satisfying all three components of the exploitation axis.

In my “Opening remarks” I recalled a scene from my childhood that suggests the prominence of Haida in mythological constructions of aboriginality on the BC coast. That childhood was situated on the Broughton archipelago, beside Queen Charlotte Strait, the body of water that separates the northeast corner of Vancouver Island from the mainland. I lived there during the late 1950s and the 1960s, at the height of the postwar boom. The Queen Charlotte Islands were as prominent in the mythologies of resource extraction as the Haida were in mythologies about Natives. In the lore of the region, stories about log shipments from the Charlottes were the postwar equivalents to the earlier stories about Haida raids on local Native villages. Everything about logging on the Charlottes took on enormous proportions: the trees were the biggest on the entire coast; Sitka spruce was so important in airplane construction that the wood from the Charlottes proved crucial in both World Wars;
and towing the timber across Hecate Strait to safer waters called for special technologies resulting in Davis rafts and then log barges.\textsuperscript{147} If a storm wrecked a Davis raft or swept timber from a barge, beachcombers would race to Queen Charlotte Strait for salvage operations that in turn assumed legendary proportions. In the lore of the British Columbia coast, the Charlottes occupied the same exemplary status in discussions about resource extraction that Haida had long occupied in discussions of aboriginal history.

Two social movements combined to initiate the process that would question and ultimately displace these intertwined myths — that forests went on forever in BC and that the most abundant forests of all were found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. One, the environmental movement, originated far from BC and Haida Gwaii. Leslie Thiele begins his \textit{Environmentalism for a New Millennium} (1999) by recounting a history of environmentalism that he divides into four stages or waves.\textsuperscript{148} Conservation, the first stage, responded to the frontier mentality that Europeans brought to the New World, particularly the belief that America was a wilderness to be conquered and the myth that the land’s natural bounty was undepletable.\textsuperscript{149} As Henry David Thoreau and John Muir advocated, early conservation measures, such as the park allotments of Yosemite in 1866 and Yellowstone in 1872, attempted to preserve nature for its aesthetic value. Conservation more typically sought the “wise use” of natural resources to attain “the greatest good of the greatest number for the longest time,” in Gifford Pinchot’s construction. “Wise use” tried to balance economic and moral considerations, as Aldo Leopold’s “land ethic” advocated (4-8). Environmentalism, the second wave that Thiele identifies, began in the early 1960s and gained public support throughout the decade, so that the word itself came into general circulation by the beginning of the 1970s.\textsuperscript{150} In \textit{Wilderness and the American Mind}, historian Roderick Nash argues that
conservation was defined primarily in economic terms, whereas environmentalism tends to be based on ecological awareness and defined in ethical terms (254). Environmentalists' concerns go beyond conservationists' plea for the wise use of natural resources, to address the unending expansion of human needs and the ecological cost of satisfying them.\textsuperscript{151}

Among the events that sparked environmental consciousness were the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 and the first photographs of the planet earth, taken from the Apollo and Gemini space flights in the late 1960s. These events occurred against a cultural and political milieu that was being radically questioned by the 1967 unrest at French universities, riots at the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968, civil rights marches in the United States and increasingly dramatic protests against US involvement in Vietnam.\textsuperscript{152}

The 1970s became a decade of heightened environmental awareness, with the celebration of the first Earth Day on 22 April 1970, the oil crisis of the early 1970s, and, in March of 1979, the near meltdown of a reactor at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (Thiele 8-15).

The second social movement that, combined with the environmental movement, initiated the rethinking of prevailing myths about Haida Gwaii concerned Native rights and Native land claims. The Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau that came to power in Canada in 1968 introduced a consultation process that ostensibly sought Native involvement in revising the Indian Act. However, the "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy," issued in June 1969 by Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien, proposed the abolition of special status for Natives, the elimination of the Department of Indian Affairs (or DIA) within five years and the transfer of reserves to Natives as private land holdings (Tennant 147-50). Most Native leaders felt that these proposals mocked the consultation
process, and some began to advocate "power politics" to protect and promote Native rights. They began organizing and taking political action in ways that had raised awareness of Native issues in the United States during the 1960s (Keller 8-9). These related social movements — the environmental movement, the questioning of the development paradigm and the rethinking of Native rights — illustrated that imperialism continues, as neocolonialism. Neocolonialism is conspicuous in the exploitation of so-called Third World states by industrialized Western powers; it is frequently propped up by military campaigns (for example, in Vietnam, Kuwait and Iraq, Central America, the Falklands and Afghanistan) that solidify conditions favouring investment that originates in these industrialized powers. Nicholas Thomas observes that postcolonial thinking has allowed "liberals and radicals in the West" to equate the "violent exploitation . . . supported or condoned by their own governments" with imperialism. Such thinking has "enabled political protest and prompted critical reflection" (1).

On Haida Gwaii, critical reflection brought about, in 1974, an uneasy but effective alliance between environmentalists and Haida sovereigntists. Rather than continue to accept the neocolonial construction of Haida Gwaii as an abundant stock of primary resources that should be harvested and sent to the centre, the alliance initiated the "South Moresby conflict," which was "won" in 1987 with the creation of South Moresby / Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve (Ingram 77). Chapter 7 examines the development of environmental awareness on Haida Gwaii and the ensuing process that halted resource extraction in the southern portion of the archipelago and led to the creation of the park reserve. Chapter 8 explores the artistic production of Bill Reid. It argues that his Haida iconography signals dramatic shifts in power relations between visitors to the archipelago
and residents of the islands, between Euro-Americans and Haida, and ultimately between governments. Chapter 9 investigates how ecotourists to Haida Gwaii now envision the archipelago.
In the February 1976 edition of *Nature Canada*, the magazine published by the Canadian Nature Federation, an article consisting of four pages of text and six photographs appears under the title “Queen Charlotte Wilderness: Unique and Threatened.” The article is authored “by the Islands Protection Committee.” A note at the bottom of the first page explains:

*Islands Protection Committee is an association of residents of the Queen Charlotte Islands dedicated to preserving the unique quality of life on the Islands. They oppose plans by the forest industry to log the southern part of Moresby Island. You can support the Committee by writing to Islands Protection, P.O. Box 302, Masset, B.C.*

The article describes the southern third of the archipelago as “the living fabric of a Pacific wilderness,” unique and special. The islands are home to peregrine falcons, sea otters, trumpeter swans, whales, eagles and other endangered species; they host endemic plant species and contain the world’s largest red cedar, yellow cypress and sitka spruce trees; and they are rich in Haida history and legend (39). However, the traditional harmony that existed during some 8,000 years of aboriginal inhabitation has been disrupted by the ethic of the colonists to such an extent that, for instance, a whaling station helped “to convert the world’s largest and least understood mammal into lamp oil, corsets and shoe polish.” The article appears “at a critical moment” in the archipelago’s history, when “the balance may be cast
either way — towards preservation or towards increased exploitation.” The area “now faces a threat of unprecedented magnitude,” as Rayonier Canada, “a subsidiary of the world’s largest multinational corporation, I.T.T.,” plans to clearcut many of the “virgin forests” (41). Having outlined its concerns, the Committee then provides details supported by striking photographs. We read that the subsidiary of the multinational corporation has already clearcut extensive areas further north on the archipelago, with devastating results. It has logged slopes steeper than forestry regulations permit, leading to extensive soil erosion and slides; its methods have destroyed spawning rivers and coastal marine areas; and the Forest Service has, “in direct contravention” of its own guidelines, “quickly approved” Rayonier’s logging plans for the southern areas (43). Three colour photographs are arranged on one page to mark the contrast between further exploitation and preservation. A low camera angle shows a tangle of roots and stumps in a washed-out streambed, with a clearcut receding up the slopes. The caption beneath the large image reads, “A cut over area on the northern part of Moresby Island.” Arranged beside the scene of wreckage are two smaller photos. One zooms in on a nesting raptor and is captioned, “Peale’s falcon, a distinct race of the peregrine falcon, is limited to the Charlottes.” The other sweeps a panorama of coastline and is accompanied by the information that “One of the greatest single resources in the Charlottes is the rich life of coastal marine areas” (40).

The article then explains that in “the autumn of 1974 a group of Queen Charlotte residents formed the Islands Protection Committee to voice concerns over Rayonier’s scheduled logging of the South Moresby area.” It describes how the Skidegate Band Council expressed similar concerns and how Islands Protection supported the Haida, then “went a step further” by outlining a “wilderness proposal” for southern Moresby. Islands Protection
submitted what was essentially a resource management plan to the Premier of BC, to the Minister of Lands, Forests and Water Resources, and to the Minister of Recreation and Conservation. "Reaction on the Charlottes, where logging is the principal industry, was surprisingly favorable" (42). The submission resulted in a moratorium on logging in the area. However, the text concludes with a warning that Rayonier could quickly move its operations into the contested area: "Reportedly the Environment and Land Use Commission will take a look at the area in the summer of 1976, but with the new change of government in B.C. — who knows" (43). Appended to the article is another italicized note, which reads:

*Editors' note: The future of these forests and their wildlife will be determined soon by the new government in Victoria. Your letters to Premier Bennett will help him make the right decision.* (43)

The campaign to preserve South Moresby from the exploitative fate that has befallen more northerly portions of Haida Gwaii lasted from the fall of 1974 to July 1987. "Queen Charlotte Wilderness: Unique and Threatened" is but one article (albeit the first major article on this topic to appear in a national periodical) in a long and complex conflict. Yet, it introduces the key organization of preservationists; it recognizes the primacy of Haida responsibility in the dispute and defers to Haida initiatives; it delineates two thirds of the exploitation axis as the forces threatening the environment (the forest companies and the government forest bureaucracy insist on business as usual, while workers are generally willing to reconsider forestry practices); and it introduces several of the tactics that the preservationists will use during the conflict. The campaign to save South Moresby from the effects of resource extraction that have ravaged nearly all BC coastal forests succeeds by transforming the way visitors to the archipelago perceive Haida Gwaii. In keeping with my
interest in the representational strategies of visitors to the islands, this chapter focuses on the actions of Islands Protection more than those of the Haida, although the two often work with one another.

**Islands Protection: beginnings**

Elizabeth May, an environmental lawyer from Nova Scotia who in 1986 and 1987 would play a vital role in negotiating the preservation of South Moresby, published *Paradise Won: The Struggle for South Moresby*, in 1990. In it, she tells how in October 1974 Rayonier Canada presented its new five-year logging plan to the BC Forest Service. The plan included a proposal to log Burnaby Island, using Burnaby Narrows as a log dump. The intertidal narrows are of great significance to Haida and of such beauty that the site is the source of nearly as many Haida Gwaii photographs as Ninstints. According to May, one evening shortly after Rayonier submitted its logging plan, a young Haida named Gary Edenshaw attended a party at a little house on the Tlell River. As “the evening wound down, most of the guests elected to stay at the house, crashing on the front porch in a bundled row of blankets and sleeping bags.” Edenshaw stared at the moon for some time, troubled by the proposal to log Burnaby Island, then finally asked, “Anyone awake” (18)? Thom Henley, a refugee from America, answered. They got up at about three in the morning, “went into the kitchen, lit a lamp, spread out a map of the islands, and began to plan strategically” (19). In the morning Edenshaw, who would soon renounce his Anglo name in favor of his Native name Guujaaw, and the landed immigrant presented the remaining guests with the South Moresby Wilderness Proposal, a petition to save the area from logging. Islands Protection was born, taking its name from Guujaaw’s rough translation of the Haida words *Kangaliag*
As the Committee’s first tactical maneuver, Guujaaw and Henley recruited the remaining guests from the party to help type, copy and circulate petitions that requested the provincial government to consider Island Protection’s alternative proposal for South Moresby. Within weeks, the Skidegate Band Council and Nathan Young, hereditary chief of Tanu, announced their opposition to Rayonier’s plans for Burnaby Island and their support of the wilderness proposal. The petition ignited discussion of forestry practices in the *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer*.

Evelyn Pinkerton uses the *Observer* as the principal source for her 1983 analysis of the change in public opinion about forest management that occurred on Haida Gwaii in the 1970s. She notes that the *Observer* “is the only Islands newspaper and is a sensitive indicator of public opinion, as writing letters to the editor is a serious pastime among Islanders and as the paper publishes all letters except those considered excessively libelous” (68 n1). Pinkerton divides her survey into several periods, the first covering 1971-1973, a “baseline from which change may be measured.” In this early period, few Islanders considered that the companies’ timber rights might be open to question, and the companies looked upon the timber and the right to manage it as belonging exclusively to them. The *Observer* contained little mention of forestry-related issues, although two government press releases published in 1971 praised the high quality of forest management. The paper did mention that a Haida attended a land claims conference in Alaska and that the Council for the Haida Nation was formed to press Haida land claims. Pinkerton concludes that in this early period, Islanders’ attention to forestry management issues was “sparse and undeveloped” and Haida land claims were “only vaguely related” to the forest industry (73-75). Following the formation of Islands Protection Committee and the circulation of their petition in the fall of
1974, forest management and land claims issues became prominent “in both local conversation and in newspaper coverage.” By publishing their own magazine (initially entitled *About Time for an Island*, then renamed *All Alone Stone*) and by voicing their concerns in letters to the *Observer*, Islands Protection generated a debate about problems of forest regeneration and soil erosion associated with clear-cutting on steep slopes. The companies began, in 1975, to respond to these criticisms, relying on references to their expertise, authority and high capital investment. Meanwhile, the critics increasingly focused on the provincial government’s roles as grantor of timber rights and as enforcer of management standards. Their message: “if the companies were not managing the forests properly, it was the government’s responsibility to ensure that management improved.”

Pinkerton calculates a five-fold increase in attention to forest management issues in the *Observer* during the 1974-1976 period, and an eleven-fold increase concerning Haida land claims. Significantly, as Island Protection argued its concerns, the companies and the provincial government, rather than local residents and loggers, “were assuming an ever greater role in responding.” She concludes that the middle period of the decade “was a time of agitation and philosophical debate which served to raise doubts” about the appropriateness of forest management practices (75-78). One response of the Ministry of Forests was to create, in 1977, a Public Advisory Committee, ostensibly to advise the Ministry itself; the transcripts of PAC meetings were published in the *Observer.*

In Pinkerton’s view, the published proceedings offered Islanders a three-year course in forest management, during which the Forest Service and the major tree-farm licence-holders “emerged with rather tattered images” (79). She notes that by the time the activists took the Minister of Forests to court in 1979, arguing that he had a duty to hold public hearings on the renewal of
Rayonier's tree farm licence,

they had made three crucial steps toward changing public opinion. They had identified the contractual obligations of the companies, produced affidavits swearing that one or more of the companies was in breach of contract, and convinced many local groups and individuals that they had a right to review important forest management decisions. (80)

In effect, the three-day court hearing of Island Protection Society's petition became a *de facto* public hearing, for the petitioners were able to table all the affidavits detailing mismanagement that would have been submitted to a public hearing. The judge ruled that although the Minister of Forests was not required to hold public hearings before renewing the tree farm licence, the "duty of fairness" that the Minister had towards the petitioners indeed suggested that he should consult them. Whatever impact the petition created in court, it was generating a much greater effect in the court of public opinion. Pinkerton notes that during this last third of the decade a further four-fold increase occurred in the *Observer's* coverage of forestry issues, compared to the middle period. "By 1980," none of the hostile reaction to the activists "was coming from local residents. All of it was now coming from the companies or the government." She considers the "progressively higher authorities who were being called in to answer criticisms" a register of how seriously Island Protection's concerns were taken: "as the attacks came closer to the mark, the power level of the respondents rose" (80).

Participants and analysts alike have tended to phrase the conflict over whether to log or preserve South Moresby in metaphors of war. Even in the earliest stages, Island Protection leaders realized that they needed to adopt tactics that could win individual battles
and prove effective in the larger war. The petition that circulated on Haida Gwaii in the fall of 1974 and initiated the public discussion that intensified throughout the decade effectively mobilized debate on the islands. The article that appeared in *Nature Canada* in February 1976 sought to extend that debate into a national forum. They were but two early strikes in a thirteen-year campaign. Fortunately, a key Islands Protection strategist has written a manifesto that describes the organization’s means and methods.

**Islands Protection: temporal tactics**

In the middle of the 1970s, artist and graphic designer John Broadhead was dividing his time between Haida Gwaii and Vancouver. He was not interested in getting involved in Island Protection’s wilderness crusade. But when IPC founder Henley asked if Broadhead “had any ideas” regarding the design of the organization’s magazine, *All Alone Stone*, Broadhead volunteered (May 25-26).

In 1989, he authored “The All Alone Stone Manifesto,” a poetic essay in which he recounts “the dare to dream” that began in the fall of 1974 and led to the declaration of the park and wilderness preserve in 1987. For Broadhead, the battle lines were drawn between, on one side, the corporations and provincial government obliged by its own legislation to allow rapid, large-scale clearcut logging and, on the other side, the preservationists who advocated the wisdom of keeping coastal temperate rainforests intact. The issue was the same at the outset as it would be thirteen years later: would the industrialists process the area’s unique ecological features into two-by-fours or would the wilderness campaigners’ dream of “a better world, of respectful relations and mutual benefits among two-leggeds, four-leggeds, no-leggeds, beaks, no beaks — the works,” prevail (52-53)? Islands Protection sought to change the number who shared that dream:
Such a dream had a remarkable effect upon those who became its advocates. The Haida, having lived in the place for 10,000 years, had been the first to awaken to it. It was conveyed to a handful, and then to hundreds, then to thousands of visitors who came to see for themselves, only to fall under its spell. It inspired the unshakable conviction that it was only a matter of time before the logging would end. Every time another tree fell, the dream and the conviction to achieve it only grew stronger. (53)

Broadhead argues that significant social change can occur only with a broadly shared experiential base: “In the case of a wilderness proposal, a sufficient number of people must know the place and share a gut feeling for the values at stake, before the ‘critical mass’ of opinion capable of precipitating political change can be attained” (53-54). Islands Protection therefore enacted “a simple, two-pronged strategy: start talking and start bringing people to the place” (54). The relation of strategies to place brings to mind Michel de Certeau’s careful distinction, in The Practice of Everyday Life, between strategies and tactics, a delineation that is helpful in analyzing how the South Moresby issue transformed perceptions of Haida Gwaii.

Of interest to de Certeau are the practices that divide time, place and type of action into relationships of unequal power. Strategies, he argues, seek to create spaces in conformity with abstract models (such as assembly lines) that divide time, place and type of action into one part assigned for work and another for leisure. In the case of BC forests, the corporate-government axis thus defines tree farms (neocolonial plantations) as “multiple use” areas in which uses relating to work dominate uses pertaining to leisure, resulting in a ratio that Islands Protection redefined as “single abuse.” Tactics spring up in these same spaces; they are dependent upon the possibilities offered by circumstances, but (in their more radical
Strategies produce, tabulate and impose these spaces and determine when their operations may take place, whereas tactics can only use, manipulate and divert these spaces (29-30). In this sense, Collison and Dawson’s implementations discussed in the previous section are strategic, while Carr’s artistic hybridity is tactical. The former construct terrain while the latter contests the prefabricated space through which it moves (34). In language similar to the battle lines demarcated by Broadhead, de Certeau distinguishes between strategies of power and tactics of resistance by calling

>a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. (35-36)

The dominating subjects strategically determine the rules of regulation, or what is proper. Their notions of property become a triumph of place over time. In contrast to a strategy, “a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other” (36-37). Furthermore, a tactic “takes advantage of ‘opportunities’ and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids.” Initially, at least, “a tactic is an art of the weak” (37). de Certeau emphasizes that strategies attempt to reduce temporal relations to spatial ones through the analytical attribution of a proper place to each particular element. In
contrast, tactics gain validity in relation to the pertinence they lend to time (38). Expressed in the baldest of terms, established interests always desire to maintain the status quo, to continue business-as-usual, and to privilege their property. Revolutionary interests desire change. For them, the ideal course of events is a rupture in which the future differs radically from the present.

Island Protection’s determination to “start talking and start bringing people to the place” as a means to rupture the usual ways of doing business in the islands’ forests involved three tactics that Broadhead outlines in his manifesto. The first focused on the rhetoric of science. When industry responded to criticism of its practices by suggesting that matters were best left to its professionals with their scientific expertise and that little would be gained by consulting the poorly informed public, Islands Protection identified scientific analysis as an important weapon (Pinkerton 76). The Committee lobbied various agencies to conduct field studies in South Moresby and funded scientists to research such topics as eagle-nesting densities, intertidal communities and the effects of logging on salmon habitat (Broadhead, “Manifesto” 54, “Edge” 130-33). As it collected information, Islands Protection gained sufficient material to argue for the preservation of South Moresby on scientific merit alone. As Bristol Foster had written years before, Haida Gwaii hosted so many endemic species that it should be recognized as the “Canadian Galápagos” (May 30). Thus, as early as the 1976 Nature Canada article, Islands Protection was arguing that the uniqueness of South Moresby as an intact ecosystem was of greater value than the timber that could be extracted. The preservationists also gained expertise in the discourse of forestry management itself.

Through their preparation of court affidavits and their participation in the Public Advisory Committee, Island Protection members gained knowledge of cutting rates, logging waste, soil
erosion and related matters. By 1980, the Islands Protection Society, aided by a growing network of sympathizers, was able to counter the claims of the forest industry with an elaborate critique of forestry practices and policies phrased in the industry’s own language (Pinkerton 79-80; Wilson 190).

The second tactic involved the use of images. Broadhead describes how photographers contributed thousands of “photographs of wildlife and ancient ecosystems,” as well as “devastating shots of landslides and debris-choked salmon streams,” which Island Protection members “then winnowed down into ever-improving slide shows for public presentation.” The slide shows and their accompanying narratives were then “taken on the road at every opportunity, presented to small-town naturalists’ groups; to politicians, singly and in groups, from the municipal to the federal level; to assemblies of thousands in conference halls; and to impromptu audiences in railway cars” (54). To disseminate the images and narrative further, Islands Protection Society produced Islands at the Edge — Preserving the Queen Charlotte Islands Wilderness, an abundantly illustrated collection of seven essays written from aboriginal, ecological and environmentalist perspectives.

Broadhead explains that the book was published with various tactical considerations in mind:

In effect it was the slide show between covers, written by seven experts in the natural, cultural, and political history of the area. Careful attention was paid to assembling the most accurate information available, and to the highest design and production values possible. It had to be the kind of book that people would enjoy giving and receiving, that would linger on coffee tables in the living rooms and offices of opinion leaders in Canadian society. It had to invite the reader to browse for the sheer pleasure of looking at it, because once the intended audience got past the
pictures and into the text, the message was surely a radical one. (54-55)

Released in time for Christmas 1984, the book's promotional campaign resulted in nationwide publicity for the wilderness proposal. The foreword, introduction and seven essays all recognize the unique spatial characteristics of Haida Gwaii, yet frame their message temporally. In the “Foreword,” Jacques Cousteau cites the barrenness of Crete, the Cape Verde Islands and Easter Island as examples to be heeded: islands are especially susceptible to the ravages of deforestation; the hasty actions of invaders eager to attack nature lead to consequences that centuries are unable to reverse (11-12). In the “Introduction,” IPS directors Broadhead and Henley contrast the time horizons of resource extracting companies, the half millennium or so in which ecosystems can recover from the industrial process provided that the parent species have not been obliterated, and the short-term outlook of elected officials whose decisions determine the options (15-19). Next, Bill Reid’s parable compares the “mere tick of the cosmic clock” since “the god of a then-obscure tribe” dictated “Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it” with the ten thousand years of Haida existence on Haida Gwaii. He pleads for an approach that will permit future generations to visit “at least one sacred place that has not been crushed by the juggernaut of the subduers and there create the myths of a living culture” (23-30). Four essays by naturalists demonstrate that the Canadian Galápagos are “an evolutionary showcase” (35) which presents “a timely challenge to our professional foresters and politicians to insure that forest lands are managed not only for industrial tree farming but also for the conservation of exceptional representations of our natural heritage (70). For naturalists considering South Moresby, it “is frightening to think that one serious human error could be enough to permanently upset this precise balance of nature” (92). Specifically, those residing on and
visiting Haida Gwaii “have the unique opportunity to prove that, despite what history has shown elsewhere, human occupation of large islands does not have to lead to the eventual demise of its fauna” (117). The final two essays are written with the urgency typical of environmentalist discourse. Broadhead argues that sometime “in our distant past we chose the company of man over the company of the earth,” and that we have now “just about reached the limits of our alienation” (140). Henley states that we have reached “zero hour.” Our “archaic logging practices” must be challenged and reversed: “Only then will the future be guaranteed for a wilderness such as South Moresby, a place where man himself is a visitor who does not remain” (153-54).

The third tactic that Broadhead discusses in his manifesto involved bringing people to South Moresby to experience the area directly. Islands Protection sought writers, photographers, artists, scientists, industrialists and politicians who, it was hoped, would network the message, exponentially spreading it to a national and then international audience (55). The case of David Suzuki, host of the widely watched television show *The Nature of Things*, affords an example of how brilliantly this tactic would succeed. In 1982, when Islands Protection supporter Jim Fulton, who was Member of Parliament for Skeena (and Haida Gwaii), implored Suzuki to “do a show on South Moresby,” Suzuki visited Haida Gwaii. As May recounts, Suzuki “had no intention of getting involved in the campaign to save South Moresby. He had never been a champion of Indian rights and he was leery of environmental activists who seemed constantly to demand his help” (62). However, back in Toronto, reviewing footage of interviews conducted during his visit, he realized that his thinking had been profoundly changed. He had asked Guujaaw why the Haida cared about the area. Guujaaw responded,
“Our people have determined that Windy Bay and other areas must be left in their natural condition so that we can keep our identity and pass it on to following generations. The forests, those oceans are what keep us as Haida people today.”

“So if they’re logged off?”

“If they’re logged off, we’ll probably end up the same as everyone else.” (63)

In other words, wilderness is more than an environmental matter, it is identity — a message that would resonate with many Canadians when Suzuki devoted three *The Nature of Things* shows to the wilderness proposal on Haida Gwaii (Doern and Conway 180). By bringing the “war of the woods” to television, these interventions in the conflict extended the debate to a national audience and brought the debate to a more popular level than had representations in newspapers and courts. The concern that initially had been mobilized locally through petitions, letters to the editor and affidavits, was thus disseminated through the electronic media. A movement that had started at the grass roots level as a wilderness proposal to prevent the plundering of resources in the southern portion of Haida Gwaii was inviting Canadians to reconsider the role wilderness plays in contemporary constructions of national identity.

Erich Hoyt’s 1985 article in *Equinox* further illustrates the sophistication of the networking tactic. In “Paradise in Peril,” Hoyt describes being escorted to Windy Bay in July 1984 by tour operator Mary Morris and zoologist Bristol Foster. He first conveys a sense of the sublime wonder he experiences as the Zodiac slips through the surf to the shore and an eagle swerves and dips toward them, screeching as it comes. As the narrative recounts the next morning, Hoyt relays much of the knowledge that Foster and Morris share about the Windy Bay ecosystem: how salmon and trout spawn there and how traces of Haida
culture are evident in a midden, in the remnants of a lodge and in several cedars stripped of bark and boards. The Haida have modified some trees and felled others while respecting the forest as a whole. With the help of his guides, he views the river basin as “a living museum,” a watershed that remains intact, so rich in endemic species that it qualifies as “a major natural laboratory” for natural research (30, 33). He quotes the argument of a renowned intertidal ecologist that the value of such wilderness in terms of biological diversity and genetic resources is inestimable: “‘We simply can’t imagine what the important ecological questions of tomorrow will be, but intact ecosystems will be crucial for finding answers’” (33). The return trip northward toward Queen Charlotte City, past recently clearcut areas, allows Hoyt to stress the chicanery involved in presenting clearcutting as an initial step toward renewing forests. A close-up photograph of a washed out streambed is captioned, “Utterly desecrated, the once proud forests of Talunkwan Island were logged 10 years ago by Frank Beban Logging. Today, the island remains a ruin, and environmentalists have a term for such havoc: ‘talunkwanized’” (38). Hoyt’s article gives voice to many competing interests in the dispute, yet demonstrates his own rapture with the area. He allows Foster the final words. The zoologist speaks directly to Hoyt’s audience; “a rather unique generation of Canadians,” and emphasizes the urgency of the issue: “‘We are the last generation — the very last — to have the chance to set aside a special place like this. Somehow, we just have to do it’.” Appended to the article is the suggestion that readers “with comments concerning South Moresby may find the following addresses useful,” and the addresses of the BC Minister of the Environment and Islands Protection Society (41).

The tactic of inviting visitors who would experience the natural wonders of the area then share their enthusiasm reached a zenith early in 1987, with word of a forthcoming article
in *National Geographic*. Moira Johnston’s “Canada’s Queen Charlotte Islands: Homeland of the Haida,” appeared in the July 1987 issue. It features the dramatic tropes and lambent photography for which *National Geographic* has become renowned. Johnston begins by sharing the awe with which she views the islands. They “are among the globe’s rare jewels,” a wilderness “abounding in treasures.” Their “brooding rain forests” contain “some of the finest surviving stands of ancient cedar, spruce, and hemlock,” while their millennia of isolation have resulted in “an evolutionary crucible that forged dozens of unique endemic (sic) varieties of both plants and animals” (104). Whatever the natural wonders of the archipelago, these islands are, above all, “Haida Gwaii, ‘homeland’ of the Haida, the searoving lords of the coast” and creators of a culture that became “the apogee of the Northwest Coast; unequivocally the most advanced of any hunter-gatherer’s.” The art survives still, with Bill Reid’s “massive bronze sculpture of a Haida canoe commissioned for the new Canadian embassy in Washington” about to be honored as a national symbol (106). After documenting the threat that resource extraction has brought to the islands and to Haida culture, Johnston outlines a logging contractor’s concerns that jobs will be lost if South Moresby is protected. She then quotes the response of Miles Richardson, president of the Council of the Haida Nation:

“We’re not talking about 70 jobs. . . . We’re talking about forever. The issue is not logging versus ‘eco-nuts.’ It’s our ability to sustain our culture. And that lies in our relationship — as a people with a 10,000-year history — to the land and the sea and their resources.” (126)

Immediately after juxtaposing the different temporal horizons of those indigenous to the islands and those who merely seek its resources, Johnston presents the current hope for
alternatives:

"Jobs would be more than compensated by establishment of a national park and increased tourism," said [Minister of the Environment] Tom McMillan, expressing the commitment of the federal government in Ottawa to preserving South Moresby "for Canadians yet unborn and for the international community." (126)

Johnston's article appeared in July, just as the three levels of government (federal, provincial and Haida) negotiated a resolution to the South Moresby conflict. Yet the tactical leverage the article afforded the preservationists preceded its publication. The spectre of what would surely be yet another exposé of government-industry collusion and insensitivity to the increasingly linked concerns of environmentalism and cultural preservation hastened politicians to respond. May reveals that as the federal government became eager to resolve the conflict by creating a park, Broadhead could mention the impending article and inform McMillan that *National Geographic* "has a direct circulation of fourteen million people. Any story on a possible tourism destination results in an average of a hundred thousand immediate inquiries. Tourism for the park is an increasingly attractive proposition" (200). McMillan would relay this argument to Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who would in turn play it as a trump card in the final negotiations with BC Premier Bill Vander Zalm (221). The notion of a park gained an economic aura. Premiers and Prime Ministers could take up the cause of saving the environment and a threatened culture even as they committed to economic progress. They could recast the debate in positivist economic terms rather than as environmental doom and gloom.
Council for the Haida Nation: goals and tactics

From its inception, at least half the members of Islands Protection were Haida, and throughout the South Moresby conflict the Committee/Society often found its goals overlapping with those of the Council for the Haida Nation (Ingram 89 n67). The Skidegate and Masset Bands had formed the CHN earlier in the 1970s to press their land claim to the Islands and the surrounding waters (Pinkerton 74). Robert Keller argues that by forming the CHN, the Haida committed to “a new era” in Native affairs in Canada. Whereas Natives had, “for more than a century,” seldom confronted white society, preferring to “rely upon traditional means of patience and persuasion,” following the release of the 1969 White Paper they began to use “power politics” to protect Native rights and advance Native causes (8). Social organizer Saul Alinsky had advocated in 1967 that Natives at the Rama reserve in Ontario adopt “radical tactics” to attack specific grievances with dramatic, disruptive and direct group action. In Keller’s view, the White Paper convinced Native leaders that they could no longer trust the DIA to protect Native cultures; they would have to organize and protect their interests through political action and non-traditional tactics of the sort that Natives in the United States had used to advantage in the 1960s. There, Natives were presenting their concerns in public, to the courts and especially to the media, rather than in private to the bureaucracies with which they had previously dealt. Some of these political approaches seem to have filtered from Alaska to Haida Gwaii (Pinkerton 74; Ingram 84). In 1974, the CHN invited BC Premier Dave Barrett to attend a feast at Skidegate and to sit in on a meeting with Ministry of Forestry representatives. The Council argued that if the government approved Rayonier’s logging plans for Burnaby Island, the government would signal its intention to destroy the Haida, since their culture is rooted in the area and sustained
by its wilderness (Broadhead, “Manifesto” 51-52; Pinkerton 75). At several public
opportunities, the CHN argued that Haida land claims should be settled before other land-use
decisions were made (Pinkerton 77-78).  

In addition to presenting a united and more vocal front in public interactions with the
various bureaucratic and government agencies, the CHN articulated its concerns in two
dynamically modern ways: through marketing and the media. Haida sold “Save Lyell
Island” buttons; they conducted public workshops in several cities; they attracted the support
of prominent artists such as Toni Onley and Yuxweluptun; and they held a benefit concert in
Vancouver that featured Pete Seeger and Native dancers led by Robert Davidson (Keller 15).
They also aired their concerns on television, radio and in the newspapers at every
opportunity. The provincial and national media responded to the Haida tactics eagerly:
Native dancing, colorful Native blankets, Native drumming, the spell-binding oratory of
Haida leaders such as Guujaaw and Richardson, and the overall dignity with which the Haida
argued their case created keen viewer and reader interest. Then, late in October 1985, before
dawn, Haida elders stood in front of logging trucks on Lyell Island. “Prime time crime,”
according to Broadhead, struck the telling blow in the long campaign (“Manifesto” 60).
Scenes of RCMP officers leading away colorfully robed, white-haired Haida elders made
evening newscasts around the world. In the BC Supreme Court trial that followed, the elders
were convicted of contempt of court. But the incident turned public opinion: “Long-distance
telephone circuits in Ottawa and Victoria began to feel the heat, as humans-rights groups and
newspaper editorials across the country cried foul” (Broadhead, “Manifesto” 62).

As the federal government agreed to preserving South Moresby and began
negotiations with the provincial government, the CHN continued its public relations tactics.
In *Haada Laas*, or "good people," a newsletter published in February 1986, it presented in a confident, dignified voice its insistence that the Haida Nation is the rightful heir to Haida Gwaii, that it had never ceded title to the islands, and that it was prepared to share the islands but not to have them "ripped apart." It stressed that in "October of 1985," Haida "had little choice but to block logging operations," that on "November 7, 1985, unaided by lawyers, we appeared in the Supreme Court of B.C. and argued that we have more at stake on Lyell Island than Western Forest Products and so the injunction should not be granted." Then, on "November 14, Haida again stood on the logging road. Out of respect for Justice McKay (Kilslii), we stood aside and allowed the loggers to proceed. A sad song echoed over the waters of Haada Gwaii." And, on "November 21, Western Forest Products applied for contempt of court charges against seventeen Haida. B.C. Attorney General Brian Smith called for more severe charges, and said that his Ministry would represent the 'public' interest" (*Haada Laas* 3). The dignified tone in the newsletter sharpened the focus on the cruel irony of the provincial government's actions.

Broadhead, in his recounting of the South Moresby conflict, takes comfort that Canada stopped the logging and saved the wilderness. Yet he admits to a nagging doubt: "could the national park reserve actually be a political maneuver to avoid altogether the Haida and the aboriginal-rights issue that they represent" ("Manifesto" 62)? Have the tactics of the preservationists and Haida changed the ways Canadians understand Haida Gwaii, or is the resolution to the South Moresby conflict only a Pyrrhic victory?
Bill Reid: the Haida nation in motion

The social revolution that commenced in the 1960s questioned many of the precepts of Western capitalism that had dominated after the Second World War. It caused governments and populations at large to reconsider certain ways of comprehending such matters as geographical margins, resource extraction and aboriginality. In the exemplary case of Haida Gwaii, the 1970s and 1980s illustrated that Haida had the will and the means to challenge the systemic denial of their culture and their claims to the islands. Coincident with this assertion of Haida identity was the rise to prominence of the great sculptor Bill Reid (1920 – 1998). As Reid explains, he “became” Haida.\(^\text{169}\) Much of his personal and artistic transformation occurred as the South Moresby conflict developed, garnered public attention and came to fruition. He “finally had to face up to what it really means to be Haida in the latter part of the twentieth century,” he acknowledged in 1985, “because of the recent confrontation on Lyell Island and the emphasis given to the South Moresby area” (213). Reid actively contributed to the preservationist cause during the conflict, as both fund-raiser and advocate, and his several pronouncements of support focused media attention in effectively iconographic ways.\(^\text{170}\) In this chapter I argue that in the years since South Moresby was declared a national park reserve, Reid’s major sculptures have extended a sophisticated sense of Haida culture and aboriginality to local, national and international audiences. His actions and artistic creations helped restructure relations between Haida and Canadians even as they extended awareness of Haida Gwaii far beyond national borders. Bill Reid, more than any other
individual, has changed the ways in which travellers to Haida Gwaii (whether they transport themselves physically or virtually) imagine the islands.

**Bill Reid’s travels to Haida Gwaii**

In his writing, Reid often comments on his long journey to “become” Haida. He carefully describes his own travels to Haida Gwaii as visits. He writes that during her years in an Anglican residential school, his mother Sophie “learned the major lesson taught the native peoples of our hemisphere during the first half of [the twentieth] century, that it was somehow sinful and debased to be, in white terms, an ‘Indian’.” As a result she attempted to expunge every trace of her Haida origins, so that Reid was raised with little knowledge of his aboriginal ancestry. 171 Only as an adult did he realize that his mother was Haida and that his lineage included generations of influential artists who lived on Haida Gwaii. He did not recall visiting Haida Gwaii as a small child. 172 He was in his teens before he became conscious that he “was anything other than an average Caucasian North American” and in his “early twenties” when he got to know his grandfather and began “a lifelong series of visits to the Queen Charlotte Islands” (87-88). “I’m to all intents and purposes a good WASP Canadian,” he stated. “I look like one, I have the upbringing of one, I’ve never lived in native surroundings. I’ve visited a lot, and I know a lot of people and have learned what I can” of Haida culture (196). However, Reid wasn’t particularly comfortable in rural or reserve settings. Reflecting on nine months at Skidegate, leading a team that carved a pole to accompany the new band office, he candidly admitted, “god knows there’s little enough to do in some of those places” (169). In a later address he stated, “I’ve spent most of my life with a feeling of identity with the Haida people — always, of course, at a safe distance in some
urban location” (213).

An ongoing concern for Reid was whether he was exploiting traditional aspects of Haida culture. At one point, he seemed to answer “yes.” In a 1983 curriculum vitae, he wrote that he was “in the business of creating objects,” and to do so borrowed from the work of his Haida predecessors, with whom, he acknowledged, he had “a very tenuous connection.” As for creating art within the Haida tradition, he stated that he had been “doing it for purely selfish reasons” (197). However, Reid was a trickster and transformer, capable of shifting meanings around so observers would be forced to assess their own positions. In that same 1983 piece, he also states that drawing upon the old traditions had allowed him to attain “a deeper concern for, and perhaps a deeper knowledge of,” the descendants of the old artists, Reid’s contemporaries (197-98). By working in the tradition and imagining the “marvelous facility” the old masters had with their hands and with words, he had developed some appreciation for “the totality of their culture, in which every one of them participated.” When he contrasted that imagined richness with the impoverished existence he witnessed on contemporary reserves, he was impelled to contribute in his “own small way to that totality” (198). In other words, Reid saw himself creating art within the tradition not for purely selfish reasons, but also to influence the ongoing totality.

Reid was unequivocal about the degree to which Haida culture had separated itself from the ways of the old masters. In a 1988 lecture, he argued that the most tragic loss of all is linguistic. His contemporaries could no longer speak Haida, and, worse, they had never become adept with English, which “now seems in almost as much danger as the Haida it supplanted.” The “rough communication” that does occur too often centres on “abstract, arcane scores of sports never played” on the islands (222). And the loss of a local context
for the remaining facility with words extends to a corresponding loss of facility with the hands. Consequently, "great-grandsons of the finest woodworkers of tribal times are often incapable of simple repairs to their own houses, and the descendants of those master craftsmen who designed and built the great seagoing Haida canoes are completely dependent on outside repair shops to keep their fishboats afloat" (222-23). In an earlier piece, he wrote that the extended family that had been the basis of Haida culture "has just about disappeared" (168). Reid articulated this lament often, relating the beginning of the social erosion to imported diseases. He specified that following the devastation wreaked by the pestilences, the destruction had become intentional: the "dominant powers" had "systemically destroyed" the initiative that underpinned the old culture by introducing a foreign law, religion, economic system and armed forces, plus alcohol. The residential schools were the final, lethal assault (169; 223-24). Having identified the problems and named the causes, he set about providing alternatives by developing his own "marvelous facility" with his hands and his words. With his hands he created sculptures on a scale so monumental that the most dispirited Haida would take notice; with his words he advanced a humanism that begged Haida, Natives and whites to accept responsibility for and to address the inequalities. He maintained that all would benefit: "In the process of helping native people attain an equal place in our society . . . we may all move a little bit along the way to becoming, at last or again, true North Americans — neither displaced aborigines nor immigrant settlers" (145).

Reid worried that while urban-based artists were producing some "competently made art objects" by the 1970s, in the villages the creative stream was "continuing on its diminishing way to eventual extinction" (142). In 1976, he travelled to Skidegate, his mother's village, to practice a "version of the old arts" with the intentions of exploring
aspects of his own heritage and affecting the existence of the people in the village (167). He and a team of carvers began making a pole for the new Band Council office; when completed in 1978 it was the first pole raised in the village in a hundred years. Reid related that the villagers showed little interest as the carvers worked on the pole. But as the material object took its final shape and it became time to raise the pole, "then suddenly the whole village galvanized into action. Button blankets appeared all over the place and head-dresses, and old ranks and privileges were recalled and reinvented and whatever songs that were available were coaxed out of the old people." However, Reid immediately cautioned that "We cannot re-create an art form out of the context of the social structure that made it in the first place" (Feldman 38). In other words, Reid produced the new pole at Skidegate and the great pieces that would follow in the 1980s and 1990s without entertaining illusions of reviving the Haida culture of the past. The works may have incorporated elements of that past, but they were intended to contribute to the remaining strand of the "totality." He envisioned two spheres in which that strand persists: the sphere of Haida culture that spans from the old masters through to the current Haida, and the sphere in which a diminishing Haida culture interacts with the threatening, invading consciousness. If we recall Bakhtin's notion of artistic or intentional hybridity as precisely the perception of one language (or social consciousness) by another language (or social consciousness), we can further identify the two gulfs that Reid's creations addressed. First, his works attempt to correct the loss of language within Haida culture by reinserting the sensibilities of the past into the present muteness. Second, they attempt to facilitate communication between the dominant and the Native cultures by providing aesthetically pleasing and monumentally impressive nodes of interaction that invite viewers from the dominant cultures to consider Native sensibilities. At the same time, the
works encourage native viewers to believe that aboriginal sensibilities can and will be appreciated by the dominant culture. If the new housepole in Skidegate sought to address the gulf between native past and native present, Reid’s next large-scale work was displayed in an urban space so that it confronts the gulf between Native and Euro-American.

**The Raven and the First Men**

In 1970, while living in Montreal, Reid had carved from boxwood a version of the traditional Haida story in which a Raven releases humans from the nether regions lying below the surface of the sea. Small enough to fit in the palm of Reid’s hand, *The Raven Discovering Mankind in the Clam Shell* updates the version of the story that Charles Edenshaw (1839-1924) had carved on an argillite chest, some forty-five cm wide, now displayed in the Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria. Doris Shadbolt, Reid’s biographer, argues that the carving occupies a pivotal position in Reid’s oeuvre because it releases the characters in the Haida bestiary from their static relationship (whether on the traditional Haida pole or the six-sided chest) so that they are “no longer held immobile by a central frontal axis” (143). The work “has stepped out of the ancestors’ arrested frame of time into real time where events take place and creatures move in dramatic interaction” (141). Shadbolt concedes that her interpretation reflects “western European-based assumptions about art and how we look at it,” but insists that *The Raven Discovering Mankind in the Clam Shell* allowed Reid to move “beyond the formal dictate of a culture he could admire but not be part of to the position of personal artistic determination and choice permitted to artists in his own time” (143). The portrayal of aboriginal cultures as arrested in time, while modern culture exists in “real time,” is troubling. Is it not more likely that modes of perception, rather than the central frontal
axis of the traditional modes of representation, fix the characters? That contemporary
viewers merely lack the training to read the traditional narratives? I suspect that traditional
Haida narratives code and express social situations in more fluid arrangements than most
Euro-Americans realize.

One way to guard against the notion that traditional First Nations art forms denied
artists self expression and fixed characters in static arrangements is to focus on the reception
of the works.¹⁸⁰ Let me suggest that The Raven Discovering Mankind in the Clam Shell fuses
Haida mythology to late twentieth-century sensibilities in a way that embraces contemporary
viewers even as it enhanced Reid’s creative imagination. In this view, the sculpture
collaborates with and appropriates the idioms of the dominant culture. The Raven and the
clam shell dwarf the humanoids; Raven’s huge eyes and expansive beak foreground the
quizzical aspects of the trickster figure; the narrative of transformation has been simplified
and distilled to heighten the dramatic content. The changes accentuate the comic aspects of
the story while sharpening its mythic aura. The carving captures the playfulness of Raven
puzzling over its prize, the awe of the humanoids as they scramble out into the world, and
their uncertainty as they simultaneously scramble back into gestative security. We witness
the instant when humankind is born into the world, when human consciousness and feeling
begin, and when humans begin to turn the natural world topsy-turvy.¹⁸¹ Interpreted in this
comic mode, the story contests what has become, in modernity, humankind’s hubristic
treatment of the natural world. The sculpture prods us to ponder the distance that humankind
has travelled from those innocent beginnings and that initial awe.

In 1980, Reid further updated the Haida legend of the first humans when he
completed the massive yellow cedar version that has become the centerpiece of the Museum
of Anthropology, at the University of British Columbia. A few months before *The Raven and the First Men* (Figure 4) was unveiled, Reid pointed out that, in contrast to the tiny boxwood version, "it will be looking down at you instead of you looking down on it" (qtd. in Duffek 44). The grand scale of *The Raven and the First Men* and its privileged position, showcased in a special rotunda in the Museum of Anthropology, push Reid’s art into prominence in contemporary Canadian culture. Natives, no matter where they reside, are assured that their art is present in the urban, white culture; visitors of all races and ethnicities are invited to recognize the continuity of aboriginal culture and sensibilities.

Many qualities in addition to its size contribute to the power of *The Raven and the First Men*. The playful positioning of Raven, for example, helps us appreciate that its primary role is transformation. It opens the shell and peers into the essence of humanity, even as it releases the humanoids into another realm. Raven is a trickster and therefore a catalyst, clever and curious, humorous yet fallible. Most importantly, Raven makes us question our own position in relation to the natural world. Who is on top? And what happens if we reconsider the entrenched hierarchies? If we ask such questions, the trickster Raven and the trickster Reid may help to narrow the gap between White and aboriginal cultures. In creating the twin sculptures *Raven Discovering Mankind in the Clam Shell* and *The Raven and the First Men*, Reid began to change the ways that significant portions of society understand Haida culture and Canadian culture.

**The Haida nation in motion: Loo Taa**

Reid had, in 1984, contributed an essay to *Islands at the Edge*, the collection of photos and writings that so effectively carried the preservationist message far from Haida Gwaii. He
begins by invoking Genesis: "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it"; then satirizes the colonial project: "Well, the purpose of all this going forth certainly wasn’t to go back to anything, and they proceeded to change these demi-paradises into something they could deal with, usually by cutting down the trees"; and warns that this imperial expansion is now lashing "with undiminished avarice at the few isolated enclaves it has yet to consume" (206, 207, 209). He then focuses on "one threatened enclave," Haida Gwaii. For thousands of years the islands lay secure in their isolation, until, "about ten thousand years ago, some newcomers" arrived by sea or were coaxed out of a clamshell by Raven. This first wave of newcomers evolved into the Haida:

Among their accomplishments were the great Northwest coast canoes, each ingeniously fashioned from a single cedar tree and ranging in length up to 21 m, as beautiful as any of the wonderful vessels maritime man has ever devised. Possessing the skills needed to build these graceful sea-going boats and with a wonderful sense of design, they filled their lives with one of the most elegant and material cultures in the tribal world. (210)

Early in the 1980s, with The Raven and the First Men installed in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, Reid began working on these great canoes. In 1982, Reid admitted to a personal "crusade to repatriate" a seventeen-metre Haida canoe hidden in Ottawa:

It was built at Masset . . . for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in 1909, and the design on it was painted by Charles Edenshaw. It’s a big canoe, high in the bow and stern, big enough to hold a crew of at least twenty rowers. It’s one of only two left in the world; the other is in the Museum of Natural History in New York.183
The National Museum of Man in Ottawa has it, although it hasn’t been displayed in years. In Norway, longships are in palaces. We keep ours in warehouses. (Iglauer 22)

More than seventy years after that exhibit in Seattle, another exposition, this one held in Vancouver in 1986, provided the opportunity for Reid to further his crusade. In 1983, sixty-three years of age, he received a commission from the Bank of British Columbia to carve a fifteen-metre Haida canoe for Expo 86. The canoe would contribute to a celebration of Native culture, in accordance with the fair’s transportation theme. “I’d had this idea for some time,” Reid said. “It was Expo and all that razzmatazz that brought it to fruition” (Wisnicki). He speculated that ocean-going canoes had provided templates for the essential forms found in Northwest Coast art: ovoid, U-form and formline. “Inevitably,” he surmised, “people who spent as much time as the Haida spent working on canoes would take the lines that were familiar to them when they moved to other creative activity” (qtd. in Henry 177). He expressed the relationship epigrammatically: “Western art starts with the figure — west coast Indian art starts with the boat” (qtd. in Shadbolt 112). On another occasion, Reid stressed that the relationship between formline and canoe also seems to correlate with the gendered structure of certain Native cultures. He noted that, as one travels up the Northwest Coast, the formline becomes the foundation for Native art at the northern tip of Vancouver Island, precisely the boundary where patrilineal cultures yield to matrilineal cultures. He argued that, not coincidentally, these matrilineal cultures — the Heiltsuk, the Tsimshian and especially the Haida — produced the great ocean-going canoes (Wisnicki). Bringhurst hints at the same relationship when he speaks of “that mother of forms, the canoe” (76). By the early 1980s, Reid sought as the final undertaking in his artistic journey a return to the vessel
that he believed had inspired his Haida ancestors.

The journey took him back to his mother’s village. In Skidegate, with the help of Guujaaw, his son-in-law Stacey Brown, and Simon Dick, he used the original model as carved by his ancestors to work out the design for the monumental object demanded by his patron. There are numerous accounts about how Brown carved a tiny model then “steamed” it in a roasting pot on the kitchen stove, or how the team built a fiberglass model at one-fifth scale, then steamed it to reveal the prototypical shape (Henry 179, May 258). Dick offers a simpler explanation: “The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia trucked in a twelve-foot Haida canoe that was well over a hundred years old from Ottawa. We took the lines off that and applied it to a twenty-five-footer, and later Bill took the lines off the twenty-five-footer and put them on the Loo Taas, stretching it twice again to fifty feet” (Neel 36). 

Reid similarly suggests the uncertainty in the planning process when he comments that the canoe measures “forty-eight feet ten inches” in length. “It was supposed to be fifty feet long, but we’d forgotten that when we steamed it, it would change” (Wisnicki). Reid and his crew completed Loo Taa in the spring of 1986, leaving too little time to paddle the “wave eater” south in preparation for the opening of the fair. Instead, the canoe was ignominiously barged to Vancouver (May 258). There, following the exposition, Reid approached the Bank of British Columbia and requested the return of Loo Taa to Haida Gwaii. Bank officials argued that because the bank had commissioned the sculpting, the canoe now belonged to the bank. It would be displayed in the foyer of their new tower. However, the Bank of British Columbia faltered and was rescued from the brink of insolvency, reemerging as the HongKong Bank of Canada. The new management agreed that Loo Taa should return to Haida Gwaii, to be used as a living craft (May 259). Two great
voyages, the first in 1987, the second in 1989, resulted from this arrangement, allowing the Haida to represent their nation in motion.

In June 1987, *Loo Taa* left Vancouver to return to Haida Gwaii. Two crews of Haida paddlers, consisting of women and men from Skidegate, Masset and Alaska, alternated between three-hour shifts paddling the canoe and riding on the escort vessel, the ancient tug *Ivanhoe*. The thousand-kilometre voyage up the east coast of Vancouver Island, across the exposed waters of Queen Charlotte Sound, then up through the Inside Passage and finally across Hecate Strait to Haida Gwaii, became a celebration among First Nations. The paddlers and Reid were feted as the vessels passed through the traditional territories of each nation, so that the voyage brought together many nations that had long histories of competition and distrust (Wisnicki). Natives saw *Loo Taa* as a vessel of knowledge and as a symbol of cultural regeneration (Neel 1-2). Organizers of the voyage had estimated that the paddlers would require three weeks to complete the journey, and nineteen days after leaving Vancouver they reached Haida Gwaii. After resting for two days some distance south of their destination, they triumphantly paddled into Skidegate on Saturday, 11 July. A throng of two thousand welcomed the paddlers and Reid, with speeches and feasting that began in the afternoon and lasted late into the night. In his narration of the video account of the voyage, Reid observes of the celebration that “It will be a long time before such an occasion occurs again in Skidegate. I think there was much regret on the part of many, that this voyage had come to an end.” He then relates *Loo Taa*, the voyage and the celebration to a longer history of aboriginality: “People are beginning to appreciate that something rare and unusual happened here. In the old society, everybody was a universal man, everybody at least an accomplished tradesman, able to build a canoe or take his place in the great winter
rituals.” Finally, he re-states his belief that the wisdom of the past must inform the present: “When their culture was at its height, the Haidas numbered somewhere between ten and twenty-five thousand. If this group of two thousand people are to survive as Haidas, they must build on the past, but learn the skills of the present in order to take their places in the world as it is, while still retaining their separate identities” (Wisnicki). The canoe and its journey of repatriation were addressing the gulf between Haida past and Haida present.

*Loo Taa* carried the spirit of Haida culture further afield in 1989, in turn confronting the gulf between Native and Euro-American. When the Musée de l’Homme in Paris informed Reid that it intended to display some of his work as part of an exhibition honoring anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, Reid was elated. After all, the museum had never before shown work by a living artist. Reid saw an opportunity to showcase contemporary Haida culture on a world stage. He asked whether the museum would also exhibit his most recent large sculpture, *Loo Taa*. When the organizers eagerly agreed, Reid “set the hook,” in Henry’s phrasing: “I told them they could have the boat as long as they took the paddlers” (174). The canoe was shipped to France, arriving at Rouen on 26 September, accompanied by a delegation of Haida singers, dancers and paddlers. The cultural and political statements of the delegation probably exceeded Reid’s intentions. The Haida maintained that, since they had never been conquered by or signed treaties with Canada, they should not use Canadian passports; instead, they arranged a diplomatic “safe passage” agreement with the French. For the journey up the Seine, the Haida ripped flags provided by the Canadian embassy and displayed in their stead Haida flags. When the pollution in the river made them retch, the paddlers hitched a ride on the accompanying barge while *Loo Taa* was taken in tow. Once in Paris, several of the paddlers removed their T-shirts and donned ceremonial attire as *Loo Taa*
passed under the arches of Le Pont Neuf. The singers and dancers then performed in the square of the Palais de Chaillot complex, as graciously as they had sung and danced at the Place Général de Gaulle in Rouen. Jacques Chirac, then mayor of Paris, greeted the entourage in the Hotel de Ville. Finally, *Loo Taa* was lifted from the river, cleaned and displayed as a centerpiece of the exhibition (Henry 173-75; Jennings 67-68; Shadbolt 181-84).

In this series of exhibitions and voyages, *Loo Taa* functions as a powerful symbol of Native and specifically Haida culture. It illustrates the engineering excellence and aesthetic appreciation that the classic cultures achieved; it inserts elements from those periods of distinction into a present in need of pride and dignity; and it appeals to contemporary audiences regardless of nationality or race. It is an extraordinary material object, and as such it can challenge colonial authority, assert aboriginal survival, demand responses, and provoke action. The visibility of such objects (for example, when images of First Nations appear on televised newscasts, when artifacts are shown in galleries and museums, or when a canoe is paddled home from an exposition or to a foreign capital) ensures that they confront White hegemonic power; it demands that the objects be interpreted as texts. The insertion of such objects into the dominant culture opens up a space of resistance between the individual component of society (aboriginal, or more specifically, Haida) and the collective (Western capitalist culture) where the writing of a single national identity (Canadian) cannot be foreclosed.

**Into the vortex of power: The Spirit of Haida Gwaii**

During the spring of 1986, Reid and his team of carvers had worked furiously at Skidegate to
finish *Loo Taa* in time for the opening of Expo 86 in Vancouver. Reid, the Council for the Haida Nation and the Islands Protection Society were all politically active at this time, sensing that the government of British Columbia was more receptive than usual to critiques of its forestry and land claims policies, given its vigorous international promotion of the forthcoming fair. Haida and preservationists increasingly adopted tactics that targeted international audiences. However intransigent to local requests to reconsider its economic policies, the provincial government sought to project a more benign image abroad. In the midst of this foment, just as he completed *Loo Taa*, Reid received a commission to create a large bronze sculpture for the Canadian embassy in Washington, DC. Reid was sixty-six and ill with Parkinson’s disease, yet he seized the opportunity to make his greatest, and final, artistic statement. As his vessel of choice, he again created a Haida canoe, this one overtly mythical. Some years later, with the canoe installed in the embassy, Reid’s friend and literary collaborator Robert Bringhurst wrote that “the Haida canoe is not,” in the thinking of Reid,

something as simple as a hollowed log prized open to serve as container and conveyance. It is the original vulvic form, the delicate source and fruit of taut exactitude, and the womb from which art, myth, technology and character were born. It is the other side of eternity, which answers back to . . . all the phallic columns in the world: the sculptural pillars of Haida Gwaii, Egyptian obelisks, the towering structures of Paris and New York, and the Washington monument, just up the road. A lifeboat it may be, but it is the living womb as well, the warm and fertile mouth of thought and being. (77)

The canoe that Reid would create, to return as completely as possible to his Haida ancestry
and to speak as forcefully as possible to all citizens of the world, but especially those situated at the vortex of Western power, is *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* (Figure 5). (The canoe was known by several names during its design and construction, including *The Spirit Canoe*, *The Black Canoe*, and finally *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii*.)

Reid began the first clay model of *The Black Canoe* in the spring of 1986, and the nascent canoe soon arrived in troubled waters (Bringhurst 45). The project was commissioned by the Canadian government, which at that time was involved in thorny negotiations with the provincial and Haida governments concerning logging rights on Haida Gwaii. By the beginning of 1987, Reid had advanced from the clay model to one cast in plaster, and the occupants had assumed, for the most part, their final shapes and positions in the canoe (Bringhurst 82-87). Meanwhile, the provincial government continued to resist land claims and failed to rethink its forestry practices. Although the federal government had been willing to negotiate a park and nature reserve for the contested southern portion of Haida Gwaii, near the end of March it too balked at negotiating land claims on a national scale, and broke off constitutional talks with First Nations. At this point, Reid made his most dramatic statement. On 30 March 1987, the banner headline in the *Vancouver Sun* read, “Haida artist abandons carving for embassy.” Reid informed the federal government: “I’m not prepared to enhance your international reputation when you treat my people badly” (A1). In a statement to the press he made clear that the provincial government was equally negligent: “I couldn’t live with it anymore, using the Haida symbols to advertise a government — and I mean all levels of government, provincial as well as federal — that we felt was not cooperating with us in what I consider to be very minimal, legitimate requests” (qtd. in May 194). At the same time, Reid was negotiating the repatriation of *Loo Taa* from corporate Vancouver to Haida.
Gwaii. In June and July it journeyed to Skidegate. Indeed, Reid was aware that various levels of government were using Native symbols to advertise their agendas. He was equally aware that his large sculptures helped focus national and international attention on the Haida and their homeland, as well as on aboriginal matters in general.

Reid’s monumental sculptures function in highly charged political contexts in which such vital matters as land claims, rights to resources, and the sovereignty of governments are at stake. Our political system assumes and ensures that rebuttal precedes dialogue. The contestatory nature of that political system also ensures that the effects which works of art can achieve will closely correlate with the interest the media takes in those works. Large, aesthetically pleasing, exotic works such as Bill Reid’s sculptures command media attention. Rebuttal can be an essential step towards dialogue, particularly in situations in which dominant powers wish to further the status quo while colonized interests must attract the public’s attention to raise public concern. Bill Reid’s letter to the Canadian government stating that he was suspending work on *The Spirit Canoe* certainly caught the attention of the media and the government. Negotiations among the three governments led to the announcement on 11 July 1987 that an agreement in principle had been reached (Doern and Conway 186). The southern portion of Haida Gwaii became a national park and wildlife preserve, jointly managed by the national parks service and the Haida. In January 1988, Reid resumed work on *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii*.

The full-sized sculpture, cast in bronze and coated with a black patina (to highlight its relationship to the argillite carvings of the old Haida masters), was unveiled at the Canadian Embassy in Washington in 1991. *The Jade Canoe*, an exact replica except that it wears a green patina to evoke the naturally occurring jade of British Columbia, was installed in the
international departure lounge at the Vancouver airport in 1993. On the one hand, *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* extends Haida ways into the vortex of western power. In Bringhurst’s words, it “replies with quiet Haida eloquence to the tides of power and fortune that brought it where it is” (80). On the other hand, the sculpture is used by the patron that commissioned it, the Canadian government, to represent Canada’s embrace of democracy, a complex and problematical stance. In this instance, as in many others, Canada uses aboriginal sensibilities to express Canadian identity to the world. The practice masks the government’s internal policies toward aboriginal peoples. Such tensions between artist and patron are hardly unique to this work or this artist. Reid, however, was keenly aware of the tensions and inevitable compromises that result when patrons publicly display art, and his written texts often address the conflict he anticipated. A case in point is the remarkable story or poem, entitled “The Spirit of Haida Gwaii,” that he wrote when the sculpture was installed in Washington. Now included in *Solitary Raven*, the essay describes the canoe’s thirteen occupants in ways that encourage allegorical yet contemporary interpretations. The occupants may originate in myth time; the tensions and conflicts are ongoing.

Reid begins, “Here we are at last, a long way from Haida Gwaii, not too sure where we are or where we’re going, still squabbling and vying for position in the boat, but somehow managing to appear to be heading in some direction. At least the paddles are together, and the man in the middle seems to have some vision of what’s to come.” He continues, “As for the rest, they are superficially more or less what they always were, symbols of another time when the Haidas, all ten thousands of them, knew they were the greatest of all nations.” The beaver, another of the thirteen occupants, Reid describes this way: “Next, doughtily paddling away, hardworking if not very imaginative, the compulsory
Canadian content, big teeth and scaly tail, perfectly designed for cutting down trees and
damming rivers” (228). The Wolf, Reid tells us, is “vigorously chewing on the Eagle’s wing
while that proud, imperial, somewhat pompous bird retaliates by attacking the Bear’s paws”
(229-30). Presumably, the written text nudges viewers toward a subversive interpretation of
the sculpture and away from the sort of contented responses that the Canadian government
may have imagined when it commissioned the project. Yes, the thirteen figures occupy a
single vessel, travelling in one direction. But the venerable man in the middle, surely the
wisest on board, is identifiably Haida and therefore a member of a nation customarily
thought of as geographically and politically situated at the margins. The actions of the Eagle
and the Beaver, icons for the two nations crowded onto Turtle Island, are questioned. And
the Wolf and Bear recall important spirit creatures from aboriginal myth-time, as do several
other occupants. An interpretation that considers the variety of cosmologies crowded into the
canoe will realize that there could and should be alternatives to the dominant ideologies
crowded onto the continent.

The final point I wish to make about The Spirit of Haida Gwaii concerns the Ancient
Reluctant Conscript. As many observers have noted, the Conscript is a self-portrait of Reid
and also alludes to Carl Sandburg’s poem “Old Timers.” Reid’s written text gives a
glowing account of the Ancient Reluctant Conscript, arguing:

A culture will be remembered for its warriors, philosophers, artists, heroes and
heroines of all callings but in order to survive it needs survivors. And here is our
professional survivor, the Ancient Reluctant Conscript present if seldom noticed in all
the turbulent histories of men on earth. When our latter day kings and captains have
joined their forebears he will still be carrying on, stoically obeying orders and
performing tasks allotted him. But only up to a point; it is also he who finally says, “Enough,” and after the rulers have disappeared into the morass of their own excesses, it is he who builds on the rubble and once more gets the whole damn thing going. (229)

Self-portrait is “the medium of subversion par excellence,” literary theorist Françoise Lionnet’s argues, “because it involves the self and its cultural contexts in a dialogue that transcends all possibilities of reducing one to the other” (121-22). Reid’s dual-media self-portrait of the artist as an old man, in the sculpture paddling alongside mythical creatures in mythical time, in the written text pointedly critiquing “our latter day kings and captains,” foregrounds the fleeting relation of the corporeal self to the timeless culture. Only through art, in the world of discursive representation, can he survive through “all the turbulent histories of men on earth” and achieve his purpose, to “once more [get] the whole damn thing going.”

Speaking in November 1999, Miles Richardson paid tribute to Reid, his longtime friend. Richardson had been president of the Council for the Haida Nation during most of the 1980s and early 90s, when Reid had so vigorously participated in the cultural and political re/presentation of Haida Gwaii. Richardson passionately argued that

Bill thought about who he was, his identity, and who he wanted to be — and then devoted himself to pursuing his chosen path. Art, central to his cultural heritage, fascinated him. Bill would ask, “How can the Haida, this little sliver of humanity, 10,000 people, command so much attention in the world?” Bill took this concept and did everything he could to further it. He understood that for this art, this form of cultural expression, to be strong there had to be standards. He took the ancient Haida
legacy, after its two-hundred-year downturn, out and in a new direction. He had his full heart in our nation, in our endeavors, and I’m proud of him.

Richardson was responding to controversy that flared when a sensational article appeared in the 18 October 1999 edition of Maclean’s, a Canadian weekly newsmagazine. “Trade Secrets” charges that material objects ostensibly created by Bill Reid and produced between 1980 and the early 1990s, when Reid suffered from steadily intensifying Parkinson’s disease, were “carved, painted or fabricated to a significant degree by other artists and assistants” (22). Author Jane O’Hara admits that the “use of other artists and assistants by no means diminishes the grandeur of Reid’s best-known work,” but takes exception to Reid’s unwillingness to acknowledge the input of his adjuncts (22). O’Hara suggests that Reid deviously “perpetuated the image that he was the sole creator of his works” by grandstanding for the “constant stream of collectors, dignitaries, museum directors and gallery owners” whom he attracted (26, 27). The article concludes that Reid’s greatest abilities during his last decades were promotional rather than artistic and that his success flowed from his “persuasive speaking style” and “his powerful connections to white institutions — the anthropologists, museums, media and galleries” (29).

The article created a furor of protest. Maclean’s editor Robert Lewis answered the critics in the 25 October 1999 edition by implying that many of those most offended by the article had vested interests in maintaining the assessed values of artworks, whether attributed to Reid or other artists. He quotes a Toronto collector “who, like many art world insiders, did not want to speak critically on the record,” as saying, “‘You’ve hit a hot button — the art dealers are trying to protect their own interests’” (11). Clearly, a work of art may lose much of its assessed value if deemed to have been produced by someone(s) other than the person...
whose name is associated with the object. Furthermore, it would be willfully naïve to pretend that the influence a work of art is likely to have in the dominant culture is unrelated to its assessed value. In most cases a grand assessment will lend a work of art "star appeal" and further the cultural work it performs.

I sense that while the controversy ignited by the O'Hara article may have caused dealers and collectors to pause in their enthusiasm for Reid’s material objects, it has broadened public interest in his works and thereby enhanced their contribution to re-imagining Haida Gwaii.
Ecotouring has become the most frequently imagined and imaged way to visit Haida Gwaii. This linkage between Haida Gwaii and ecotourism began during the campaign to slow clearcut logging on the islands. It became more apparent with the creation in 1987 of South Moresby / Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, with the declaration of Ninstints as a UNESCO World Heritage site, and with the increasing media portrayal of the archipelago and Gwaii Haanas as tourist destinations outstanding for their aboriginal culture and natural settings. As the political changes initiated on Haida Gwaii brought negotiations to save South Moresby to a climax, the Bruntland Commission, a United Nations-initiated World Commission on Environment and Development, advocated sustainable development strategies in its report, *Our Common Future*, published in April 1987. The report defines sustainability as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” Economic development ministries and tourism marketers have referred to ecotourism as a promising manifestation of sustainable development. However, “ecotourism” and “ecotourist” are neologisms that have yet to settle into firm definitions. I define ecotourism as nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and that aspires to ecological and economic sustainability. It does not necessarily include a cross-cultural component.

Sustainable development was central to the new economic approaches advocated by the Islands Protection Society and the Council for the Haida Nation throughout the South
Moresby conflict. The preservationists attempted to redefine growth and development qualitatively by emphasizing equitable and sustainable forms of political ecology and thus mitigate the traditional quantitative emphasis on economic modernization. Pressed to provide specific alternatives to logging, IPS supporters suggested ecotourism. In 1984, in *Islands at the Edge*, Thom Henley of the Island Protection Society advanced ecotourism as a relatively benign and sustainable alternative to the traditional resource-extractive economies of Haida Gwaii (Henley 145). Proponents suggested that ecotourism would provide immediate employment that would compensate for the loss of logging jobs. Taking a longer-term view, they also hoped that ecotourism would promise ecological preservation and economic sustainability. The drastic depletion of mature forests and the rapidly dwindling fish stocks signalled that the logging and fishing industries were failing on both counts. Federal negotiators also introduced green tourism as a vaguely-defined but persuasive concept at a crucial point late in their negotiations with British Columbia premier Bill Van der Zalm (May 221). The novelty of the concept allowed federal negotiators to appeal to Van der Zalm's grandiose dreams without having to provide hard data.

Just as visits to the islands are increasingly billed as ecotours, representations of the islands are now often ecological narratives, or econarratives for short. These narratives form an emerging sub-genre of travel writing that targets the audience imagined as the basis for an alternative economy: recreational users, especially ecotourists. Econarratives repackage the assumptions and conventions of travel writing with ecological awareness in mind. If ecotourism strives to be a more responsible branch of tourism, it follows that econarratives should correspondingly separate themselves from some of the general assumptions of travel writing by foregrounding an ethical epistemology. In particular, after the South Moresby
conflict, texts about Haida Gwaii that participate in the discourse of ecotourism must reflect upon their own relations to ecological sustainability. An ecotext about Haida Gwaii invites several questions: Does the text contribute to the environmentalist questioning and displacement of the long-standing myth that primary-resource extraction is the appropriate economic and ecological approach toward the islands? Does it address the complex issue of Native rights and Native land claims on Haida Gwaii? Does the text reflect upon its own role in extracting information from the islands and simultaneously helping create the islands as a discursive formation? Does the text consider whether ecotourism is meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs? Critical analysis of writing about ecotourism should follow a similar critical trajectory. Given that ecotourism is a recent and at times experimental discourse, early ecotexts merit certain allowances as they tackle important social and economic issues. However, as analysts we should require recent ecotexts to build upon the assumptions, practices and conclusions advanced in earlier texts. In other words, the questions that we ask of ecotexts will need to be applied with increasing rigor as representations that use this new way of imagining the islands proliferate.

Econarrative as myth

In “Raven Brought the Light,” published in 1987, the Oregon writer William Kittredge approaches the ecology of Haida Gwaii through the art of Bill Reid. His narrative begins in Vancouver, in front of the aquarium in Stanley Park, with Kittredge and his unnamed companion admiring Reid’s bronze Haida killer whale. They comment that the sculpture is sparking an explosion of interest in Northwest Coast aboriginal art: “We had come hoping
this rebirth of native art might stand as an antidote to that boring aesthetic of alienation which
is post-Modernism: . . . pilgrims in the rain, just checking to see if ancient connections could
somehow loop over and heal into the disjunctions of High Art" (143, ellipsis in original).
The self-styled pilgrims proceed to Reid’s studio on Granville Island, where Reid tells of
children visiting the studio and dancing around models of the large sculptures he and
apprentices are building. Kittredge recalls the children the travellers had seen earlier that
day, clamouring for pennies in the fountain below the killer whale sculpture, and realizes that
Reid’s art infuses his community with pride. When the tourists continue to Robert
Davidson’s home, the next site in their quest, the Haida carver affirms this correlation of
Northwest Coast art and community. “Ours has always been a public art,” he states: “The
work is nothing without the singing and the dancing, where it started” (147).

In “A Theory of Tourism,” Hans Magnus Enzensberger locates the intellectual
inspirations of modern tourism in English, French and German Romanticism. He argues
that the great Romantic authors (he mentions Gray, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Byron
writing in English) created imagery that “captured the freedom that was threatening to
suffocate under the reality of a beginning world of industrial labor and political restoration.”
Specifically, they “transfigured freedom and removed it into the realm of the imagination,
until it coagulated into a distant image of a nature far from all civilization, into a folkloric
and monumental image of history. This pristine landscape and untouched history have
remained the models of tourism” (125). In Kittredge’s case, the culture from which he
wishes to escape now suffocates by imposing the “boring aesthetic of alienation which is
post-Modernism.” The folkloric other he imagines as the sense of community that Reid’s
and Davidson’s art draws from and inspires. As the pilgrims leave Davidson’s “immaculate
cedar-plank house” near Vancouver, a caesura in the text marks the hoped-for transition to pristine landscape and untouched history: “Airline tickets to romantic places. We rode a 727 north to Prince Rupert, . . . and flew in a float plane to the Queen Charlotte Islands, all in the interest of going to find the Real Community” (147). Their quest to “reconnect with that old reality” takes them by Zodiac to Skedans. As they approach the abandoned village, their guide slows the craft and asks if they are “ready for the ultimate North Coast experience” (148). Ashore, the visitors reflect upon the histories of the Northwest Coast peoples and the expressions of those histories in Northwest Coast art as they look up at the silvery memorial and burial poles leaning haphazardly. They step around the mossy timbers that remain from the houses where families lived through centuries of building and rebuilding. They discover human skulls covered with vivid green moss, trace the old village house by house, and try to imagine “the lives of generations, children running the beaches and slaves at their tasks and the old people dying in a place where they had always lived, at the center of the known world.” However, the visitors remain grounded in their own privilege: “we never got beyond our guilty pleasure in the bright beauty of the day and place . . . tourists deploring history, we could never inhabit that old life, or participate in its loss” (150, ellipsis in original).

Kittredge is aware of both the conventions of the travel writing genre (witness his construction of the trip as a pilgrimage to great seers, sacred sites and liminal zones) and of his tendency to seek inspiration beyond idealized horizons. Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan point out that conventions of travel writing are used to popularize outdated anthropological notions, such as disappearance and the idea of a pristine Native culture (181). The ability to move back through time has great purchase in travel writing, particularly ecotravel writing that includes a cross-cultural component. This passage into the
past allows authors to exploit the idea of travelling back to a Golden Era in which a place and its inhabitants were unspoiled by modernity. In Kittredge’s construction, as in many econarratives about Haida Gwaii, the archipelago becomes a place where travellers and readers can glimpse an organicist premodern period. Viewed from a jaded urban present, this nostalgic glimpse offers a past idealized as personal and pastoral. Even if, as John Frow reminds us, that past is utopian, it is a more attractive story than our everyday story (136).

Writers of these narratives tend to mythologize their destinations as Shangri-Las where harmonious social relations, ideas about community and notions of wholeness are implicitly or explicitly contrasted to the difficulties of living in the writers’ hyper-modern cultures. In “Raven Brought the Light,” this Northwest Coast utopia consists of a present component (the art that induces children to dance and inspires community pride) that “goes back, into the culture,” to a time of “Real Community” (147).

Travel writers “hearken back to their precursors, seeking solace for a troubled present in nostalgic cultural myths” (Holland and Huggan xi). Kittredge recognizes such nostalgia when he acknowledges the “guilty pleasure” he and his companion experience as they “deplore history” yet realize that they “could never inhabit that old life, or participate in its loss” (150). The two travellers, of course, possess the resources necessary for their travel, enabling them to visit the sites where the Haida have been dispossessed. In this sense, “Raven Brought the Light” visits a largely imagined world of the past for the cause of the visitors’ spiritual revival. It laments an irrecoverable way of life.

The cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo’s theories shed light on Kittredge’s narrative and illuminate a paradox found in much ecotourism discourse. Nostalgia is a pain (algia) to return home (nóstos), often experienced as longing for a lost past. Rosaldo has
identified a form of nostalgia, which he calls “imperialist nostalgia,” that is particularly
germane to analyses of contemporary cultures. In Rosaldo’s formulation,

Imperialist nostalgia revolves around a paradox: A person kills someone, and then
mourns the victim. In more attenuated form, someone deliberately alters a form of
life, and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to the
intervention. At one more remove, people destroy their environment, and then they
worship nature. In any of its versions, imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of “innocent
yearning” both to capture people’s imaginations and to conceal its complicity with
often brutal domination. (69-70)

“Imperialist nostalgia,” Rosaldo continues, “occurs alongside a peculiar sense of mission,
‘the white man’s burden,’ where civilized nations stand duty-bound to uplift so-called savage
ones” (70). One example of imperialist nostalgia and its accompanying sense of mission is
the tendency of western cultures to remove themselves from nature and consume natural
resources at an ever-accelerating pace, while simultaneously honing the rhetoric of
environmental awareness. A more specific instance is the imperialist nostalgia that
underpins ecotourism’s peculiar zeal, wherein a reputedly benign and sustainable form of
economic development purports to replace savage, resource-extracting industries. A related
manifestation of imperialist nostalgia involves tendencies to preserve a small portion of a
large bioregion. Tourists or ecotourists can then visit the saved area while proclaiming
nostalgia for the rest which has been or is being destroyed — arguably the case on Haida
Gwaii, where Gwaii Haanas has been preserved even as the majority of the archipelago is
being stripped of trees, minerals and fish.

The pose of innocent yearning indeed conceals the effects of tourism itself, for
tourists are never innocent. In *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, Dean MacCannell argues that tourism is created out of increasing leisure time. Tourists seek identity and location in cultures that undermine the certainty of these categories. Tourists act as agents of modernity, and thereby help to erase the past: the vanishing Native, the lost ideal culture, the end of the pristine, and the erasure of the local are all tropes of modernity (5-10; compare Kaplan 58-59). Though discourses of ecotourism typically position green tourism as relatively benign, it is capable of erasing the object it desires. The intent of ecotourism involves a paradox: ecotourism transports consumers from the centres of power to pristine peripheral destinations; the zeal that ecotourism developers bring to their cause can accelerate the acts of colonization that have yet to despoil their destination; the more zealous their approach, the more successfully they reconfigure the economy of the periphery, and the more likely that they will colonize the area and its inhabitants.198

Rosaldo notes the peculiar sense of comfort that imperialist nostalgia allows by, as it were, giving the subject a sense of agency: “He felt nostalgia for things as they had been when he first encountered [them], and this attitude absolved him of guilt and responsibility” (79). In other words, one who is aware of loss can place herself or himself above others who remain oblivious. The “guilty pleasure” Kittredge experiences as he looks out from Skedans and recognizes himself as a “tourist deploring history” seems to anticipate Rosaldo’s contention that “mourning the passing of traditional society and imperialist nostalgia cannot neatly be separated from one another. Both attempt to use a mask of innocence to cover their involvement with processes of domination” (86). I interpret Kittredge’s sense of guilt as a moment of sensitive self-reflection. On the other hand, “Nostalgia at play with domination,” Rosaldo warns, “uses compelling tenderness to draw attention away from the relation’s
fundamental inequality” (87). Kittredge visited Haida Gwaii and published his econarrative when discourses of ecotourism were in their infancy, before South Moresby became a park reserve in 1987, and before Rosaldo published his theories about nostalgia in 1989.

Kittredge’s innocence is perhaps excusable. It would be unduly harsh to accuse him of nostalgically taking refuge in an idealized past rather than furthering his critical examination of the present.

**Econarrative as humour**

The American travel writer Tim Cahill revels in writing for everyman: he is a Sancho Panza to Chatwin’s Quixote, a Theroux without the airs. He begins “The Queen Charlotte Islands: Life and Death (hee-hee) Tales from the Place of Wonder,” published in 1997, with a typically self-deprecating passage: Cahill is in the hospital recovering from his stupidity. It turns out that on the previous day he had left his nine fellow kayakers in their campsite on the shores of Gwaii Haanas to hike, alone and without telling his companions of his plans, through the National Park Reserve in search of endemic species. Intoxicated by the lushness of the rainforest, staring up at the leaning cedars while searching for a hairy woodpecker, the blundering naturalist-hero falls and gashes his forehead on his own walking stick. He is airlifted out of Gwaii Haanas, a place he considers “an earthly paradise” (206), and into the hospital at Queen Charlotte City. During his stay in the hospital and recuperation in the small town, as he waits for his fellow kayakers to complete their ecotour and return, Cahill has ample time to reflect and to create his econarrative of the history of Gwaii Haanas and Haida Gwaii.

Prominent among the travel writing traditions that Cahill honours in the story are the
Boy's Own adventure tale and that of the European naturalist-explorer. Travel writers parody the adventure tale tradition as a necessary act of self-defense against the circumstances that they encounter in hostile environments (Holland and Huggan 77-78). They represent their journeys as comic rather than tragic, thus creating roles in which their readers can witness success rather than failure. Simultaneously, by following the out-of-date practices and interests of naturalist-explorers, travel writers reconfirm "the tried-and-tested methods of the West" (80). Cahill humorously tweaks these traditions to suggest that the tried-and-tested methods have indeed been tested, and found wanting. A primary concern of econarratives is to challenge the notion that nature can be conquered with the right mixture of male heroism, science and technology. Cahill makes precisely the opposite point: that the stubbornly self-reliant tourist who sets off alone into the forest and loses himself in dreams may be transported to hospital while his nine companions continue their tour. The sublime moment of contemplating the silvery cedars becomes not a moment of revelation, but a shattered passage to hospitalization and the ensuing process of reflection that includes researching the natural, political and cultural histories of the area. Richard Kerridge cautions that the yearnings in Romantic nature writing "for unselfconscious life in nature, and for the lost primitive self," have historically linked the genre to colonialism. However, various conventions, such as "the methodical procedures of scientific classification," mitigated the "disruptive potential of the Romantic sublime, the moment in which the infinite is glimpsed," and led to a more contemplative, less colonizing sense of the sublime (172). Econarratives advance this turn from absorption in such pursuits as hunting, exploring and classifying to an emphasis on conserving, containing and contemplating. Econarratives also reign in the historical tendency of traveller-narrators to forge a solitary narrative voice that reflects the
isolation and discontinuity of self that travel brings. Ecotours imply a small group of tourists, ideally guided by a local resident. Cahill’s story sets the lone adventurer-hero’s quest at odds with the collective journey of his eight fellow adventurers guided by Grant Thompson of Tofino Explorations (207). Cahill’s act of splitting from the group to seek his own glimpse of the infinite can be interpreted as selfish and hubristic. In effect, econarratives begin, however tentatively, to question the polarity that underpins the perennial paradox of modern travel: that we want unchanged places yet somewhere comfortable to stay. In econarratives, to want a pristine place all to oneself, to insist on being first, is greedy.\textsuperscript{199} By contrast, to travel with others is ethically preferable, since such an approach implies that one desires to share the world’s resources, however privileged the group as a whole may be.

When finally able to hobble from the hospital, Cahill makes his way to the nearest bar, where a “mildly intoxicated white carpenter” sits down and tells him a story, in which one of the greatest of all Haida artists has carved a magnificent canoe, full of mythological figures. The artist is supervising the installation of the canoe in a great museum:

The canoe had to be lowered onto its stand with a large crane, and the young operator, a white man, worked hard, arranging everything just so, because the Haida artist had a specific idea of exactly where this monumental work of art should be, how it should be placed. Important stuff, the crane operator decided, and imagined there might be some religious symbolism at work that he did not understand. The artist would look away, ponder some internal problem, then gesture minimally: Turn it just a bit to the east. They worked together in this way for hours.

Later, when the work was done, and the canoe finally placed to the artist’s
satisfaction, the young crane operator was invited to have a drink with the Haida carver. They spoke for some time. The artist was, as many Haida are, politically active. He was angry at the United States at the moment: Some decision by the president of the country that would, indirectly, affect the artist and the forest that he loved.

Finally, the crane operator asked the question that had been burning inside him for the last few hours. The artist should forgive him, he said, but he saw very little difference in the various placements of the canoe. Why had it been set just so on its stand?

"On the canoe," the carver explained, "there is a bear."

"I saw it," the crane operator said.

"Look closely," the artist said. "The bear's asshole?"

"Yeah?"

"It points toward the White House." (216-17)

We have no way of knowing whether Cahill's story about meeting the intoxicated white carpenter is apocryphal, or whether the story told by the intoxicated white carpenter is spurious. Cahill the artist is surely capable of creating a story in which an intoxicated ecotourist ends up in a pub where an intoxicated working man tells a story about an artist and a working man sitting in a bar, intoxicated with the events of the moment, telling stories. Bringhurst, writing six years before Cahill, hints at a similar construction: "Washingtonians and diplomats will make what they choose of the fact that the Bear is sailing bare-assed and backwards into the future while the Eagle is biting his hand" (78). Cahill's found story may even burlesque Lévi-Strauss's scathing remark about the contemporary travel writer who,
“instead of doing his plagiarizing at home, has supposedly sanctified it by covering some twenty thousand miles” (Tristes 18). However, the dubious source of the story in no way diminishes its effect. While neither the carpenter nor Cahill explicitly refers to Bill Reid, Cahill’s narrative leaves its readers to contemplate The Spirit of Haida Gwaii at the Canadian Chancery in Washington as the final image from Cahill’s ecotour.

At every turn during Cahill’s narrative he masks his political commentary with black but good-spirited humour. For example, at Sgan Gwaii, the Haida Watchman Wanagun explains the history of the site by discussing death, burials, massacres, and funerary poles, yet at each mention of death interjects “hee-hee.” In Queen Charlotte City, “a young woman who dressed like a logger and talked like a hippie” has hitchhiked through the rain to attend a touring ballet performance (215). Her quip about probably having to hitch through three more hours of rainfall on her way home that evening invites empathy towards her determination and her stance in favour of calling the islands by their aboriginal appellation, a matter of on-island debate to which Cahill has referred. The narrative ends with a smoldering humour that is resilient and contestatory as well as scatological and vulgar. The humour functions as a tactic of resistance for marginalized peoples by allowing them to talk back to or parody the powers at the centres. When marginalized peoples enjoy a rebirth of their culture and a rise in their fortunes, the humour that has helped them withstand their repression flowers. Cahill’s econarrative honours the residents of Haida Gwaii by representing their humour as direct speech.

Econarrative as consumption

In Haida Gwaii: Journeys Through the Queen Charlotte Islands, also published in 1997,
writer Ian Gill collaborates with photographer David Nunuk to recount three “tales” distilled from “many soujourns” to the islands that the pair made in the mid-1990s (2). The book, like their first, the successful *Hiking on the Edge: Canada’s West Coast Trail*, is a glossy production capable of gracing a coffee table, yet compact enough to fit in a backpack. Both guidebook (with an afterword entitled “Getting There”) and travel narrative, the book draws “together words and images in the humble wish that people who are curious about Haida Gwaii will learn enough” to want to find out more on their own (2). Gill’s text and Nunuk’s photographs reflect young urban professionals with tight schedules and supreme confidence in their rights to consume and represent their destinations. The book arranges sixty-three artistic photos and some ninety pages of prose collected during several brief visits to the islands into accounts of three journeys that form a narrative progression. We read first of the adventurers being transported to the exposed west coast of the islands by a local outfitter. A spring snowstorm threatens to overmatch their tent and kayaks, so that the tale becomes a drama: will the tourists survive the elements until the storm abates and the outfitter returns? Their second journey features a rented van, bed-and-breakfast lodging and a quest to Nai-Kun, or Rose Spit, which they believe to be the site of the Haida creativity myth that inspired Bill Reid’s sculpture “The Raven and First Man.” The third tale tells of a package tour to South Moresby / Gwaii Haanas National Park Preserve, aboard a twenty-two-metre ketch, with three fellow ecotourists and a crew of three (captain, cook and naturalist).

While introducing the “Islands at the Boundary of the World” and thus setting the stage for the three narratives, Gill reflects that during the maritime fur trade “10,000 sea otter were killed for their pelts on Haida Gwaii alone. This profligacy was the first ‘rush’ in a string of depressing resource grabs that would come to afflict all of British Columbia,
revolving mostly around gold and . . . timber.” He concludes, “So the Haida learned quickly the white man’s ugly tendencies toward rapaciousness and unsustainability” (6). This critique of resource-extractive approaches to the islands promises attention to intercultural practices and relations and the authors’ place within them. However, an analysis of two representative passages from the third narrative, the ecotour by sailboat, calls into question this sense of promise. In the first, the ecotourists visit Sgan Gwaii; in the second they visit T’anuu.

Gill writes about arriving at Sgan Gwaii, “We have spent the past few days in a high state of anticipation of this moment, coming at last to this Pantheon of Haida culture, now designated as a World Heritage Site” (113-14). Sgan Gwaii is known in early trading narratives as Anthony Island or simply as Koyah’s village, and Gill recounts much of the lore of the early encounters between Koyah and the traders by citing Christie Harris’s 1966 novel, *Raven’s Cry*. He turns to the present by quoting at length Wanagun, “a patient and solicitous storyteller and guide,” who gathers the ecotourists “in a sort of Socratic semicircle” and brings to life the history of Ninstints (116). Gill cites several Euro-American, published histories of Sgan Gwaii — as recorded by copper-miner Francis Poole, census-taker John Work, ethnologist John Swanton, and anthropologists Newton Chittendon, C.F. Newcombe, and especially Wilson Duff — while allowing the knowledgeable Haida Watchman to comment on those histories (116-22). The passage illustrates the potential of ecotourism to immerse travellers in past and present cultural features of a significant destination. Gill’s research, lively writing and access to Wanagun’s wisdom result in an econarrative that offers insights into the rehistoricizing of that locality, the possibilities of developing alternatives to primary resource extraction, and matters of Native rights and cultural continuation.
Gill recounts the ecotourists' visit to T'anuu by first citing Work's 1840 census that estimated forty houses and five hundred forty-five inhabitants in the village. He notes Dawson's observation that the village was, in 1878, "the most flourishing of any on the Charlottes," and refers to Kathleen Dalzell's synopsis of the tragic final decades of the nineteenth century that led to the last survivors abandoning the village. He next relates the story told in Raven's Cry, about a famous medicine man from T'anuu, who, in 1820, predicted that all Haida villages except Masset and Skidegate would be destroyed by the Iron Men's disease. He then shifts to the present, which, although undated, is implied to be as current as the 1997 publication allows:

Today moss seems to have colonized most of the site of old Tanu. In some places it is still possible to see deep grooves carved into planks, evidence of a tongue-in-groove construction style that Melody, a young Haida woman, says was made possible by the Haida's use of blue mussel shells as tools for carving deep grooves in the cedar. Melody seems acutely attuned to the power of this place, confiding her fear of otters which, in Haida myth, "can hypnotize you — they're shapeshifters. I get the heebie-jeebies when I pass here at night," she says, pointing to a tangle of spruce roots where, apparently, otters like to hole up some nights. (136)

After this fleeting description of the arrival at T'anuu, in the ensuing paragraph Gill flits to birding. The naturalist points out white-winged scoters, harlequin ducks, a great blue heron, a loon, a cormorant and a winter wren in front of the village. Suddenly, the captain of the ketch makes radio contact, alerting those ashore that "a big pod of orcas is on the move." Ecotourists and naturalist scramble into their Zodiac, rev up the Suzuki outboard, race through a school of Pacific whiteside dolphins and then "track the orcas down Richardson
Passage for two hours, timing their dives at about five-minute intervals and, at one point, lowering a sonar 'pickle' over the side to pick up their conversation" (136). Gill devotes most of three pages to T’anuu: two pages trace the references to Work, Dawson, Dalzell and Harris; the quoted paragraph about moss and Melody and otters takes up one quarter page; the treatment of birdlife, marinelife and the sonar pickle takes up a half page. Three of Nunuk’s sixty-three colour photographs illustrate the visit to T’anuu: a shot of several fallen house beams covered in moss is accompanied by the description that “Tanu was once ‘the most flourishing [village] of any on the Charlottes’. It was also the site of the Haida’s first terrifying vision of the devastation that smallpox would wreak on their communities. Today moss holds the upper hand” (8). An artfully composed photo of the ketch under sail and an orca spouting is captioned, “The Duen, with all but one sail unfurled, is accompanied by a pod of orcas on a downwind run through Richardson Passage” (135). And a close-up of a dolphin is captioned, “A Pacific whiteside dolphin outruns a boat in Gwaii Haanas” (144). Two of the photographs occupy entire pages, the third a half page. Altogether, approximately five of the one hundred fifty pages in Haida Gwaii: Journeys Through the Queen Charlotte Islands relate to T’anuu, but only a few sentences relate current Haida sensibilities about this important site. The contrast to the passage about Sgan Gwaii is stark: at Ninstints, Gill takes time to hear Wanagun’s voice; at T’anuu he avoids a similar opportunity for reflection, opting instead for an encounter with otherness as wildlife. With few exceptions, Gill travels rapidly and relies upon mainstays of Haida Gwaii literature to lend depth to his accounts. His narrating techniques foreground action, movement and colorful images, leaving analysis and contemplation to intertextual references gleaned from advance reading. Such techniques accentuate a method of travelling in which “the
knowledge of place precedes and informs experience,” to cite Frow again. As the pace of
travel accelerates and the writer relies increasingly on textual sources to lend depth to the
narrative, a “place, a gesture, a use of language are understood not as given bits of the real
but as suffused with ideality, giving on to the type of the beautiful, the extraordinary, or the
culturally authentic. Their reality is figural rather than literal” (125). In their visit to T’anuu,
Gill and Nunuk’s inquiry into knowledge of place quickly yields to the pursuit of glossy
images of wildlife. Kerridge argues that the traveller who risks encounter with the exciting
other, risks encountering the repressed aspects of the self. By hastily resuming the journey,
the traveller avoids relinquishing his or her control and refuses to allow the travel experience
to change him or her, just as the reader can turn the page in the narrative account to keep the
encounter at arm’s length, in the realm of fantasy (165-67). Yet recoil from otherness
accepts the status quo and contravenes the willingness to change implicit in
environmentalism:

Travel is one way of encountering otherness while avoiding its most
disconcerting demands. Looking at animals is another. In each case, intensity is
sought outside home, outside the protagonist’s most daily and demanding forms of
inter-subjectivity with others. The intensity discovered may be voyeuristic, entirely
confined to that separate space: abroad not home, nature not civilisation, animals not
people. If so, the result may be a safe release of accumulated desire, enabling the
traveller to return to normality purged and relieved. But if the experience is not
merely voyeuristic, then the boundaries between home and abroad, sympathy for
animals and sympathy for people, will begin to dissolve — as environmentalism
demands that they should. The experience will have changed the traveller. (172)
Econarratives that seek at least the potential to change readers must rise beyond what Kerridge here terms the “merely voyeuristic.” They must encourage readers to accept responsibility for their actions and to then risk changing their ways. When Gill and Nunuk deny this obligation of environmentalism and revert to restless consumption, they limit the force of *Haida Gwaii: Journeys Through the Queen Charlotte Islands*.

The book creates much of its mood and message through Nunuk’s photography. In my visits to Haida Gwaii I have been overwhelmed by the devastation wreaked by clearcutting (and I grew up immersed in BC logging). The scars are everywhere, geographically and spiritually. Gill, in his text, fleetingly mentions clearcutting (52, 81). But none of Nunuk’s sixty-three photos shows a clearcut. The photos consistently project a pristine wilderness, bathed in soft light, that is but one idealized aspect of Haida Gwaii. Similarly, there are few people in the photos: in particular, few women and fewer youth. Most of the human subjects are male ecotourists clothed in bright Gortex, while non-human subjects are bathed in soft light that romantically portrays them as fading objects. When Gill does comment on resource extraction, he displaces his critique from Haida Gwaii to Prince Rupert (43-45). The displacement is awkward in that Gill cites impressions of Prince Rupert that George Woodcock recorded in *Ravens and Prophets* in 1952. Yet the strategy allows an implicit critique of primary resource extraction on Haida Gwaii without tarnishing the carefully constructed image of the archipelago as an Eden that readers can enjoy by consuming Gill and Nunuk’s book. Their construction of Haida Gwaii landscapes reenacts visual and verbal aspects of the European painterly tradition, and implies the lordly privileges of that tradition. Specifically, Gill and Nunuk represent the Haida Gwaii environment as a rugged background for their own dynamic action. They produce a picturesque Haida Gwaii
for urban consumption.

I mentioned that Gill and Nunuk’s first book, about Vancouver Island’s Westcoast Trail, is a great success. It is in a fourth printing, selling for a handsome price. The same publisher (Raincoast) commissioned *Haida Gwaii: Journeys Through the Queen Charlotte Islands*; it too continues to sell well, at a similarly handsome price. Clearly, the logistics of publishing determine whether and how any topic will be presented in print. Equally clearly, environmental writing must compete in a crowded marketplace. According to Holland and Huggan, the modernist desire for ecological reconnection “has been assimilated in an age of increasing environmental awareness to a postmodern commodity culture: one in which nature is presented as an edifying spectacle for consumption, and as a repository for spiritual wisdom available at market price” (180). If ecotours and econarratives are consumed as commodities, the fascination with the peripheral otherwhere that ecotouring assumes does not reflect upon metropolitan culture and consumerism; the too-hasty encounter with the other does not interrogate the privileges at the centre. Rather, ecotours and econarratives become rewards for the successes achieved in that metropolitan culture. In short, ecotours lose their powers of resistance and econarratives disregard their responsibility to articulate alternatives to the rapacious material culture of the West (Holland and Huggan 180).

**Econarrative as resistance**

“In the Shadow of Red Cedar,” published in 1998, does not describe ecotourism. The essay is, however, a powerful piece of environmental writing that braids two journeys. One is physical, describing a nine-month period two decades before the writing of the essay, when the youthful narrator worked in a logging camp on Haida Gwaii. The other is metaphysical,
involving the education of the narrator in the twenty years since that original visit, and comes
to fruition in the act of narration. Ethnobotany studies the plant lore and agricultural customs
of a people, and ethnobotanist Wade Davis begins “In the Shadow of Red Cedar” with an
exposition of the interconnectedness of a coastal temperate rain forest. He tells of the
climatic and evolutionary conditions that have, through the course of two hundred million
years, restricted the giant conifers to the northwest coast of North America. Until “the last
decade or two,” coastal rain forests “were among the least studied ecosystems on the planet,”
but Davis writes a fascinating history that brings the account to “around ten thousand years
ago,” when the first humans appeared on the coast and “Raven slipped from the shadows of
cedar to steal sunlight and cast the moon and stars into the heavens” (209, 213). He then
sketches an analysis of these indigenous cultures, concluding that, for these societies, “the
land was alive”:

> Whether this was true in some absolute sense is not the point. Rather, the
> significance lies in the manner in which the conviction played out in the day-to-day
> lives of the people. A child raised to revere the forest as the domain of the spirits will
> be a fundamentally different person from a child brought up to believe that a forest
> exists to be cut. (215)

The sharp juxtaposition of then and now comes at the midpoint of the essay. Following a
caesura, the story focuses on a child in a classroom on Vancouver Island, being taught that an
old growth forest is, “by definition, a forest in decline.” Modern forestry, the youthful Davis
hears, will “eliminate the old growth” and sow the land “with a uniform plantation comprised
of only the most up-to-date conifer seedlings” (215). “Some years later,” after graduating
from university, he “experiences first hand the actual practice of modern forestry” while
working “a long winter in a logging camp near the west coast of Haida Gwaii” (216). Davis
exposes the underbelly of life in a logging camp, where talk “was of wages and survival” and
production:

What ultimately happened to the land was irrelevant. It was simply abandoned to
nature. In the nine months I spent in the camp I never saw a tree planted, let alone
evidence of a sustained program of modern silviculture. I cannot recall a single
decision that was influenced in any way by an ecological concern. The priority and
focus of every aspect of the logging operation was the extraction of timber. (219)

Another caesura marks the transition to the third and final section of the narrative. Davis
acknowledges that “much has changed in the forest industry,” but then cites convincing
evidence to prove that forestry in British Columbia remains “less a science than an ideology,
a set of ideas reflecting not empirical truths but the social needs and aspirations of a closed
group of professionals with a vested interest in validating its practices and existence” (220,
221-22). He concludes “In the Shadow of Red Cedar” by referring to the initial argument
made in the essay, that the remaining temperate rain forests of the coast “are as rare and
endangered as any natural feature on the face of the Earth, as biologically significant as any
terrestrial ecosystem that has ever existed. If, knowing this, we still allow them to be cut
down, what will it say about us as a people? What will be the legacy of our times?” (223).

Analyzing “In the Shadow of Red Cedar” as environmental writing and inquiring into
the commonalities between that genre and travel writing allows us to recognize the
phenomenological journey that Davis undertakes. By framing the story of his initial nine-
month immersion in the logging camp within the ethnobotanical narrative that recognizes
coastal temperate rain forests as threatened ecosystems containing threatened species, Davis
separates the physical travel to Haida Gwaii from the reflection upon that travel. He complicates the customary temporal arrangement in which travellers portray their recent journeys to the archipelago against intertextual backdrops gleaned from the accounts of earlier travellers. Davis instead embeds the ordeal of the protagonist in his youth within his long journey towards the mature stance in which he articulates his impassioned resistance. The nine-month employment in the logging camp on Haida Gwaii transports him from his familiar environment and exposes him to the ideologies of forestry management and resource extraction, which become marked as the boundaries of the unacceptable. By recoiling from those forces and refusing to be co-opted by the allure of wages and manly conformity, he embarks on a quest for change: from viewing old growth forest as economic opportunity to viewing conifers as threatened species. In a sense, Davis's first visit to Haida Gwaii changes him so that the youthful adventurer-hero being groomed into the economic and cultural norms of the day rejects that path and chooses instead the responsibility that environmentalism requires. He becomes not only a countertraveler, resisting the history and cultural myths of Eurocentrism, but also an ecological traveler, reacting against the environmental damage associated with contemporary economic myths (Holland and Huggan 198).
Concluding remarks

In August 2001, after I had submitted a late draft of Islands at the Boundary of the World to my supervising committee, I read Susan Crean’s The Laughing One: A Journey to Emily Carr. The work mixes fictionalized biographical sketches of Carr, Crean’s critical reflection on Carr’s works and their reception, and an autobiographical account of Crean pursuing the artist’s life and works. The section about Carr and Haida Gwaii begins with Crean reminiscing about the Queen Charlottes. She admits that for longer than she can remember the islands have seemed otherworldly to her, located across open water from the rest of Canada, missed by the last ice age, home to several endemic species and host to more ravens and eagles and whales than she can imagine (327). In short, they conjure for her the sense of liminality that I mention in my opening remarks, the anticipation of a portal onto the unknown. After outlining her history of the islands, an account that features Loo Taa on the Seine, Crean tells of participating in an ecotour that visited Hlkenul (Cumshewa) and K’una (Skedans) in May 1994. She weaves reflections about the stories that Carr wrote of her 1912 visits to the respective villages with self-reflection about Crean’s own experiences there in 1994, addressing issues that I raise in my discussion of econarratives (see page 218). In a passage that elicits fond memories for me, she recounts the lesson on Haida history and the cultural politics of Haida Gwaii that Charley Wesley delivers to her group. And then, as Chief Wesley asks the tourists into the Watchmen’s cabin to sign the guest book, Crean shatters illusions that whatever portal Haida Gwaii offers onto another world removes us from this one: “as if on cue from an off-stage director, a helicopter reels around the corner of the island, circles overhead, and hovers noisily to a landing on a grassy patch behind the cabin. A White couple and their two kids disgorge, apparently expected. The kids fall in
with the Haida youngsters and melt into the landscape. The adults are offered tea.” As Crean and her tour mates are loaded into their Zodiac and prepare to make their own noisy exit, she struggles to deal with the loud arrival and the show of privilege, realizing that the disjuncture “belongs to those of us who came a long way from home into an imaginary wilderness” (334). Romanticism comes with a price that includes illusion.

To encounter Crean’s book as I was approaching a final draft forced me to confront the boundaries of this dissertation: the project always wants to expand to take in one more text and it always wants to take more time to reconsider a text already included. How much of Crean’s text, if any, should I incorporate? A new text on Carr, one that deals with her visits to Haida Gwaii and discusses the stories in *Klee Wyck* in that context, and also details the author’s experiences on the islands, would make significant contributions to two chapters in this project. However, even as I read *The Laughing One: A Journey to Emily Carr*, I drew a line in the sand. I conceded that while the need to end this project is absolute the decision about which final text to consider is arbitrary. (Deciding which text to begin with was not arbitrary, but it did involve choosing from many possibilities.) The process of representing Haida Gwaii was underway before 1774 and will continue after this dissertation is added to the archive.

How does this thesis contribute to that ongoing discursive process? In the “Opening remarks,” I discuss names as prominent representational devices. I have tried to demonstrate that Haida Gwaii exists as a discursive formation that circulates beyond the physical entities that make up the archipelago. That discursive formation gathers under names, and while names come and go, one particular name tends to dominate at any given time. I have discussed five names for the islands and attended to reasons why various groups or
governments would want to have their name in place. In the “Opening remarks,” I quote Robert Bringhurst’s idea that centuries ago Haida called their archipelago “Xhaaidlagha Gwaayaai” or “Xhaaidla Gwaayaai” and I take his translation of those early names, “The Islands at the Boundary of the World,” as the title for this work. I then discuss the recent renaming of the islands as “Haida Gwaii” and explain my reasons for using that name whenever possible. In chapter 1, I show why Juan Pérez paused at Haida Gwaii so briefly that he named but one point, after his blessed Santa Margarita. In chapter 2, I explore reasons why Captain George Dixon distinguished the islands with the name of his queen and ship. In chapter 3, I mention that American traders named the islands “Washingtons Isles” (sic) and I show the transitory nature of their attention to the islands. Not surprisingly, the name soon faded from use. Chapters 4 and 5 look at the kinds of colonial practices that allowed Queen Charlotte’s name to reign over the islands for some two hundred years, while chapter 6 shows one visitor’s representations of the islands resisting such colonial discourse. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 investigate the recent challenge to the long-standing conceptualization of the islands as a fount of natural resources waiting to be extracted. The three chapters show environmentalists and Haida referring to the islands as “the Canadian Galápagos” and bringing about the shift to “Haida Gwaii,” two significant tactical maneuvers in the re-imagining process.

Throughout, I have presented representational practices, of which naming the archipelago is an encompassing example, as means by which various interests seek to influence social and economic relations on the islands. At times, those constructing the representations appear to be aware of the effects of their undertakings. For example, Captain Dixon seems to have sensed ramifications of naming the islands “Queen Charlotte’s Isles”
and he may also have understood that describing Haida as cannibals and sketching a young Haida woman as wearing no undergarments (contrary to evidence recorded by William Beresford) contributed to the assertion of British control over the area. Those involved in the battle to save South Moresby from clearcutting certainly understood the importance of their undertakings and Bill Reid certainly grasped the possibilities afforded by his works. On the other hand, on rare occasions, those constructing the representations may have been unaware of the effects of their undertakings. Pérez and his three fellow diarists on board the Santiago appear to have had little sense that their journals would reside in important archives. By the time she made her second visit to the islands in 1928, Emily Carr surely realized that her paintings participated in a cultural and political struggle, but it is unlikely that she ever imagined the significance her writings would assume. The point I wish to stress is that all the representations discussed in the dissertation have contributed to the body of knowledge that circulates under the umbrella “Haida Gwaii” (or one of the other names). The influence of any particular representation may be great (for example, the name Dixon applied, Dawson’s photographs, and Reid’s The Spirit of Haida Gwaii) or relatively minor (the journals from the Santiago) or miniscule (Kittredge’s econarrative). Certainly the influence of a particular representation or series of representations may wax at one time (Collison’s writings reached a large audience when they were first published in The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record) and wane at another (his writings are now read by few and have little direct impact on how Haida Gwaii is imagined).

My hope for Islands at the Boundary of the World is that it will increase awareness of the ways in which innumerable representations act on power relations. The names, maps, stories, photographs, videos, sculptures and scholarly articles that represent Haida Gwaii
matter. They determine the extent to which people care about the islands, which in turn determines how various governments approach the islands, who travels to the islands and who seeks to add to the discursive formation of Haida Gwaii that circulates beyond the islands.

The last aspect of representing Haida Gwaii that I would like to address involves the Watchmen Program. When I first travelled to Haida Gwaii, Haida participants in the program introduced me to the islands. They welcomed me to Gandla K’in, T’anuu and K’una. They related lore about the sites and in each instance they asked me to sign their guest book. By signing my name in books that designated me as a guest, I was acknowledging that my hosts were the rightful owners of the sites. I was documenting my acceptance of their ownership. Their requests, however politely phrased, were political interventions and I complied without qualms. Many contemporary representations of Haida Gwaii relate exchanges with Watchmen (for example, Cahill; Crean; Gill) which function as textual equivalents to the act of signing their guest book: for a visitor to the islands to relate the Watchmen’s stories is to acknowledge a greater authority. I recall my discussions with Melody at T’anuu, related in the “Opening remarks.” Melody explained that placing three watchmen at the top of house poles demonstrates their responsibility to observe all portions of the coastline. The poles then subject those who enter Haida territories to the watchmens’ gaze. I have argued elsewhere (Martineau “Directing”) that by implementing the Watchmen Program (in cooperation with and funded by Parks Canada), Haida have reasserted their right to administer access to some of their territories. When visitors to Haida Gwaii write accounts of the Watchmen Program into their representations, they acknowledge that the representations intervene in Haida territory, even if that territory is
discursive rather than physical. They acknowledge their obligation to act with respect as they pass through.

I wrote earlier in these "Concluding remarks" that Islands at the Boundary of the World always wants to expand to take in another text and it always wants to take more time to reconsider the texts already included. Constructing the dissertation has often seemed a never-ending project. What is true for my text as it seeks to represent Haida Gwaii is true for the discursive formation that is Haida Gwaii. The discourse always expands to take in new texts and it always reconsiders the texts that comprise Haida Gwaii. The process is ongoing. I humbly add this text.
Notes

1 The former Kwakiutl now prefer to be known as the Kwakwaka’wakw.

2 Dawson, *To the Charlottes* (34, n 129).

3 The tendency to group people into undifferentiated cultural units or “blocks” is troubling. I strive to avoid such cultural blocking throughout this dissertation. When I write of “the Haida” or “the traders” or “the” whomever, I try to do so in ways that do not imply homogeneity. In this instance, Melody spoke of “the Haida.” She did not imply a homogenous cultural unit.

4 We agreed that in Haida lore spiritual threats, more than physical threats, did exist in the forests behind the villages.

5 Compare plate 113 in MacDonald (90-91) and illustration 7, “Clue’s village of Tanu, Laskeek Bay,” in Dawson’s *To the Charlottes*.

6 Charley and Caroline Wesley retired from the Watchmen Program following the 1998 season.

7 Susan Crean participated in an ecotour that visited K’una late in August 1994. Her 2001 econarrative relates the version of Haida Gwaii history that Charley told the visitors (333-34).

8 Of course, we often focused on representations in the photographs and paintings (of poles, canoes and houses, for example) that were created by Haida.

9 See “Haida Gwaii More Appropriate Name Says CHN,” *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer*, 11 March 1993 (1-2).

10 Bringhurst has positioned himself as an expert on Haida matters, largely through books published by Douglas & McIntyre that take Bill Reid’s art as their topic. He frequently expresses contempt for those who proclaim interest in aboriginality yet fail to study aboriginal languages (see, for example, “Point-Counterpoint”). Enrico has criticized Bringhurst’s proclaimed and implied proficiency in Haida. He has also suggested that Bringhurst’s affiliation with Douglas & McIntyre has circumvented peer review of Bringhurst’s scholarship. Enrico makes his criticisms available at various Internet sites. See especially his damning response to Bringhurst’s *A Story as Sharp as a Knife* (published by Douglas & McIntyre in 1999) at www.bringhurst.net. The two had a more cordial relationship some years ago. See also Weder.

11 Among those who have researched Haida representations are Marius Barbeau, Robert Bringhurst, James Deans, Wilson Duff, John Enrico, Bill Holm, Sean Kane, George F. MacDonald, George Murdock, Carolyn Smyly and John Smyly, Mary Lee Stearns, James Swan and John Swanton.

12 See, however, my “Concluding remarks,” in which I discuss Susan Crean’s *The Laughing One: A Journey to Emily Carr*.

13 By “discourse” I mean language and practice, so that a discourse is a group of statements that provide a language for talking about a particular topic at a particular historical moment. Discourse constructs the topic; it defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. Stuart Hall writes that discourse “governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about,” by “ruling in” certain ways of discussing the topic and “ruling out” other ways of talking about or conducting ourselves in relation to the topic (44).

14 In addition to ships, sloops, and brigs, “snows” were prevalent among the early trading vessels on the Northwest Coast. Harlow defines a “snow” as a small vessel, similar to a brig, carrying a main- and foremast and a try-sail mast close behind the mainmast (441 n44).

15 Daniel Clayton provides a concise overview of the intentions for and results of Cook’s third voyage (7-10).

16 The first trading vessel arrived on the coast in 1785. By 1791 the number of ships visiting had increased to thirteen vessels, by 1792 to twenty-one (Gibson 299). I present case studies from this rush of merchant interest in chapters 2 and 3.

17 In the journals of early sailing voyages, the nautical day begins and ends at twelve o’clock, noon, and the
entry in the log or journal bears the date on which the twenty-four-hour period ends. See Howay, *Voyage of the Columbia* (xvii, n1). Twelve o’clock, noon, was primal because at that time latitude was computed by taking meridian altitudes of the sun with a quadrant or sextant.

Some have speculated about earlier contact between Euro-American or Asian sailors and Haida. For example, Charles Harrison writes that Bartholomew de Fonte reported arriving at the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, situated in 53° North Latitude, on 14 June 1639. In Harrison’s retelling, Fonte sails among islands “for 200 leagues, by intricate channels,” and into “a great salt water lake,” quite possibly Massert Inlet. “Some of his men went ashore at a place which he named Mynhasset, and there saw canoes fifty and sixty feet in length” (*Ancient Warriors* 23; compare Harrison’s earlier version in *Queen Charlotte Islander* 1.13 (20 November 1911)). More recent scholarship has cited the absence of corroboration by what would have been Fonte’s contemporary fellow mariners to conclude that Fonte was born in the imagination of the publisher of the London magazine in which the account appeared in 1708. See Warren Cook (29-30) and Freeman Tovell (26).

In August 2000, Samuel Bawlf surmised that Francis Drake touched the coast near 53 degrees in June 1579. Bawlf believes that Drake “must have landed at one or more villages” on Haida Gwaii, near what we now know as Dixon Entrance, “and conceivably he did so at Kiutsa” (sic) (B5). According to Bawlf, Drake designated Haida Gwaii as the “coast of objections” in response to the extreme cold encountered there.

Recent scholarship that discusses the Papal Bull in relation to Spanish control of the Northwest Coast includes Beals (6), Cook (46), and Naish (8).

The agreement between Spain and Portugal to grant each other exclusive access to the new territories had a later ramification that probably affected the mercantile underpinnings of the Nootka Sound crisis and determined the ways that the Northwest Coast would be drawn into global circuits of capital. Although the Spanish knew of the Chinese demand for sea otter pelts during the 1770s and 1780s, they refused to exploit the Chinese market. The Spanish presumably deferred to Portuguese interests and their established base at Macao, while the Portuguese in turn allowed the Spanish exclusive access to Philippine markets. See Gough (Northwest 212 n5).

In the 1604 Treaty of London, Spain and England agreed that “There ought to be free commerce in those places where it existed before the war [which had begun, between England and Spain, in 1585] in conformity with the use and observance of the ancient alliances and treaties,” thus solidifying the concept of “effective occupation” in the Atlantic (if not the Pacific) regions (Allen 135-36).

Golder argues the former, Raymond Fisher the latter. Both include documents from Bering’s 1728 and 1741 voyages.

They included the French astronomer Louis Delisle de la Croyère, the German naturalist Georg Steller, the Russian naturalist Stefan Krasheninnikov, the German ethnographer Gerhard Müller, and the German botanist Johan Gmelin (Beals 227 n34).

Beals offers an excellent introduction to Chirikov’s 1741 journey to North America (11-17). He includes an illustration that compares Chirikov’s path along the Northwest Coast to Pérez’s. Divin provides a russophilic study of Chirikov that attends in detail to the 1741 expedition to North America (157-64).

Maritime history relishes accounts of young captains who lose contact with the commanders of their expeditions during fierce storms, after which the young captains race ahead to great discoveries while the senior commanders proceed with excessive caution. Examples relevant to this dissertation include Chirikov - Bering in 1741, Bodega y Quadra - Hezeta in 1775, and Gray - Kendrick in 1788. Maritime history also occasionally admits to accounts of young captains who misplace their commanders in rampaging storms and disappear without a trace.

Chirikov’s log records the sighting on 16 July. The discrepancy is common to sailing logs for vessels that sailed from the east before the international date line took effect.

See Beaglehole (*Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol 3.1, lix-lx), Beals (227-28, n39, n40), and Golder (1:311) in addition to Divin (164).
The maps are reproduced as plates 9 and 10, between pages 304 and 305, in Cook's *Flood Tide*.

See Cook (44-49) and Barratt (51-53, 66-69).

Excerpts from the "Plan para la erección de gobierno..." are translated by Warren Cook (49).

See Thurman (119).

Pérez's notion that crew and provisions could be requisitioned from the presidios in Alta California seems unduly optimistic. As events would prove when Pérez put in at San Diego on 14 March 1774, troops and settlers there were reduced to half-rations (Thurman 128, 131). Conditions at Monterey, where the *Santiago* arrived on 8 May, were less dire, but at this early stage in their development the missions were struggling to feed their own populations.

Among them would be Juan Bodega y Quadra (Thurman 26).

See Servin for a translation of Bucareli’s instructions.

As Warren Cook explains, "Pérez belonged to the Cuerpo de Pilotos, a corps of graduates from a school preparing petty officers for lower ranks in the navy" (55). San Blas was the least desirable post in America, and Pérez was the ranking officer there. His age is unknown (the day of birth is known, not the year), but he would die in 1775 of apparently natural causes. He had sailed for years on the Manila galleons as piloto, roughly equivalent to first mate, likely with responsibility for navigation rather than for ultimate decisions regarding command. He had more recently commanded, with distinction, several supply runs from San Blas to San Diego and Monterey. In short, he was a veteran sailor who had worked his way up through the lower officerial ranks. There is no direct evidence to suggest that he may have resented the assignment of the six academy-trained officers to San Blas, all of whom would immediately outrank him, but some scholars have made that argument, based on the logs of the 1774 Pérez expedition and the 1775 Hezeta expedition, in which Pérez sailed as piloto primera clase. See, for example, Beals (18).

Both Thurman and Cook have delved into the appropriate Spanish and Mexican archives with great diligence. My reading of Pérez's journal for the days following the *Santiago's* departure from Monterey (11 June 1774 ff.) does not suggest that he discovered the reach of Bucareli’s orders only after sailing from Monterey. My sense is that had been stalling for months and, perhaps unconsciously, had decided before arriving at Monterey that the viceroy’s instructions were excessive. Perhaps Pérez had decided to interpret the schism in article VII as he desired. Article VII reads, in its entirety, “For his course he is to ascend to the latitude which he considers suitable, keeping in mind that the landing is to be made at sixty degrees of latitude. After the landfall has been made, he will follow the coast looking for Monterey.” Pérez privileged his right to decide what latitude was “suitable,” then kept “in mind that the landing” was to have been “made at sixty degrees of latitude” when he wrote his report to the viceroy by carefully explaining his reasons for turning southward at 55 degrees latitude.

The *Santiago*, at two hundred twenty-five tons burden, was of similar size to the *Queen Charlotte*, at two hundred tons. The latter, discussed in chapter 2, had a crew of thirty-three (Dixon xi; Portlock 7). The considerable difference in the numbers of officers and crew, and therefore labour costs, reflects the different purposes of the voyages: the former was a reconnaissance mission organized by a naval department; the latter was a privately funded trading mission intended to earn a profit. By the 1790s, the Boston traders, discussed in chapter 3, would come to dominate trade on the Northwest Coast with slightly smaller ships and crews of ten to fifteen.

Officers then referred to their crew as “the people.” See Rediker regarding conditions on board eighteenth-century ships. For a case study that pertains to the Northwest Coast, see Hill’s discussion of conditions on board the *Imperial Eagle* as it sailed to Nootka Sound in 1787 (23-25).

The journals of Captain Pérez and Piloto (first mate) Estevan José Martínez are located in Mexico’s Archivo General de la Nación, in volume 62 of the section entitled Historia; the journals of Fathers Peña and Crespi are located in Seville in the Archivo General de Indias, Estado 43 (Cutter 137, 205). Two translations of Captain Pérez’s journal exist: in 1911 Margaret Olive Johnson, a graduate student at the University of California, translated, without annotation, his journal. The translation remains unpublished. Beals 1989 translation provides Pérez’s *Diario* from 11 June 1774 until the *Santiago* returned to Monterey on 28 August
1774. Beals includes a translation of Piloto Martínez’s Diario for 20-21 July, the moment of “contact” at Haida Gwaii. Beals also includes several supporting documents. Cutter offers “emended translations” (plus the originals in Spanish) of the Diarios kept by Fray Peña and Fray Crespi, which similarly describe the voyage from Monterey and back to the same port. Cutter’s 1969 publication draws from the 1891 work of George Butler Griffin.

The 1822 English translation of this passage (from the original French, published in 1811) reads, more fully, “The progress of these Russian Siberians towards the south ought naturally to be more rapid than that of the Spanish Mexicans towards the north. A people of hunters, accustomed to live in a foggy, and excessively cold, climate, find the temperatures of New Cornwall very agreeable; but this coast appears an uninhabitable country, a polar region to colonists from a temperate climate, from the fertile and delicious plains of Sonora and New California” (Vol. 2: 340). For a somewhat different English translation (from the Spanish), see W. Cook (527).

Venereal diseases became increasingly debilitating during Cook’s successive voyages, scurvy less troublesome. See James Watt’s fascinating analysis.

See Thurman (138, n31, n32).

Beals notes that a farca is “evidently” a separate piece of wood that functions as a splashboard, and that a vara is about one metre in length (241), while Cutter notes that “A vara may be taken to be 2.75 English feet” (220 n7).

In Just East of Sundown, Charles Lillard relates a translation of the account by Fray Peña that includes the following description of the Haida: “At six o’clock, taking leave of us, they made for the land, and they made evident that we should go thither. Some sailors went down into the canoes and the pagans painted their faces with delight and shouts of joy. These pagans gave us to understand that we should not pass to the northward because the people there were bad and shot arrows and killed. How common it is for pagans to say that all are bad except themselves!” (64).

Dr Christon Archer of the University of Calgary declares that Pérez’s encounter with Haida indeed altered Spanish expectations: “The Spanish observers expressed great admiration for everything Haida and collected several cases of artifacts that were sent first to Mexico City and later to Madrid. Everyone remarked upon the high quality of the workmanship, the sophistication of northern natives, etc. etc. King Charles III called in diplomats from different countries to see these items. For the Spaniards, it was remarkable that such a high civilization was to be found in northern latitudes! This broke their theory that civilizations were less advanced as one rose to high latitudes and made the Haida of much greater interest as either allies or potential enemies if they joined some other European power. Also, the overtures of welcome—the scattering of bird down on the surface of the sea and on the heads of newly arrived visitors—were recognized from California to Alaska” (communication to Joel Martineau, 27 November 2001).

Martínez would have been sighting what is now known as Forrester Island, at 54° 21’ North. Pérez named it Isla de Santa Christina (Beals 80-81). Pérez and Martínez frequently exaggerated the northerliness of their voyage, perhaps to suggest greater compliance with Bucareli’s instructions than they actually achieved. Beals footnotes that Martínez apparently intended to abbreviate “the Spanish word monseñor, which means monseigneur, an ecclesiastical title — one that Chirikov is highly unlikely to have held” (102). A more likely explanation, in my view, is that Martínez intended to abbreviate monsieur.

Charles Lillard suggests other means by which iron might have reached Haida Gwaii in advance of Euro-American contact (Just East 46-47). For example, Japanese junks may have drifted across the Pacific and wrecked on (or within trading distance of) Haida Gwaii. Robin Fisher notes that coastal Natives “already possessed both iron and copper at the time of contact, but not in plentiful supply”; he does not question how they may have acquired the metals (Contact 6).

Clayton makes a similar point about Captain George Vancouver, who did not “simply unfurl the geographical truth about the Northwest Coast in a progressive fashion . . . as the recent literature on his survey suggests.” Rather, he “created a geography, and his geography had imperial connotations” (10).

Michael Lok’s account of de Fuca’s claims appeared in 1615 in a four-volume publication by Samuel
In his communication to me dated 27 November 2001, Dr Archer agrees that “Pérez failed to land his frigate owing to an inability to find a good port for a deep draught vessel, fog, dangerous currents along the coast, and general fears of running aground or suffering some other accident on a single vessel exploration mission.” He also agrees with my main point that “The lack of desire to explore reflected the onset of scurvy.” However, he stresses that “There was in fact a significant amount of trading offshore with the Haida,” whereas I believe that Pérez traded briefly given the instructions for and duration of his voyage. I feel that Pérez engaged with the Haida only perfunctorily and then turned the Santiago toward Monterey.

Beaglehole describes various books and maps that influenced Cook’s third voyage, especially Jacob von Stählin’s *An Account of the New Northern Archipelago, Lately Discovered by the Russians in the Seas of Kamchatka and Anadir*, published in 1774 (*Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol. 3.1, lx-lxiv). He reproduces Müller’s *A Map of the Discoveries made by the Russians on the North West Coast of America*, published in 1761 (vol. 3.1, lx-lxi).

Williams discusses Cook’s instructions, materials, and motives (especially 68-71).

Pérez’s account of the landing at what he named *Surgidero de San Lorenzo* (later known as King George’s Sound, then as Nootka Sound) appears in Beals (88-90). Regarding Cook’s landing there, see Cook and King, vol. 2, and Robin Fisher’s “Cook and the Nootka.”

See Beaglehole (*Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol 3.1, cxxiii).

Lynne Withey traces the British public’s desire for information about Cook’s third voyage to three principal factors. First, demand for books about travel developed during the first six decades of the eighteenth century, primed especially by the narratives of William Dampier (35). Second, a thirst for knowledge about other parts of the globe beyond Europe had been piqued by accounts of Cook’s first two voyages (186-87). And third, the public was fascinated with Cook as an individual. He had become a national hero (405). See Withey regarding the several accounts of Cook’s third voyage (402-405).

On editions and sales of Cook and King’s *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, see Beaglehole, *Journals of Captain Cook*, vol 3.1, ccvi-ccix. Withey states that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, “more than three hundred new books on travels to exotic places were published in England, in addition to the accounts of voyages that appeared regularly in periodicals” (405). Rennie provides extended analysis of the increasing European demand for adventure and travel literature during the eighteenth century. See also Edmond (28-29) and Scofield (14-27).

I discuss nautical terms such as “ship,” “snow,” and “tonnage” in chapter 3. See especially notes 62, 63 and 64.

Extracts from the instructions of Richard Cadman Etches to Portlock and Dixon, dated 3 September 1785 in London, are reproduced in Howay, *The Dixon-Meares Controversy* (61-62). See also Gough (Northwest 75-77) and Harlow (420-26).

By modernization I mean the progress or expansion of modernity.

According to Scofield, “toes” originated from the Tahitian word *toē*, and signified ships nails, spikes, or chisels (123-24), but Beresford and Dixon describe toes as “long, flat pieces of iron, not much unlike a carpenter’s plane-iron, only narrower” (47-48).

An important moral and epistemological issue arises when one reproduces images such as “A Young Woman of Queen Charlotte’s Islands.” The challenge that confronts the critic of colonial discursive practices is to step back from the representations themselves to analyze the representational process. Yet the cultural critic who believes that predecessors have used materials in unsavory ways faces a dilemma: analysis of the materials in question often requires the critical purchase enabled by reproducing the images. The problem becomes, How can the critic reprint the very material being called into question without repeating the original transgression? Or, How can one reproduce the (in this case) racist imagery from an
earlier era without enacting the same violence? Mieke Bal grapples with this issue at length in *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*. She asks, "Is scholarly neutrality and even critical analysis not a misguided, even disingenuous excuse to let the insidious effect through, even to enjoy it" (197)? Absolute answers would be meaningless, and Bal does not attempt any. Rather, she argues that approaches which "illuminate" the "critical analysis of ideologically fraught practices of representation" while mitigating the "visual pleasure" provided by the images are justifiable (198-99; see also 274). The emphasis must be on "analyzing," not on "showing" (212). Specifically, the critic must assume responsibility as "expository agent" and present "a thoughtful display, making mostly sparse use of visual material where every image is provided with an immediately accessible critique" (220). Bal reproduces one image from each of the three offending texts that she discusses.

Jane Desmond, in *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (1999), similarly contends that the illustrations she includes do more than merely reinforce the very operations of physical foundationalism that she writes against: "we can understand the power of such images only by engaging with them" (xxiv). While Desmond does not define the term physical foundationalism, despite its centrality in her study, she uses it to refer to the "profound importance" that "the public display of bodies and their materiality (how bodies look, what they do, where they do it, who watches, and under what conditions)" assumes "in structuring identity categories and notions of subjectivity" (xiii).

In a related context, Foucault discusses in *Power/Knowledge* the problematics of "taking a lingering pleasure in the representation." He observes, "it is directly of concern for the confessor" to gauge "how . . . to lend one’s ear to the recital of abominable scenes without sinning oneself, that is, taking pleasure oneself" (214).

63 Beresford’s text describes "her under garment, which was made of fine tanned leather, sat close to her body, and reached from her neck to the calf of her leg" (226), while Dixon’s sketch contrarily portrays her as naked beneath her outer garment.

64 As John Berger writes in *Ways of Seeing*, "The convention of perspective, which is unique to European art and which was first established in the early Renaissance, centers everything on the eye of the beholder. It is like a beam from a lighthouse — only instead of light travelling outward, appearances travel in. The conventions called those appearances reality. Perspective makes the single eye the center of the visible world. Everything converges on to the eye as to the vanishing point of infinity. The visible world is arranged for the spectator as the universe was once thought to be arranged for God" (16).

65 See Gibson, Table 1, “Trading and Hunting Vessels on the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841” (299-310).

66 In the nautical terminology of the times, sloops had one mast, and were fore-and-aft-rigged (picture triangular sails), setting them apart from brigs which had two square-rigged masts and ships which had three square-rigged masts. The mast of this sloop raked back at a jaunty angle, supporting a huge, somewhat triangular though quadrilateral mainsail that spread from a gaff down to a lengthy boom, which extended twenty-five feet beyond the stern of the vessel. Given the ideal sailing conditions, three sharply triangular foresails extended from well up the mast down toward the bowsprit, which angled out forty-five feet beyond the bow. At the top of the mast, above the mainsail and foresails, was a relatively small and square topsail, and highest of all, a smaller yet topgallant sail.

67 "Tonnage" originally referred to the number of "tuns" a merchant ship could carry, where a tun was a large cask used for transporting liquids, especially wine. A tun typically held two hundred fifty-two gallons, and, coincidentally, weighed nearly a ton. Inevitably, tunnage slipped into tonnage, more modern in its calibration of weight rather than quantity and in its corresponding spelling.

68 *Goletas* were shallow-draft schooners. Schooners have a mainmast and a foremast, both fore-and-aft rigged. The *Mexicana* and *Sutil* were twins, forty-six tons burden, forty-five feet in length, twelve feet in beam (Thurman 341). In other words, they were about half the size of the *Lady Washington*.

69 Haswell held several positions during his travels to the coast. He sailed from Boston in September 1787, nearing his nineteenth birthday, as third mate of the ship *Columbia*. In December 1787, when Captain John Kendrick dismissed the first mate at the Cape Verdes, Haswell became second mate. Some two weeks later, off the coast of Brazil, an altercation between Haswell and Kendrick resulted in Haswell transferring to the
sloop Lady Washington as its second mate. In June 1789, Kendrick took command of the smaller vessel and remained on the Northwest Coast to trade, while sending the ship ahead to Canton, with Robert Gray in command and Haswell again as second mate. The Columbia returned to Boston 9 August 1790, nearly three years after its departure. It sailed again for the Northwest Coast on 1 October, with Robert Gray as captain and Haswell as first mate. Haswell became captain of the Adventure when that small sloop was launched at Nootka Sound in February 1792. In September 1792, Gray sold the Adventure to Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra for seventy-two prime sea otter pelts; Haswell and his crew returned to the Columbia, which set sail for the Sandwich Islands and then Canton, returning to Boston 25 July 1793 with Haswell as first mate. In the 1790s, Haswell captained several merchant ships out of Boston, and served with distinction in the United States Navy. In August 1801, he sailed from Boston as master of the Louisa, bound for the Northwest Coast and Canton. The Louisa vanished. (See Scofield for many details about Haswell.)

Visitors to Haida Gwaii have always struggled to transliterate Haida words. Thus, the names of important Haida figures appear in such myriad spellings that readers of historical accounts are challenged to ascertain when different writers are discussing one or more particular individuals. For example, that Haswell’s and Magee’s “Cuneah,” Boit’s “Cunniah,” Bishop’s “Comswa,” Cleveland’s “Coneyaw” and Sturgis’s “Cunneaw” refer to one man is easily grasped; but in order to appreciate that Jacinto Caamaño was writing about the same chief in 1791, one has to connect Caamaño’s “Taglus Caina” with “Douglas Cunneaw.” Similarly, Bishop’s “Illtadze” is also Magee’s “Eldarge” and Sturgis’s “Altatsee.” And, Boit’s “Tadents” is Hoskins’s “Tahtence.”

The Haida are referring to James Colnett of the Prince of Wales and Charles Duncan of the Princess Royal, and to the North West America, a Meares vessel which had sailed north from Nootka Sound on 30 April and returned 1 June 1789.

The Columbia Rediviva has generally been referred to as the Columbia, a practice I follow; the Lady Washington has sometimes been shortened to the Washington, sometimes not. I give its entire name. See Howay (x-xi) regarding the Elenora possibly being the first American trader on the Northwest Coast.

Rod Edmond draws upon Dening’s theories while arguing the importance of the beach as a border signifying transgression. He writes that for all European sailors “in the Pacific,” and by extension for all narratives about travelling in the Pacific, the beach “represented freedom, excess and plenitude, nature rather than culture as they understood it” (67).

Joseph Ingraham provides a glimpse into the ways traders scrambled to meet changes in demand. His entry for 8 August 1791 describes the afternoon’s trade with Cummashawaa: “we collected about 30 skins for collars and chizzles, our Jackett being all sold some time. Trousers was no longer current without them. Blue cloth only was saleable Green or white was of little value. all the former being gone I sold all the cloaths I could spare and likewise those of my Officers and seamen after which our only resource was working Iron into the forms that pleased them. Collars still had the prefference to every thing else.” The Hope had begun trading on 10 July; it would depart the islands 2 September. By 8 August it had accumulated about eight hundred of the one thousand four hundred skins and pieces with which it would sail for Canton.

The supercargo Ebenezer Dorr Jr., describes the vessel: “The brigantine Hope is seventy-two tons measurement, mounting twelve carriage guns, six swivels, and every other kind of war implements necessary for defense, with a healthy crew consisting of sixteen young men all in spirits” (Kaplanoff 1).

Other traders refer to Kow as Cowe or Keow.

A cutsack is a cloak consisting of three otter skins.

Alas, when the Hope arrived in Macao, market conditions had changed, the value of sea otter skins had plummeted, and Ingraham’s luck took a nasty turn.

For details of this attack at Massacre Cove see Scofield’s narrativized reconstruction of the voyages to the Northwest Coast by the Columbia and its consort vessel, the Lady Washington (207). Scofield notes that supercargo Hoskins and mates David Coolidge, Haswell and John Boit often criticized Gray’s reckless navigation, which endangered ship, crew and enterprise (e.g., 133-34, 241).
The chief's name, and therefore the name of the village, is usually given as Cumshewa.

See Scofield (244-48).

Boit entered in the Union’s log that day, “Adieu to the pretty girls of Newport.”

Also see Scofield (220-28) regarding Koyah’s raids on visiting vessels.

Years later, Sturgis spoke of his younger self in the third person: “By twelve years of unremitting toil in the service of others, and a prudent economy, Mr. Sturgis had accumulated considerable capital, he therefore quit the sea . . . and engaged in business on shore” (Journal 21.) For biographical information regarding Sturgis, see S.W. Jackman’s extensive introduction to The Journal of William Sturgis, and Sturgis’s “The Northwest Fur Trade,” an account of his lecture to the Mercantile Library Association of Boston in 1846.

Howay states that the manuscript journal of the Eliza, usually attributed to William Sturgis, was actually written by John Burling, but offers no evidence (Voyages 96 n3). Michael Robinson makes the same charge, but again without supporting evidence; I assume he is following Howay. Jackman makes no mention of Howay’s 1941 assertion (or Burling) when he edits Sturgis’s journal in 1978. Robin Fisher comments, “Although this manuscript includes a title page attributing the authorship of the journal to Sturgis, it is clear from the text that he was not the author” (Contact 12 n59). He offers no supporting evidence. I have examined the copy of Sturgis’s journal held by Special Collections at the University of British Columbia library and can find no evidence that suggests Burling, rather than Sturgis, wrote the account. On many trading vessels, the supercargo or ship’s clerk kept logs and journals that were attributed to the captains.

John Phillips argues that “territorial and economic exploitation are justified by the sense that imperialism is basically a mission of civilisation. The inevitable consequences of colonisation on the colonised, including the advantages of modernisation — access to the coloniser’s language, culture and advanced systems of education, advanced technics, massively increased trade options, as well as a whole legislative network based on institutions and government, law and policing — also involve the production of a colonised subject in terms of retarded political, economic and social development, habits of dependency and, crucially, lack of self-confidence or at the very least a confused and deracinated cultural identity” (65-66).

Bauman notes that the construction of order sets the limits to incorporation and admission, and that liberal theories of toleration imply the further strengthening of the existing order of superiority (8, 8 n4).

Bauman further observes that “modern state and modern intellect alike need chaos – if only to go on creating order. They both thrive on the vanity of their effort” (9).

Anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942) advocated a break from anthropology based on evolutionism and racism. His cultural anthropology relegated evolutionism to the natural sciences and concentrated on cultural configurations and patterns. See Boas (255). For critical discussion of Boas, see Stocking’s introduction to A Franz Boas Reader. Johannes Fabian cautions that the supposedly radical break with evolutionism propagated by Boasian anthropology had little or no effect on anthropology’s reliance upon the episteme of natural history (19-21). Nicholas Thomas similarly warns that cultural anthropology displaced race with the idea of culture, but cultures have a great deal in common with races, as races did with the nations of eighteenth-century representations (89).

The different modes by which Dawson represents Haida Gwaii complicate this overview of his intentions. Specifically, contemporary cultural analysis of the islands attends with greater interest to his photographs than his geological and ethnographic writings. The photographs invite a wide range of interpretations that may be at odds with Dawson’s representational intentions, as I illustrate in Chapter 5.

Jacinto Caamaño named Zayas Island in 1792 (Walbran 537), but Collison apparently did not know the name of the island.

A quick mathematical calculation indicates the prominence to Collison’s narrative of his time among the Haida. The first forty-nine pages introduce the Church Missionary Society, transport Collison to the Northwest Coast and recount his three years assisting William Duncan at Metlakatla and Fort Simpson. The portions of the three years Collison spent on Haida Gwaii then take up one hundred thirty-one pages.
His remaining thirty-five years on the coast, most in the capacity of archdeacon, take up the final sixty-one pages in the narrative. In other words, he spends less than seven per cent of his career among the Haida, yet devotes about fifty-five per cent of his memoirs to those years.


96 The Church Missionary Society was one of three main Anglican societies within the Church of England that funded missionaries. The others were the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Continental & Colonial Church & School Society (Bagshaw 18). Henderson mentions earlier, unsuccessful efforts to bring an Anglican missionary to Haida Gwaii (304).

97 It is true that throughout history armies have often brought their own chaplains.

98 Epics usually feature a heroic or quasi-divine figure on whose actions depends the fate of a people. The setting of the epic is typically grand in scale, perhaps even worldwide, and the action typically involves superhuman deeds (Abrams).

99 The Comaroffs are citing Georges Gusdorf’s “Conditions and Limits of Autobiography.” See Gusdorf (29).

100 Collison is referring to *The Great Lone Land*, an autobiographical account of William Francis Butler’s extensive and solitary military reconnaissances on the Canadian plains. Butler’s reports led to the establishment of the Northwest Mounted Police. Five editions of his travelogue had appeared in England by 1873.

101 Adele Perry argues that the CMS encouraged their messengers to take White wives rather than risk temptation among their converts and undermine the mission’s policy against mixed-race marriages. “They were especially worried that Duncan would marry one of his Tsimshian converts” (108). Anglican bishop George Hills wrote that a missionary accompanied by his White wife afforded “an example of the order and beauty (even amidst manifold privations) of family life, in a place where virtuous women were, to say the least, excessively scarce” (qtd. in Perry 93).

Terrence Craig writes of missionary accounts that “Hasty, institutionally-arranged marriages are frequently seen in the 19th century texts, as callow young men were fitted out with brides selected for their suitability for mission life, much as the rest of their kit was provided for them. . . . William Collison’s marriage in 1873 was one of these hasty ones, the nurse and deaconess he married requiring a great deal of fortitude to undertake a life on the Haida Coast [sic] of Canada on top of her sudden marriage” (30).

102 Lillard and Glavin, in *A Voice Great Within Us: The Story of Chinook*, argue that it is a common misconception to assume that Chinook “was simply an argot, invented by fur traders” (40). They point out that many missionaries, especially the Oblates, used and developed the creole (35-54). A creole is an elaborately expressive language that expands upon itself; that is, it develops beyond the supplementary status of a pidgin and the particularity of a jargon, which is usually peculiar to a specific trade, profession or group.

103 For recent instances of this enduring Romantic trope, in which protagonists stand at thresholds, anticipating admittance into the unknown, see Cahill (212) and Gill (101).

104 Collison comments that the Haida “were lost in astonishment to find so much ironwork” when they boarded the first sailing ships that approached the islands (78). Again, iron is invoked to register the gulf between a premodern culture and a modern, industrializing culture.

105 Collison does not indicate whether he stops his White trader friend from eating his half of the pig.

106 Edmond investigates the disparate significations of tattooing for Pacific versus European cultures. For the former, tattooing “always involved a closer integration within the social group. From a European point of
view, however, this refashioning of the body surface implied a repudiation of western culture. It had, therefore, an opposing significance, being a rejection of the civilized body and a highly visible move towards assimilation into so-called savage culture” (71).

In his journal entry for 18 August 1878, George M. Dawson refers to the Collison’s residence: “Took photo of Mission premises, & another of Masset Inlet, in the afternoon” (66). The photo of the Masset mission is held as PA 44332 at the National Archives of Canada. It is reproduced, without credit, in Collison’s In the Wake of the War Canoe, following page 98. It appears in many other texts that take the history of Haida Gwaii as their subject. The photograph documents the orderliness of the Church Missionary Society complex at Masset. It depicts a profoundly British sense of order, featuring English-cottage-like architecture, whitewashed buildings, a pruned hedge, a picket fence, fenced pastures, a lane entrance, and a gateway.

Thomas writes that a particular missionary project in the South Pacific “created an entire social geography.” “It sought to impose a new temporal regime of work, leisure, celebration, and worship; and through education it offered a new global and local history marked by the life of Wesley, the foundation of the mission society, the opening of Pacific mission fields, major events of conversion, and the commemoration of martyrs. The mission produced not just a population of Christians but a people who were engaged in periodic plantation work who were notionally subject to rigorous behavioral codes and who had notionally brought their social and domestic habits into conformity with Christian norms” (140).

In an article published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1874, James Swan summarizes early colonial attitudes towards the archipelago: “These Islands form together a healthy picturesque territory, rich in natural resources, and well adapted to colonization. Nevertheless, for the space of nearly a century no attempt has been made by the English to colonize them. There they lie waste and fallow, yet marvelously productive, and awaiting nothing but capital, enterprise, and skill to return manifold profit to those who will develop their resources” (1).

Coincidentally, La Pérouse’s expedition, which consisted of the vessels Astrolabe and Boussole, touched at Langara Island and Dixon Entrance in 1786, twelve years after Pérez’s visit and one year before Dixon’s.

David Philip Miller discusses Kew Gardens and Sir Joseph Banks’s positions with the Royal Society as centres of calculation around the time of Cook’s voyages. See also Mackay regarding Banks’s influence (17). Although he does not use Latour’s terminology, Peter Raby describes Kew Gardens fulfilling a similar role in Victorian times (especially 212-14).

Latour points out that scientists are obsessed with papers, prints, diagrams, archives, abstracts and curves on graph paper. They quickly dispatch from laboratories the “objects,” especially “bleeding and screaming rats,” so that they can manipulate the tiny sets of figures they have extracted from the objects (17).

Michel Foucault developed his concept of governmentality — the state’s undertaking to optimize the relation between “men and things” so as to make the forces of the state increase from within — in a series of lectures at the Collège de France in the late 1970s. The lectures remain unpublished, but see Foucault, “Governmentality,” and Braun.

All references are to the 1993 version of “On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands.” To the Charlottes consists of Dawson’s journal from his visit to Haida Gwaii and “On the Haida Indians.”

In The Savage Mind, Claude Lévi-Strauss adapts the French notion of bricolage in his analysis of mythical thought (16-36). A bricoleur is adept at fixing-up whatever is necessary from the limited resources available: “His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with ‘whatever is at hand’, that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relationship to the current project. . . . The set of the bricoleur’s means cannot therefore be defined in terms of a project” (17). The bricoleur collects and retains materials with a view towards recombining them into a new meaningful assemblage. She or he produces new patterns, the meaning of which springs from the relationship between the parts and cannot be reduced to the significance of the sum of the parts. See Duffy for an exemplary application of Lévi-Strauss’s concept. See Butor for a brief discussion of the difference between bricolage and collage (26).
Dixon’s A Voyage and Collison’s In the Wake of the War Canoe are two of several accounts of encounters with Haida Gwaii that contain ethnographic descriptions of island residents yet do not take ethnography as their primary purpose. On the other hand, Swan’s article in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge series and Dawson’s “On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands” are primarily ethnographic in intent.

Dawson signals the culpability of his associates in his journal entry for 15 August 1878. He encounters “an old Indian & his wife” whom he describes as “very polite, & quite a good example of the better Class of old-time unimproved Indians, different as daylight from dark, from those who have been working on Schooners, or in Victoria, & have learnt various ‘white’ ways, including the use of oaths & slang” (61). Dawson often criticizes the language and demeanor of the captain and crew of the Wanderer. His relations with Sabiston were particularly strained, as evidenced by his journal entry on 19 October: “Settled with Sabiston today, & glad to get rid of him.”

In his thorough review of the historical literature, Boyd notes that, beginning with Dixon’s visit, smallpox and venereal diseases ravaged Haida populations. He quotes from Charles Bishop’s journal, 30 July 1795, that smallpox had “swept off two thirds of the people” at Kowe’s village in Parry Passage (27; see also 26, 53-54, 66, 67, 71 regarding early reports of the diseases). In 1863, the medical officer of the Beaver recorded that each summer a large fleet of canoes from Haida Gwaii brought a number of girls to Victoria to engage in prostitution; the women returned to their northern home in the fall (77). Boyd estimates the Haida population prior to 1836 as 9,490; following the 1836 smallpox epidemic as probably one-third less, or 6,327; by 1882 it had declined to 1,658. The number of major inhabited villages declined from approximately thirteen in the mid-nineteenth century, to eight in 1883, and to three in 1890. By the turn of the century, only the modern settlements of Skidegate and Masset remained (217).

Boyd notes that the three government-sponsored parties that visited Haida Gwaii in 1882-84 (British Columbia Reserve Commission: O’Reilly; British Columbia Commission of Land and Works: Chittenden; Smithsonian Institution: Swan and Deans) all remarked upon the number of deserted villages and omnipresent mortuary structures. Chittenden stated that “these islands must have contained at least ten times their present population” (Boyd 218-21).

Margaret Blackman writes that “the earliest recorded encounter of the Haida with a photographer in their own territory ... took place on 2 July 1875, and is noted by James G. Swan, who was present on the occasion” (“Copying People” 91). She is referring to Kaigani Haida who were photographed on board the U.S. Revenue cutter Wolcott at Klinkwan village, across Dixon Entrance to the north of Haida Gwaii. Haida travellers to Victoria would have encountered cameras, photography and carte-de-visite studio portraits before photographic technologies arrived on the islands.

To cite one significant example, Dawson’s photographs are prominently displayed at the Royal BC Museum in Victoria.

Dawson maintained a voluminous correspondence with his parents and several other family members who resided in central Canada. The combination of modernizing technologies (particularly the expediency of steam power) and the reach of new government (the federal postal system) both regulates the correspondence and enters it as subject matter. For example, in Nanaimo on 29 May 1878, Dawson takes a final opportunity to write to his father before sailing beyond regular postal service. He cautions “do not let long want of letters Cause any anxiety,” as the “only vessel Calling regularly at the Northern Ports is the Otter & she makes but three trips in the summer, at uncertain dates” (15). Even though the steam-powered Otter can undertake a known number of trips during the season, the dates of those trips remain uncertain. Three months later, at Port Simpson on 30 August, Dawson writes to his mother, "I have had bad luck in sending letters, & find a note written from Masset, to William, still lying at the H.B. Fort here, no chance having occurred to forward it" (74).

Before the advent of photography, sketches had provided images that complemented written accounts. However, the greater vérité of photographs meant that they soon replaced sketches in general use.

Among the prominent differences between accumulating scientific knowledge and accumulating
photographs are that the former project was undertaken by governments and privileged individuals while
the latter project quickly became available to many, and that scientists accumulating scientific knowledge
set out to find ostensibly new things while photographers deal in commodified views and objects.

Sontag notes Ludwig Feuerbach’s observation in 1843 that “our era” knowingly “prefers the image to the
thing, the copy to the original, the representation to the reality, appearance to being.” She adds that in her
era, in the twentieth century, a society is recognized as “modern” when one of its chief activities becomes
producing and consuming images, so that such images become coveted substitutes for firsthand experience
(153).

The exception is comprised of the two photographs taken on 23 August 1878 and titled “Group of Haida
Indians, including Chief Edenshaw, Second from Left, Standing,” and “Edenshaw and Hoo-ya, Chief of
Yats at Masset.” Dawson confuses the title of the latter photo, which is of Edenshaw, Chief of Yats, and
Weah, the venerable chief of Masset, and was taken at Yats, a village west of Masset near Klashwun Point.
The title should read “Chief Edenshaw of Yats and Chief Weah of Masset, at Yats.” In the former
photograph, six men stand and twelve children sit, all several paces removed from the camera; in the latter,
the two chiefs stand, stiffly and unsmilingly, perhaps four paces from the camera (while one youth sits
further away, partly obscured by Edenshaw). In his journal entry for that date, Dawson comments, “Took
photo. of the two chiefs, & of as many of the rest of the people as would come. Most, however, disliked the
idea, & especially the women, not one of whom appeared” (70). The photographs are held at the National
Archives of Canada as PA 38154 and PA 38147; they are reproduced in To the Charlottes following page
118; and “Group of Haida” is reproduced in Blackman’s “Copying People.” Blackman asks, “was this the
first time these Haida had seen a camera? Did Dawson explain what he was about to do? Did the people
have an opportunity to see any of his images? And what, in particular, did they find frightening?” “The
conservatism of the Haida women” in response to Dawson in 1878 puzzles Blackman, “for women appear
in photographs made on the Queen Charlottes the following year and routinely after that” (92).

Early photographers who followed Dawson to Haida Gwaii include O.C. Hastings, the official photographer
for Indian Commissioner Israel Powell’s inspection tour of Native coastal villages in 1879, Edward Dossiter
in the same capacity in 1884, Richard Maynard in 1890, and E.P. Allen in 1897 (Blackman, “Copying People”).

Tippett traces various source materials that Carr used to write the twenty-one stories that became Klee Wyck
(“Emily Carr’s Klee Wyck” 52). Hilda Thomas states that Carr began writing “Sophie,” the fifth story in the
collection, as “early as 1931” (12). Moray mentions that in writing certain stories that appeared in Klee
Wyck, Carr drew from her 1913 “Lecture on Totems” (51).

“Tanoo,” “Skedans,” “Cumshewa,” “Sailing to Yarn” and “Cha-atl” are based on Carr’s 1912 visit to Haida
Gwaii; “Friends,” “Salt Water” and “Canoe” recreate experiences from her 1928 visit to the islands.

Daniel Clayton points out that “in the early twentieth century British Columbia’s intellectual elite grappled
with these issues of indigenization. E.O.S. Scholefield, for instance, wrote in the first volume of his and
[F.W.] Howay’s British Columbia: From the Earliest Times to the Present (1914): ‘The pagan tribes of
Nootka occupy a place in the history of British Columbia analogous to that of Caesar’s Britons in the annals
of England.’ That is, Clayton concludes, “native peoples belonged to a distant — and perhaps irrelevant
— past; Scholefield incorporated them into a White lexicon of British Columbian modernity as prehistoric
ancestors” (52). When intellectuals such as Howay sought to manufacture a history of British Columbia,
they understood their role as witnessing, “a form of significant and representative seeing,” Clayton notes.
Howay “witnessed” that Native peoples were becoming extinct and therefore felt it unnecessary to include
them in his history (55).

In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, deputy superintendent general in the Department of Indian Affairs, stated,
“I want to get rid of the Indian problem,” while giving evidence to the Commons Committee considering
Bill 14. “Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed
into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian problem” (qtd. in Tennant 92).

Carr’s paintings also achieve much of their affect through the process of nostalgia. That is, they preserve
the very objects that they mourn as fading from sight. It can be argued that museum culture and the
discipline of anthropology are implicated in this process. I discuss nostalgia in chapter 9, in the context of environmentally conscious representations of Haida Gwaii.

133 On several occasions, Carr delivered lectures or published articles that explained the purposes of her paintings. One example that supported her later paintings is “Modern and Indian Art of the West Coast,” which appeared in the supplement to the *McGill News*, June 1929. Moray attends in detail to the relation between Carr’s paintings and Carr’s supporting documents, including Carr’s fictions.

134 Judith Mastai notes that Carr was still a teenager when she dedicated her life to recording indigenous histories. “This anthropologically orientated project was fashionable at the time as researchers like Franz Boas, Edward Curtis, and Marius Barbeau pursued what they imagined heroically as the project of documenting these ‘noble’ peoples before they ‘disappeared’ in the face of western expansion” (311-12).

135 Collison, Dawson and Carr were products of the Victorian age, born in 1847, 1849 and 1871 respectively. Collison arrived in Victoria in June 1873, Dawson in May 1878. Victoria’s political and merchant elite welcomed both travellers and provided information, supplies and logistical support for their travels to the northwest coast. Carr’s father was, at that time, a prominent wholesale provisioner in Victoria (Tippett *Emily Carr: A Biography*, 6-7).

136 By surrounding the village with brightness, Carr also questions the primal associations found in children’s fictions, “where white heroes and black demons are proffered as points of ideological and psychical identification” (Bhabha 76). I take up Bhabha’s theories of colonial discourse later in this chapter.

137 See pages 4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15-17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 30, 31, 32, 73, 92, 104, 108-110 and 151 of the original edition. The omissions vary in length from a portion of a sentence (21, 31, 151), to one or two sentences (19, 27, 92), to one or two paragraphs (11, 22), to five hundred fifty words (15-17), to the entire story “Martha’s Joey” (108-110).

138 This originary, biological meaning could serve as one bookend around the concept of hybridity, opposite Renato Rosaldo’s recent description of hybridity as “the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which contain no zones of purity because they undergo continuous processes of transculturation (two-way borrowing and lending between cultures). Instead of hybridity versus purity, this view suggests that it is hybridity all the way down” (“Foreword” xv).

139 In an analysis that I have found helpful, Robert Young concludes that Bakhtin’s doubled form of hybridity offers a particularly significant dialectical model for cultural interaction: an organic hybridity, which will tend toward fusion, in conflict with intentional hybridity, which enables a contestatory activity, a politicized setting of cultural differences against each other dialogically. Hybridity therefore, ... involves an antithetical movement of coalescence and antagonism, with the unconscious set against the intentional, the organic against the divisive, the generative against the undermining. ... For Bakhtin himself, the crucial effect of hybridization comes with the latter, political category, the moment where, within a single discourse, one voice is able to unmask the other. This is the point where authoritative discourse is undone. Authoritative discourse Bakhtin argues must be singular, it “is by its very nature incapable of being double-voiced; it cannot enter into hybrid constructions” — or if it does, its single-voiced authority will immediately be undermined. (22)

This singularity of meaning, to recall Bauman’s argument, is an essential requirement of modernizing regimes of truth. Such regimes draw clear lines between normal and abnormal, orderly and chaotic, sane and sick, reasonable and mad, in order to dominate.

140 At another point Bhabha argues, “The colonial signifier — neither one nor the other — is, however, an act of ambivalent signification, literally splitting the difference between the binary oppositions or polarities through which we think cultural difference. It is in the enunciatory act of splitting that the colonial signifier creates its strategies of differentiation that produce an undecidability between contraries or oppositions” (128).

141 Young avers that, for Bhabha, “hybridity becomes the moment in which the discourse of colonial authority loses its univocal grip on meaning and finds itself open to the trace of the language of the other, enabling the critic to trace complex movements of disarming alterity in the colonial text” (22).
I have argued in my opening remarks and in chapter 5 that the colonial project has been unsuccessful in its attempt to overwrite Haida ways. Indeed, Haida are now using Dawson’s photographs and other visitors’ representations of Haida Gwaii to answer back to the colonial project. My argument in this chapter is that Carr’s stories began questioning, at a crucial time, the colonial attempt to overwrite Haida ways.

Before embarking for the north in 1928, Carr had corresponded with the Russes and arranged that they would guide her during re-visits to Cumshewa, Tanoo, and Skedans (Blanchard 191-92; Shadbolt 95-145).

David Spurr notes that the annals of colonial history offer relatively few encounters between women. Yet that is exactly what Carr offers in “Tanoo,” in “Friends” and in several other stories in Klee Wyck. The stories contest the emerging social relations of modernity, especially the gendered specialization that is central to modernity. John Jervis quotes Keith Tester’s suggestion that, “since the private realm was the natural place of women, they were defined through the defining act of men as by themselves incapable of modernity” (Transgressing 109).

The conciseness of the stories in Klee Wyck merits comment. Critics and reviewers, almost unanimously, have referred to the pieces as “sketches.” W.H. New defines a sketch as “a brief prose form, minimizing or even eliminating plot, and emphasizing observable (hence ostensibly documentary) detail, which contrives to convey an objective record of a scene, event, or person, or to convey the impression of being at such a scene or event” (11). Although Carr does not minimize plot, the rest of the definition aptly describes most of her stories. However, critics apply the term to Carr’s stories in ways that tend to emphasize the ostensibly documentary and supposedly objective aspects of Carr’s accounts, while simultaneously implying that the works lack artistic intent and sophistication. Yes, sketches are phenomenological performances, but we do well to ask whether Carr’s authorial intentions were more elaborate than has been recognized. Critics might consider drawing out the complexities of her lean prose style rather than assuming that her intent was little more than to record “events.” While Elderkin does not focus on the brevity of Carr’s pieces, her essay helpfully stresses their fictional aspects.

In this rare instance, Carr assigns her own name to her stand-in narrator. “Two Women and an Infant Gull,” which appears in The Heart of a Peacock, also includes exchanges between Carr’s stand-in narrator and “Louisa,” who is identified in that story as Clara Russ.

A Davis raft was a gigantic boom in which the logs were bundled together (with cable “straps”) and the bundles then lashed to one another with large cables (“swifter wires”). The intention was to fix the logs into one huge mass that would withstand the swells and the possible storms that would be encountered as the raft was towed across Hecate Strait and then Queen Charlotte Sound to the passages protected by Vancouver Island. Dalzell includes excellent photos of a massive spruce butt and a Davis raft (vol 1, 160-61).

Thiele notes that each stage or wave of environmentalism synthesizes earlier efforts by expanding horizons of sensibilities and rechanneling efforts. Each wave “amplifies certain features of earlier waves, mitigates some of their conflicts, and integrates many of their cross-currents” (30).

The first recorded application of this myth to the Northwest Coast may have been Dixon’s opinion that Cook’s final voyage had “laid open to future Navigators . . . a new and inexhaustible mine of wealth” available “by trading for furs of the most valuable kind, on the North West Coast of America” (ix).

Donald Worster writes of the transition from conservation to an “age of ecology,” which he dates from 16 July 1945, the day on which the world’s first atomic bomb exploded at Alamogordo, New Mexico (342 ff).

Thiele’s third wave of environmentalism begins in the early 1980s and carries through the early 1990s. It is characterized by co-opitation, the mainstreaming of environmentalism. “Not only did environmentalism become popular, it became popularized.” Thiele labels the fourth and current wave coevolution. It argues that the viability and flourishing of the human species depend on our success in preserving the life-sustaining capacities in a diverse biosphere (xix).

Margaret Lantis, in writing of the “the great youth upheaval of the Sixties,” specifies a seminal event in the change of mood in North America. She points toward the spring of 1965, when faculty at the University of Michigan held an all-night seminar to discuss with students the question of US involvement in the Vietnam War (73, 74).
In an extended discussion of aboriginal sovereignty, Patrick Macklem writes that sovereignty denotes "the formal independence of a state and represents the 'totality of international powers' that international law recognizes as attaching to states" (108-109). Furthermore, in claiming sovereignty states "construct a social environment in which they can interact as an international society of states, while at the same time the mutual recognition of claims of sovereignty is an important element of states themselves." However, "more flexible understandings of sovereignty are capable of housing Aboriginal aspirations. International law increasingly recognizes that subunits of states exercise a measure of sovereignty in the international arena" (109). Sovereignty becomes, above all, a principle of difference (111 n15).

An earlier, briefer article that shares a few passages with the 1976 Nature Canada article appears in About Time for an Island 1 (1975): 6-10. It is entitled "Southern Moresby Wilderness: Unique and Threatened."

Two Haida witticisms refer to Burnaby Narrows: "When the tide goes out, the buffet is set," and, "It is the world's largest sushi bar."

The genesis of the Islands Protection Committee is also traced to "the banks of the Tlell River in October of last year" in the first issue of About Time for an Island 1 (1975): 2, published by IPC. About Time for an Island was renamed All Alone Stone for Volume 2, which appeared in Spring 1975. Volume 3 appeared in 1976, Volume 4 in 1980.

In a table entitled "Key Events in the South Moresby Decision," Doern and Conway outline a chronological history of the conflict. The table begins with "Fall 1974," with Rayonier "promising employment and economic opportunity for Burnaby Island" and ends with "July 1987," with the "Federal-BC agreement establishing Gwaii Haanas/South Moresby National Park" (176-78).

Ric Helmer, an early chairman of the Public Advisory Committee, summarizes the PAC's history in "Busine$$ as Usual: The Rise and Fall of the QCI Public Advisory Committee." See also Wilson (189-90).

Islands Protection Committee was renamed Islands Protection Society for legal reasons in preparation for the 1979 court case.

Evans provides a readable summation of Island Protection's legal proceedings over TFL 24 and BC Supreme Court Justice Murray's twenty-nine-page decision. See also Ingram (82; 88 n52-55).

Broadhead is listed as "Design Consultant" in the "Acknowledgements" to All Alone Stone 3 (1976) and as responsible for "Quality Control" in All Alone Stone 4 (1980).

Islands at the Edge won the Booksellers' Choice Award in British Columbia and became a national bestseller.

See Lutz and Collins, especially chapter 4.

See Josenhans, Fedje, Pienitz and Southon regarding the first humans to inhabit Haida Gwaii.

May captures the sense of collaboration that existed between Haida and white members of IPS. Describing a climactic period in June, 1987, she recalls that "two people" had started the campaign thirteen years earlier. Huck and Guujaaw — the former a visitor to the Islands, the latter a Haida — had started calling the southern third of the archipelago "South Moresby." They had invented the South Moresby Wilderness Proposal and began drawing a line across maps, marking the height of land from Tangil Peninsula to the west coast of Moresby Island (257).

See National Film Board of Canada, Encounter with Saul Alinsky: Rama Indian Research (1967), and Alinsky, Rules for Radicals, especially (126-64).

Aboriginal people denounced the White Paper so resoundingly that the federal government was forced to withdraw the proposal, marking in Patrick Macklem's view "the beginning of a series of legal, political and constitutional victories for Aboriginal nations in Canada" (268).

However, in 1979 the three petitioners to the BC Supreme Court (two of whom were Haida) carefully avoided mentioning land claims, since that court would be unlikely to hear a case involving land claims (Pinkerton 81).
Reid’s principal writings are collected in *Solitary Raven: Selected Writings of Bill Reid*. All citations refer to that volume unless specified otherwise. See his “Becoming Haida” (213-18).

Reid’s account of visiting Windy Bay appeared in the *Vancouver Sun*, 24 October 1980; see *Solitary Raven* (151-54). His statement to the Wilderness Advisory Committee on 1 February 1986 is printed in *Solitary Raven* (213-18) and includes Reid’s description of his support for “the Islands Protection people” (213-14).

Reid’s early years were divided between Hyder (where his father kept saloons on whichever side of the Alaska – BC border prohibition laws permitted) and Victoria, a refuge to which his mother intermittently returned (Shadbolt 13-23). Reid comments that his father’s infrequent visits to Victoria caused dissension, so that “everybody fought with everybody else consistently” (Shadbolt 187).

Reid describes his father as a “peculiar” parent, “who came from Scotch-German parents and left his home near Detroit, Michigan, when he was sixteen and married at forty, so he never knew what families were about” (qtd. in Iglauer 16).

Shadbolt’s biography includes a photograph of Reid, age two or three, in the arms of his maternal grandfather at Skidegate (17).

Several speakers referred to Reid as “trickster” or “Raven” during “The Legacy of Bill Reid: A Critical Enquiry,” held at the First Nations House of Learning, UBC, on 13 and 14 November, 1999.

In one particularly acerbic comment about his time at Skidegate, Reid wrote, “Some evidence of life could be deduced from the electronic flickers seen through the windows of many of the houses, but that was all” (225).

The first large-scale Haida sculpture that Reid had undertaken was urban-based. Working from 1958 to 1962, he created a partial replica of a Haida village, consisting of two houses and seven poles, on the UBC campus. *Solitary Raven* includes a “Chronology” for Reid (237-41).

Reid pointed toward the continuity between “his people,” contemporary Haida, and citizens of the world, in a comment made after viewing the Skidegate pole with Edith Iglauer. “I’ve never felt that I was doing something for my people, except what I could to bring the accomplishments of the old ones to the attention of the world,” he said. “I think the Northwest Coast style of art is an absolutely unique product, one of the crowning achievements of the whole human experience. I just don’t want the whole thing swept under the carpet without someone paying attention to it” (Iglauer 24).

Brighurst states that by nourishing himself from traditional Haida culture and “speaking that silent language as he does, with an eloquence perceptible long before it is understood,” Reid draws “many others to taste from the old source as well” (31).

Brighurst includes excellent photos and accompanying notes that trace Reid’s transformation of the myth as represented by Edenshaw’s argillite box (32-34), Reid’s boxwood carving (40) and its expansion into *The Raven and the First Men* (41). Analyses and photographs of Edenshaw’s Chest (18-19) and Reid’s *The Raven Discovering Mankind in a Clamshell* (118-119) appear in Thom.

Shadbolt is acknowledging without mitigating her critical dependence upon that suspect “distance between the West and the Rest on which all classical anthropological theories have been predicated,” to recall Fabian (35).

See Martineau, “Autoethnography and Material Culture: The Case of Bill Reid,” where I discuss the reception of Reid’s sculptures.

For Reid’s ribald verbal retelling of the story, see *The Raven Steals the Light*.

Another significant difference from *Raven Discovering Mankind in the Clam Shell* is that all the human
figures in the larger version are male. Reid explains the concomitant origin of female humans in *The Raven Steals the Light*.

183 Shadbolt points out that a third comparably large canoe is located at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (115 n10).

184 Henry explains that the canoe was originally named *Lootaas*. When a Haida orthographer pointed out that *Lootaas* translates as “Sand Eater,” the name evolved to *Loo Taa*, also spelled *Lootaa* or *Luu Taa*. Reid referred to the canoe as *Lootaas* (175).

185 In the video *I Called Her Lootaas*, Reid states: “Just by coincidence, the landing coincided with the announcement of the preliminary agreement between the various levels of government. The helicopter containing Federal Minister of the Environment Tom MacMillan landed as *Loo Taa* arrived at Skidegate” (Wisnicki). However, May reveals that MacMillan’s opportune arrival was carefully timed by his staff (298-305).

186 Although commissioned by the Canadian government, acting at the behest of the new embassy’s architect, Arthur Erickson, Reid’s sculpture was sponsored by R.J.R. Nabisco. Tentatively estimated to cost $275,000, the sculpture ultimately cost $1,700,000. Furthermore, Nabisco eventually agreed to Reid’s demand that he be allowed to make a full-scale replica of the work. That copy is now installed at the Vancouver International Airport as *The Jade Canoe* (Godfrey).

187 Cavell comments, “Eagle and Beaver are at once elements from Haida myth and carnivizations of American and Canadian symbology, as the work as a whole is at once an expression of ‘Haida’ culture and of its refusal to be dehistoricized as belonging to some essentialist, timeless past” (126). Bringhurst (76), Feldman (34) and Cavell (125) mention that Reid’s sculpture alludes to Emanuel Leutze’s portrait of *Washington Crossing the Delaware*.

188 See Kröller for an analysis of how Canadian works of art and technological achievements have tried to negotiate Canada’s responsibility in a nuclear age. She examines controversies surrounding Greg Curnoe’s mural at Dorval, displays of the Avro Arrow and John Gray’s *Billy Bishop Goes to War*. For Kröller, these works claim that Canada’s ethical superiority allows it to surpass the flawed legacies of Europe and the United States.

189 Bringhurst discusses the connections between the Ancient Reluctant Conscript and “Old Timers” (57-58). See also Feldman (38).

190 Contemporary representations of travelling to Haida Gwaii tend to incorporate images and descriptions of ecotours. When a magazine such as *Westworld* targets consumers likely to travel to the islands in recreational vehicles, it includes colour photographs of kayaking and carefully avoids images of recreational vehicles. See, for example, Scott.

191 See Bandy regarding the Brundtland Commission Report and sustainable development (543).

192 Hector Caballos-Lascuria is often credited with coining the term “ecotourism.” By 1990, his definition had evolved to: “that segment of tourism that involves traveling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated areas with the specific object of admiring, studying, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural features (both past and present) found in these areas. Ecotourism implies a scientific, esthetic, or philosophical approach, although the ecotourist is not required to be a professional scientist, artist or philosopher. The main point here is that the person that practices ecotourism has the opportunity of immersing himself or herself in Nature in a way that most people cannot enjoy in their routine, urban existences. This person will eventually acquire an awareness and knowledge of the natural environment, together with its cultural aspects, that will convert him or her into somebody keenly involved in conservation issues” (qtd. by Zurick 8).

Caballos-Lascuria’s definition foregrounds two important aspects of ecotourism: ecotourists travel to locations anticipating to gaze upon scenery, flora, and or fauna in ways or in amounts that mark the destinations as special; and second, they are interested in and concerned for the cultural aspects of those destinations. Ecotourism by definition requires responsibility toward the physical and cultural features encountered. The idea that an ecotour will transform the ecotourist “into somebody keenly involved in
conservation issues” is idealistic. Ecotourists can and sometimes do fulfill the requirement of respecting the physical and cultural qualities of the destination without becoming “keenly” involved in conserving those qualities. To be fair, Caballos-Lascuría proffered that definition early in the 1990s, and the discursive formations that have evolved around ecotourism in the intervening years have been polymorphous in ways that no fixed definition could have anticipated.

Goodwin discusses “competing definitions of ecotourism” (277-80). See Bandy for other definitions (544).

Bandy writes that this shift from the quantitative to the qualitative often proposed “strategies of common property resources, incorporation of indigenous local knowledge, and of course, ecotourism” (543).

Chapter 7 details several instances in which preservationists advocated ecotourism as a benign and sustainable alternative to logging. I also cite May’s account of the pivotal role the discourse of ecotourism assumed in the final, frenetic negotiations involving the federal and provincial governments. Henley invokes the discourse in an interesting way in Islands at the Edge. He warns, “From 1978 to 1982 the number of visitors to South Moresby on organized commercial tours increased eleven-fold. . . . In addition the numbers of private individuals who visit the area . . . has also increased dramatically. At present, with no legislation to curtail logging and mining development and no official park status to safeguard against visitor abuse, South Moresby is suffering the impact of both” (145-46). In other words, the impact of ecotourism would have to be monitored, since it seemed to be generating too much new industry.

I am reminded of the many times I have visited The Jade Canoe in the Vancouver airport. Invariably, children have been playing among the paddles. I always marvel at the accessibility of the work and wonder if it leaves lasting impressions with its youthful visitors. I expect that in many cases it does.


Selwyn’s definition of “myth” is helpful. He begins his discussion of tourist myths by drawing “from a Levi-Straussian tradition within which myths are treated as stories which may serve the intellectual and emotional function of taking up the personal and social conundra of living in such a way that these appear ‘resolved’” (3).

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Thom Henley anticipated this paradox of too successfully changing the use of natural resources, in Islands at the Edge (145).

This friction associated with the pristine versus the popular leads to a paradox of representing unspoiled destinations: the richer the portrayal of “undiscovered” places of travel, the more likely that they will become transformed into “discovered” tourist destinations. See Dann (160).

For Holland and Huggan, “Cahill stresses the physicality of travel, favoring a waggish voyeurism and a (dubious) taste for the scatological joke. . . . Cahill’s books are not sustained picaresque narratives, but collections of — often irreverent — journalistic reports ranging broadly in time and space” (228 n8).

Gill follows in a well-steeped literary tradition when he distils observations from several trips into a streamlined narrative progression. Neil Rennie points out that “the buccaneering writer William Dampier,” in A New Voyage Around the World, published in 1697, “does not describe a single voyage, but many, back and forth from place to place, which eventually took him round the world and returned him to England, after about twelve and a half years” (59, 62).

There is a stark contrast between the absence of photographs about logging in Haida Gwaii: Journeys Through the Queen Charlotte Islands and the prevalence of images of logging carnage in pro-environmental texts such as Islands at the Edge or Moira Johnston’s article that appeared in National Geographic.

When Pérez arrived at the northwest corner of Xhaaidlagha Gwaayaa in 1774, he invoked the blessing of Santa Margarita and named Punta Margarita after her (Beals 74).

See Martineau, “Directing,” for a fuller discussion of political implications of the Watchmen Program.
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