Reclaiming territory through conservation areas: *Gwaii Haanas, Haida Gwaii,* 1851-1993

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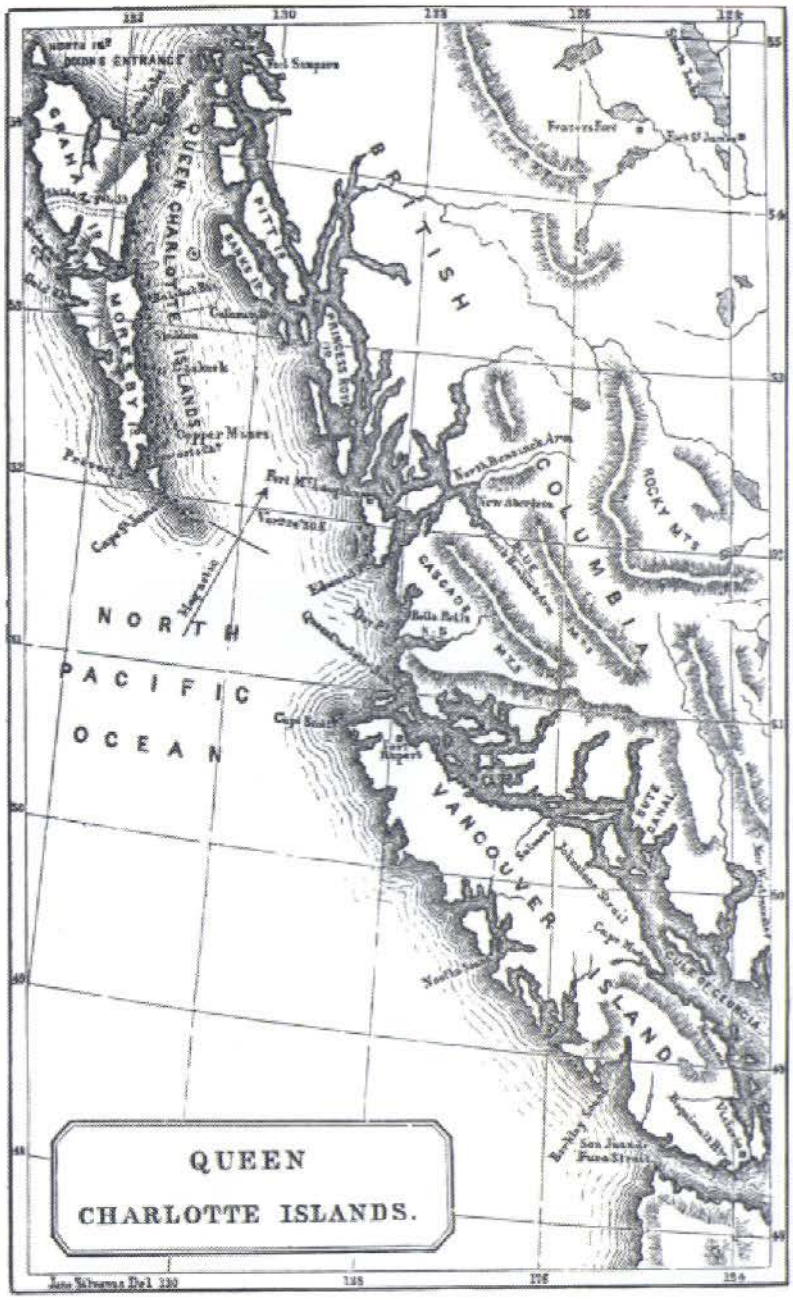

In 1994, after 135 years of overtures from the Haida of the north coast of Pacific Canada, the Government of British Columbia finally began negotiations with the Council of Haida Nation (CHN) for a comprehensive treaty. In this chronicle, I frame the last two centuries of Haida history in terms of local/marginal versus centralized/metropole, rather than in some of the older dichotomies of Indian versus European, 'primitive' versus 'civilized,' and even traditional versus modern. Much of the discussion in the negotiations about the treaty, in the coming months and years, will focus on the remaining temperate rainforests, often referred to as "old-growth," on Haida Gwaii, formerly called the Queen Charlotte Islands. The conceptual framework and expertise to carry such site-specific yet, paradoxically, comprehensive negotiations derives from the successful 1974-1988 struggle to protect the southerly part of the archipelago, Gwaii Haanas,[1] from clear-cut logging through contentious, and yet to be resolved, notions of "parks."

This essay looks at the crucial theoretical and short-term political use, with their overlaps and contradictions, in the linking of sovereignty with conservation. The national park ideal was first articulated in the colonialism of the nineteenth century and still very much dominates conservation discourse and practice in this era of global environmental crisis. In this discussion, I highlight the colonial nature of the contradictions in the notion of "National Parks" in areas with indigenous communities. I also argue that the related notion of 'biological diversity,' with all of its own contradictions, provides something of vehicle for decolonising national parks, and for the articulation of local development priorities.[2]

The experience of the Haida provides an opportunity to examine the evolution of conservation frameworks based on joint and co-management of natural areas and resources in Canada. The Gwaii Haanas example is distinct, particularly compared with the United States, because of the use of sovereigntist strategies to stop unsustainable exploitation of the ancient temperate rainforests. Unresolved questions of control of territory and resources has provided the backdrop for unique alliances between non-native "environmentalists" and Native activists, some of whom are "sovereignists." The latter term can be differentiated from the terms "nationalist" or even "separatist" by a more subtle and analysis of the (postmodern) state. Thus, sov-

ereignist positions are more concerned with local control and management than with necessarily building the apparatuses of typical states. Linkages with neocolonial governments, under the rubric of broader confederations are considered inevitable but indefinitely provisional.

The remaining islands, with relatively intact mosaics of primary forests, are a tremendous resource in the Pacific Rim.[3] The timber from ancient rainforests, temperate and tropical, is extremely valuable. The values for recreation and cultural tourism are also very high. But extractive development and large tourist facilities can threaten many elements of local diversity, not to mention the food resources of traditional communities. Today, most of these remaining islands are in the eyes of storms from conflicting pressures for expansion of resource extraction versus tourist and service-based economies. Into this volatile formula is now being added linkages between sovereignty, land management, conservation, and the reassertion of priorities of traditional communities. Conservation has often been stymied by colonial land use frameworks that were more concerned with expediencies of short-term profit and state control than with the protection of vulnerable resources. Identification of such institutional obstacles becomes central to understanding the emerging linkages between "indigenous" environmentalism and new assertions of sovereignty. One 'decolonisation' process, of particular importance for the Haida, has been the exposing of the underlying frameworks of the notion of the "National Park" and its neocolonial biases towards central government.

The Haida and Gwaii Haanas

Until three decades ago, much of Haida Gwaii had relatively undisturbed island ecosystems with large tracts of primary temperate rain forest.[4] The present administrative boundary of Gwaii Haanas includes 138 islands with 1,470 square kilometres of land along with 3,400 square kilometres of marine zones.[5] Humans have occupied the Queen Charlotte Islands continuously for over ten thousand years. The Haida people were the sole inhabitants of the Queen Charlotte Islands until the Crown Colony of British Columbia annexed the archipelago. Traditional Haida society had a fishing-collecting economy, a ranking system based on hereditary status, and sedentary villages. Haida settlements were on beaches near halibut banks and salmon streams.[6] Haida society had developed a sophisticated culture based on surplus, considerable knowledge of the natural world, and sophisticated artistic expression.[7] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Haida were the most mobile and often the most aggressive of the northwest coast's "First Nations." Haida society was and is based on a matrilineal kinship system with two clans, their lineages, and villages forming the basis for economic relations, while matrilineal title regulated the patterns of land and marine tenure. Clans and lineages had some exclusive rights particularly for first choice as part of communal distribution of food and other resources.

Over the last century, Haida cultural change has embodied a series of losses, transformations, adaptations, and affirmations arising from epidemics, government attacks on traditional culture, removal of legal control over lands, the intrusion of the extractive economy[8] and the spread of globalized information and ideas. Contact with Europeans, whom Haida called the "iron people," began when Spanish ships arrived in 1774. A number of communicable diseases immediately ravaged Haida communities in that period. The first major smallpox epidemic was in 1862 with several outbreaks over the next thirty years reducing the total Haida population to 20 percent of its levels at European contact. By the 1890s, most Haida were consumers in an expanding mail-order economy. After nearly a century of sporadic but disastrous contact, the southern Haida sought medical assistance from Methodist missionaries. Nurses arrived on Haida Gwaii in the 1870s, began vaccinating against smallpox, and established a permanent mission at Skidegate in 1883.[9] These relatively liberal missionaries did not attack traditional culture, directly, but instead focused on providing services. But at roughly the same time, there began government assaults on traditional culture such as when the Canadian federal government outlawed potlatch ceremonies in 1884.[10]

Colonial Intrusions

In 1852, the Colonial Office in London formerly gave the Governor of the Crown Colony of Vancouver's Island, which was soon to be amalgamated into the Crown Colony of British Columbia, the approval to annex what was referred to at the time as Queen Charlotte's Island. Originally, this was solely to limit territorial intrusions by the United States of America and the permission from London was not actually to colonise Haida Gwaii.[11] In 1871, the Government of British Columbia elected to join Canadian Confederation, but this was done without any consultation with the Haida. Even when British Columbia government officials began to draw colonial property lines, by Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly in 1887, the Haida considered it more an irritation than an immediate threat. The Haida remained emphatic about their ownership of Haida Gwaii and never formally surrendered any rights to the archipelago. But, by the 1880s, government policy limited Haida fishing to subsistence and by the turn of the century additional restrictions extended to salmon, timber, minerals, and use of off-reserve sites.

The British Columbia government neglected Gwaii Haanas during the Indian Reserve allotment process because of the area's remoteness, lack of population, and the uncooperativeness of its chiefs, and almost the entire area came under public ownership through "the Crown." This was the case for much of the British Columbia coast. But the disparities between the lands available for logging and settlement and the tiny Indian Reserves were to become most stark on Gwaii Haanas. Over the last century, various enterprises established logging, mining, whaling, fishing, canning, and mill camps on Gwaii Haanas, though few 'communities' lasted for more than two decades. Only a very small portion of camp workers have been Haida. After World War II, export of unfinished logs and fish products dominated the local economy.

By the late 1960s, three large forest products companies had obtained Tree-Farm Licenses (TFLs) for over 41 percent of the Haida Gwaii land area, and timber cutting had shifted from "hand logging" in small areas near waterways, where considerable vegetation remained, to increasingly massive blocks of "clear-cuts." The rapid rates of cutting brought increased pressure on the remaining areas of relatively accessible and marketable forests on the Queen Charlotte Islands particularly along the east coast of Moresby Island. At the same period, the "take" in the harvesting of the salmon, herring, and abalone fisheries increasingly ran at or above "carrying capacity" and that which could support "sustainability." The cumulative impacts of destruction of stream habitat, sedimentation,

and over-fishing, from logging and road building, became a central public concern.

The origins of the pre-1988 provincial framework for habitat conservation on Gwaii Haanas are rooted in colonial land controls established in London, Victoria, and Ottawa. At several times over the past century, the Haida Nation argued in provincial and federal courts that it retained ownership rights over the area. But the legal and sovereignty issues have yet to be formally resolved.[12] King George III's October 7, 1763 Proclamation, which required the colonists to recognize some Indian lands, did not mention the coast of modern British Columbia.[13] Early colonial governments of the region pointedly denied aboriginal title and governmental controls and ignored questions of Haida sovereignty. By failing to negotiate treaties for these huge and relatively rich parts of Canada, the colonists of British Columbia, many of whom moved on within one generation, failed to establish a viable legal basis for extinguishing First Nations' sovereignty, ownership, and rights to resources.

During the initial 1851-71 colonial period, British authorities could not agree on how to resolve land disputes with indigenous groups in North America.[14] A liberal position, held by most in the London Colonial Office, advocated recognition of native sovereignty and land rights, as contrasted with the attitude of contempt for Indians that settler governments, like that in British Columbia, often exhibited. The contradiction was that while London demanded some form of resolution of land claims, the local colonial governments were required to find the funds to buy the rights. But even in British Columbia, one of the wealthiest of the nineteenth century colonies, there was little money allocated and only limited Native interest in being bought off. By 1865, the Crown colony of British Columbia contracted to transfer lands to private settler control without Haida consent.[15] From 1870, a year before joining Canadian Confederation, until 1991, it was de facto policy in the government of British Columbia to formally deny land title to Indians, aside from tiny Indian Reserves and tracts purchased or leased.[16] From the beginning of colonial authority in Haida Gwaii, governments viewed assertions of sovereignty as competitive threats, particularly in regard to the control of wealth from extraction of natural resources. One response to persistent ownership declarations by the Haida Nation was government eagerness to grant monopoly control over forest lands to interests with the means to remove valuable resources quickly. Thus, the provincial government early on attempted to exert indirect control over large territories of land through ecological destruction. In turn, the provincial government reaped huge revenues by charging companies resource extraction royalties. In this way, native communities were often kept from harvesting, for commercial purposes, the natural resources on their traditional lands.[17]

Goals for habitat conservation, maintenance of biological diversity, and sustainability were first articulated publicly on Haida Gwaii, in the 1974-76 period, after clear-cut logging of ancient forests expanded and a proposal was made by a logging company to log Burnaby Island in the center of Gwaii Haanas.[18] The Haida began to articulate more public concerns for protection of subsistence resources, within the framework of hereditary title, while some settlers and government employees were preoccupied with broader ecosystem health. These goals, for more comprehensive conservation, became central to subsequent discussions about land use designations. The Haida have tended to be highly site-specific in their concerns for the cause-effect linkages between clear-cut timber harvesting and declining availability of traditional resources and threats to the viability of their traditional economy. National and global concern for Haida Gwaii ecosystems began to focus on old growth forest and the long-term impacts of clear-cutting.

South Moresby became a rallying point for ecologically and locally based approaches to land management, in the northward expansion of the modern Canadian frontier, and the struggle for conservation on Gwaii Haanas became popularly viewed as a prototype for coalitions between Native Peoples

and non-native "environmentalists." Given subsequent conflicts over logging and conservation in the region, with less successful alliances between Native and non-Native environmental advocates largely because of the lack of practical understanding on the part of non-Native activists, this vision was perhaps overly optimistic.[19]

A new era in forest landscape planning emerged around concerns for non-timber values such as for "biodiversity," with imperatives for more comprehensive requirements for habitat protection. New frameworks emerged with conceptual links between more global visions of stewardship and concerns of traditional communities for subsistence resources and cultural sites, notions that were central to the alliances to conserve Gwaii Haanas. For most insular traditional economies, the conservation of biological resources often has been intrinsic to harvesting and utilization patterns. But the Haida became active in heavily mechanized commercial fishing enterprises as soon as it was legal for them to do so and their priorities for the conservation of biological diversity has been increasingly framed against the backdrop of dwindling primary forests and fisheries. These conditions challenged them to expand their site-specificity and relate them to processes of regional environmental degradation.

Sovereignty and International Alliances

One of the most daunting and unpredictable aspects of the social conflict around Gwaii Haanas has been the efforts to expand dialogues between the Haida Nation and local, national, and international "environmentalists." In other parts of the region and at other times, such dialogue has barely occurred. First Nations groups have articulated needs and priorities for conservation and resource use that have often diverged with those of non-Native groups primarily concerned with wilderness, public control of resources, and global perspectives on environmental degradation. Yet the fluid alliance between the Haida and environmentalists was crucial to the successful creation of a framework for preserving Gwaii Haanas's old growth forests and in creating a framework for long-term negotiation between the Haida Nation and the Canadian government.

The Islands Protection Society acted as the primary local environmental organization. The Islands Protection Committee was formed in response to the 1974 proposal to move logging operations to Burnaby Island. The Skidegate Band Council was the first organization to oppose the proposed operations and the Islands Protection Society soon proposed some kind of wilderness status for Haida Gwaii south of the Tangil Peninsula in November of 1974. The subsequent years saw various moratoriums and deferrals on the proposed logging for Burnaby Island and instead operations were established to the north on Lyell Island. Environmental organizations sought total preclusion of logging and mining in this area. As the debate expanded, the Western Canada Wilderness Committee, based in Vancouver, and the Canadian Nature Federation, based in Ottawa, intervened to support protection of wilderness values by the state. These two groups encouraged the idea of creating a national park as a way to preserve Gwaii Haanas, but this occurred years after Haida and non-Haida residents had articulated a vision of a community-based conservation framework.[20]

As early as 1982, the CHN issued conservation regulations and announced fees for commercial tourism in Gwaii Haanas. In response to the lack of progress toward conservation, the CHN declared tribal parks and heritage sites in areas that were scheduled to be logged or where additional management was needed to help control the impact of tourism. Opposition to logging was the first successful Haida response to resource extraction that jeopardized their traditional harvesting patterns. Their tactics coalesced after a century of painful destruction of sites owned by well-identified lineages, families, and individuals. A vague sort of native-centred environmentalism allowed for this decolonisation effort to be better understood by non-Haida through adaptations of the native notions of wilderness preservation and the need for well-stewarded cultural landscapes. These ideals have come to represent and paradoxically be transformed by the cultural movements and political strategies associated with the revitalization of First Nations communities.

Several trends and events intersected in the mid-1980s to transform the local political economy and to link globalizing concerns for biological conservation with those for traditional local resources and sovereignty. The Haida grew more unified, organized, and sophisticated in asserting their case for sovereignty and land rights as they watched the experience of Native corporations in Alaska. Logging output and cutting area increased while automation limited growth in the local forestry work force. Nature and cultural tourism increased substantially in the 1980s. Canada finally adopted its own constitution in 1982, precluding further possibilities of government embarrassment from Native groups in British Columbia demanding redress from Britain. But neither the provincial nor federal government was prepared fully to decolonise, especially since doing so might have meant they would be held financially liable to corporations whose leases might be extinguished if Haida sovereignty and ownership were finally recognized.

CHN organized several politically effective logging blockades in the 1980s.[21] In the autumn of 1985, seventy-two people, nearly all of whom were Haida, along with MP Svend Robinson, blockaded Sedgwick Bay, on Lyell Island, in a well-publicized attempt to stop the logging.[22] In the subsequent David and Goliath media "spectacle,"[23] the Haida finally had the upper hand. These blockades challenged the provincial government's ability to mediate competing social pressures on natural resources eventually forcing the Social Credit Party government to take a position that grudgingly accepted the need for conservation of old growth forest ecosystems.

After political demonstrations and media events spread to places as distant as Vancouver, Ottawa, New York, and London, federal-provincial discussions became earnest in 1987. Popular pressure to stop clear-cut logging, within the proposed boundaries of Gwaii Haanas, though clear-cutting was taking place on Lyell Island, intensified in 1987 and the Government of British Columbia finally was forced into allowing federal government intervention. The content of the federal-provincial memorandum was approved a year later in 1988 and clear-cut logging stopped soon after. But the CHN was still not involved formally in the decisions on these territories and the accompanying financial package limited government funds to compensate logging interests and to construct tourist facilities under the rubric of "western diversification"[24] rather than Haida-initiated conservation or tourism.

A vision of establishment of a national park for the area gradually emerged, often more from default, as the solution that

could minimize the negative impacts of large cut blocks with declining old-growth habitat and poorly engineered roads.[25] These activities are still occurring in the larger part of the Queen Charlotte Islands north of Gwaii Haanas. Clearcut logging stopped on Gwaii Haanas after a July 1988 agreement between the federal government and the provincial government.

The 1988-93 National Park Reserve as a Neo-colonial Solution

The 1988 memorandum, shifting control from the provincial government to the federal government, represented one of several potential strategies to conserve the biological and cultural resources of Gwaii Haanas. It was the option that minimized embarrassment for the provincial government and optimized the political options of the federal government. The about-face by the provincial government occurred after it had resisted creating a wilderness park for over a decade. While the CHN neither participated in the negotiations nor formally supported them, it ultimately supported the 1988 memorandum as a short-term tactic to stop clear-cut logging in this part of Haida Gwaii. The shift to federal administration ultimately resulted from the inability of the provincial government to resolve the nagging contradictions of the earlier colonial period. The Government of British Columbia was losing its credibility for making balanced decisions between extraction of timber, mineral, and marine resources and conservation and recreation; between expansion of logging and expansion of fishing; and between laissez-faire expansion of tourist facilities and more planned approaches. The South Moresby National Park Reserve was created in large part to appease the Haida and the general public after disillusionment with the ineffectiveness of provincial land use planning frameworks and well-publicized corruption of politicians. The 1988 Memorandum was a milestone in its commitment to principles of "sustainable development." One tenet of the 1980 World Conservation Strategy, that the Memorandum highlighted, was conservation of genetic diversity, though the implications to Haida subsistence resources were oddly downplayed. The framework for joint stewardship and conservation of biological diversity remained unresolved.

Co-management, 'Joint Management,' and Decolonisation

Neither status as a national park nor as a "National Park Reserve" can guarantee conservation of biological diversity. Without an agreement between the Council of the Haida Nation and Parks Canada, the huge gaps in the management necessary for conservation of biological diversity, with ongoing coordination and funding, persisted. Sites that had traditional importance remained vulnerable. Parks Canada moved slowly into Gwaii Haanas wary of unresolved ownership and protocol issues. But the CHN had already developed a protection and conservation service on its own with its young people, called the Haida Watchmen, which had already gained formal recognition from the Government of British Columbia. This programme was part of the Haida Nation's effort to regain its position as principal sovereign on Gwaii Haanas. While curtailing logging operations removed one threat, others emerged such as excessive harvesting of marine resources and tourism and more intrinsic ecosystem degradation from introduced deer, rats, and raccoons.[26] But with no accord, the federal government funded little biodiversity inventorying, conservation, and monitoring during 1988-93.

The 1993 "Gwaii Haanas/South Moresby Agreement" between the CHN and the federal government resulted after five years of discussions between the CHN, Parks Canada, and the Department of Justice of Canada. Avoidance of de facto recognition of Haida sovereignty, with the implications for subsequent relations, presented a major obstacle to federal government participation in an accord. But without a comprehensive agreement, continued confrontations between the Haida and the Canadian state over its weak conservation policies continued.

The CHN, through their growing involvement in conservation planning and management, established themselves as the major force challenging the legitimacy and value of federal stewardship. The 1993 Haida-Canada joint management agreement, intended as a partnership, became a milestone in First Nations history in Canada. The Agreement contrasts with several other "co-management" agreements between the Native government and of Canada in the equality between parties.[27] The Haida have provided one of the most radical of the anticolonial and sovereignist models for conservation in a large country with a federal system in the Pacific Rim. The recent strategies of the CHN worked in part because of little government repression with low levels of police and military coercion, and the solid Haida commitment to nonviolence. Other Native groups, with fewer numbers and resources, might not as easily pursue such an idealistic course. Gwaii Haanas may well remain the exception to new agreements for co-management on the British Columbia coast.

The determination of the Haida exposed both the Province of British Columbia's land management system and the priorities of Parks Canada as neocolonial. The years between 1988 and 1993 were a transitional period with unsuccessful attempts to subsume Haida concerns under the rubric of economic diversification and conservation. The CHN insisted on a joint stewardship accord structured around Haida sovereignty and the 1993 Agreement represented the fruits of more than a century of discussion around Gwaii Haanas. But it still only provided a partially effective basis for conserving local biological diversity. While the Agreement finally removed the major obstacles to building viable local conservation institutions, the little funding that is available is still controlled by Parks Canada and there are few new mechanisms for generating money for Haida-initiated conservation.

Conclusion

The Haida have been actively engaging their marginality since European contact. What is unclear is the extent of the colonisation that actually has occurred with the Haida. They have lost their language and much of their religion, have typical North American social problems, and live in hauntingly beautiful but spectacularly ravaged landscapes. If there is truly a difference between colonisation as cultural dissection and fragmentation and that from chronic assault, perhaps the Haida have been fortunate with the former. And there are always limits on how a small society can remake itself through political conflicts over land. In recent decades, conflict between proponents of extractive development and proponents of conservation of primary temperate rain forest has increasingly dominated and transformed the political economy of Pacific Canada. In the last decades, the movements for Native land and

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resource reappropriation intersected briefly with global concerns over conservation of primary forest and biological resources around Gwaii Haanas. For the Haida Nation, a notion of the locally managed protected area as a development alternative both to the negative aspects of resource extraction and the biases in government park programs emerged from a century of strategizing for some kind of recognition from Canadian federal and provincial governments.

The Haida renewed their own conservation institutions because federal and provincial government institutions reflected values, little changed since colonial times, that favoured unsustainable extraction and discouraged local Native resource management. A public perception that provincial government institutions threatened the region's biological resources, in combination with more political unity on the part of the Haida, allowed them to direct a coalition with non-natives to finally reassert control over their traditional lands.

Effective and sustainable conservation, particularly for biological diversity and island ecosystems, requires extensive allocation of human resources. Sustainable conservation also requires effective, informed, inclusive, and neutral institutions. Until very recently, conservation institutions in British Columbia have been managed to be the opposite. Efforts to increase the effectiveness of conservation efforts, through joint management of protected areas, will continue to transform the regional political economy and local institutions while remaining provisional and indefinite. The moral of this chronicle is that, in the context of wilderness and resource frontiers, the longer the wait for decolonisation the more expensive it becomes – at least for the citizen taxpayer. While the extraction of the natural resources of Gwaii Haanas, before 1988, generated millions of dollars in wealth to private enterprises and the British Columbian and Canadian government coffers, the Government of Canada is now committed to paying out over CDN $100,000,000 at the time when it has become one of the most indebted of the developed countries.

The institutions that have now emerged have attained their credibility because they better resolve historically derived contradictions – but only for a time. When not genocidal, treaties with indigenous people have often functioned as pacts of new forms of colonisation and the nature of the renewed control over biological and genetic resources may prove to be a better indicator of the level of Haida political and economic development than the ownership of the territory itself. And the notion of the conservation area will continue to be transformed as quickly as do underlying and highly site-specific social alliances.

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Notes

1 For the current status of the usage of "Haida Gwaii" versus the "Queen Charlotte Islands" see anonymous, "Haida Gwaii more appropriate name says CHN" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 11 March 1993: 1-2. The names for the southern part of the archipelago have changed over time. The term "South Moresby" only referred to the southern areas of Moresby Island and adjacent islands. By the late-1980s, most people in the region accepted the Haida name, *Gwaii Haanas*, as the geographic label.

2 Gordon Brent Ingram, "Rainforest Conservation Initiated by Traditional Island Communities: Implications for Development Planning" *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 15 n. 2 (1994): 193-218.

3 Gordon Brent Ingram, "The remaining islands with primary rainforest: A global resource" *Environmental Management* 16(5)1992: 585-595.

4 J. Bristol Foster, "The Canadian Galapagos" *Islands at the Edge: Preserving the Queen Charlotte Islands Wilderness* Islands Protection Society, ed. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984): 35-47; Jim Pojar and John Broadhead,

"The Green Mantle" *Islands at the Edge:* 49-72; Gordon Brent Ingram, "Planning District Networks of Protected Habitat for Conservation of Biological Diversity: A Manual with Applications for Marine Islands with Primary Rainforest" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989).

5 Council of the Haida Nation, "Purpose and Objectives Statement" *Gwaii Haanas Newsletter* 1 (September 1993): 3.

6 Despite the fact that at the turn of the century, there were remnants of at least 10 villages on Gwaii Haanas, only those at the extreme southern end, at Ninstints, were large enough to attract much documentation. See George F. MacDonald, *Haida Monumental Art – Villages of the Queen Charlotte Islands* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 101-113.

7 J. R. Swanton, "Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida" *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs, (1893-1930)* 5 (1905): 1-300, and *Haida Myths and Texts: Skidegate Dialect* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 29, 1905).

8 As early as 1851, the Haida were claiming natural resources such as gold ore and obstructing its export. See "Extract of a Despatch from Governor Douglas to Earl Grey dated Victoria, Vancouver's Island, 29 January, 1852" on file Archives of the Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria (call no. NW971.35Q).

9 The various approaches of the missionaries were described by J. R. Henderson, "Missionary Influences on the Haida Settlement and Subsistence Patterns 1876-1920" *Ethnohistory* 21, no. 4 (1974): 303-316. On page 308, Henderson notes "the southern villages suffered from no fire and brimstone evangelists. The missionaries appraisals were reflected in the goals they pursued, which were practical solutions to the problem of survival in a changing and alien world. To the missionary, survival meant drastic changes in the cultural patterns of the Haida."

10 For a description of Haida potlatch ceremonies, see pages 119-121 of George M. Dawson's report recently re-edited as *To The Charlottes: George Dawson's 1978 Survey of the Queen Charlotte Islands.* Douglas Cole and Bradley Lockner (eds.) (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1993). For a discussion of the links between the suppression of traditional culture and loss of Haida control over lands, see Chapter 8, pages 90-113, of Norman Newton's *Fire in the Raven's Nest* (Toronto: New Press, 1973).

11 "Extract of a Despatch from Sir John S. Pakington, Bart. M.P. To Governor Douglas; dated Downing Street, 27 September 1852" on file Archives of the Royal British Columbia Museum (call no. NW971.35 G786).

12 Haida leaders protested the British seizure of the islands to the first governor of British Columbia. See *(Victoria) British Colonist* 23 April 1859: 1 (no author or title) which records a meeting where one thousand Haida, at least one-tenth of the total Haida population, arrived in eighty canoes, traded for gold, and insisted on political recognition. Refusal to deal with the Haida as a sovereign group shaped the formation of a number of provincial institutions, particularly the land registry, the land management branch, and ministries responsible for forests and minerals.

13 Norman Newton, *Fire in the Raven's Nest:* 90. The text of the 1763 Proclamation was reprinted in the January 1963 issue of *The Native Voice* XVII n. 1: 2.

14 Thomas R. Berger, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1991): 142-156. Berger notes, "The colony's [the Crown colony of Vancouver Island's] House of Assembly had at first acknowledged aboriginal title, but when the House realized that the money for the extinguishment of aboriginal title would have to be provided locally, it began to insist there was no such thing as aboriginal title and no obligation to compensate Indians for their lands" (143).

15 Kathleen E. Dalzell, *The Queen Charlotte Islands, 1774-1966* (Prince Rupert, British Columbia: Cove Press, 1968): 59-145.

16 The Government of British Columbia policy of refusing to negotiate over sovereignty, land, and resource ownership was not reversed until 1991, after the election of the New Democratic Party government of Michael Harcourt. On June 28, 1991 a framework for negotiating between the provincial government and First Nations was proposed in the following report: Chief Joe Mathias, Miles G. Richardson, Audrey Stewart, Murray Collican, Chief Edward John, Tony Sheridan and L. Allan Williams. BC Claims Task Force Final Report. on file Victoria, British Columbia Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, 908 Pandora Avenue, Victoria V8V 1X4. This report was not accepted by the Social Credit Party government of the time and was only made government policy after a provincial election by the new administration. See December 10, 1991 Government of British Columbia News Release, "Province accepts claims task force recommendations," on file, British Columbia Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Victoria.

17 Province of British Columbia, *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* 3 vols. (Victoria: Acme Press, 1916), esp. vols. 1 and 3. This work was popularly known as the "McKenna- McBride Report." For the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, First Nations communities in British Columbia were subjected to laws restricting voting, land ownership, cultural expression, and legal action to assert sovereignty and to counter settler incursions on traditional lands. The first formal protest of the Haida resources was sometimes between 1859 and 1861 by Chief Edenshaw (Norman Newton, *Fire in the Raven's Nest:* 102).

18 Chief of Tanoo, "Testimony, Chief of Tanoo," *All Alone Stone* (Spring 1980)4: 40-41.

19 For an example of an area on the British Columbia coast, where alliances between First Nations communities and non-natives have been more difficult to form and sustain, see my "The ecology of a Conflict" in *Clayoquot & Dissent* Ron Hatch (ed.) (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 1994): 9-71 and, in particular 15-16 and 57-59.

20 Islands Protection Society, "The South Moresby Wilderness Area (A preliminary proposal)" *Queen Charlotte Observer* 29 July 1976: 3-4.

21 M. Johnston and D. Jones, "Canada's Queen Charlotte Islands: Homeland of the Haida" *National Geographic* 172 (July 1987): 102-27; Elizabeth May, *Paradise Won: The Struggle for South Moresby* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990): 113-124.

22 Terry Glavin, "Indians Halt Lyell Logging" *(Vancouver) Sun* 30 October 1985: A1, A2.

23 Guy Debord (translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith) *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994) originally published in 1967: 12-19.

24 The accompanying "diversification package" may total more than one hundred million Canadian dollars by the mid-1990s. Almost all of the "western diversification" funds associated with the 1988 federal-provincial agreement went to subsidize non-Haida enterprises including compensation to logging companies on Gwaii Haanas. See Robert Matas, "In the beginning there was Moresby" *The (Toronto) Globe and Mail* 13 November 1993: D1, D3. Ottawa's commitment for establishing a national park is now $160 million dollars (Canadian), but Matas quotes Park Superintendent Roger Hamilton who stated that, so far, "Ottawa has spent only $52 million."

25 Residents of Haida Gwaii, including many Haida, discussed conservation in "the South Moresby" at a 1976 meeting. They explicitly rejected federal government control of the area, particularly in the form of a national park. See "The South Moresby Wilderness Area: A Preliminary Proposal" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 29 July 1976: 3-4.

26 For some contemporary Haida perspectives on mismanagement of marine resources by the Government of British Columbia, see Robert Davidson, "Why We Are Where We're At" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 30 January 1992: 14-22; and Gary P. Russ, "Overseeing the Rock" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 9 April 1992: 5-6. In recent years, there have been Haida demonstrations against excessive sportsfishing and an agreement to shift much of the provincial government management control to the Haida was signed between the Haida Nation and the Province of British Columbia in 1992. See Jeff King, "Haida, Province Agree/Joint Stewardship on Sportsfishing" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 6 August 1992: 1-2.

27 See Alex Rinfret, "Gwaii Haanas Deal Signed" *Queen Charlotte Islands Observer* 4 February 1993: 1-2. Rinfret noted "the Agreement calls for all planning, operating and management decisions about Gwaii Haanas to be made by a four-member management board representing both Canada and the Haida Nation... The two governments agree to disagree on the issue of who actually owns the archipelago."

Images p. 42 *Queen Charlotte Islands: A Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the North Pacific* by Francis Poole.

p.43 *Sea monster* Qayae'i by Henry Young.

p. 44 *Haida Carvers in Argillite* by Marius Barbeau. Artist unknown.

p. 47 Burial posts in the recently abandoned village of Sga'ngwai Inaga'-i, Red Cod Town, Ninstints, 1901. Photograph by C. F. Newcombe. Courtesy of the Royal British Columbia Museum.