HAIDA CULTURE CHANGE:
A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

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Mr. John R. Henderson

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ABSTRACT

HAIDA CULTURE CHANGE: A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

By

John R. Henderson

This study concerns the impact of European contacts on the spatial organization, man-environment relationship, and material culture of the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia. The study attempts (1) to describe differing types and intensities of European contact, (2) to illustrate the processes of spatial reorganization, (3) to document the rapid alteration of the Haida material culture, (4) to investigate European attempts to change the basic relationship of the Haida to their environment, and (5) to examine the forces which have caused the economic diversity in the remaining Haida villages.

Between 1774 and 1840 European contacts were based on the fur trade. These contacts were sporadic and ephemeral. British and later American traders visited the Queen Charlotte Islands to exchange manufactured goods for sea otter pelts. Traders brought liquor and smallpox which caused rapid population decline. Of the estimated nearly

10,000 Haida in 1774 only approximately 6,600 remained by 1840. During the 1830's the Hudson's Bay Company introduced agriculture to the Haida in order to provide a ready food supply for the sea otter hunters. However, this agricultural experiment failed. During the fur trade era many "totem poles" were erected in the Haida villages.

The era between 1840, the end of the fur trade, and 1876, the coming of the missionary, was characterized by a mining boom and continued population decline. Strikes of gold, copper, and coal brought a tide of fortune seekers. Although the hopes of riches soon faded, the Queen Charlotte Islands became known as a potential mission field. Smallpox epidemics spread through the Islands in the early 1860's reducing the population to an estimated 4,400. Concomitant with the depopulation was the abandonment of villages and migration to new sites or other established villages. In 1840 the Haida occupied thirty-four villages; by 1876 only eleven remained. During the mining era the Haida reverted to an economy based on a seasonal cycle of fishing, hunting, and gathering. The totem poles, during this period, reached their zenith in both size and complexity.

The missionary period, between 1876 and 1920, was the time of marked changes in spatial organization, man-environment relationship, and material culture. The population declined to under 600 in 1915 before starting a

gradual upswing. Village abandonment and migration continued until only two villages remained. The missionaries and Canadian Government reinstated agriculture and introduced industry into the Haida economy, thus ending any vestige of the traditional seasonal cycle of activities. Under direct influence from the missionaries, the totem poles were removed and the traditional extended family lodges were replaced with single family dwellings.

The period from 1920 to 1969 was characterized by a gradual population growth, a return to more traditional economic pursuits, and a growing economic disparity between two remaining villages. Agriculture was quickly abandoned in favor of fishing and logging. In most instances the seasonal movement was replaced by a daily journey to work. With the exception of two totem poles and some headstone sculpture, no visible manifestations of the Haida culture remain in the villages.

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Many persons helped me during the fieldwork stages of the research. I thank the staff of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, for their interest and untiring help with documentary research, and Rev. A. R. Kreager of Masset for establishing contacts for me in that village.

A special word of thanks is given to Rev. and Mrs. Harold Black of Skidegate and Mr. and Mrs. Joe Weir of Masset for taking me into their homes, and to the residents of Masset and Skidegate with whom I visited during my stays on the Queen Charlotte Islands.

To my wife, Ann, I owe special appreciation for accompanying me during the first field season, for providing

a listening ear, and for her encouragement and help with all aspects of the research and writing of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The North Pacific coast, a narrow strip of land between mountain and sea, stretches from the Olympic Peninsula northward through the Alaska panhandle. Knowledge of this coast, in terms of recorded history, is quite recent. Only two hundred years have elapsed since Captain Cook sailed these waters. His description and those of others who followed conjure images of mists and forests, of islands and inlets, and of strange natives in swift canoes.

Behind the images are places with strange names like Bella Coola, Kitkatla, Metlakatla or Skidegate, and histories connecting images with reality, past with present. It is about such a place and such a history that this study is written. The place is the Queen Charlotte Islands, and the events concern its native inhabitants, the Haida Indians, and the Europeans who came to influence them.

Explorers' journals recorded that nearly 10,000 Haida lived in the Queen Charlottes in 34 scattered villages in the 1770's. Today, only 1,300 Haida live in two villages.

We know of large gable-roofed houses and sky-reaching totem poles; now the Island's townscape of small frame houses is repeated thousands of times over. And we know of many great canoes that once ranged along the entire coast; now a few small boats huddle near the quiet shore.

What happened here in the Queen Charlotte Islands is a geographic problem involving the complete alteration of the cultural landscape. The term cultural landscape, as used in this paper, involves three categories of phenomena. The first is spatial organization which includes the areal distribution of settlement. The second includes the types of and arrangement of shelter, the type of furnishings, tools, and transport produced by a cultural group, and third the means of food production used by the group.[1]

The Problem

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the impact of European culture on the cultural landscape of the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia. Factors and influences which alter the landscape are isolated and analyzed.

Several questions are posed in reference to the impact of European culture on the Haida landscape. (1) What

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[1]Carl O. Sauer, "Foreword to Historical Geography," in John Leighly, ed. Land and Life (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 358. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell, eds. Readings in Cultural Geography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 11.

influences caused population decline, and what effect did the reduction of population have on Haida spatial organization? (2) What migration pattern arose during the process of village abandonment and spatial reorganization? (3) What impact did European contact have on the Haida seasonal cycle of activity? (4) What forces caused rapid changes in Haida arts and architecture? (5) Why have the Haida been able to successfully compete in the modern Canadian economy, and (6) what types of contact produced the most rapid and extensive changes on the Haida cultural landscape?

Previous Studies

Little recent research has been done on the Haida. All major studies were completed within a period of about 35 years from the late 1870's to the early 1900's. George Dawson, a geologist for the Geological Survey of Canada, completed the first systematic study of the Haida in 1878. His work was published as an appendix to a Report of Progress by the Survey.[2] John R. Swanton worked with the Haida when he accompanied the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in 1905.[3] Two of the early missionaries wrote of their experiences with

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[2]George W. Dawson, "Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands," Report of Progress for 1878-79 (Montreal: Geological Society of Canada, 1880), pp. 103-175.

[3]John R. Swanton, "Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida," Memoirs, Vol. VIII (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1905), pp. 1-300.

the Haida.[4] All these studies were ethnographies of the Haida culture and did not deal with cultural change brought on by contact with Europeans. More recent studies deal with Haida archaeology, kinship, and arts.[5]

Field Methodology

The methods used in the study are varied. Data comes from documentary material, interviews, and observations. Most documentary material is from the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and the Northwest collection of the University of Washington, and from clergymen and Indian agents serving the Queen Charlotte Islands. Material includes journals from early explorers and traders, diaries, letters of missionaries, reports of the British Columbia Department of Indian Affairs, records of mining companies, newspaper files, and memoirs of former residents of the Queen Charlotte

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[4] William Collison, In the Wake of the War Canoe (Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1915). Charles Harrison, Ancient Warriors of the North Pacific (London: H. F. and G. Witherby, 1925).

[5] For example: K. R. Fladmark, "Preliminary Report on Lithic Assemblages from the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia," in Early Man and Environments in Northwest North America, ed. by R. A. Smith and J. W. Smith (Calgary, Alberta: The Students' Press, 1970), pp. 117-136. Wilson Duff and K. Kew, "Anthony Island, A Home of the Haidas," Research Papers (Victoria: British Columbia, Provincial Museum, 1958), pp. 37-64. T. M. Durlach, The Relationship System of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian (New York: American Ethnological Society, 1928). Erna Gunther, "The Social Organization of the Haida as Reflected in Their Slate Carving," Davidson Journal of Anthropology, II (1956), pp. 149-153. T. H. Ainsworth, "The Art of the Haidas," Museum and Art Notes, 2nd Series, I, (1950), pp. 16-19.

Islands. Clergymen and Indian agents provided church records and economic surveys. Interviews with Haida informants provided data about landscape changes during their lifetimes, and their outlook on the future of their people. Observational data were acquired by living in the homes of the Haida and participating in their daily activities. Field research was conducted during June, July, and August of 1968, and August and September 1969.

Explanation of Chapters

The present chapter provides the introduction; Chapter II outlines the physical environment of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Included are descriptions, maps and illustrations of the geology, physiography, climate and vegetation.

Chapter III briefly examines the cultural landscape at the time of first European contact. The distribution of settlements is mapped; the internal structure of the villages and their architecture is reconstructed. This chapter also deals with the first European exploration of the Islands, and with the fur trade era resulting from these early contacts. It examines the changing character of the fur trade and the impact of European technology and disease on the Haida.

Chapter IV deals with the discovery of gold, copper, and iron on the Islands, and the coming of British and Americans to work the mines between 1840 and 1876. During

this period the arts flourished but the Haida population declined. Along with population decline there was a migration and concentration into 11 villages. During this period agriculture was introduced and traditional Haida lands were taken by the Crown.

Chapter V explores the period of most rapid landscape change. This was the period of intense missionary activity. Population continued to decline to its lowest level and the migration into two villages is examined as is the development of the contemporary cultural landscape.

The conclusions reached in the study and the validity of the hypotheses are summarized in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

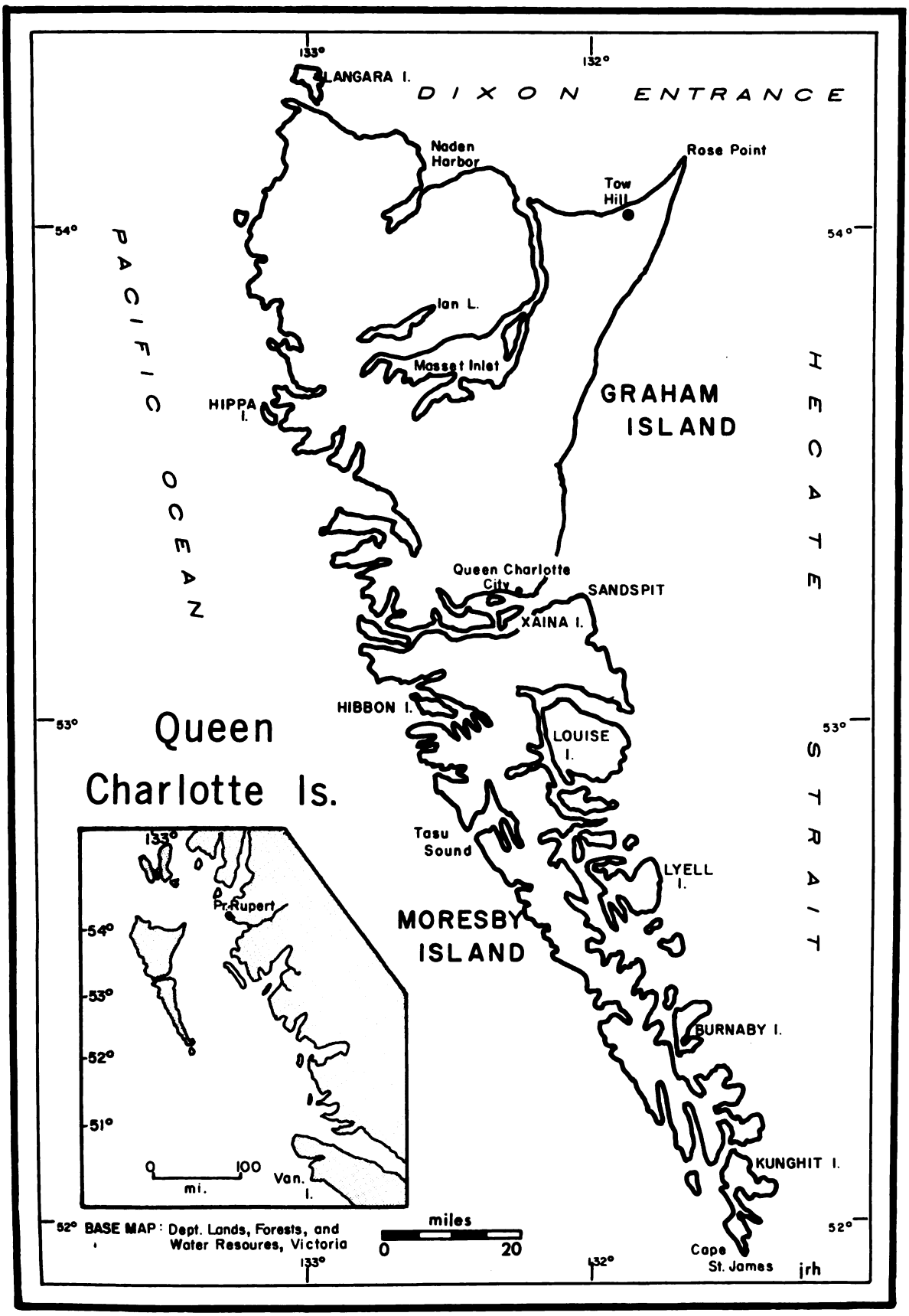
THE HABITAT

Lying on the edge of the continental shelf off the coast of British Columbia, the triangle-shaped archipelago, known as the Queen Charlotte Islands, is composed of approximately 150 islands. The Islands are approximately 156 miles long and 56 miles at their widest point (Fig. 1). The Queen Charlotte Islands provide a varied habitat for the Haida. Over most of the Islands, mountains rise abruptly from the Pacific. Where there are no mountains, wide beaches grade into muskeg.

Physiography

The Islands are divided into three physiographic regions (Fig. 2). From southwest to northwest the regions are: The Queen Charlotte Ranges; the Skidegate Plateau; and the Queen Charlotte Lowlands. Although most mountains of the Queen Charlotte Ranges are only 2,500 to 3,500 feet high, they appear more impressive because they are extremely rugged and deeply dissected (Fig. 3). The west coast has few beaches because eroded material is quickly carried

FIGURE 1


133°
132°
LANGARA I.
DIXON ENTRANCE
Naden Harbor
Rose Point
Tow Hill
54°
PACIFIC OCEAN
Ian L.
Masset Inlet
HIPPA I.
GRAHAM ISLAND
HECATE STRAIT
Queen Charlotte City
SANDSPIT
XAINA I.
HIBBON I.
53°
Queen Charlotte Is.
LOUISE I.
Tasu Sound
LYELL I.
MORESBY ISLAND
BURNABY I.
KUNGHIT I.
Pr. Rupert
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BASE MAP: Dept. Lands, Forests, and Water Resources, Victoria
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Cape St. James
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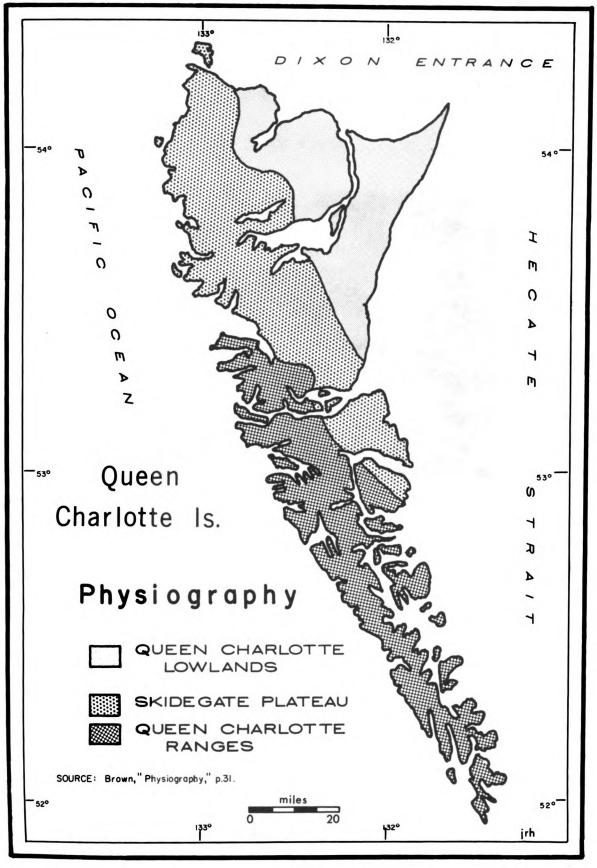
FIGURE 2


133°
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HECATE STRAIT
53°
Queen
Charlotte Is.
Physiography
QUEEN CHARLOTTE LOWLANDS
SKIDEGATE PLATEAU
QUEEN CHARLOTTE RANGES
SOURCE: Brown, "Physiography," p.31.
52°
miles
0
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jrh

into deep water. The currents along the east coast of Moresby Island are less formidable and beaches have formed.[1]

FIGURE 3

SKIDEGATE INLET AND MAUDE ISLAND

Source: photo by author, Sept., 1969.

The Skidegate Plateau is a dissected erosion surface which slopes northeast from the mountains toward Hecate Strait. Flat-topped hills and concordant ridges slope from 2,000 feet in the southeast to 500 feet in the northeast.

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[1]A. Sutherland Brown, "Physiography of the Queen Charlotte Islands," Canadian Geographical Journal, Vol. LXI (July, 1960), p. 32.

The Queen Charlotte Lowland is a gently undulating uplifted portion of the floor of Hecate Strait. Most of the lowland is drained by sluggish streams which result in numerous and extensive muskeg bogs. Unconsolidated glacial sands and silt comprise the surface of the lowland. These deposits have been reworked to form a wide beach extending from Skidegate Inlet to Masset. The prevailing strong southeast winds drive sand northward to Rose Point, a spit which is continually being forced farther out into Dixon Entrance.

Present topography is the result of a combination of glacial and seismic activity. Although the exact glacial history is not well known, it is believed that the Wisconsin ice completely covered the Islands except for some of the highest peaks. Evidence of glacial grooving and polishing is frequently found on hard rock, and erratic boulders, occasionally up to six feet in diameter, have been found on crests of 1,200 foot ridges on the eastern slopes of the Queen Charlotte Range.[2] Direction of ice movement is indicated by the trend of striations and drumlinoid features. These trends indicate that ice moved from the Queen Charlotte Range well out into Hecate Strait where it met ice coming from the coast ranges of the mainland. Together the masses of ice from the Queen Charlottes and the Coast ranges veered into Dixon's Entrance.[3] Upon reaching the edge of the

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[2] Ibid., p. 33.

[3] Ibid., p. 34.

continental shelf on the west end of Dixon's Entrance the ice calved off and drifted away as icebergs.

Geology

The oldest rocks compose the backbone of the Islands, the Queen Charlotte Ranges. The rocks are slowly deposited Triassic gray and black limestone several thousand feet thick. The Jurassic period, however, witnessed violent activity - folding, uplift, and erosion followed by deposition of conglomerates, sandstones, and shales. After deposition of this group, the Islands exploded with violent vulcanism. Pillow lava extruded across the Islands and breccias blew over the lavas. When all the outpouring had ended the rock had accumulated to more than 10,000 feet.[4]

As the Lower Cretaceous drew to an end, the Islands resembled the contemporary configuration. Erosion of the highlands deposited a swampy lowland on the east; fluctuation of sea level produced deposits alternating between conglomerate, sandstone, shale, and coal-forming vegetation from the brackish swamps. These sediments were folded to form the Skidegate Plateau. The plateau eroded, was covered by Miocene sands, shales and thin lava flow. Uplift, folding and faulting followed deposition. Again the plateau eroded and deposited the Queen Charlotte Lowland. The Miocene uplift was the last major event prior to the Pleistocene Glaciation.[5]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 35.

Climate

The Haida live in a climate which is found in only one percent of Canada. According to the Koppen climatic classification system the Queen Charlotte Islands is Cfb. The only other place this climate is found is in other coastal areas of British Columbia. The chief climatic controls affecting the Islands include the proximity of the Pacific Ocean, the mountain barriers on the mainland to the east, the behavior of the prevailing westerlies, the Aleutian Low and the North Pacific High.

The Pacific Ocean is much warmer than the land in winter, and colder than the land in summer. This phenomenon reduces seasonal temperature extremes which are also minimized by the mainland mountain ranges which act as a barrier to continental air masses.[6]

From mid-May to mid-September the North Pacific High dominates the weather on the Islands. Weather is then characterized by dry, sunny conditions. But when the direct rays of the sun are in the southern hemisphere the sharp contrast in temperature between the relatively warm ocean and the very cold continental land mass, produces the Aleutian Low. This large low pressure area dominates the

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[6]The most thorough examination of the climate of the Queen Charlotte Islands is found in James A. Calder and Roy L. Taylor, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands (Ottawa: Canadian Department of Agriculture, 1968), pp. 15-49.

weather on the Islands from late September to early May, bringing dense clouds, heavy precipitation and very strong winds.

The westerly winds bring warm moist air from the ocean over the mountains on the western margin of the Islands. Heavy orographic precipitation results from this movement of air and makes the west coast the wettest part of the Islands.

Weather Stations

Climatic data is available from 10 stations of the Islands:

TABLE 1

WEATHER STATIONS

Station	Elevation	Period of Record
Langara	134 ft.	Aug., 1936 - date
Masset.	10	June, 1897 - date
Tlell	20	Jan., 1950 - date
Sandspit.	25	Oct., 1945 - date
Cape St. James. . . .	292	Aug., 1925 - date
Tasu Sound.	18	Feb., 1963 - date
Dead Tree Point . . .	47	Feb., 1939 - Jan., 1958
Queen Charlotte City.	50	Jan., 1915 - Dec., 1948
Ikeda Bay	5	July, 1908 - Aug., 1920
Alliford Bay.	28	Sept., 1941 - Aug., 1945

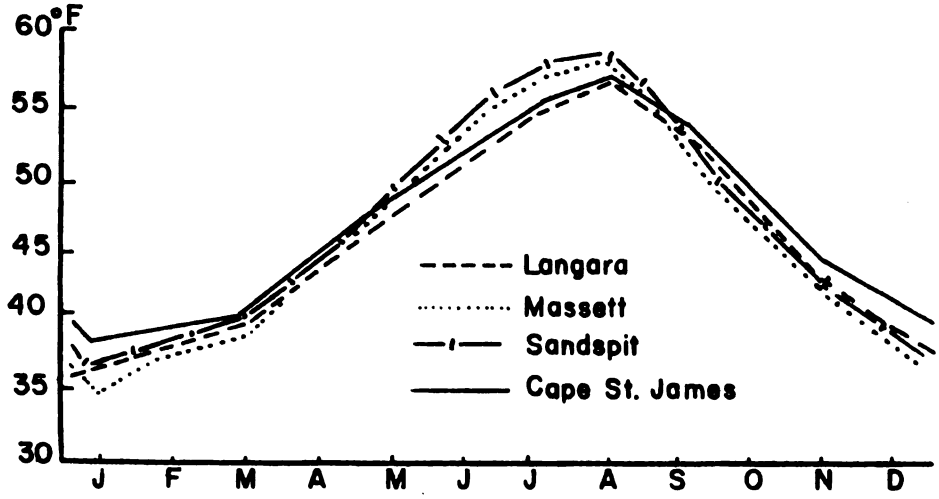
Source: Calder and Taylor, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 17.

Temperature Regime

Figure 4 indicates the monthly mean temperature for Langara, Masset, Sandspit, and Cape St. James.

FIGURE 4

MEAN TEMPERATURE



Source: Calder and Taylor, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 19.

The influence of the ocean moderates the temperature at the southern and western stations of Langara and Cape St. James more than at the eastern stations, Masset and Sandspit.

Temperature extremes and diurnal variations are due to exposure to the ocean rather than latitude. For example, the diurnal variation in winter at Masset is about 9 or 10 degrees, and 13 or 14 degrees in spring and summer. The range at Cape St. James is about one half that of Masset.

Masset holds the record for the highest and lowest temperatures ever recorded on the Queen Charlotte Islands: +84 and -2°F.

The influence of the ocean upon the frost free days on the Islands is pronounced. Cape St. James has the longest frost free period in Canada, an average of 266 days. The frost free period extends from late March to mid-December. Masset with much less exposure to the ocean has the shortest frost free season on the Islands, 158 days.

Precipitation

Precipitation amounts received on the north, east, and southern coasts of the Queen Charlotte Islands are similar to the amounts received on the east coast of Vancouver Island and coastal mainland British Columbia. Precipitation on the west side of the Islands is the highest in Canada. Annual rainfall at north, east, and southern stations is as follows: Langara - 63.60; Masset - 52.51; Sandspit - 47.22; and Cape St. James - 55.92 inches. Climatic data from the west coast of the Islands were not systematically kept prior to 1963 when a station was opened at Tasu Sound. In its first 21 months of operation the Tasu Sound station received 347 inches of rainfall, or an annual average of approximately 192 inches. Figure 5 shows rainfall by month at Langara, Masset, Sandspit, Cape St. James, and Tasu Sound.[7]

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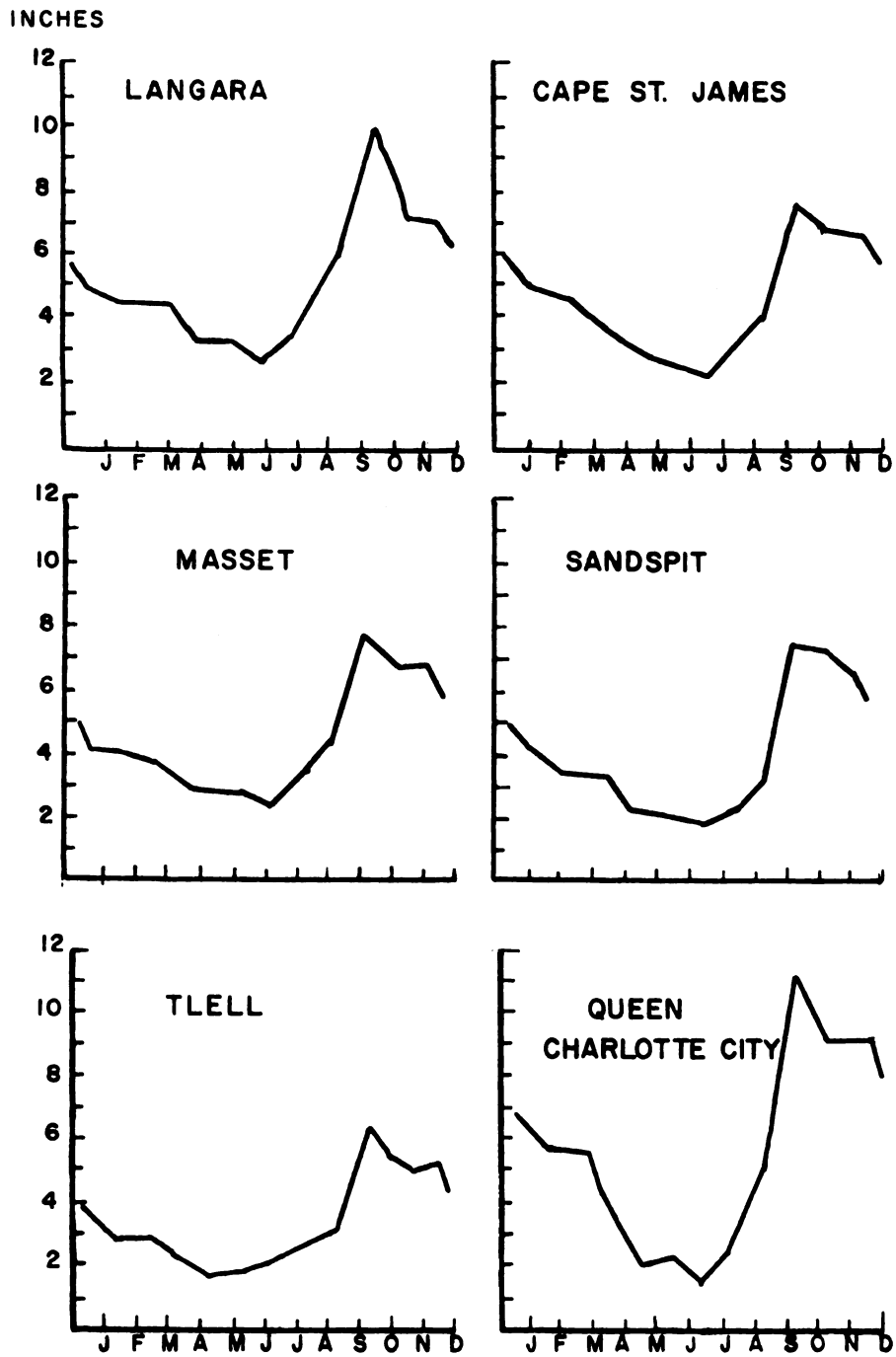
[7] Ibid., p. 26.

FIGURE 5

MONTHLY RAINFALL



SOURCE: Calder and Taylor, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands, p.26.

jrh

Not only is the amount of precipitation great, but the frequency of precipitation is unsurpassed anywhere else in Canada. The mean number of days on which measurable precipitation is received ranges from 205 days at Sandspit to 249 days at Langara. Between October and March measurable precipitation occurs on 2/3 to 3/4 of the days (Table 2).

Snowfall on coastal areas average less than 30 inches annually. Less than 10 inches falls at Cape St. James and 10 to 20 inches at Langara, Masset, and Sandspit. Moisture from snowfall constitutes much less than 10 percent of the total amount of moisture which falls on the Islands. Snow depth of one inch or more occurs on an average of 20 days or less.

Winds

The Queen Charlotte Islands are among the windiest places in Canada. At Cape St. James the average speed is 21.2 mph., which is exceeded only by one other Canadian station, Grindstone, Quebec, where the average speed is 21.5 mph.[8]

Winds blow predominantly from the southeast or northwest because air moving toward the British Columbia coast tends to be deflected as it approaches the coast and moves parallel to the coast. In winter the tendency for southeast winds is intensified by the counter-clockwise flow into

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[8] Ibid., p. 40.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS OF MEASURABLE PRECIPITATION

Station	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Langara	21.7	20.5	21.8	19.6	17.2	18.5	16.9	17.8	19.7	25.9	24.5	25.3
Masset	19.2	17.8	18.8	16.7	16.2	14.8	13.1	13.9	16.4	22.9	21.5	22.7
Sandspit	19.3	18.1	19.0	16.8	13.1	13.9	11.4	11.9	14.9	22.1	22.2	22.6
Cape St. James	22.2	20.6	21.9	19.5	15.9	15.9	13.1	14.4	17.4	25.2	24.2	26.0

Source: Calder and Taylor, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 38.

the Aleutian Low. Conversely, air flowing clockwise from the North Pacific High increased the tendency for winds to blow from the northwest in summer.

Average southeast wind speeds at Sandspit are very high due to the funneling effect of Hecate Strait. Southeast winds occur about one-third of the time in fall and winter and nearly one-fifth of the time in spring and summer. During the fall and winter southeast winds average more than 51 mph; during the spring and summer the average falls to just under 30 mph. The highest hourly windspeed at both Sandspit and Cape St. James is 80 mph., with gusts to 123 mph.[9]

Climate of the Interior

No climatic recording stations are located in the interior of the Queen Charlotte Islands. The climate of the Queen Charlotte Lowlands is modified by the barrier composed of the Skidegate Plateau to the west. Temperature and precipitation regimes would be similar to those of Masset and Tlell. The other interior areas include the Skidegate Plateau and the rugged Queen Charlotte Range. Much of these areas have an elevation between 1,000 and 2,000 feet with some peaks rising over 4,000 feet. With these elevations the midsummer mean would be approximately 52°F. and 30°F. in winter. Diurnal temperature ranges would be greater than lowland areas.

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[9] Ibid., p. 41.

Flora

Three major plant communities exist on the Queen Charlotte Islands: the bogs, the forests, and the montane communities (Fig. 6).[10] Raised bogs occupy much of the lowland areas of northeastern Graham Island. A view of a raised bog reveals a pattern of open bogs connected by thin bands of forest. Scrubby pine and cedar survive in inlets in large bogs. Hummocks in the bogs support woody species such as Juniperus communis, Empetrum nigrum, and several species of the Vaccinium genus. Herbaceous species include among others Scirpus cespitosus, Carex pauciflora, Agrostis acqeuralvis.

Extensive areas of blanket bogs are located on the western lower slopes of the Queen Charlotte Ranges on Moresby Island. Blanket bog communities normally live in undulating rocky terrain. The extremely high precipitation of the west coast perpetuates the bog environment.

Conifer species of Pinus contorta, Thuja plecata, Tsuga Heterophylla, and Chamaecyparis nootkatensis dominate these bogs. Species of herbaceous plants are similar to those found in the raised bogs.

From the air, a blanket bog reveals many large pools connected by a series of rills. Dense vegetation surrounding each pool acts as a dam, and only during periods of high rainfall does water drain from the pools into the rills.

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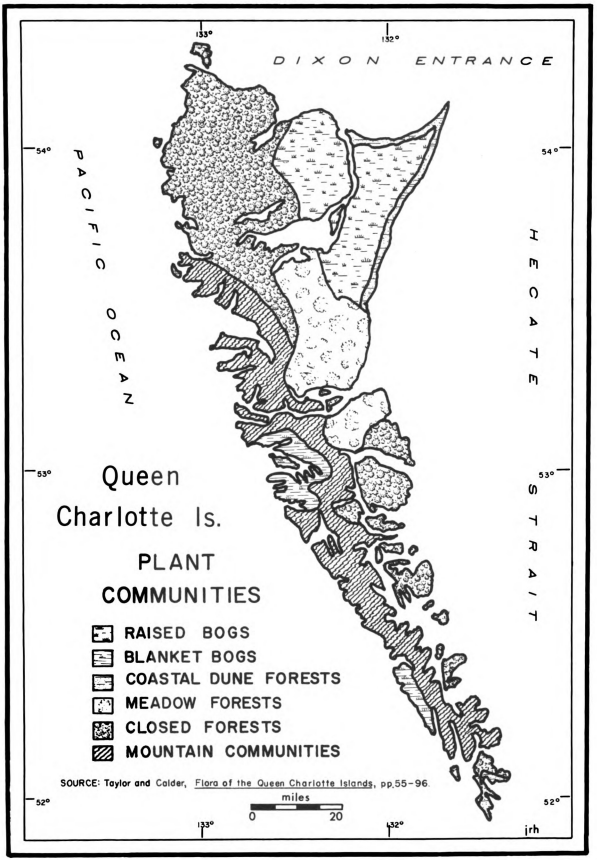
[10]The following is a condensation of data presented in Calder and Taylor, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands, pp. 55-96.

FIGURE 6


133°
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DIXON ENTRANCE
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PACIFIC OCEAN
HECATE STRAIT
53°
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Queen Charlotte Is.
PLANT COMMUNITIES
RAISED BOGS
BLANKET BOGS
COASTAL DUNE FORESTS
MEADOW FORESTS
CLOSED FORESTS
MOUNTAIN COMMUNITIES
SOURCE: Taylor and Calder, Flora of the Queen Charlotte Islands, pp.55-96.
52°
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The rills provide a habitat not found in the raised bog and, consequently, the number of species found in the blanket bog is greater.

Forest Communities

The coastal sand dune forest stands on narrow sand ridges which extend along the north shore of the island from Masset to Rose Point and along the east shore from Rose Point to the mouth of the Tlell River. Similar forest communities occupy the heads of bays on the southern tips of Moresby and Kunglit Islands. Sitka spruce dominates the forest. Mosses and a few other herbaceous plants form the ground cover.

Moving inland from the dune forest, the vegetation changes in one of two ways. It may exhibit a rapid decrease in herbaceous ground cover, or it may develop a dense shrub understory. Commonly, the dense understory appears only in the forest on the north shore of Graham Island (Fig. 7). Primary undergrowth species is Gaultheria Shallou. The narrow zone of dense understory quickly changes to a mixed hemlock and spruce community, with mosses covering the forest floor as well as encasing the trunk and limbs of the trees. Coastal dune forests on the east and south coast make the transition from the dominant Sitka spruce forest to a mixed hemlock-spruce forest.

FIGURE 7

COASTAL DUNE FOREST NEAR MASSET

Source: photo by author, Sept., 1969.

Meadow forest communities

The meadow forests occupy terraces and alluvial flats along the streams in the lowland areas of the Queen Charlotte Islands. In this environment the Islands' largest conifers grow. Sitka spruce dominates the community but a few western hemlocks and western red cedars are interspersed among the spruce. The undulating forest floor,

the meander scars, and abandoned stream channels are encased with vegetation. Such plants as Elymus hirsutus, Trisetum cernuum, and Galium triflorium populate the forest floor.

Closed Forest Community

The closed forest occupies the majority of the forested lowlands on the Islands. Western hemlock predominates with widely scattered western red cedar and Sitka spruce interspersed among the hemlock. Oregon alder appears only along stream banks. The forest forms a complete canopy broken only along stream courses, but without a continuous understory. Ground cover appears only in wet depressions or where the closed canopy is interrupted.

Montane Communities

Plant life on the Queen Charlotte Ranges is remarkably uniform. Montane plants on the west coast thrive at sea level as well as at the mountain summits. High precipitation and year-around cool temperatures in part cause this phenomena. In addition to the lack of vertical zonation, the plant communities found in different habitats are remarkably uniform.

This then is the physical environment of the Haida land. But since the Haida dwell on the ribbon of land between sea and forest, the coastal micro-environment proves most important to the native Islanders. Regional differ-

ences in environment play an important role in the 20th century history of the Haida villages.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTACT CULTURE AND THE FUR TRADE

Early Exploration

From the deck of his corvette, the Santiago, Ensign Juan Perez peered into the dawn mist enshrouding the Islands and watched two canoes, one carrying nine men, the other six, pull up beside the ship. Perez offered these visitors a gift of bread and in return received dried fish.[1] An hour passed, and a third canoe with seven aboard, sailed up to Perez's ship. Perez was unable to verbally communicate with the Haida, and the Indians, growing weary of paddling about, returned into the dark mist to their island. This visit marked the first meeting between Haida and European; the place was probably off Hippa Island on the west coast of Graham Island.

Perez explored the west coast until July 23, then turned southward and sailed to his point of embarkation, San Blas, Mexico. Shortly after returning, Perez was ordered on a second expedition to the north Pacific coast. Three ships left San Blas on March 15, 1775, the Santiago,

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[1]Fray Tomas de la Pena, "Diary of the Voyages of the Santiago, 1774," Documents from the Sutro Collection (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1891), p. 121.

commanded by Captain Bruno Hecata, with Perez as second officer; the schooner Sonara under Juan de Ayole, and the schooner San Carlos. The captain of the San Carlos fell ill; Ayole took his place, and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra assumed command of the Sonara. The fleet was attacked by Indians near Destruction Island (off the coast of the Olympic Peninsula). Hecata and Ayole returned to Monterey and Bodega y Quadra in the thirty-six foot schooner continued northward. By mid-August he was exploring the Queen Charlotte Islands. He sailed in to and named Perez Inlet.[2] After Bodega y Quadra's voyage, Spanish trading efforts on the Islands quickly waned. The Spanish concentrated their concern on their settlements in California and Mexico, thus leaving the potential trade bonanza open to other nations.

British exploration of the Queen Charlotte Islands began in 1786 when Captains Portlock and Dixon in the ships King George and Queen Charlotte sailed from Vancouver to Hippa Island. Failing to find a suitable harbor, they returned to Vancouver. Captain Dixon, however, returned the following year and thoroughly explored the coast. Dixon thought the north end of the Queen Charlotte Islands would be a fine place to gather and process furs. The Islands were centrally situated between Cook Inlet in Alaska and

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[2]Francisco Antonio Mourelle, "Journal of a Voyage in 1775," in Daines Barrington, Trans., Miscellanies (London: J. Nichols, 1781), p. 473.

Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. South of Nootka furs were of inferior quality.[3]

Naming the Land

When Perez first saw the Islands he named them Cabo de St. Margarita. Bodega y Quadra inscribed the name Isle de Florida Bianca on his maps. But it was Captain Dixon who applied the name by which the Islands are known today. He named them the Queen Charlotte Islands for George III's consort, Queen Charlotte, and his ship bearing the same name.

What follows is a construct of the Haida culture at the time the Islands were first discovered.

Population and Settlement Pattern

An estimated 9,800 Native Americans, now called the Haida, lived on the Queen Charlotte Islands at the time the first Europeans sailed to its shores in 1774.[4] Village sites were influenced by their social and economic organization. The Haida were divided into two matrilineal exogamous moities called Raven and Eagle. Each moiety contained several clans. Originally, each clan formed a social and political unit, that is, each clan resided in its own

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[3]George Dixon, A Voyage Round the World, But More Particularly to the Northwest Coast of America: Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 (2nd ed.; London: George Goulding, 1789), p. 322.

[4]Alfred L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America (Berkeley: University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XXXVIII, 1939), p. 115.

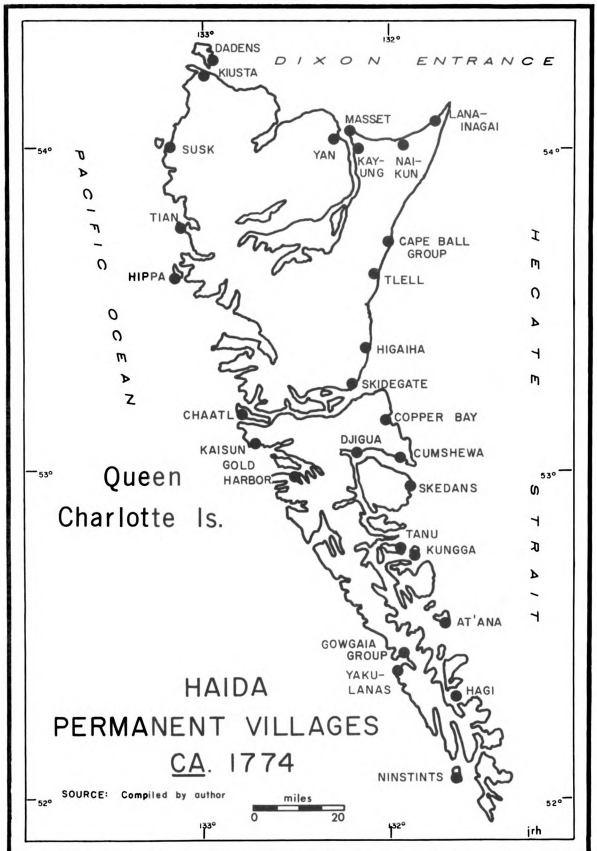
village. At the time of contact there were thirty-four clans of Haida living in an equal number of villages. In addition to the permanent villages, each clan owned other territory, including fishing streams, berry patches, stands of red cedar or other resources (Fig. 8).

Economic activity also influenced the settlement pattern. Livelihood was wrestled from the sea; the sea provided food, transportation, and fuel. Villages, therefore, were placed just above the reach of high tide. The village, approachable only by sea, consisted of massive houses strung out eave to eave along the beach.

Material Culture

A lineage occupied each large house. These houses were rectangular, between forty-five and fifty feet wide and thirty-five feet from front to rear. A frame, hewn from cedar logs, consisted of six, eight, or ten vertical posts. Rafters ten inches wide and three to four inches thick were joined to the upright posts with mortices and tendons. The peak of the gabled roof reached twelve feet above the ground and sloped to a height of six to seven feet at the eaves. The most important feature of the house, however, was the carved vertical pole used as a doorway. This, of course, is the so-called "totem pole." It had a round or oval hole cut through it as a door. The roof opened in the middle to serve as both window and chimney.

FIGURE 8


133°
132°
DADENS
KIUSTA
DIXON ENTRANCE
MASSET
LANA-
INAGAI
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NAI-
KUN
PACIFIC
OCEAN
TIAN
CAPE BALL
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HECATE
HIPPA
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HIGAIHA
SKIDEGATE
CHAATL
COPPER BAY
DJIGUA
KAISUN
CUMSHEWA
53°
Queen
GOLD
HARBOR
SKEDANS
STRAIT
Charlotte Is.
TANU
KUNGGA
AT'ANA
GOWGAIA
GROUP
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PERMANENT VILLAGES
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NINSTINTS
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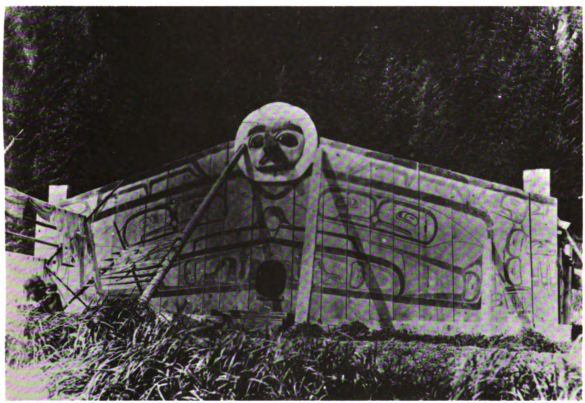
A pit five feet deep was dug in the center of the floor, occupying the entire floor except for a six foot ledge on all sides. The pit floor itself, was covered with woven mats (Fig. 9).

FIGURE 9

HAIDA HOUSE AT CUMSHEWA CA. 1880



Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

The huge houses were occupied only during the winter. With the coming of summer, those Haida who were physically able left the permanent village for fishing or gath-

ering stations. On these sites, small huts were thrown together. A hut consisted of three poles lashed to a tree and covered with slabs of cedar bark. Although it was barely high enough to sit in upright, early visitors to the Queen Charlotte Islands reported that as many as twelve people lived in a hut.[5]

Technology and Economy

Wood was the primary raw material. It was used to construct houses and to fabricate items ranging from fishhooks to sixty foot canoes. Red cedar was the principal wood. It is a soft, even grained wood which cleaves easily. The spruces, hemlocks and firs, which make up the major part of the forests on the Islands, are cross-grained and too stout to be easily handled with the pre-contact tools of the Haida.

The pre-contact Haida logger attacked the towering red cedar with a varied tool kit. Included were adzes, chisels, wedges, mauls, knives, and sanding equipment. Of these tools the adze and the chisel were employed regularly for cutting and planing. Sharp igneous rocks, bone horn, and beaver incisors provided the cutting edge for the chisels. In addition, iron blades occasionally appeared on the chisels prior to direct European contact. Since no

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[5]F. W. Howay, ed., Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast 1787-1790 and 1790-1793, Vol. LXXIX, Collections (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941), p. 234.

iron was known to have been smelted anywhere along the Northwest coast, its presence is still a mystery. It could have been obtained through trade via the Bering Strait from Siberia. Another theory suggests that iron parts of wrecked ships were gathered by natives of the Northwest Coast, and diffused through normal inter-tribal trade.[6]

Felling the giant red cedar was an arduous task. The native logger pecked away at the moss covered trunk with his adze or chisel until it toppled. Once felled, the tree was trimmed, and if the log was to be shaped into a canoe or a container, it was cured for two or three months. Cedars cut solely for construction were split in two with wedge and maul, and then split again to the desired dimension with a variety of angled wedges. Holes were bored with a simple drill consisting of a bit mounted on a shaft which was rotated between the palms. Wooden artifacts were finished with "sandpaper" made from the skin of a dog fish. Wood was frequently bent or molded by soaking in hot water or steaming. With this technology the Haida fabricated a great variety of objects including houses, canoes, storage boxes, dishes, weapons, fishing equipment, and delicate rattles and dance masks.[7]

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[6]An overview of pre-contact culture on the Northwest Coast is presented in Philip Drucker, Cultures of the Northwest Coast (New York: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965), p. 23.

[7]Ibid., pp. 23-4.

Canoes

The Haida canoe maker was a true craftsman, part forester, part sculptor and part naval architect. His skills were rare and his abilities were valuable to his clan. Even locating and cutting a proper red cedar involved much ability. Although red cedars grew near the coast and could be easily felled and transported, coastal trees were poor canoe material. An exposed location such as a sea shore allowed too much sunlight to penetrate the canopy and the trees were prone to develop many branches at low levels on the trunks. These trees would yield unwanted knot holes in the hull of any canoe made from it.

When a red cedar of suitable height and diameter was found, it had to be felled. But if the tree was simply chopped down it would become inevitably entangled in the crowns of neighboring trees. Therefore, the Haida craftsman devised a system to cut the trunk to the correct dimension. This was accomplished by adzing two deep cuts in the trunk, one near the base and the other up the bole at the desired length of the canoe. These two cuts were generally just over half the diameter of the tree. In the upper cut, wedges were driven down parallel to the trunk to start a split. A large, heavy log was placed into the split and the Haida canoe maker returned to his village and let the action of the winds aid the splitting. As the tree

swayed in the wind the split enlarged and the log dropped into the breach. Eventually the bole was split from top cut to bottom cut and the section fell to the ground. This method eliminated cutting completely through the tree at top and bottom, and also eliminated the problem of entanglement.[8]

Once the section was on the ground it was turned split side down, and the canoe maker began shaping the outer hull with his adze. After the exterior was shaped, a series of small holes were drilled along the keel line and the side. The holes were then filled with charred-tip pegs. The depth of the plugged holes acted as guides for hollowing out the interior. When the craftsman, working with his adze, hit the charred plug he knew the desired thickness had been reached. Fire was frequently used to aid the hollowing of the interior of the canoe, but its use was limited to the rough parts of the work. An adze was always used for the finer work.

Usually, this rough work was done in the forest. When enough waste was hewn away and the canoe began to take shape it was dragged to the sea or a nearby stream and pulled to the canoe-maker's village where the canoe was finished.

To broaden the beam of a canoe the hull was filled with water and brought to a boil by adding red-hot stones.

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[8] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

The hot water and steam softened the wood and made it flexible. Very carefully, cross pieces of the desired width were pounded between the gunwales. As the water cooled the sides set in their new position and permanent crosspieces were inserted.

Separate pieces were shaped into high bow and stern pieces. The pieces, designed to add seaworthiness in heavy seas, were carefully sewn to the hull with spruce withes through a series of holes drilled through the bow and stern pieces and the hull.[9] The hull was finished by careful sanding and scorching to inhibit rotting.

Great care was given the new canoe. When not in use it was promptly carried above the high water mark and covered with cedar mats to prevent drying and splitting. If the beach in front of a village was rocky, villagers constructed log runways. Canoes could be rolled down the runways without damaging the hulls.

Another specialized product of the wood craftsman was the wooden receptacle. Primarily, these containers were used for storage of food. The simplest receptacles were troughlike dishes carved from a single block of alder, a wood which was easily worked and added no flavor to food. These troughs were usually undecorated. However, wooden dishes used for ceremonial occasions bore elaborate inlays and low-relief carvings.

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[9] Ibid., p. 30.

The most important vessels made by the Haida were their storage boxes. All four sides of these boxes were made from a single piece of wood. A plank, hewn to the desired thickness, was grooved transversely at the points which were to be the corners. The grooved wood was steamed and bent to form a square or rectangle, and each end of the board was mitered and sewn together to form water-tight seals. A bottom was fitted and secured by sewing, and a lid was flanged to insure a tight fit. Intricate designs were carved into the sides and top of the boxes before being used as a storage container. The seams of the boxes were fitted carefully enough so that they could be used as containers for whale and oulachen oil, for boiling water, and for fresh water.

Weaving

Weaving was a third important form of technology. Garments, hats, mats, and containers were produced by weaving spruce roots, inner bark of cedar, cattail fibers, and fibers from other native plants. Spruce roots were woven into hats and basketry. The technique, called twining, renders hats and basketry waterproof. Twined baskets, therefore, were used as cooking vessels into which hot stones were dropped. Red and yellow cedar bark was woven, also twined, into robes and water-repellent rain capes. These capes, generally made from shredded red cedar bark, were

cone shaped with the apex of the cape cut for a head hole. Thick strands of bark formed the warps, but the wefts were thin, tightly spun cords which were widely spaced. The surface of a cedar garment was formed only by the warps.

Another important product of the Haida weavers was cedar bark matting. The bark, cut into strips of equal width, were woven into a simple checker work pattern. If extraordinarily long mats were needed, the bark would be woven diagonally. These mats found applications as furniture, bedding, floor covering, as shrouds, and as protective coverings for canoes.

Skins

Because the climate of the northwest coast of North America is continually damp, animal skins were difficult to prepare and dry. A leather made in the wet littoral would remain soggy, stretch, and tear easily, and quickly rot. Therefore, buckskin developed in the dry interior was found on the Queen Charlotte Islands only as a trade item. However, pelts of fur seal and sea otter were made into highly prized robes. Preparation of seal and otter pelts required little scraping, stretching, or drying, but this simplicity of curing left the pelts neither flexible nor durable.[10]

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[10] Ibid., p. 38.

Dress of Haida at time of Contact

Good descriptions of the physical appearance and dress of the Haida were recorded by early explorers of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Standard apparel for both men and women were cloaks and robes of woven fiber or animal pelts, usually the sea otter, and conical rain hats woven from cedar roots. Women, in addition to a cape, wore a thin frock, of skin or fibers, which reached below the knees. The legs of the men and the feet of both sexes were left bare.

Ornaments were worn by both sexes. Shells were popular and usually worn as necklaces, suspended through perforated ear lobes or in the pierced septum of the nose. Haida women wore a labret, or lip-piece, of carved wood. The size of the labret was increased as a woman grew older until it reached three inches long, one and three quarters inches broad, and one and one half inches thick.[11] The Haida also practiced extensive tatooing. Designs of clan crests especially among those of high rank, covered the body.

Subsistence Activity

The Haida gathered food from a variety of sources depending on the time of year. When spring arrived, they

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[11]Jonathan S. Green, Journal of a Tour on the North Coast of America in the Year 1829 (New York: Hartman's Historical Series, 1915), p. 42.

moved to summer villages and fishing stations, and sought their primary food species, the halibut. These fish, which when mature range from 80 to 200 pounds, were eaten fresh or cut into strips and dried. Halibut was harvested until early summer. Some men left for the North Coast for the opportunity to kill fur seal passing through Dixon's Entrance.[12] Following the seal migrations, about mid-July, the men moved to the streams to fish for the sockeye salmon. Berries ripened with the coming of spring. The women gathered strawberries, thimbleberries, currants, and gooseberries to be eaten fresh. Salmon berries and fireweed were stored in oulachen oil for winter consumption; salal berries and blueberries were crushed, made into cakes, dried and stored for winter use. Frequently the cambium layer of spruce or of hemlock was eaten fresh, or it was dried and stored in boxes.[13]

Because there are so few fresh water streams on the Islands, salmon was not nearly as important to the Haida as the halibut. However, sockeye salmon was caught in July at the mouths of the Ain or Yakoun Rivers and Skidegate Chuck. Pink salmon began to run in August and continued into January. Most Haida families returned to their permanent winter villages with dried and smoked halibut and salmon. On

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[12]Harrison, Ancient Warriors, p. 91.

[13]A. E. Pickford, "The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands," (paper prepared for the Provincial Museum, Victoria, British Columbia, 1947), p. 26, (Typewritten).

their return they gathered cedar bark to weave and chose suitable cedar trees to be used as canoes. Roe collected from the salmon was boxed with oil and buried at the high water mark in the beach in front of their village to cure. In a week or two the roe was dug up and eaten.

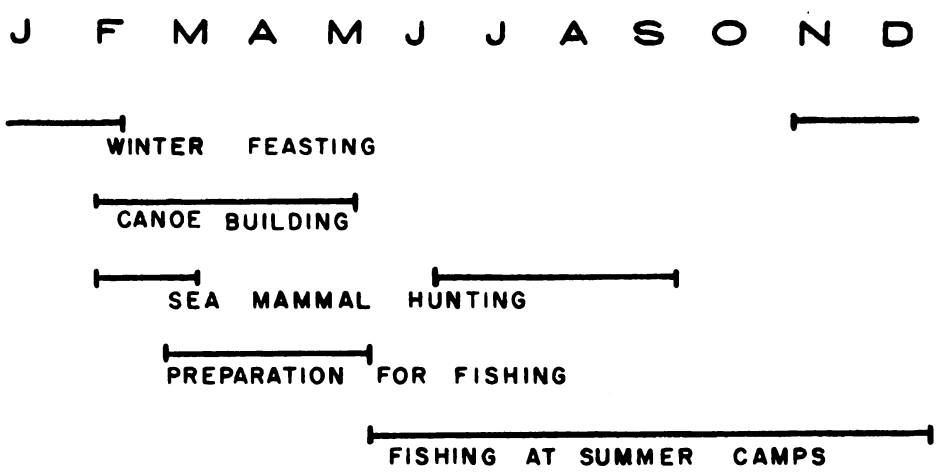
As the wet and cool autumn turned into a wetter and cold winter, some fishermen returned to their streams to catch more salmon for the winter. But most of the Haida feasted and danced, exchanged stories of their exploits, and raided their neighbors from November to mid-February. This time was used by the women to weave garments and mats, and by the canoe makers to carve their vessels. In late February the canoe maker and his family went to their lineage territory to cut the tree they had chosen earlier, felled the section of the bole for the canoe, completed the rough work, and towed the semi-finished canoe back to their village for completion. Work on a canoe ususally continued well into April before it was completed.

After completion of the feasting and ceremonials in mid-February, many young men set out for the west coast of the Islands, especially to Hippa Island to hunt sea lions. Other men would prepare to move into the forests to trap land mammals, particularly land otter, martin, and bear. Hunting for land and sea mammals were minor activities. Some men went to hunt and trap; most villagers, by late March, began readying their canoes and fishing gear for the

journey back to their hereditary halibut and salmon fishing stations. The winter villages were abandoned in early May, and with the beginning of the halibut season the cycle of activities was renewed (Fig. 10).

FIGURE 10

SEASONAL CYCLE CIRCA 1774



SOURCE: Compiled by author

Subsistence Technology

Halibut, the chief Haida food source, was caught with hook and line. The halibut hook was about ten inches long, made from two pieces of wood, mitered to form a "V" and bound together with spruce roots. On one arm a barb of bone or iron was bound with the point of the barb pointed toward the vertex of the two arms. Strands of cedar bark or dried kelp were made into halibut lines. The cedar bark was shredded and woven into cord; the kelp was soaked in fresh water streams until all slime was removed and then

it was dried and braided together to form a tough cord.[14]

Salmon were caught as they swam upstream by the use of a weir. The salmon weir used by the Haida consisted of two lines of closely spaced stakes driven into the stream bed which formed a truncated "V" with the apex pointing upstream. As the salmon swam upstream they were diverted into the small aperture in the fence where they could be easily netted or speared.

Preservation of fish was accomplished by three techniques; drying, smoking, or packing in oil. Both halibut and salmon were dried. The fish were cleaned, cut into strips and hung on specially constructed racks in front of the houses. Salmon was frequently packed into boxes and covered with oulachen grease which had preservative qualities.

Land mammals were trapped with deadfalls, but capturing sea mammals required more effort. Capturing the sea otter involved as many as twelve small canoes which were used to surround the otter herd. Becoming frightened of man and canoes, the otter dove repeatedly until it became exhausted, surfaced, and was clubbed.

Trade

In pre-European times the Haida had established trade relations with some of their neighbors. The Haida

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[14]Joe Weir, informant, September, 1969, in Masset.

canoe was the standard by which all Northwest native canoes were measured, and, therefore, was the most sought after trade item. Canoes were traded to the Tsimpshian and Hailasa of the Nass River for oulachen oil, unavailable in the waters of the Queen Charlotte Islands but used by the Haida in great quantities. Canoe and sea otter pelts were exchanged with the Chilkat section of the Tlingit for the now famous Chilkat blanket. The Chilkat blanket is, more correctly, a shawl woven from cedar bark and mountain goat hair. On it was woven the highly stylized motifs of Northwest Coast art. Haida of rank or wealth prized them for their beauty and value.

Social Organization

Although this paper specifically deals with social organization as it affects settlement patterns, it is necessary to provide a general construct of the complex Haida social organization. As mentioned in the section regarding the settlement pattern the main unit of kinship is the localized, autonomous, matrilineal clan. Each lineage is a member of an exogamous moiety. Within this localized extended family, a person is a member of one of three classes; the nobles, the commoners, or the slaves. Class barriers were insurmountable; membership in a class was hereditary. Slaves were regarded as mere creatures, not really members of the group. Within the noble and common class, each

person held a unique position; no two persons held the same rank. Placement within this continuum of rank was also determined by birth. A first born son held higher rank than that of the second, the second higher than the third, and so on.[15] Certain lineages within clans held higher status. To preserve property and rights of rank, members of these lineages tended to intermarry.

A man of high rank usually directed group activities. He was a "foreman" in house building; he directed the otter hunts, decided where to hunt, fish, and construct villages. The highest ranking man in a village held the position of chief.

Although classes were sharply defined, no noble-serf relationship existed. Nobles did not exploit the commoner because they were not his subjects, but were his kinsmen. And all members of a clan had a stake in the general property of the village.[16]

Attitudes toward slaves were modeled after the noble-commoner relationship. Slaves were the booty of warfare. The Haida, in the ten fathom canoes, plied the waters of the Gulf of Georgia, Queen Charlotte Strait, and Puget Sound. They raided the Bella Coola, the Bella Bella, the Coast Salish, the Kwakiutl, and the Nootka for slaves. Once a slave, a man was neither destined to remain a slave nor were his children slaves. Over a period of years

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[15]Pickford, "Haida," p. 89.

[16]Drucker, Cultures of the Northwest Coast, p. 49.

slaves frequently became full and active members of the group which had captured him.

Wealth

One of the unique features of the Haida and other groups on the Northwest Coast was their quest for and accumulation of material wealth. Objects regarded as rare, or products of arduous labor were deemed valuable. Of particular value were "coppers," plaques pounded from native copper, pelts of the sea otter, "Chilkat blankets," or rare shells, such as Dentalium pretiosum, portions of fishing streams, timber stands, and burying grounds.[17]

An important reason for accumulating material wealth was to give it away in a potlatch. A detailed discussion of the potlatch is beyond the scope of this paper.[18] It is not known if the potlatch was given prior to European contact. Briefly, a potlatch "was a ceremonial given by a chief and his group, as host, to guests composed of another chief or chiefs with their respective group, at which the guests were given wealth goods."[19] The purpose of the potlatch was to announce an event of social significance: marriage of a noble, birth of an heir to an important per-

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Discussions of the potlatch are numerous. See, for example: Homer G. Barnett, "The Nature of the Potlatch," American Anthropologist (n.s.) XL (1938), pp. 349-358. Philip Drucker, Indians of the Northwest Coast (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), pp. 125-129.

[19] Drucker, Cultures of the Northwest Coast, p. 55.

son, or inheritance of wealth or a title. The potlatch acted as a primitive form of social security, for it was the original "chain letter." For example, if chief A had born to him an heir, he would give a potlatch, invite chiefs B, C, D, and E, feast them and give them a "Chilkat blanket." Now chiefs B, C, D, and E were indebted to chief A. When chief B celebrated an important event with a potlatch, he invited along with others, chief A. The Chilkat blanket given to B from A was returned with a sea otter skin as an interest payment. Chief C, D, and E likewise potlatched and gave to chief A a Chilkat blanket plus another article as interest. This process was repeated time and again; it served many necessary social functions. As a man grew old and less productive, his needs were filled by the returns with interest from potlatches he had given as a younger man.[20]

The earliest description of a potlatch was recorded in 1794:

> The house was thronged with guests and spectators. The scene was then opened by the ceremony of introducing the wives of Enow and Cunneah (two of the chiefs) and the candidates for incision or boring; each coming separately and backwards from behind the scenes - being saluted by a regular vocal music of all present and which had no unpleasant effect. In the same manner the presents were ushered in and displayed to the view of all present and thrown together in a heap being a profuse collection of Clamons (war garments), racoons and other cutsarks, comstagas both iron and copper and

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[20]Many views of the purpose and value of the potlatch have been espoused. Ideas given above are those of two informants, William Mathews and Edward Jones of Masset.

> a variety of ornaments. This being done the spectators were dismissed and the guests placed in order around the house. The incision was then performed on the lips and noses of two grown and two small girls which ended the distribution was then begun of the above articles, the Captain receiving 5 otter skins the other articles were distributed among the different chiefs according to their distinction, after which the Captain took his leave and returned on board.[21]

Warfare

Warfare constituted an integral part of the social organization. War was made by single villages or occasionally by two or three villages, but never by the united Haida. In fact, frequently one Haida village raided another Haida village. War was carried on with their neighbors up and down the North Pacific Coast. Motives for plundering included revenge for a real or imagined affront, booty for a potlatch, slaves, or simply adventure.

Fur Trade, 1787-1840

Changes in the Haida began soon after the Europeans arrived on the Islands. Many British and American vessels, lured by sea otter pelts, sailed to the Islands laden with trade goods. George Dixon's mission on his voyage in 1787 was to establish a trade system with the Haida.

First trading encounters proved fruitful. They traded pewter basins and tin kettles for Chilkat blankets. The natives quarreled among themselves to be the first in

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[21]F. W. Howay, "A Yankee Trader on the Northwest Coast," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, XX (1930), p. 91.

trade. In less than one half hour Dixon acquired 300 sea otter pelts. His greatest day of trading was the first of July, 1787 when two hundred Haida swarmed over his ship trading frantically. Dixon bartered brass pins, buckles, knives, rings for a total of 1,821 pelts of the sea otter.[22] The most important trade items were small chisels called "toes." Overwhelmingly the Indians selected the "toes" in exchange for their pelts. For his effort Dixon collected 2,552 sea otter pelts plus some skins of marmot, land otter, and beaver, and sold their collection for $54,867.[23]

An American, Captain Robert Gray from Boston, led the second trading expedition to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1788. Not aware of previous visits to the Islands he dubbed the Islands "Washington Islands" for his sloop which bore that name.[24] Trading along the coast, Gray brought new kinds of goods to trade, the most important of which were potatoes and hogs.[25]

Word of high profits in the sea otter trade rapidly spread in England and the United States. Ships of all

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[22]Dixon, Voyage Round the World, p. 202.

[23]"Letter and Memorandum from Capt. George Dixon to Sir Joseph Banks Regarding the Fur Trade on the Northwest Coast, A.D. 1789," The White Knight Chapbooks, Pacific Northwest Series, No. 10, (White Knight Press, March, 1941), n. p.

[24]Charles Harrison, "Reminiscences," The Queen Charlotte Islander, Nov. 27, 1911, n. p.

[25]F. W. Howay, "Voyage of the Hope," Washington Historical Quarterly, XI (1920), pp. 6-8.

descriptions entered the waters around the Queen Charlotte Islands to trade with the inhabitants. The following table indicates the frequency of visits by ships to the North Pacific Coast.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF SHIPS IN WATERS AROUND THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS

Year	No. of Ships	Year	No. of Ships
1774. . .	1	1788. . .	8
1775. . .	2	1789. . .	14
1776. . .	2	1790. . .	8
1778. . .	2	1791. . .	16
1779. . .	2	1792. . .	33
1785. . .	1	1793. . .	17
1786. . .	9	1794. . .	12
1787. . .	6		

Source: George I. Quimby, "Culture Contact on the Northwest Coast Between 1785 and 1795," American Anthropologist, n.s. L (1948), p. 247. It is not known if all these vessels actually visited the Queen Charlotte Islands, but they were in the waters around the islands.

By 1791 the character of the bartering changed. The Haida became shrewd traders; no longer would a "toe" or a knife bring a sea otter pelt for the Europeans. They received only a dried halibut for such trinkets. One moose hide brought three prime otter skins. A ship's tailor sewed women's garments from old sails which were worth one

otter skin apiece. Carpenter tools became much in demand by the 1790's, and sails designed for the Haida canoes brought three pelts.

After the early 1790's "trinket" trade goods glutted the Islands. The Haida wanted little to do with them. Instead, the Indians drove hard bargains: muskets instead of chisels, blankets instead of bracelets, and staple goods instead of fashion whims. During the decade between 1790 and 1800, the Haida demanded and received muskets, powder, shot, cloth, molasses, rice, and bread for sea otter pelts. They also traded their pelts for tobacco, beads, buttons, brass ware, needles, thread, scissors, and womens' stockings.[26]

Declining markets for sea otter pelts began the end of the trade shortly after the turn of the 19th century. Fewer ships entered the harbors of the Queen Charlotte Islands to trade. In 1807 the H.M.S. Egeria sailed down the west coast of the Islands, gathered furs, and sold them in Canton for $90,000.[27] As the market slumped, and the sea otter neared extinction, trading expeditions gradually fell off.

The Hudson's Bay Company, after merging with the Northwest Company, moved into the territory now known as

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[26]Wilson Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia (Victoria, The Provincial Museum, 1964), p. 57.

[27]Harrison, "Reminiscences," n.p.

British Columbia to take control of the fur trade. The Bay built gathering centers at Fort Simpson (1831), Fort Victoria (1843), and Fort Rupert (1849). The Haida, along with other Northwest Coast groups, gathered frequently around Fort Simpson to bring furs for trade. The major mediums of exchange were the Hudson's Bay Company blankets and muskets. The number of "points" on a blanket determined its value. A point was a black line woven into one edge of a blanket, and they ranged in number from one to three. The more points, the more value. Muskets, in addition to serving as a means of payment also served as a unit of measurement for furs. A pile of otter furs as tall as the height of a musket carried a certain value. Apparently, the Bay hedged on this system; over the years the barrels of trade muskets got longer and longer.[28] Cheating was not one-sided, however, for some Haida trapped beaver, stretched their pelts to approximate the size of a sea otter, and cleverly concealed the beaver skins in the center of the stack of otter skins.

Impact on Spatial Characteristics

Traders for England and the United States brought, in addition to tools and clothing, death through disease, and warfare. Smallpox scourged the Haida in the 1780's and 1790's and again in 1829. The Haida affixed the name "Tom

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[28]William Mathews, Informant, July, 1968, in Masset.

Dyer" to the disease for the sailor who supposedly first brought smallpox to the Islands.[29] The second epidemic spread from Victoria and was named "sickness of the iron people."[30] Measles and tuberculosis in epidemic proportions repeatedly swept through the Haida villages. The English traders introduced liquor by the early 1790's. A traveler, P. J. Cleveland reported liquor in the Haida villages in 1799, and Vancouver offered rum to some Haida. They were familiar with it by 1794.[31] With increasing contact between Indian and European, many children of mixed parentage were born and most often killed. Muskets were one of the most prized products of the fur trade, but they made inter-tribal and inter-village warfare bloody and deadly. A game-like fight with few injuries turned into a battle with heavy casualties.

These phenomena, smallpox and other diseases, infanticide, and warfare directly resulted in population decline. In 1774, the date of first European contact, population stood at an estimated 9,800; by 1839, only 6,693 remained - a loss of over thirty percent in 65 years.[32]

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[29]Green, Journal of a Tour, p. 39.

[30]H. A. Collison, "Mission Years Among the Haida," p. 172. The Haida named the Europeans "Yatz Haade" or Iron People.

[31]F. W. Howay, "The Introduction of Intoxicating Liquors Amongst the Indians of the Northwest Coast," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, VI (1942), pp. 163-164.

[32]Edward Curtis, Indians of North America, Vol. XI (Cambridge: The University Press, 1916), p. 115.

Impact on Material Culture

The basic design and size of the Haida house remained unchanged, but by 1829 detached carved posts or totem poles appeared in great numbers.[33] Houses arranged in a lineal pattern remained as they were in pre-contact times. Clothing exhibited the most radical and most rapid changes. Men replaced their cedar bark cloaks with European blankets. Women, too, wore blankets over their traditional leather frocks.

New tools, especially the iron chisel, or "toes," enabled Haida craftsmen to expand the size and complexity of their products. Canoes were more easily fashioned, and planks for houses hewn more quickly with European iron-bladed hatchets and adzes.

Man-Land Relationships

With the advent of the fur trade, the cycle of seasonal activity was only slightly altered. The sea otter hunting season was extended from mid-June until mid-October, but most men engaged in hunting. Prior to the fur trade very few engaged in other hunting. English and American traders used muskets as a medium of exchange. The combination of using guns plus the clamoring for more pelts resulted in otter over-kill. By 1829, the Haida detected a quite noticeable depletion in number of sea otter available.[34]

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[33]Green, Journal of a Tour, p. 84.

[34]Ibid., p. 86.

Chiefs controlled all the trading for their own village; by doing so they became very wealthy.

Potatoes, introduced by English travellers, were grown by many Haida. By 1825 traders were purchasing potatoes from the Haida. By the 1830's enough traders visited the Islands to make the curio trade profitable. Haida craftsman made hats, baskets, carved pipes and poles from black argillite and sold them to visitors or to the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Simpson.

Summary of Fur Trade Era

Population decline was the most important change to occur during the years of the fur trade. Houses and settlement patterns remained unchanged. New trade allowed increased efficiency in making traditional products but it did not create a new culture. The introduction of agriculture produced a new, but ephemeral relationship to their environment.

CHAPTER IV

THE ERA OF MINES AND MIGRATIONS 1840-1876

The years between the end of the fur trade, 1840, and the coming of the missionary in 1876 were tragic ones for the Haida. Relations with the white man deteriorated. The discovery of gold, copper, and coal created a rush to exploit the Queen Charlotte Islands. Epidemics racked the Haida, causing abandonment of many villages and migration to larger ones.

Mining

Gold

On the 18th of August, 1850, a Haida took a gold bearing rock to trade at Fort Simpson. The Hudson's Bay Company assayed it at $16,000 per ton, and organized an expedition to search for the gold. On March 29, 1851, the expedition sailed for Skidegate Inlet under the command of Capt. Mitchell in the brig Una.[1]

Mitchell discovered the source of the gold along the southwest extremity of Skidegate Inlet at a place called

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[1]British Columbia, Provincial Archives, Copies of Extracts of Correspondence Relative to the Discovery of Gold at Queen Charlotte Island, 1853, p. 1.

Kuper Inlet. It soon became known as Gold Harbor.[2] Additional gold bearing quartz was taken from Mitchell Inlet, a finger of Kuper Inlet. The following year, Mitchell returned with a group of miners to the Inlet bearing his name to extract the ore. A ship from the United States, the Susan Sturgis was also in the Inlet on a similar mission. Miners from the Una blasted out the small vein and returned between $20,000 and $75,000 worth of ore. The Haida from a nearby village encamped near the mine became uneasy by the "white man" taking the valuable "rock" from his land. In order to avoid bloodshed Mitchell ordered the ore loaded onto the ship and left with his booty. A short distance outside of Mitchell Inlet, the Una ran aground, caught fire, burned to the waterline, and sank. Fortunately, the American ship, Susan Sturgis was near enough to rescue Capt. Mitchell and his crew. But the Una and her valuable cargo slid from the rocks to the bottom of Moore Channel.

Although the Gold Harbor venture proved disastrous, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, James Douglas, remained optimistic for a rich strike on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Gold fever subsided after 1852 only to flare up again in 1859. Once again the Hudson's Bay Company sent an expedition to the Queen Charlotte Islands. This search, under the command of Robert W. Torrens, began from Victoria

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[2]Gold Harbor, or Kuper Island now bears the name Hibben Island.

on July 1, 1859. After spending the 16th through the 22nd at Fort Simpson, Torrens set sail for Skidegate Village to see if the villagers knew of any gold discoveries. Hearing of no new sites, Torrens sailed through Skidegate Inlet to the village of Skatskais (Chaatl). Near the village Torren's miners found only small veins of gold in quartz.[3]

The local chief, Edenshaw, with two of Torren's men sailed to Copper Islands on the east coast to gather samples. Assayers valued the samples: copper 96 lbs. per ton valued at $72.00, iron and gold $135.00 per ton.[4] Hopes for a gold rush faded, but copper brimmed on the horizon as a potential boom.

Copper

After the first copper finds by Edenshaw and Torren's men, rumors of new-found riches radiated from the Queen Charlottes. In Victoria, officials of the Queen Charlotte Mining Company heard these rumblings of riches. The company sent Francis Poole, a young mining engineer to investigate the rumors. Poole arrived at Burnaby Island, on the east coast of Moresby Island near Edenshaw's first finds. He sank a test hole and discovered a rich copper vein. The mining company sent workers to extract the ore which was sold in England. But the copper mines soon played out;

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[3]Letter, Capt. Robert W. Torrens to Gov. James Douglas, Dec. 29, 1859, British Columbia, Provincial Archives, pp. 1-3 (Handwritten).

[4]Ibid., p. 5.

the mines closed, and the miners moved away.

Coal

Ten years passed between the discovery of copper on Burnaby Island and the coal finds near Skidegate Inlet.[5] However, nothing was done with the coal until the Queen Charlotte Coal Mining Company was formed in 1865 to work the seams.[6] In contrast to the gold and copper deposits, the coal seams were extensive. But the operation quickly succumbed to poor transportation to the sea and lack of nearby markets.

The mining era lasted but a brief fiteen years, yet its impact was permanent. Although mining did not spur the economy of the Islands, it did bring Europeans to settle on Haida lands. The mining settlements were small and ephemeral, but they gave rise to grandiose plans of pioneers. Roads would be built, railroads would grace the Islands, and large cities would be built.[7] Through mining, the Islands and their native peoples became known to missionary societies which sent key personnel to investigate the Islands as a new mission field. The Islands became known to speculators who sought land for mining or agri-

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[5] C. Nogero, ed., Queen Charlotte Islands (Jedway, British Columbia: Jedway Commercial Association, ca. 1909), n.p.

[6] British Columbia, Provincial Archives, Memorandum of Association of the Queen Charlotte Mining Co. Ltd., Oct. 14, 1865, p. 1.

[7] Nogero, Queen Charlotte Islands, n.p.

culture. The mines opened the Islands to permanent European settlement.

Traders settled first. Hudson's Bay Company posts at Fort Simpson and Victoria attracted most of the Haida trade. With Fort Simpson and Victoria, the Bay saw no need for a port directly on the Islands, that is until an American invaded their territory and set up a trading post in the village of Cumshewa, then moved to Masset and built a blockhouse for a trading post and home in 1869. Upon hearing of the Yankee incursion into Company territory, Bay officials in Victoria became agitated. The trader, Charley the Langleyman, built his trade on cheap liquor known locally as "hootchum." Charley did a roaring business. Unfortunately for Charley, one night when the villagers of Masset were roaring drunk they attacked his blockhouse and forced him to flee one hundred miles to Skidegate.[8] Charley obtained a canoe, sailed to Fort Simpson, and sold his trading post and remaining stock to the Hudson's Bay Company. The Bay hired a Mr. A. Cooper to man the post at Masset, to which he moved in 1871, marking the date of the first permanent settlement on the Queen Charlotte Islands by a non-Indian. In 1874, Martin H. Offutt and his Tsimpshian wife assumed management of the Masset post. By this time, trade included, in addition to fur seals and sea otter, a con-

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[8] Kathleen E. Dalzell, The Queen Charlotte Islands, 1774-1966 (Terrace, British Columbia: C. M. Adam, 1968), p. 76.

siderable amount of fish oil, rendered from dog fish livers.

These fish traders from the Hudson's Bay Company opened the Queen Charlotte Islands to settlement by non-Indians. Others soon followed. They will be discussed in Chapter V.

Resistance to the Europeans

Intrusion of the white man onto Haida lands was not always warmly greeted. Haida hostility toward Europeans surfaced in 1851. The sloop Georgiana ran aground in an inlet in sight of Cape St. James on November 21, 1851. A group of Haida sailed up to the wreck, climbed aboard, and robbed the crew and passengers of their valuables and their clothing. The looters, determined to milk this opportunity to the limit, held the twenty-seven passengers and crew for ransom. The native Islanders demanded blankets, shirts, trousers, coats, muskets, cotton prints, handkerchiefs, comforters, pistols, caps, blue beads, pearl buttons, tin dishes, silver dollars, shoes, vests, powder, shot bags, blue duffles, scarlet cloth, some shot and ball, and a little rum from the Hudson's Bay Company.[9] In response to the demands made by the Haida, the Bay at Fort Victoria shipped the goods listed in Table 4 on December 1, 1851.

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[9]Letter, William Rowland, Master of the sloop Georgiana to the Commanding Officer at Fort Simpson, Dec., 1851, British Columbia, Provincial Archives.

TABLE 4

RANSOM GOODS

Goods	Value		
		s/-	d.
250 plain blankets, Blue-bar (3 pts.). .	116	2	11
150 plain blankets, Red-bar (3 pts.) . .	70	6	3
896 yds. 27 in. grey cotton.	22	8	3
2 plain blankets, Blue-bar (2 pts.). .	22	15	4
60 fine cotton shirts	14	5	4
93 lbs. Canadian Roll tobacco	13	19	4
54 plain Red-bar blankets (3 pts.). . .	25	6	3
27 blue cloth capes	28	7	3
27 warm vests with sleeves.	19	2	6
27 warm corduroy trousers	16	17	6
4½ doz. long waisted hose	14	1	3
27 pr. strong shoes	16	4	3
27 Scotch bonnets	5	4	2
37 blue serge shirts.	9	18	2
27 pr. white serge drawers.	7	17	6
2½ doz. white cotton braces	1	3	7½
	383	2	1½
		($1,838.91)	

Source: Letter, William Rowland to Commanding Officer, Fort Simpson.

Another example of the growing resentment felt by the Haida toward the white man occurred in 1859 when Robert W. Torrens master of the schooner Victoria Packet, landed at Skidegate village. Relations with the villagers were friendly and cordial until evening when Torrens and his party were asleep. Torrens related the following incident in his journal.

> We were awakened to the Suspicion of Treachery by the first of the Indians (who were not armed when we landed) rushing down in great numbers to our tent armed and evincing the strongest excitement. An angry altercation ensued among them - ourselves being silent Spectators - unconscious of its origin yet prepared for any emergency that might occur.
>
> Maskilkengans a Man of Note, tho not a chief, was the instigator of this moment, and it became at once apparent that both by language and gesture he was endeavoring to excite a feeling of hostility towards us on the part of the Indians.
>
> Our somewhat critical position may best be understood by my recording the tenor of his Argument as translated to us in Chinook (Jargon) by one of the Tribe - 'these white men,' he said, 'are come to take our lands and our property from us - if you will assist me to put them to death, not one be living in ten minutes.'[10]

Fortunately for Torrens and his men the Skidegate chief stood on their side. After three or four hours, with the aid of the chief, they fled to canoes and fiercely paddled under a flood of musket fire to the Victoria Packet.

Changes in Spatial Organization

John Work, a Hudson's Bay Company official, gathered population data and estimates from traders and other visitors to the Queen Charlotte Islands. He produced the first estimated census from 1835-1840 of the Islands. Unfortunately some of the villages he named cannot be traced because Work's interpretation of the names is dubious, or his spelling renditions are so different from those used more recently. Table 5 is Work's census.

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[10]Letter, Torrens to Gov. James Douglas, p. 2.

TABLE 5

HAIDA POPULATION CA. 1840

Village	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total	Houses
You-ah-noe					234	
Click'ass					417	
Kwundlas					148	
Lu-lan-na (Lulana)	80	76	69	71	296	20
Howkan					458	
Chal-chi-nie (Chotcheni)					249	
Nigh-tasis (Kung)	70	69	72	69	280	15
Masset*	630	650	589	604	2473	160
Ne-coon (Nai-Koon)	24	27	29	42	122	5
Ase-quang (Ho'sakun)	34	31	27	28	120	9
Skidegate	191	182	176	189	738	48
Cumshewa	80	74	63	69	286	20
Skie-dans (Skedans)	115	121	98	105	439	30
Quee-ah	87	79	68	74	308	20
Cloo (Kloo)	169	164	105	107	545	40
Kish-a-win	80	74	85	90	329	18
Kow-welth (Chaatl)	131	146	145	139	561	35
Too (Tian Tigun)	45	49	50	52	196	10
					6693	

Source: Work's census is found in George W. Dawson, "Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands." Report of Progress for 1878-79 (Montreal: Geological Society of Canada, 1880), p. 173.

*According to John R. Swanton, Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida, Vol. VIII Memoirs (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1909), p. 295, the population figure for Masset includes Yan and Kayung

In 1860 smallpox ravaged the Islands when a group of Haida visited Victoria during a raging epidemic. The Governor at Victoria ordered all natives to return to their homeland to avoid contamination. Bay ships rounded up the Haida and towed their canoes northward toward the Islands. Near Nanaimo, the Islanders cut themselves loose from their tow, paddled ashore, and camped. Just a few days lapsed before most of their number broke out with smallpox and died. Unfortunately, a few survivors sailed to the Islands, and carried the dread smallpox with them. After their return to the Islands, smallpox swept through the Haida villages killing approximately 2,300, nearly one third the total population.[11]

The scourge returned in 1862. A passenger aboard the ship Rebecca bound from New Aberdeen to Victoria via the Queen Charlotte Islands fell ill with smallpox on the northward leg of the journey. To prevent contamination of the entire crew and passengers, the captain ordered the infected passenger put ashore at the Queen Charlottes near Cape St. James. He rapidly infected the Ninstints villagers and many died.[12]

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[11]Harrison, Ancient Warriors, p. 175; Duff, The Indian History of British Columbia, p. 42.

[12]Francis Poole, The Queen Charlotte Islands (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1872), pp. 194-95.

On to Victoria

The movement back and forth to Victoria fit into the annual cycle, especially for the villagers from the southern Islands. A high proportion of Haida always were absent from the Islands. However, a majority of those absent were prostitutes, not only in Victoria but also in settlements on the Frazer River, Puget Sound and the gold mines of the Cariboo in the interior of British Columbia.[13] Inhabitants of the northern villages shuttled to Fort Wrangel and Fort Simpson and other northern settlements for trade and prostitution. Prostitution brought with it venereal disease, crippling and/or killing more of the already disease-ridden Haida. Charles Harrison, an early Anglican missionary, lay blame for the Haida downfall to their women and smallpox.

> Before the advent of the missionary, smallpox and the corruption of their women were the principle causes for their disappearance. The Haida women being good looking in comparison with the women of the other coast tribes, had before my arrival been special prey of the coarse libertines of a large population in Victoria and New Westminster, until virtue was almost unknown amongst them.[14]

In the 1840's members of many coastal groups gathered at Fort Simpson, on the British Columbia mainland.

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[13]Robert Brown, "The Land of the Hydahs, a Spring Journey due North: The Voyage of the Goldstream to Queen Charlotte Islands with a Reconnaisance of the Coast of B.C. and the Eastern Coast of Vancouver Island, Spring of 1866," British Columbia, Provincial Archives, p. 2, (Transcribed from the handwritten).

[14]Charles Harrison, "Reminiscences," The Queen Charlotte Islander Vol. I, June 10, 1912, n.p.

At one time, according to eyewitness reports, more than 14,000 Indians were camped near the fort. This same witness also noted the prominent evidence of smallpox and syphillis.[15]

Spatial Organization

By the 1840's repeated sickness, alcohol, and intertribal warfare had cut the population of the Haida. Two decades later the Hudson's Bay Company started trading posts at Masset and Skidegate which were frequented regularly by trading vessels. Haida from other villages journeyed to either Masset or Skidegate to barter for European trade goods. Although desire for trade goods was an incentive to abandon villages and migrate to others, no single reason can be established for all the migrations. Though no one cause can be pinpointed, a definite pattern of migration appears over the nearly fifty years in which the Haida were leaving old villages, founding new communities, or consolidating in older ones.

Migration focused on the villages of Masset and Skidegate, but these two villages were the last to receive the moving population. As a general rule villages farthest away from the eventual receptors, Masset and Skidegate, were abandoned first. Those distant communities relocated generally at points nearer the ultimate receptors but not

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[15]George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey to the Northwest Coast, 1841-1842 (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), pp. 206-7.

in these villages. Migration to Masset and Skidegate was accomplished in a series of steps. The west and north coast villages were first vacated; the east coast villages were abandoned after 1876.

Migration was brought about by a combination of phenomena: rapid reduction of village population, village sites no longer appropriate for changing technology, and the quest for trade advantages.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, recurrent ravages of smallpox and other diseases rendered many villages inviable. The survivors of a stricken village sought refuge with a neighboring group.

Changing technology, specifically the changing transportation technology rendered village site locations obsolete. Originally village sites were chosen because they were not easily accessible from the sea. An enemy found it difficult to rush quickly into a village. However, the site quality of inaccessibility became a great disadvantage. Enemy canoes were kept out, but sailing vessels and later steamers were also kept away. The advantages of site thus reversed themselves under the impact of European culture. The least desirable village site in traditional times became the most desirable site in the post-contact era.

Migration also occurred in order to seek a better relative location. Traders established a post at Masset in 1871 and used Skidegate as a port for collection and

trade. Other villages vying for trade moved nearer these two ports or sought to establish trading posts in their own villages.

Around 1850, the people of Yaku-lanas, a village on an arm of Gowgaia Bay in Moresby Island, were being attacked incessantly by the Ninstints people from Anthony Island. After many raids and losses to Ninstints slavery, the Yaku-lanas abandoned their villages and moved northward to the head of a small bay on Graham Island, now known as Tian Bay. Then the Yaku-lanas built the village of Tian (Teaen).[16] From the Haida folklore the Ninstints apparently continued their attacks on the Yaku-lanas people after they built the village of Tian. After several years the people of Tian again fled northward to a site in Perry Passage between North and Graham Islands. They were welcomed by Edenshaw, chief of the village of Kiusta. Here the Yaku-lanas people built another new village called Yaku.[17]

Edenshaw moved his village, Kiusta, in 1853. He believed that leaving his village in the treacherous waters of Perry Passage and moving to a site with a better harbor his village would draw more trade with passing vessels and the Alaskan Indians. Edenshaw chose a site in Naden Harbor to build the new village of Kung.[18] This Naden Harbor site

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[16]James Deans, Tales from the Totems of the Hidery (Chicago: International Folklore Association, 1899), pp. 63-4.

[17]Ibid., p. 64.

[18]Dalzell, Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 65.

again was not suitable for attracting trade, so in 1875 Kung was abandoned and the villagers moved to a point of land known as Klashwun Point and founded the village at Yatza (Knife-point town).[19]

A faction of the Ninstints people of Anthony Island traveled northward in the 1860's to Frederick Island, called Susk by the Haida. There this group built the village of Te, commonly known by the name of the Island - Susk. By the end of the decade of the 1850's Susk was abandoned and the remaining villagers moved to Alaska.

Another west coast village, Tian, south of Susk moved to Yan, a village site across Masset Inlet from the village of Masset. Table 6 indicates migration between the 1830's and 1875.

The trading posts at Masset and Skidegate created strong centripetal forces on the Queen Charlottes. With the exception of the Yaku-lanas to Yaku move and the Kiusta to Kung move, all migration occurred in or after 1871. Figure 11 illustrates the migration pattern to 1876. Village names underscored with a solid line represent those villages which existed in 1875. Those underscored with a broken line represent villages which received in-migration and later, they, themselves, were abandoned. The general pattern exhibits a west to east trend with a concentration near the sites of the trading posts, Masset and Skidegate. But

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[19]Dawson, "Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands," p. 162.

FIGURE 11

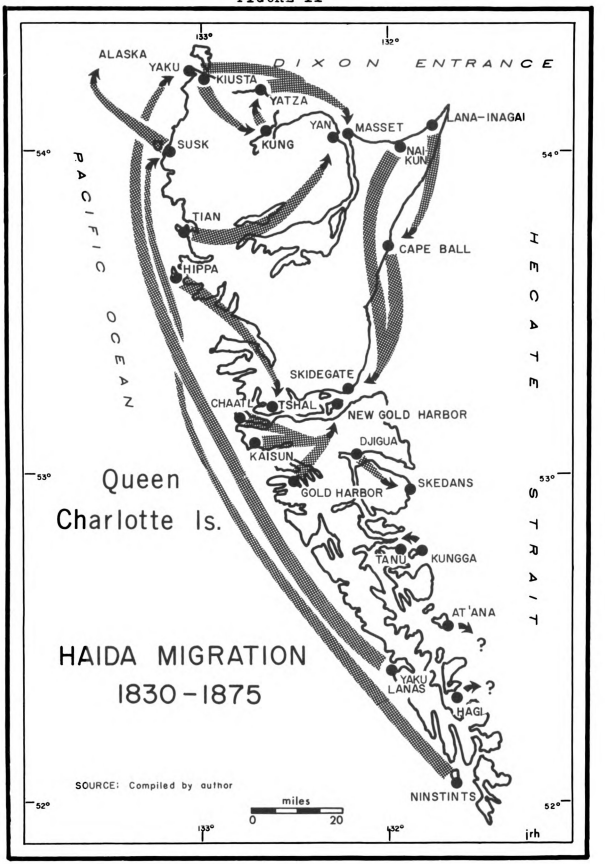
133°
132°
ALASKA
YAKU
KIUSTA
YATZA
DIXON ENTRANCE
LANA-INAGAI
MASSET
YAN
KUNG
SUSK
NAI KUN
54°
54°
PACIFIC OCEAN
TIAN
CAPE BALL
HECATE STRAIT
HIPPA
SKIDEGATE
CHAATL
TSHAL
NEW GOLD HARBOR
DJIGUA
KAISUN
53°
Queen
Charlotte Is.
GOLD HARBOR
SKEDANS
53°
TANU
KUNGGA
AT'ANA
?
HAIDA MIGRATION
1830-1875
YAKU
LANAS
?
HAGI
SOURCE: Compiled by author
NINSTINTS
miles
0
20
52°
52°
133°
132°
jrh

TABLE 6

MIGRATION 1830-1875

Date	Village Abandoned	New Village or Recipient
pre-1836	At'ana (Ramsey Is.)	
pre-1836	Hagi (Bogus Is.)	
ca. 1850	Yaku-lennas	Yaku
1853	Kiusta	Kung
1870	Tian	Yan
	Koga	Skedans
	Kungga	Tanu
1875	Kung	Yatza
	Ninstints	Susk (Te)
	Hippa	Tsahl
1870-75	Chaatl	Xaina (New Gold Harbor)
	Kaisun	"
	Gold Harbor	"
	Susk	(Alaska)
	Naikun	Skidegate
	Lana-Inagai	Cape Ball group
	Cape Ball	Skidegate
1875	Yaku	Masset

these two villages themselves, received only minor in-migration. Masset absorbed only the people of Yaku, and Skidegate received the inhabitants of Nai-kun, Lana-Inagai, and the Cape Ball group.

In 1875 the villages of Yatza, Yan, Masset, Skidegate, New Gold Harbor, Tsahl, Skedans, Tanu, a fraction of Ninstints, Dadens, Cumshewa, and Kayung remained.

Thus, Haida migration reached the second of three phases. Although fishing and hunting still required some movement to traditional sites, the most important spatial movements during the period between 1840 and 1876 were those

innovative migrations involving permanent changes in the settlement pattern. Migration continued until the close of the 19th century. Details of these movements and influencing forces will be discussed in the next chapter.

Haida Land Question

Five hundred miles south of the Queen Charlotte Islands in Victoria meetings were underway which would have marked effects on Haida spatial organization and economy. The first Legislative Assembly of the Colony convened in 1856, and at that meeting James Douglas, first governor of the Colony of Caledonia, reiterated his policy toward the Indians of the Colony.

> I shall, nevertheless, continue to conciliate the good will of the native Indians tribes by treating them with justice and forbearance and by rightly protecting their civil and agrarian rights.[20]

Governor Douglas took steps to protect Indians from exploitation by miners after the gold strikes on the Fraser River in 1858. Douglas proposed that each family be granted land which could not be sold, only inherited from generation to generation. Later, in 1861, the governor ordered surveys made "for marking out distinctly the Indian Reserves throughout the colony."[21]

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[20] Official Treatment of the Indians of British Columbia (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1967), p. 7.

[21] Ibid.

These original movements toward establishment of Indian reserves would later have marked effects on Haida spatial organization and the economy.

Material Culture, 1840-1876

The thirty-six year period between 1840 and 1876 were difficult years for the Haida. Death from diseases cut their population in half. But as villages were abandoned, and numbers declined, their grand houses continued to be built and totem poles reached ever skyward (Figure 12).

FIGURE 12

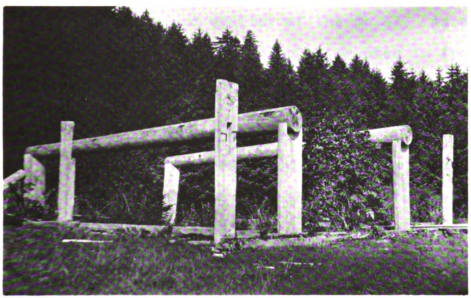
VILLAGE OF CUMSHEWA

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Houses remained as large as they were at the time of contact, forty by fifty feet; some were reported with dimensions to seventy-five by one hundred feet.[22] Figure 13 illustrates the immensity of the framework of the houses built in the 1840-1876 era. The village pattern, however, remained unaltered through the era.

FIGURE 13

HOUSE FRAME AT SKIDEGATE



Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Although houses changed little during the first century of contact, house posts, or totem poles, changed dramatically. Totem poles, as pointed out in Chapter III, appeared very early in contact history. Ingraham, in his

[22]Harrison, Ancient Warriors, p. 55.

journal of 1790, reported "2 pillars in front of Haida villages, ... 40 feet high."[23] Development of the so-called classic totem pole began after 1840 and reached its zenith between 1860 and 1880 during the period of trade and, later, occupation by the white man.[24]

The Haida displayed their wealth gained through the fur trade by erecting totem poles. After 1860 the number, size, and quality of totem poles broadcast the economic status of a villager.[25] Intense and bitter rivalries sprang up over the size and quality of the poles. As a result of these rivalries, forests of poles erupted in front of the Haida villages (Fig. 14).

Man-Land Relationship

The usual pattern of subsistence - total resources from the sea - had continued unbroken from the time of contact until the early 1850's. In 1854 the Hudson's Bay Company introduced agriculture to the Queen Charlottes' Haida. The Company believed that if the Haida had a stable agricultural source of food, they could spend more time in search of furs, and less time in search of food. In their earlier years of trading, the Bay found that potatoes were readily eaten by the Haida. In 1834, the Company introduced

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[23]Edward Keithman, Monuments in Cedar (Ketchikan, 1945), p. 33.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Marius Barbeau, Totem Poles (2 vols.; Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1942), I, p. 513.

seed potatoes and growing techniques to the Haida.[26] By 1859 patches of cleared land near the villages sprouted with potatoes and turnips.[27]

FIGURE 14

SKIDEGATE

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Although gardening was successfully introduced, too little arable land was available to support the population.

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[26]R. C. P. Baylee, "Vancouver and Queen Charlotte's Island," The Colonial Church Chronical, May, 1854, p. 416.

[27]Letter, Torrens to Gov. James Douglas, p. 5.

Fishing and the seasonal cycle it produced remained the dominant mode of living for the natives of the Queen Charlotte Islands.

In addition to fishing, gardening, and fur trading, the Haida engaged in the manufacture of argillite carvings, gold, silver and wooden jewelry and household utensils. Already, by the mid-1860's Haida handicrafts were widely known and sought by art and curio collectors.

These new economic pursuits entered and altered the seasonal cycle. Early each summer, those engaged in argillite carving sailed from their village to the argillite quarry on the banks of Slate Chuck Creek. Slate Chuck is located one mile north of Anchor Cove in Skidegate Inlet. The quarry itself is found a few miles up stream from the mouth of the stream. Upon completion, the argillite carvings were taken to Fort Simpson, Victoria, Wrangell, Alaska, and Seattle in the 1850-60's. In the 1870's Prince Rupert and Ketchikan, Alaska were added to the trading stops.

Trade was not limited to curios. Exchange with neighboring groups flourished. Hudson's Bay Company blankets replaced otter and seal skins as the medium of exchange.[28]

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[28]Hudson's Bay Company trade blankets were distinguished by points or lines woven into the edge of the material. All trade goods were valued in blankets, even other blankets. The most valuable blanket was the four-point, which, at $1.50 per point, was worth $6.00 Canadian dollars.

With the Tsimpshian, the Haida traded blankets for oulachen grease and in return the Tsimpshian exchanged blankets for Haida canoes.

CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF THE MISSIONARY 1876-1920

Until 1876 European impact on the spatial organization, man-land relationships, and cultural landscapes had been covert. Migration, depopulation from disease, and the rise and fall of the fur trade all produced marked effects on the Haida. Yet all these forces were incidental. No one imposed their will on the Haida way of life until the missionaries came to the Queen Charlotte Islands.

The idea for a mission station on the Islands in the mid-1850's originated with R. C. P. Baylee who wrote a letter to the Colonial Church Record which stated that ". . . the establishment of a mission to endeavor to rescue the natives from their state of heathenism and barbarism by diffusing among them the knowledge of Him who came to be 'the light' of the world."[1] Baylee wrote of frequent wars, occasional cannibalism and of the Haida ability to carve stone and build ships. Because of these skills, Baylee saw fit to call the Haida the "Anglo-Saxons" of the North Pacific Coast. In order to break the chain of "degradation"

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[1]Baylee, "Vancouver and Queen Charlotte's Island," p. 411.

Baylee felt "we must take as many of the native children as possible into schools, and keeping them separate from their parents and friends."[2]

Baylee's first call for an Island mission went unanswered and was forgotten. Sixteen years later, however, Mission Life published another plea to open a mission on the Islands. The author said, "No one can look into Mr. Poole's encouraging account without seeing that a band of true missionaries would have a very helpful prospect in trying to place the future civilization of the Queen Charlotte Islands on a right basis."[3]

A Mission to Masset

From the time of the establishment of Metlakatla on the mainland in 1857 the spiritual needs of the Islanders were met by ministers who journeyed to the Islands for short stays.[4] Many Haida in search of medical services and Euro-

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[2] Ibid., p. 416.

[3] "An unoccupied Mission Field," Mission Life, 1869, p. 13. This note was written in response to an account of life on the Queen Charlotte Islands by Francis Poole which was published in Mission Life, Feb. 1868, p. 97.

[4] William Duncan, from the Church Missionary Society in London in 1857 set up a mission at the Tsimpshian village of Metlakatla 20 miles from the Hudson's Bay Company Post of Fort Simpson. Duncan set up a church and school and trained local Tsimpshian as lay ministers in addition to other English missionaries who eventually went to the Queen Charlottes and other coastal outposts.

After the government of British Columbia denied Indian claims to the land, Duncan and his 1,000 charges in 1887 moved to Alaska and built New Metlakatla. See Henry S. Wellcome, The Story of Metlakahtla (2nd ed., London: Saxon and Company, 1887), and George T. B. Davis, Metlakahtla, A True Narrative of the Red Man (Chicago: The Ram's Horn Company, 1904).

pean trade goods left the Islands and settled in Metlakatla.

A young missionary, William Collison, serving at Metlakatla volunteered to operate a mission at Masset, the site of the Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post. In June of 1876 Collison and his wife boarded the canoe sent to bring them back to Masset. Collison took to Masset the rules and objectives of the Metlakatla mission set forth by its founder, Rev. William Duncan. The objectives were:

1. To give up Indian deviltry
2. To cease calling conjurors when sick
3. To stop gambling
4. To cease potlatch or giving away their property for display
5. To cease drinking intoxicating liquors
6. To cease painting their faces
7. To rest on the Sabbath
8. To attend religious instruction
9. To send their children to school
10. To be cleanly
11. To be industrious
12. To be liberal and honest in trade
13. To build neat houses
14. To pay the village tax[5]

With those objectives in mind, Collison landed at Masset. He was first impressed by the foul odor which palled about the place. Curious he searched for the source of the odor

> And found, to my 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 have fallen to pieces revealing the contents, whilst skulls and bones were scattered around.[6]

Collison persuaded the Masset villagers of the health haz-

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[5]Wellcome, Story of Metlakahtla, p. 20.

[6]William Collison, In the Wake of the War Canoe (Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1915), p. 103.

ards of these remains, and had pits dug near the mortuary poles to push in the moulding remains.[7]

Collison obtained smallpox vaccine from the Canadian government, and vaccinated many Masset villagers, but some who received the vaccine had violent reaction to the drug. They threatened to shoot Collison for poisoning them.[8]

Collison served at Masset until 1883. During his tenure he built a church, ministered to the sick, and traveled to preach at other Haida villages, including Skidegate. Upon his return to Metlakatla, a replacement was sent to Masset. Charles Harrison, a young Scotsman, was the choice. In March, Harrison arrived to begin his work.

Harrison, whose outlook was less altruistic than Collison's, found only four adults and two children had been baptized. Of the people he wrote:

> The whole of the people were heathens and the cult of the medicine man was in full swing and rattling over the sick and making the night hideous with his screeching were the two principle parts of his profession.[9]

Harrison considered the large plank houses too large and cold. To improve their houses he made arrangements with a lumber firm in Port Essington to ship over schooner loads of lumber in order that the Indians could build "white men's houses."[10]

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[7]Ibid., p. 220.

[8]Ibid., p. 203.

[9]Harrison, "Reminiscences," The Queen Charlotte Islander, Vol. I, May 28, 1912, n.p.

[10]Ibid.

His next goal was to end the potlatch which he referred to as the "impoverishing native custom of giving away property."[11] And his tactics proved efficient. After a potlatch had been given and a man had distributed all his wealth, Harrison would call a meeting of all who had received goods to convince them not to give a potlatch in return as custom dictated. Harrison quickly convinced enough people to stop the reciprocity custom, therefore anyone who gave a potlatch was in danger of becoming completely and perhaps permanently impoverished.

Harrison believed that only the most careful Christian training could save the Haida from speedy extinction. To Harrison, Christian training meant strict rules and enforced disciplinary activity. Some of this activity seems to have very little Christian content. For example, of military drills he wrote: "recreation and joy which young and old derive from the military orders are very beneficial and have a tendency to abolish their old heathen customs entirely from their minds."[12]

Harrison wrapped village government and Christian training into a single idea. He established a Church Council to "promote brotherly love amongst the baptized, to

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[11]Harrison, "Reminiscences," The Queen Charlotte Islander, Vol. I, May 28, 1912, n.p.

[12]Charles Harrison, Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record, Sept. 1884, pp. 55-56.

encourage all Indians to attend church, and to give up Sunday work . . . "[13] The rules of this council acted also as civil law for the village of Masset. Among the civil laws were:

1. No one is allowed to be out of doors after the bugle sounds at 10 p.m.
2. No cannon is to be fired after 8 p.m.
3. No work is to be done on Sundays
4. Visitation of the sick and aged only by the baptized.[14]

Although Harrison was a zealot for strict order among his Indian charges, his personal behavior was less than exemplary. Marital problems quickly led him to alcohol and his drunkenness became habitual. For his behavior the Church Missionary Society in London defrocked him in 1890. Out of a job, Harrison returned to Scotland for a short time, but soon came back to Masset, bought land near Delkatla Slough and settled down. Being the only lay white man near Masset he was granted the job of constable and customs agent in addition to being the first white farmer on the Islands. His Delkatla "estate" cost twenty-five cents an acre. Here he planted potatoes and raised beef. He sold potatoes at a dollar a bag or one cent per pound, and his beef brought nine cents per pound.[15]

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[13]Charles Harrison, "The Hydahs of the Queen Charlotte Islands," Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record II new series (1886), p. 184.

[14]Ibid.

[15]William Mathews, interview, Aug. 1968, Masset.

After his retirement Harrison's behavior did not improve. Stories linger of how Harrison rustled cattle belonging to the Masset villagers, butchered the cattle, and sold the meat back to the Masset Haida. Other tales were told of his action as a customs agent. Many Masset villagers sailed to Ketchikan, Alaska for supplies and upon returning Harrison, as customs agent, collected a portion of their food and clothing as payment of import duty.[16]

In summary, Harrison influenced greatly the development of Haida society. The extent of the influence as it pertains to this study will be examined at length later in this chapter.

A Mission to Skidegate

Early in his tenure at Masset, Rev. Collison journeyed to Skidegate and New Gold Harbor to conduct services. After this visit, the Skidegate villagers under the leadership of Gedanst (Amos Russ) issued a plea to the Anglican Church in Metlakatla for a full time minister and teacher. These requests went unanswered.[17]

Undaunted, the Skidegate villagers sent the same request to the Methodist (United Church of Canada) mission at Fort Simpson. A teacher at the mission school, George

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[16]William Mathews, interview, Aug. 1968, Masset.

[17]Rev. Thomas Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast by Canoe and Mission Ship (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1914), p. 263.

Robinson, volunteered to go to Skidegate in 1883.[18] Robinson remained in Skidegate two years and built a small church. Robinson left after steamer service between Fort Simpson and Skidegate was curtailed.

A series of short term missionaries followed Robinson including: G. F. Hopkins in 1884, Rev. A. N. Miller in 1888 to 1892, a lay teacher S. Lazier from 1892 to 1893, and B. C. Freeman in 1893.[19] Freeman stayed fifteen years and was replaced by Dr. John C. Spencer who took charge in Skidegate between 1908 and 1915. Freeman and Spencer left their impact on the Haida.[20]

A Mission to New Gold Harbor

Villagers at New Gold Harbor on Xaina Island first refused a missionary, and chided those at Skidegate for asking the help of a white man. But Xaina Islanders saw that some benefits were to be had and asked that a teacher be sent to their village. Because New Gold Harbor was small and very near Skidegate the Methodists urged these Xaina Islanders to move to Skidegate. They refused to move. Skidegate was no better than New Gold Harbor. The Methodists decided to send a lay teacher to New Gold Harbor to avoid the rivalries. In October, 1885, the mission steamer Glad Tidings put ashore George Edgar and his wife to fill

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[18] Ibid., p. 17.

[19] Ibid., p. 266.

[20] A complete list of missionaries who served at Skidegate and Masset is found in Appendix A.

the charge in Xaina Island.[21] Expecting a white missionary, the Xaina Islanders, became angry to see that Edgar was in fact a Tsimpshian. Why should a Haida listen to an inferior Tsimpshian? After much disagreement, the Gold Harbor villagers agreed to give Edgar a chance. The villagers accepted Edgar and planned and built a little church. However, by 1893 inhabitants of New Gold Harbor abandoned the village, and moved the wood from their church and personal belongings to Skidegate.[22]

A Mission at New Klew

On a voyage aboard the mission ship Glad Tidings to the remaining southern villages, Skedans, Cumshewa, and Tanu, Rev. Thomas Crosby saw the deplorable condition in these villages. At Tanu, Crosby was asked to provide a teacher and a missionary. Crosby tried to convince the people of Tanu to move to Skidegate which was then under the direction of Rev. Hopkins. They, like the people of New Gold Harbor refused to join with Skidegate. They, too, wanted to be in their own village. Crosby, however, did persuade the Tanu villagers to move to a new village site on the north shore of Louise Island on Cumshewa Inlet. This new village, named New Klew, was near enough to Skidegate for the minister to pay bi-monthly visits to the village.

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[21]Robert C. Scott, My Captain Oliver, A Story of Two Missionaries on the British Columbia Coast (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1947), p. 27.

[22]Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, p. 271.

New Klew remained viable until the last half of the last decade of the 19th century. In 1897 New Klew was vacated in favor of Skidegate.[23] All the Haida in the southern part of the Queen Charlotte Islands were united into one village.

Other Canadian Settlers

Other white settlers followed the missionaries to the Queen Charlotte Islands - sparingly at first - then in relatively large numbers.[24] The non-Indian population at Masset in 1881 consisted of Mr. Alexander, the Hudson's Bay Company factor, his wife and ten children, Rev. J. H. Keen and his wife, Charles Harrison and Alexander McKenzie. McKenzie, a former Hudson's Bay Company factor at Masset, became Harrison's drinking partner.[25]

Spatial Organization 1876-1920

The missionaries impact on the Haida produced marked changes in their spatial organization, economy, and cultural landscape. They were for many years unsuccessful in reversing the continual population decline. Prior to the first

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[23] Ibid.

[24] A more complete picture of European settlement from the time of the first missionaries to the 1920's is given in Dalzell, Queen Charlotte Islands.

[25] Wiggs O'Neill, "My Memories" (unpublished MS, British Columbia, Provincial Archives, 1964), p. 10. It is told that McKenzie met his death after a drinking binge with Charles Harrison. Apparently, on the day of his death, McKenzie was walking home from Harrison's house, fell into Delkatla Slough, and drowned in a few inches of water. (Joe Weir, informant, Sept. 1969, Masset).

census in 1889, population estimates vary greatly. William Collison, the first missionary at Masset, estimated the total population in 1876 to be approximately 1,300 with 800 in the northern and 500 in the southern parts of the Queen Charlotte Islands.[26] Dawson on his geological expedition of 1878 approximated the total population in the range between 1,700 and 2,000.[27] Chittenden, in his official report on an expedition to the Queen Charlotte Islands for the British Columbia government, estimated only 800 in 1884. Chittenden's estimates are included in Table 7.

TABLE 7

POPULATION ESTIMATE 1884

Village	Population	Houses
Masset	350	40
New Gold Harbor	108	
Cumshewa	60	18
Skedans	12	25
Tanu	150	22
Ninstints	30	20
Skidegate	100	30
	810	

Source: Newton H. Chittenden, "Official Report of the Exploration of the Queen Charlotte Island for the Government of British Columbia (unpublished MS, British Columbia, Provincial Archives, 1884), pp. 23-24.

[26]Dawson, "Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands," p. 174.

[27]Ibid.

Chittenden enumerated the houses he saw in the village. By using the factor of 7 to 8 per house, the total population can be estimated for circa 1870 (see Table 8). The estimate does not include west coast villages nor does it take into account that many of the houses in the villages of Skedans, Tanu, and Cumshewa were not occupied.[28] If the same density per house equivalent is employed the total population circa 1820 could be in the neighborhood of 2,000 at the time of the greatest migratory activity.

TABLE 8

CALCULATED POPULATION 1870

Village	Number of Houses (x 7-8)	Total
Parry Passage		
Kiusta and Yaku . . .	21	147-168
Tadense (Dadens)	6	42- 48
Kung	15	105-120
Yan	20	140-160
	potential totals	434-476
	totals Table 8	810-810
		1244-1286

Source: Chittenden, "Report of the Exploration," pp. 23-24.

[28]Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, p. 270.

The first official census was conducted by the provincial government in 1889 and published in the first annual report of the Dept. of Indian Affairs of British Columbia of that year.

TABLE 9

HAIDA POPULATION 1889-1900

Village	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894
Masset	445	438	407	401	405	385
New Klew	93	94	93	84	77	73
Skidegate*	192	198	193	197	192	181
New Gold Harbor. .						-
	730	730	693	682	674	639

Village	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Masset	364	354	363	373	378	373
New Klew	58	66	-	-	-	-
Skidegate	171	178	246	252	259	257
New Gold Harbor. .	-	-	-	-	-	-
	593	598	609	625	637	630

Source: Department of Indian Affairs of British Columbia, Annual Report for 1889, p. 263; Annual Report for 1890, pp. 243-4; Annual Report for 1891, p. 244; Annual Report for 1892, p. 314; Annual Report for 1893, p. 309; Annual Report for 1894, p. 280; Annual Report for 1895, p. 359; Annual Report for 1896, p. 432; Annual Report for 1897, p. 85; Annual Report for 1898, p. 235; Annual Report for 1899, p. 258; Annual Report for 1900, p. 277.

*The population for Skidegate and New Gold Harbor were combined until 1894.

In spite of missionary efforts, the native population on the Queen Charlotte Islands generally continued to decline. Some migrated to seek jobs in Alaska, or in the growing cities around Puget Sound. Disease, too, continued to weaken the Haida. By 1895 the British Columbia Department of Indian Affairs called the Haida among the weakest native populations on the Northwest Coast.[29] Measles combined with whooping cough swept the population and tuberculosis became chronic.[30] The population ebbed. Fewer children survived infancy and the birth rate also declined. The population age structure of 1903 reveals further decline.

TABLE 10

HAIDA AGE DISTRIBUTION 1903

Village	Age				
	less than 6	6-15	16-20	21-65	over 65
Masset . . .	65	55	48	175	27
Skidegate. .	36	35	33	146	14
total each age group	101	90	81	321	41
percent total population	15.9	15.7	12.7	50.6	6.4

Source: Annual Report for 1903, p. 264.

[29] Annual Report for 1895, p. 165.

[30] Harrison, Ancient Warriors, p. 61.

Migration Pattern 1876-1897

Figure 15 illustrates the migration pattern from 1876 to 1897. The missions exerted direct influence on the movement of the people of Tanu and New Klew in 1883. Indirectly, the missions exerted centripetal forces in the form of potential education and medical care which might have saved the dwindling Haida from extinction. The sick and broken remaining handful of the once powerful Ninstints people moved to Tanu about 1880.[31] More southern villages chose to move including Skedans. Skedans, which wanted its own missionary decided to join the new community of New Klew instead. Tsahl joined New Gold Harbor. By 1889 Cumshewa had joined Skidegate, leaving only New Klew, New Gold Harbor, and Skidegate in the south.[32]

On the north end of the Islands, migration to Masset occurred earlier. By 1884, the villagers of Yatza had split with the majority relocating in Masset and a few moving to Yan, directly across the Inlet from Masset. All those at Yan, including the former Yatza people, linked with Masset prior to 1884. Masset's closest neighbor in the south, Kayung also was abandoned by 1884.[33]

Villagers at Dadens on North Island journeyed to Alaska by 1882 to join other Haida who had left Susk and Masset. In 1889 all the village sites on the north shore

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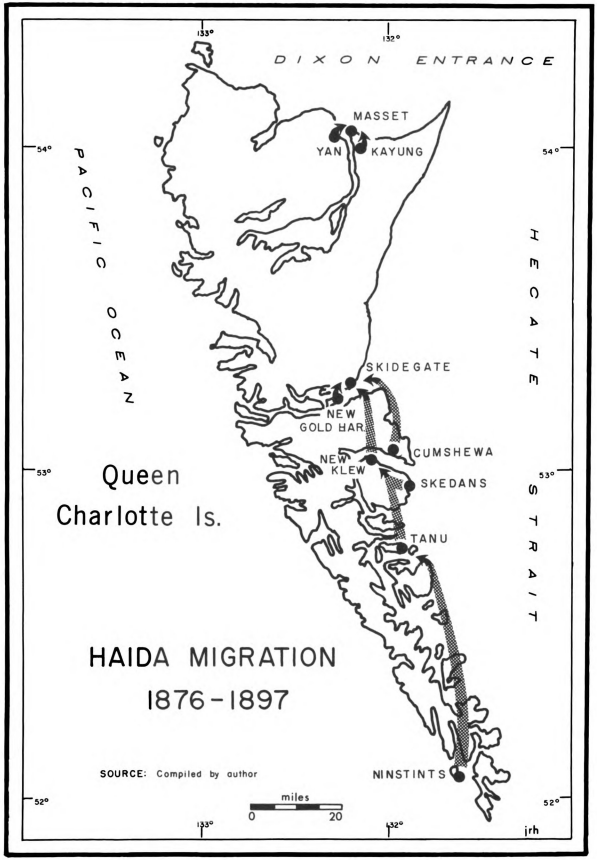
[31]Deans, Tales from the Totems, pp. 64-65.

[32]Chittenden, "Report of the Exploration," p. 23.

[33]Ibid.

FIGURE 15


133°
132°
DIXON ENTRANCE
MASSET
YAN
KAYUNG
54°
PACIFIC OCEAN
HECATE STRAIT
SKIDEGATE
NEW GOLD HAR
CUMSHEWA
NEW KLEW
SKEDANS
53°
Queen Charlotte Is.
TANU
HAIDA MIGRATION
1876-1897
SOURCE: Compiled by author
NINSTINTS
52°
miles
0
20
133°
132°
jrh

of Graham Island were extinct, but the Yatza and Dadens sites saw limited summer habitation as fishing stations.

The eight intervening years between 1889 and 1897 witnessed the demise of two more villages along Skidegate Inlet. In 1893 villages at New Gold Harbor dismantled their houses and church and transported them along with all other belongings to Skidegate.[34] At New Klew, the village razed their church in 1893 and floated the pieces to Skidegate. With the materials from the New Gold Harbor and New Klew chapels, Rev. B. C. Freeman and his charge built an addition to Skidegate church. Dismantling the New Klew church foreshadowed that villages future. For in 1897, the 66 remaining souls of New Klew moved to Skidegate. Of the original 34 villages, only two, Masset and Skidegate, survived the 19th century.

Impact of Mission Period on Material Culture

The missionary period witnessed a complete change in the cultural landscape on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Repeated moving and in-migration to Masset and Skidegate rapidly altered the traditional village plan. In-migration caused crowding in Masset and Skidegate which resulted in the addition of second and even third rows of houses. A second force which helped change the internal structure of the Haida villages and still connected with in-migration was

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[34]Crosby, Up and Down the North Pacific Coast, p. 271.

the carry over of traditional political autonomy in each village. As a village (hence a political unit under one headman) migrated to Masset all members of the migrating village remained together and formed a small enclave attached to the main village of Masset. Therefore, several political entities actually made up the villages of Masset and Skidegate. When Charles Harrison became the Anglican missionary at Masset in 1883 that village was divided into three units.

House Types

Changes in house type followed the alteration of internal village structure. William Collison, the first missionary at Masset, and Charles Harrison, the second, urged the villagers to give up their large, damp, drafty lodges and build cozy English-type houses. Harrison related that the Haida "had only their large and cold wigwams" which were uncomfortable and offered little privacy when he arrived in 1883.[35] To alleviate this perceived problem Harrison arranged to have a firm from Port Essington, R. Cunningham and Sons, ship loads of lumber until the Haida had enough material to build "white man's houses." The first shipment arrived in 1886, but the schooner, Skeena, sank on a return voyage in late December, 1886.[36] Masset, and later the Skidegate Haida, did indeed begin the conversion to small

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[35]Harrison, "Reminiscences," Queen Charlotte Islander Vol. I, May 25, 1912, n.p.

[36]Ibid.

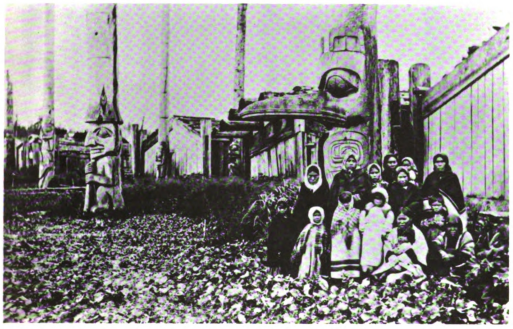
houses. Concommitant with the urgings for smaller houses was the pressure to establish single family domiciles.

Only some twenty years passed before the transition from traditional to European style housing had occurred. Deans reported all but three traditional houses razed and replaced by European dwellings in Masset by 1892.[37]

Figure 16 illustrates the traditional house in the village of Yan between 1870-1880. No European influence

FIGURE 16

YAN CIRCA 1880



Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

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[37]J. H. Keen, "The Masset Mission" Church Missionary Society Gleaner, 1891, p. 36. Deans, Tales from the Totems, p. 17.

appears in the form or material used in these structures. The second photograph, Figure 17, made in Masset, seat of most intense European contact indicates that much change has taken place. Note the alteration in material, but the

FIGURE 17

MASSET CIRCA 1880

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

general consistence in form on these houses. The dwelling in the right fore-ground utilizes a horizontal clapboard siding to replace, or perhaps to cover the traditional

vertical planks. Windows frequently were added as a modification to traditional houses.

The third photograph of Skidegate in 1901 (Fig. 18) illustrates the extent of conversion to European architecture by the turn of the century. And the fourth photograph

FIGURE 18

SKIDEGATE 1901

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

(Fig. 19) taken at Masset circa 1918, reveals a near complete succession to a European cultural landscape, except for two "totem poles" nearly indistinguishable in the center of the photograph.

FIGURE 19

MASSET CIRCA 1918

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Totem Poles: Their Demise

The early missionaries on the Queen Charlottes were never amused by the elaborately carved poles which punctuated the village beaches and house fronts. Their presence, in the minds of these Europeans, smacked of idolatry and

sinfulness. William Collison quickly dissuaded the use of mortuary poles. These "burial" poles containing the moldering dead produced a powerful odor and Collison convinced the Masset villagers that these remains harbored disease. But the house pole and detached crest poles were not easy to dispose of.

The poles standing in the 1880's were those carved and erected during the high period of totem pole construction from 1840 to 1880.[38] By the mid-1880's the missionaries were able to prevent the continued flourishing of the practice. Gradually as the Haida converted to Christianity, they gave up carving. On occasions of zealous religious fervor, many Haida cut down their poles and burned them. Still others, with economic rather than religious motivation, cut and sold their totem poles to eager museums or collectors.[39] In ten years from the end of the high water mark of the carved pole art, 1880, most of the "totems" in the inhabited villages had been destroyed or sold.

The date of the last manufactured pole in Masset is not known. However, one informant, aged 70, vividly remembers as a young boy a preacher telling the villagers that the poles must be cut down or all the people of Masset would go to Hell. The informant reported further that many old people felt badly and wept, but the majority of the poles

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[38]Barbeau, Totem Poles, p. 512.

[39]Ibid.

were cut down, burned or buried.[40] Figure 19 reveals two poles remaining in Masset *circa* 1918, but one, the small one to the left, was a memorial pole for Albert Edenshaw who had died in 1894.[41] Apparently the two remaining poles were destroyed sometime in the 1920's, removing any trace of this cultural manifestation until 1969, when a new government funded pole was erected.

The totem poles in Skidegate followed generally the fate of those in Masset. Consistent, although less direct pressure from the missions, combined with villagers who sought modernity dealt rapid blows to the poles. Many were sold, others simply decayed and fell into ruin. No evidence was found of any forced cutting of the poles. This conclusion is further evidenced by the presence of a totem pole which survives to this day in Skidegate (Fig. 20). It was probably erected in the late 1880's.

The Impact of the Missions on the Haida Economy

The impact of the missionary on the traditional Haida economic system proved as radical as their impact on the spatial organization and cultural landscape. Changes in the Haida use of their natural environment is best illustrated in 1) the continued alteration of the traditional seasonal cycle; 2) the movement toward an agricultural subsistence; 3) the introduction of an industrial economy; and 4) the

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[40]Joe Weir, informant, Sept. 1969, Masset.

[41]Dalzell, *Queen Charlotte Islands*, p. 68.

establishment of Indian Reserves.

FIGURE 20

TOTEM POLE, SKIDEGATE, 1968

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

Alteration of the Seasonal Cycle

Continued population losses and the abandonment and migration which resulted from it reduced the range of the Haida. But under the influence of the missionaries, the traditional cycle, as described in Chapter III, came to an

end. Not all movement ended, but one move was replaced with yet another. For example, the summer move to the fishing stations was replaced by a summer move to work in the canneries on the mainland. Rather than returning from the fishing grounds with the winter's food the Islanders returned with the winter supplies purchased at Fort Simpson or Ketchikan.[42]

The outstanding characteristics of the seasonal cycle during the Missionary period were the continual truncation of seasonal movements to their virtual elimination. The mission period, therefore, converted the Haida from a far ranging to a sedentary society.

Agriculture as a Way of Life

As noted earlier the Hudson's Bay Company encouraged agriculture to insure an ample food supply for their fur hunters. Their persuasion proved fruitless, but the idea of an agricultural Haida still remained.

Shortly after the turn of the century, the two Haida villages contained many small garden plots and additional cultivated lands on traditional family land which had been set aside as reserves. Potatoes grew as the chief crop on these small plots. Turnips, other roots, and hay composed other cultivated crops.[43] From 1917 to 1919, these crops

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[42]Martha W. Boss, "A Tale of Northern British Columbia from Cariboo to Cassiar," (unpublished MS., British Columbia Provincial Archives, 1948), p. 23.

[43]Joe Weir, informant, Sept. 1969, Masset.

played only a small role in the economy of the Queen Charlotte natives. For example, 700 bushels of potatoes were harvested from seven acres. Other roots, grown on ten acres yielded 1,000 bushels; six tons of cultivated hay was cut.[44] Indians consumed most of the potatoes and other food crops, but enough was sold to bring in $700 to horticulturalists. This income is really insignificant when compared to the total income of all Haida of $60,972.34.[45]

By 1919 the amount of cultivated land rose, however, from seventeen to thirty-nine acres. Nine acres of potatoes yielded 450 bushels, other root crops, on five acres, produced 250 bushels, and hay and other fodder crops grew on the remaining acreage.[46] Value of farm products rose to $3,200 in 1919 as total income fell to $54,731.56.[47]

Government aid encouraged agriculture. Each budget for the Queen Charlotte Agency included small allocations for aid in the form of seeds, fencing, and breed animals. Amounts were only a maximum of $118.72 of a $4,951.32 budget.

Husbandry quickly overtook horticulture in value. By 1917 the income derived from sale of beef was $900; by 1919 beef brought in $5,500 far exceeding the income from

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[44]Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report for 1917 (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1918), p. 32.

[45]Ibid., p. 56.

[46]Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report for 1919 (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1920), p. 53.

[47]Ibid., p. 76.

agricultural sales.

Table 11 indicates total income from all sources during the years 1917, 1918, and 1919.

Even though missionaries and government Indian agents outlined the benefits of agriculture and financially supported it, agriculture never became an important economic pursuit of the Haida. After 1920 pressures toward agriculture were reduced and it quickly faded from the scene as an economic endeavor.

The table does reveal, however, the economically important activities - wage earning and fishing - by the end of the missionary period.

Industrial Development

Wage-earning from industrial operations proved to be the greatest departure from the traditional economic pursuits of the Haida. Initial development of copper and coal extraction was attempted during the mid-19th century. These incipient developments were important to the Queen Charlotte natives, but did not directly involve the Haida or their traditional man-land relationships. However, the industrial ventures begun in the 1870's directly affected and included the Haida.

In the Skidegate Inlet region, two men, William Sterling and J. McB. Smith, initiated a pilot plant to extract oil from the livers of dogfish in 1876.[48] The site of this

[48]Charles Harrison, "Reminiscences," Queen Charlotte Islander, Vol. I, Dec. 4, 1911, n.p.

TABLE 11

TOTAL INCOME 1917-1919

Year	Farm Products	Beef	Wages	Fishing	Hunting & Trapping	Other	Interest	Totals
1917*	$700	$900	$17,000	$32,000	$350	$10,000	$22.34	$60,972.34
1918	1,600	4,000	12,000	27,000	700	8,500	33.69	53,833.69
1919	3,200	5,500	12,000	24,000	-	10,000	31.56	54,731.56

Source: Annual Report for 1917, p. 56; Annual Report for 1918, p. 68; Annual Report for 1919, p. 76.

*Income data was not recorded prior to 1917.

first plant was in the place now known as Skidegate Landing. The oilery proved successful. It expanded its facilities in 1879 and bore the name Skidegate Oil Company. In 1882, the company processed 40,000 gallons of dogfish oil.[49] By this date Haida from the local villages supplied most of the labor. The oilery changed hands in 1885, but continued to operate through the First World War and sporadically thereafter through 1925.[50]

Around 1900, Captain William Oliver, a seaman - lay missionary, who had operated a small oilery at New Klew, built an oil processing plant in the village of Skidegate. In January, 1901 the Skidegate Oil and Trading Company of Skidegate Mission was officially incorporated.[51] Oliver managed the plant and Rev. B. C. Freeman, the minister at

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[49]Chittenden, "Report of the Exploration," p. 62.

[50]Scott, My Captain Oliver, p. 118.

[51]Confusion of place names on the Queen Charlotte Islands is common. For example, the official name of the Haida village is Skidegate Mission. There is Skidegate Mission, the Haida village, Skidegate, a non-Indian village with the post office, and Skidegate Landing, the site of the first oilery and now the ferry landing between Graham and Moresby Islands.

The Haida of Skidegate (Mission) applied several times for a post office, but were refused. Robert Tennant, who assumed oilery operations in 1885, applied for a post office using the name Skidegate. Apparently, postal authorities in Ottawa assumed the small non-Indian settlement around the oilery and the Haida village were one and the same. Tennant therefore was granted the post office. For local identification names had to be applied, hence Skidegate, Skidegate Mission, and Skidegate Landing. Now the Haida community is known simply as "the village."

In this study the name "Skidegate" applies only to the bearer of the original name - the Haida village.

Skidegate, served as secretary. The oil works provided employment of the Skidegate Haida and a market for their fish catch. The Skidegate based operation prospered. Oliver and Freeman sold shares in the company to the Haida, and built a larger plant and 300 foot wharf with the returns (Fig. 21).

FIGURE 21

SKIDEGATE OIL WORKS

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

Processing of the fish livers into oil took place in the fall of the year when the dogfish catch was brought in. The Victoria Soap Company purchased all the rendered oil.

The Haida stockholder received shares of the operation profits which provided a good steady income.[52] This community-owned oilery also brought prosperity to the fishermen by paying reasonable prices for dogfish. Robert Tennant, owner of the other oilery, for many years had a monopoly and paid low prices for dogfish and low wages to his employees.[53] During the first years of operation, the co-op oilery expanded and began canning clams to more fully utilize the facilities.

Since the cooperative effort proved feasible Oliver and Freeman established a co-op store in Skidegate. Until this time, all purchases were made at the store in Skidegate Landing, owned, of course, by Robert Tennant. He charged per his usual custom, exhorbitantly high prices for merchandise. Since his was the only store he garnered large profits. The co-op store changed this. The villagers shared the profits from the sale of merchandise.

Declining demand for fish liver oil by the soap industry caused the rapid decline of the oil business. In 1917, A. M. Realing leased the oilery from the villagers and there ends the industry's importance to the Skidegate Haida. After

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[52]Albert Jones, interview, Aug. 1969, Skidegate.

[53]Solomon Wilson, interview, Sept. 1969, Skidegate.

leasing the oil-works rapidly fell into decay. The building collapsed, the wharf rotted, and the machinery rusted on the beach. Concommitant with the leasing of the oilery, the co-op store, too, closed as it became cheaper to order merchandise directly from Vancouver.

The Masset Inlet region industrialized much less than the Skidegate region. The Anglican missionaries made little direct effort to set up manufacturing plants to employ their Haida charges.

Canoe building continued until 1906. The last canoe was commissioned by the National Museum and is now in Ottawa. But building the ten fathom canoe was unprofitable by 1900, and the art died quickly. Although the long canoe perished, boat building did not. Masset was known as the Haida ship yard. Several commercial ship building operations began in the early 1900's. Many small boat-houses sprang up along the beach at Masset to produce schooners, fishing boats, and other small craft.

Other industrial construction employment open to the Masset Haida revolved around the whaling industry. In 1911 and 1912 a whaling station was built in Naden Harbor by the Canadian North Pacific Fisheries, Ltd. Local Haida worked on the construction of the plant and later were involved in its operation. The Naden Harbor plant and another built later at Rose Harbor changed hands many times until contin-

uous operation came to an end in 1943.[54]

A small, but regular flow of visitors, scientists, miners, and curious sightseers had been coming to the Queen Charlottes since the 1830's. After the missionaries brought "civilization" the flow increased, and so, too, did the production of Haida curios. Argillite totem poles, always a popular item, continued in importance, but several new items appeared, such as jewelry made from American silver dollars and twenty dollar gold pieces.[55]

The Haida of Masset during the missionary period between 1876 and 1920 received little economic compensation for giving up their traditional way of life compared to those in Skidegate who were prospering during the same period.

Commercial Lumbering

Lumbering was a native industry for the Queen Charlottes. Untouched forests of spruce, hemlock, and cedar blanketed most of the Islands. Only the muskeg bogs in the northeast lacked a forest cover. The lumber industry, lacking good transportation and ready markets, began inauspiciously. In 1911 only one lumber company and saw milling operation at newly found Queen Charlotte City was operating on the Islands, and British Columbia Lumber Corporation was erecting a mill in Masset. Lumber speculators

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[54]Joe Weir, interview, Sept. 1969, Masset. Dalzell, Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 297.

[55]O'Neill, "My Memories," p. 18.

expected an industry boom upon completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific (now Canadian National) to Prince Rupert.[56]

Little prosperity came to the lumber industry until 1917 when the British Imperial Munitions Board discovered the Island's high quality "airplane spruce." The British government financed the Masset Lumber Company timber camps and mills at Port Clements in Masset Inlet and Thurston Harbor on Moresby Island.[57] Some fourteen lumber camps and five sawmills operated in Masset Inlet by 1918. In these camps and particularly at Buckly Bay near the mouth of the Ain River, Masset Haida began receiving high wages as lumberjacks.[58] Haida at Skidegate worked at the camps along Skidegate Inlet, particularly at Alliford Bay and Queen Charlotte City.

Haida, always skilled wood workers, trained to be loggers. Because of their affinity for wood, their disregard for the wet weather, and their willingness to work the timber companies sought the local Indian as employees. This close relationship between timber companies and Haida remains to this day.

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[56]Harrison, "Reminiscences," Queen Charlotte Islander Vol. I, Dec. 30, 1911, n.p.

[57]Dalzell, Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 225.

[58]Joe Weir, interview, Sept., 1969, Masset.

Transportation 1876-1920

During this period native transportation in and around the Queen Charlottes changed radically. Construction of the long swift Haida canoes ended just after the turn of the 20th century. Thus ended an era of great sea borne mobility for the native Islanders. Locally built and owned boats lacked both the size and seaworthiness of the traditional canoe. In general, therefore, the ships of the white man served as trade and communication links with the mainland. A supply ship, the Otter, visited monthly the Hudson's Bay Post at Masset, laden with flour, bolts of cloth, tobacco, coffee, and other staples. The Otter returned to Prince Rupert with dogfish oil, skins of fur seals, and other furs.[59] Regular steamer service to the Island settlements, both Indian and white, began in the first decade of the 20th century. About 1910 three steamers, the Beatrice, the Amur, and the Queen City, served the Islands twice monthly from Victoria and Prince Rupert.[60] A succession of steamers served the Island throughout the period. The steamer transportation produced few direct effects on the small Haida population. Their main task was to provide mail, supplies, and other services, to the small but growing pioneer communities of Jedway, Ikeda Bay, Collison Bay, and Queen Charlotte City.

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[59]Charles Horetzky, Canada on the Pacific (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1874), pp. 153-54.

[60]Canadian Pacific Railroad Company, "British Columbia Coast Steamship Servie," ca. 1907 (pamphlet).

Overland transportation remained crude during the missionary period. The beach provided the easiest overland route between the two settled areas near Masset and Skidegate. But even this easy 100 mile trip required nearly a week to complete.[61] Few inlaid routes were used. Dawson reported a route from Masset Inlet to Skidegate via the Yakoun River to Yakoun Lake and a half day portage to Skidegate Inlet.[62] This passage already showed signs of disuse by 1878. Trails, primarily along the beaches, were blazed between Masset, New Masset and Delkatla and between Skidegate, Skidegate Landing and Queen Charlotte City. Dawson also described a trail from the mouth of the Yakoun River through the muskeg to the Cape Ball villages on the eastern beach.

Another trail known as the "Mexican Tom" trail ran between Masset Inlet and Tlell on the east coast. Mexican Tom was a local pioneer who widened the route through the muskeg. The route provided the main artery of overland transit between Masset and Skidegate throughout the Missionary Period.

The Land Grab

Confining the Queen Charlotte Haida to small reserves has greatly influenced their spatial organization, their

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[61]"Timber on Graham Island, British Columbia," American Lumberman, June 22, 1907, p. 56.

[62]Dawson, "Queen Charlotte Islands," p. 37.

economy, and the cultural landscape from their inception to the present time. By the time of the first missionaries on the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1876, the federal government of Canada had already set up a system for allocation of Indian land reserves. Each tribe received reserves according to their assumed needs. The number, extent and locality of these reserves was determined for each language group separately. Total number and size of the reserves belonging to each group could be enlarged or diminished in proportion to the changing number of Indians occupying the reserve.

In theory this reserve arrangement sounded realistic if not totally fair. Obviously, all the Queen Charlottes "belonged" to the Haida at one time, and the federal and provincial governments were simply giving back to the Haida small parcels of what was once their own land. But allocation of reserves to the Haida received a somewhat less than warm welcome from the local white citizenry. Charles Harrison, one-time preacher turned itinerant land speculator voiced the collective opinion of many of the Queen Charlotte pioneers in an article in the local newspaper:

> The upshot of the whole matter is that we are asked to look upon the Indians as the owner of these lands whereas there never was anything approaching ownership. There was only occupation; consequently an Indian had no land to sell.[63]

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[63]Harrison, "Reminiscences," Queen Charlotte Islander Vol. I, June 10, 1912.

The whites' claim was based on legalities: the Haida had no written title to the Islands, nor had they ever applied for a title, therefore the natives did not own the land.

Others viewed the land question in terms of citizenship. "Justice to the Indians must not stand in the way of justice to the settlers, who really are the back bone of the province."[64] Economic development and resource exploitation should, in the opinion of many, take precedence over the whims of the uncivilized.

The general theme of the land conflict revolved around what was fair to the whites. They complained that reserves were much too large, that Indians paid no taxes but received government benefits, that the Indian land impeded large corporations such as railroads from developing the Island, and that only the whites had obligations under the system.

Despite the complaints of the settlers, the Provincial and Federal government established a Royal Commission from 1913 to 1916 to re-evaluate the Indian reserves in British Columbia and set new reserves where needed. Since the Haida along with the coastal British Columbia Indians were primarily fishermen, the Commission regarded about five acres per capita as adequate. The Haida population

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[64]Harrison, "Reminiscences," Queen Charlotte Islander Vol. I, July 8, 1912.

was 592 in 1915; they had in trust a total of 3,484.5 acres.[65] Thomas Deasy, the Indian agent at that time, encouraged the commission to grant seven more reserves totaling 360.10 acres for increasing needs for cultivation. After inspecting all twenty-five Haida reserves, the Commission granted the new land (Table 12 and Fig. 22).

TABLE 12

HAIDA RESERVES 1916

Reserve Name	No. on Fig. 22	Acreage	Condition & Land Use	Access
		Masset Reserves		
Masset	1	729	village	water, steamer, road to New Masset, beach to Tow Hill, trail to Skidegate
Heillen	2	70.5	fishing, small gardens	water, small craft, road to Masset, beach to s. end of Graham Is.
Yagan (Yakan)	3	86	"	small boat in good weather
Lamas	4	192.5	camping ground	
Satunquin	5	9	"	

[65] Report of the Royal Commission on the Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia (4 vols., Victoria, 1916) III, p. 726.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Reserve Name	No. on Fig. 22	Acreage	Condition & Land Use	Access
Masset Reserves				
Ain	6	164	fishing station	
Yan	7	264	fishing, gardens	small boat
Meagwan (Mai Kwun)	8	49	fishing, timber	
Kose	9	9	halibut station, timber	small craft, trail
Naden	10	27	fishing, timber	small craft
Kung	11	71	fishing, timber	"
Daningay	12	21	"	"
Yatza	13	45	camping ground	"
Jalun	14	17.5	timber	"
Kioosta (Kiusta)	15	101	shelter for boats	"
Tatense (Dadens)	16	16	timber	"
Skidegate Reserves				
Skidegate	17	854	village, wooded hillside, 100 acres arable land	steamer, trail to Masset, beach trail to n. Graham Is.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Reserve Name	No. on Fig. 22	Acreage	Condition & Land Use	Access
Skidegate Reserves				
Skaigha	18	62	fishing	road to Tlell River
Deena	19	119	"	water
Khrana (Xaina)	20	210	some arable	small craft
Lagens	21	40	fishing, timber	"
Kaste (Copper Bay)	22	38	"worthless"	
Cumshewas (Cumshewa)	23	56	non-arable	small craft
Skedance (Skedans)	24	169	timber	"
Tanoo (Tanu)	25	65	fishing	"
New Masset Reserves				
Susk	26	155		
Sa-ouchten	27	27.4		
Egeria Bay	28	25.0		
Cohoe Point	29	25.0		
(no official name)	30	50		

TABLE 12 (Continued)

Reserve Name	No. on Fig. 22	Acreage	Condition & Land Use	Access
		New Masset Reserves		
(no official name)	31	50		
		New Skidegate Reserves		
New Clew (Klew)	32	27.7		

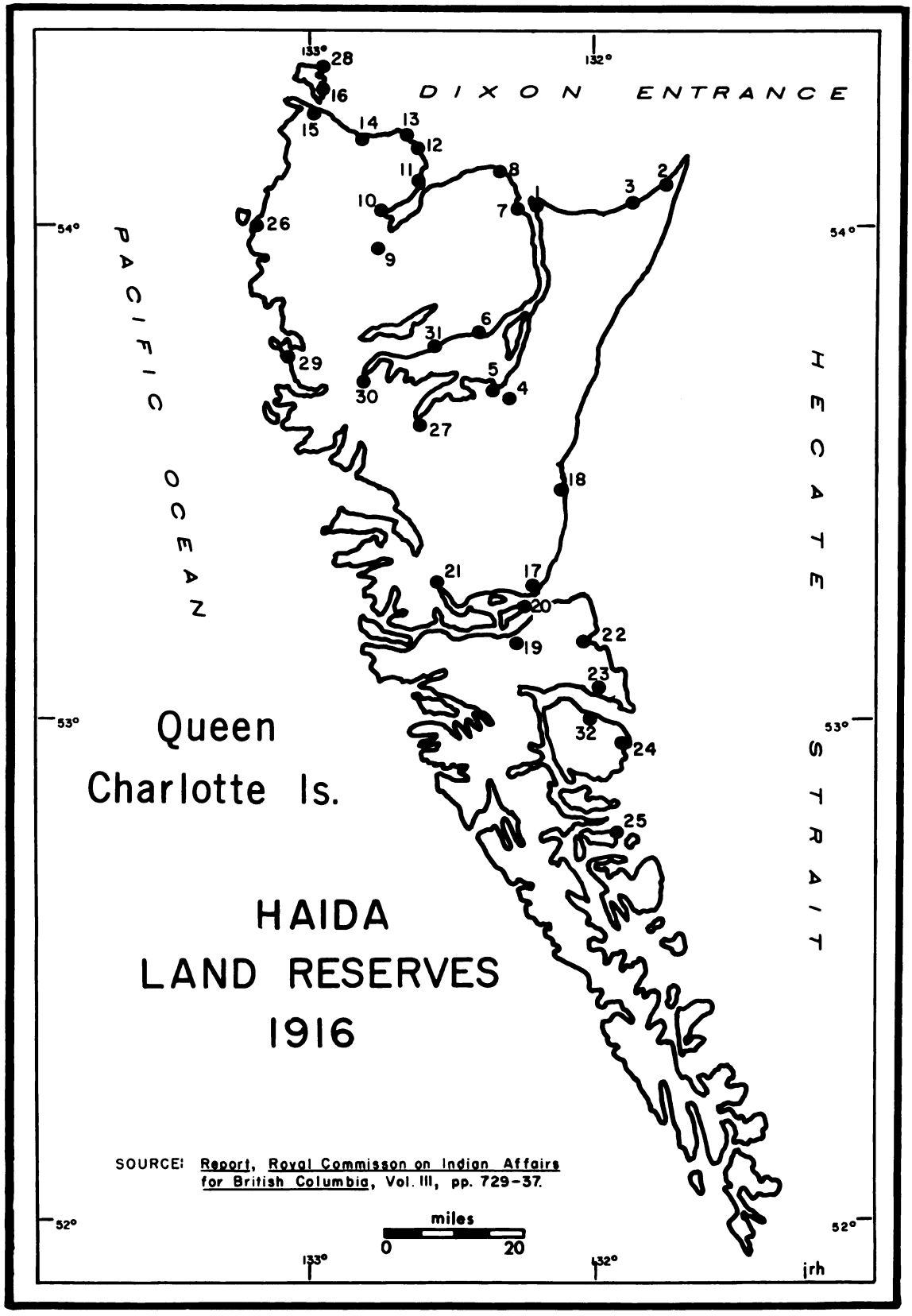
Source: Report, Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for British Columbia Vol. III (Victoria, 1916), pp. 729-37.

The seven additional reserves increased the per capita acreage to 6.44, over an acre greater than the amount recommended by the Royal Commission.[66] Of course this per capita acreage was allocated at the time when the Haida population ebbed at 592 in 1915.

By setting aside permanent Indian reserves on the Queen Charlotte Islands, the Haida were guaranteed small parcels of their traditional homeland. But in the reserve system these once far ranging people became anchored to specific pieces of land. Of course, the reserve system was a

[66] Ibid.

FIGURE 22


133°
132°
DIXON ENTRANCE
54°
53°
52°
PACIFIC OCEAN
HECATE STRAIT
Queen
Charlotte Is.
HAIDA
LAND RESERVES
1916
SOURCE: Report, Royal Commisson on Indian Affairs for British Columbia, Vol. III, pp. 729-37.
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last resort for the Indian, and therefore acceptance came slowly.[67]

Forty four years of missionary contact influenced Haida society far more than any other force prior to and since their coming. Masset and Skidegate were two small Christian communities by 1920. No longer could they be considered mission outposts. The pattern of livelihood and village life were pressed into the fabric of the Haida way of life. And these patterns still outline the routine of village life in Masset and Skidegate.

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[67]The continuing land question produced the impetus which resulted in the formation of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and later the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. See Philip Drucker, Native Brotherhoods on the Northwest Coast (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 168, 1958).

CHAPTER VI

HAIDA IN A COMMERCIAL SOCIETY 1920-1969

The indelible pattern imprinted by the missionaries altered the Haida traditional way of life. From 1920 to the present, modernization, slow growth, and continued commercialization characterize this modern period. No major influence came to the Islands such as the missionary or the mines as in earlier periods already described. It has been a period of adjustment to Canadian life. But here we must stop treating the two villages, Masset and Skidegate, as a whole. Events of the past and ongoing events produce marked differences between the villages. This chapter describes and analyzes the differential change which occurred in the villages.

Spatial Organization

Only two of the original thirty-four villages survived the 19th century, and these two communities, Masset and Skidegate, still remain. No effort was made to establish other villages. The meager population and the territory-locking reserve system prevented any new settlement.

After reaching its all-time low of 592 in 1915, the numbers of native Islanders gradually increased to 658 in

1921.[1] By the special 1966 census the number of Haida living on reserves reached 976 and approached an estimated 1,300 in 1968.[2]

TABLE 13

HAIDA POPULATION ON RESERVES 1921-1968

1921	1931	1941	1951	1956	1966	1968
658	736	791	772	893	976	1300 est.

Source: Census of Canada, 1966, p. 119. Indian News (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, Dec. 1968), p. 6.

There has been continuous out-migration of Haida to cities along the coast and to Vancouver Island. All Haida girls who married whites and moved away from the reserves (a very common occurrence) no longer are considered band members and are excluded from census enumeration. But white women who marry Haida men and live in the reserve are considered band members.

Indian agency and early census officials record little data on population characteristics beyond raw numbers. It can be surmised, however, that infant mortality is high and life expectancy short. Infant mortality today ranks second

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[1] Census of Canada, 1941 Vol. II, p. 146.

[2] Indian News (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, Dec. 1968), p. 6.

as most frequent form of death, following accidents the number one cause of death.[3]

Tuberculosis was endemic during the first thirty years of this century, but it is now nearly eliminated as a health hazard. Accidents account for one in five deaths among British Columbia Indians. Most drown; fire, auto accidents, poisoning, and falls comprise the remainder of the accidents. These accidents are generally connected with the use of alcohol.[4]

Present population growth is rapid in British Columbia. As a whole the Indian birth rate is 59.2/1000 compared with a white birth rate of 22.8/1000. Indian natural increase is about 47/1000 per year. Whereas the natural increase for non-Indian British Columbia is 14.0/1000 per year, Indian women have more children than non-Indian. The average Indian woman has eight children; for non-Indian British Columbia the number is four.[5]

A population age profile (Fig. 23) graphically illustrates the population potential of the Haida population. These population characteristics illustrate a typical rapid growth profile. With a majority of the population under sixteen, economic problems are predictable. A small number

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[3]Wilson Duff, "British Columbia Indian Population 1835-1961," (paper presented to the Federal-Provincial Welfare Commission on Indians, Nov. 9, 1962), p. 12.

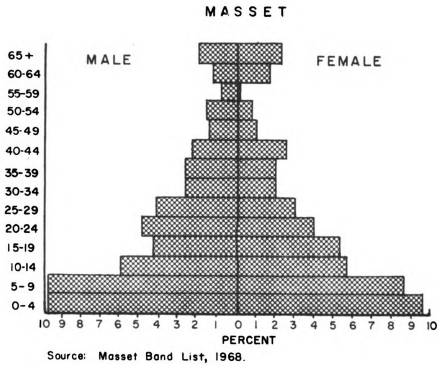
[4]Ibid., p. 49.

[5]Ibid., p. 7.

of wage earners must support a large non-productive population.

FIGURE 23

POPULATION AGE PROFILE 1968



Source: Masset Band List, 1968.

Seasonal Cycle

As year-round employment became common during this period most remnants of a cycle of activity ceased. However, in the 1920's, 30's, and 40's seasonality still characterized yearly activities. But since cyclical activity changed with the rapidly changing economic activity, the cycle will be summarized at the end of the section on economy.

Migration is characterized by a drifting of men to other communities along the mainland and to Vancouver Island to seek employment on the "outside" but most eventually drift back to the Islands. Young women often marry white men who are working temporarily on the Islands and move away with them. Until 1969 students desiring to go beyond grade ten went to school on the mainland or on Vancouver Island.

As the early decades of the 20th century passed, the Haida in general became less and less mobile. The ranging habits were curtailed by job obligation, little private transportation, and poor roads.

Transportation

Water transport dominated all other forms from 1920 until after World War II. Several steamers provided connections with Victoria, the lower mainland, and Prince Rupert. Service gradually declined as the Prince Rupert to Masset run yielded declining profits. By 1946 the steamer Cassiar alone served the Queen Charlottes from Prince Rupert. And in 1951 the Union Steamship Co. abandoned the run and scrapped the Cassiar.[6]

Today no ship crosses Hecate Strait from Prince Rupert to the Islands. Most supplies for the Islands come from Vancouver aboard Northland Navigation. The Haida

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[6]Robert C. Leithead, "Pacific Coastwise Fleet of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, 1901-1951," Steamboat Bill of Facts, Vol. IX (March, 1952), p. 24.

Carrier, which makes a weekly run from Vancouver, calls at other small coastal communities before arriving at Queen Charlotte City each weekend. The ship sails to Prince Rupert and back to Vancouver.

Passenger travel to and from the Islands is aboard commercial airlines. Canadian Pacific Airlines began services to the Sandspit Airport after the Canadian Armed Forces abandoned it after World War II. Today Pacific Western Airlines offers daily jet service from Vancouver to Sandspit. North Coast Airlines reaches Masset from Prince Rupert with several flights daily. All Prince Rupert-Masset service is via amphibian Cessna, Grumman Goose, or Beaver aircraft. Inter-Island travel is provided by North Coast Amphibian on scheduled, semi-scheduled, and charter service.

The overland transportation system has been improving. In 1920 the old Mexican Tom trail was no longer adequate for travel between Masset and Skidegate. A plank highway was found to be the only feasible method of conquering the muskeg. The new road, not completed until 1928 directly followed the previous trail. The road surface consisted of two twelve inch planks for each wheel; two way traffic was impossible. If two vehicles met one backed up to the nearest turn off. Two six inch planks were added to each side of the road to ease travel (Fig. 24).

FIGURE 24

PLANK ROAD

Source: Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia.

By 1941 a new fast road was desperately needed. The old plank road, therefore, was gradually dismantled and replaced by a sixteen foot wide grand highway.[7] The entire length was not completed until 1951.[8] A road between Masset and Port Clements was completed in 1958, and in 1968 work

[7]Anthony Jordan, "The Bishop Takes a Sick Call," Oblate Missions, June 1946, pp. 4-7.

[8]Dalzell, Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 291-92.

was begun on the road connecting Queen Charlotte City, Skidegate and Tlell to straighten and pave it. Overland transportation is gradually improving on the Islands and many Haida now operate automobiles.

The Contemporary Material Culture

Since 1920 little reflection of the old Haida culture has been visible. The Indian villages are nearly indistinguishable from the non-Indian villages. Two traditional remnants, however, are present in the Haida villages: 1) the lineation of the village internal structure, and 2) the presence of totem poles.

Village patterns still reflect, in general, the traditional placement of houses. All houses face the sea, even in the second and third rows. No true grid pattern has ever developed. Skidegate village pattern reflects the lineation best (Fig. 25). Totem poles of course demark a non-European community. But until 1969 only Skidegate had such a pole which villagers erected in the late 1880's (See Fig. 20, p. 105). Masset lost all its poles to the ax of the collector and the fire of the missionary. Not until August, 1969, did Masset have a symbol of its heritage. On the 22nd of August a forty foot pole, carved by Robert Davidson, Jr., a Masset Haida attending the Vancouver Art School under the sponsorship of a British Columbia cultural grant, was raised with the cooperation of both the Eagle and Raven moieties.[9]

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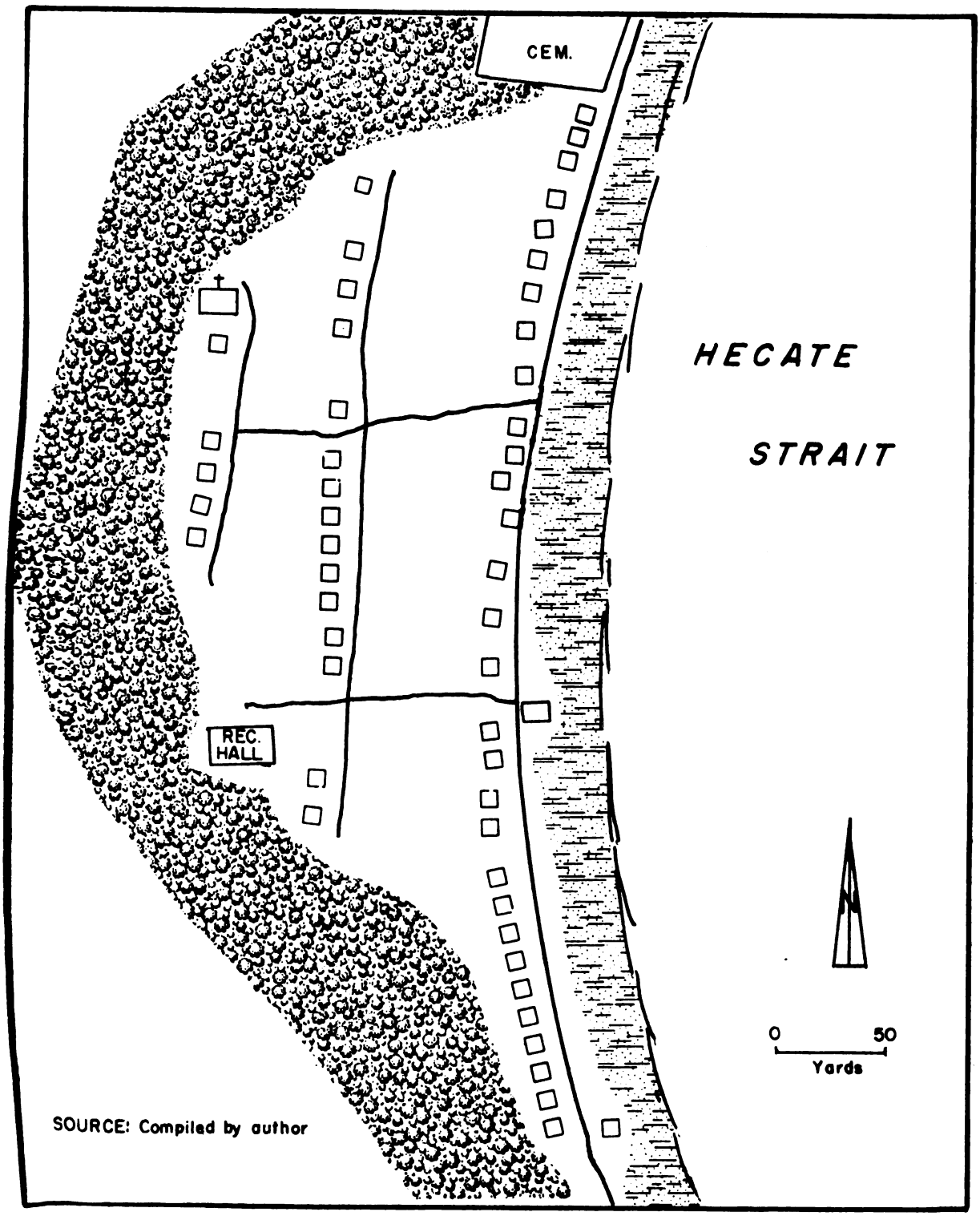
[9]"Totem Pole Raised," Vancouver Sun, Aug. 23, 1969, p. 38.

FIGURE 25

SKIDEGATE 1969



Houses

The "comfortable English cottage" recommended by early missionaries rapidly replaced the grand traditional Haida houses. By 1920 the old lodges were gone. Most dwellings in the present-day communities were built in the 1930's and exhibit a simple story and a half frame construction, and doubtlessly have not been painted since they were built. As these old houses weather, the growing population requires new dwellings. New houses, generally, are built with the aid of Canadian Federal Government grants. Until 1969 individual Indians were granted $7,000 dollars to build the standard house, but in 1969 the amount was raised to $8,500. Government subsidized houses contain 800 square feet of floor space with two or three bedrooms (Fig. 26). Materials now cost $6,200, therefore, the labor and wiring must only amount to $1,300. Few carpenters will build a house for that amount. Only young couples who can supply their own labor are enjoying the housing benefits.[10]

Housing in Skidegate does not reflect the economic prosperity of the community. Federal housing grants apply only to persons earning less than $8,000 annually, but many residents of the village earn more than that and, therefore, are disqualified. Inability to receive mortgage money is a second problem which plagues residents of Skidegate. Because individuals have no title to the land, only band mem-

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[10]Robert Bell, Indian Agent, interview, Sept. 1969, in Masset.

FIGURE 26

NEW HOUSING, MASSET

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

bers may reside in the village. Banks and mortgage companies refuse loan applications.[11] Several Skidegate Haida have constructed large new houses without the aid of a mortgage (Fig. 27).

Public and commercial structures have been built in the villages. Each has a church, a meeting hall, a school, and a general store. Masset general store is currently run illegally by a white from New Masset. Two general stores in Skidegate are run by local villagers. The Skidegate meeting hall opened in 1967 after it was built by local villagers

[11]John Williams, Village Manager of Skidegate, interview, Aug. 1969.

FIGURE 27

HAIDA HOMES, SKIDEGATE, 1968

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

using money raised locally. The school in Masset is used for grades one through three; the Skidegate school is now used as a residence. Village children are bussed to Queen Charlotte City for their education. The Alfred Adams Memorial Building in Masset provides band council meeting rooms, Indian agency offices, and a prospective post office (Fig. 28).[12]

[12]Alfred Adams, a Masset Haida, organized the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and later the Native Brotherhood. See Drucker, Native Brotherhoods on the Northwest Coast.

FIGURE 28

ALFRED ADAMS CENTER

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

The Cemetery: an Indian Landscape

Although the Indian heritage remains barely distinguishable in the villages, the Haida landscape, ironically, appears in their graveyards. The cemetery was a post-missionary phenomena. Carving which adorned the mortuary pole readily was transferred to the tombstone. This practice of carving headstones with traditional designs was neither unusual nor long lasting, but produced interesting graveyard art. Masset cemetery exhibits more carving than the graveyard at Skidegate (Figs. 29 and 30). These photographs illustrate some of the tombstone carvings done circa 1888-1891.

FIGURE 29

HEADSTONE CARVING - MASSET

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

FIGURE 30

HEADSTONE CARVING - MASSET

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

Contemporary Economy

Masset and Skidegate look basically alike with the same style house and the pursuit of similar activities. What is the evidence for a sharp difference between these two communities? They differ in degree rather than in kind. Skidegate Haida gained experience from direct participation in industry and related commercial fishing, but those at Masset had little experience in a commercial economy. Skidegate is, financially, the most economically successful Indian community in Canada. In 1968 the average family income in Skidegate was $4,642.00; average income in Masset stood at only $1,428.00.[13]

Contrary to the norm, Haida income decreases with mobility. More than 24 percent of the Masset Haida live off the reserve, whereas only 18 percent of the Skidegate Haida live elsewhere. Those living off reserve earn 15 percent less than those living on the reserve.[14]

By comparison, non-Indian Canadians averaged approximately $4,000 annually, and the figure for Skidegate appears more remarkable when compared to the average family income for all Canadian Indians which was as of 1968, $1,361.[15] Several Skidegate men make over $10,000 annually. The Haida, unlike many other North American Indians, earn

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[13]Harry B. Hawthorn, ed., Contemporary Indians of British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1968), p. 51.

[14]Hawthorn, Indians of British Columbia, p. 113.

[15]Indian News, p. 6.

a livelihood doing what they do best; fishing and wood-working.

Skidegate has been more successful at living in modern Canadian society than Masset for a variety of reasons. Prime among them is community leadership, both Indian and white. Others include good fortune and a better environmental situation.

In the Masset area commercial fishing began as early as 1918. However, crabbing, more than fishing brought employment and wealth to that port of the Islands in the 1920's and 1930's. Numerous Masset villagers sailed small boats to set crab traps in Naden Harbor. But this site was found to be the breeding ground for many crabs and trapping was forbidden.[16] Another region, North Beach, averaging 800 yards wide at low tide and twenty miles long, buried a potential fortune in razor clams under its sands. Clamming demanded tremendous amounts of back breaking labor, but the Masset Haida were willing to provide it.

In 1923 E. H. Simpson and H. B. Baleington, realized the profit potential of the razor clam industry, and formed the Langara Fishing and Packing Company. They built a clam cannery at Tow Hill in 1924.[17] The Masset Haida and the whites from New Masset together rode the clamming boom for the next six years. Each spring all able-bodied men, women,

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[16]"Wild, Lonely North Beach Home of Shy Razor Clam," Prince Rupert Daily News, Annual Queen Charlotte Supplement, 1965, p. 4.

[17]Ibid.

and children descended on the beach armed with boxes, bales, and shovels. Six Model T Ford trucks labored under the load of razor clams as they were transported to the Tow Hill cannery. Since low tide was the best time for digging, villagers guided by Coleman lanterns worked in the middle of the night if necessary. During the boom years the little Tow Hill cannery packed just over a million pounds of razor clams each spring.[18]

The Depression even reached the remote Queen Charlotte Islands in 1930, and the clam industry felt the first impact. 1929 had been a record year. When the market collapsed Langara Packing took a great loss which forced them to close. Rights to the beach changed hands several times until the Masset Fisherman's Co-op purchased them in 1942. But the razor clam industry remained depressed, and now less than 150,000 pounds are packed annually.[19]

Canneries have provided employment for many Masset Haida, particularly women, throughout the years since 1920. Before 1923, when the Tow Hill clam cannery opened, many women traveled each spring to work in canneries in remote parts of the Queen Charlottes or in Prince Rupert or Ketchikan, Alaska. Another cannery located in Masset in 1926 where it operated until the collapse of 1930. It lay idle until 1936 when a company, Nelson Brothers, a large Prince Rupert canning company reopened it. Sam Simpson, who had

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

operated a crab cannery in Naden Harbor, moved to Masset and rented the Nelson Bros. plant; it became known as the Queen Charlotte Canneries. Simpson was instrumental in the formation of the Masset Fisheries Co-op and merged his business with the co-op. This cannery which was located immediately south of the Masset wharf processed crab until 1950.[20]

After 1950 the fate of the Masset Cannery becomes clouded with rumors. The co-op cannery managed by Simpson, fell into bankruptcy and closed. Apparently Simpson with renewed financial backing removed the machinery from the co-op cannery and dismantled the structure for lumber. With the lumber and machinery Simpson built the cannery which still operates in New Masset (Fig. 31) and usually employs twenty Haida women from Masset.[21] Now the new Masset Cannery concentrates exclusively on processing crabs. In 1966, the peak year, 1,400,000 pounds of crab meat was canned in Masset during the April-October run.

Economy of Contemporary Masset

Of those employed, 44 percent of the Masset men are either fishermen or crew members on fishing boats.[22] Independent fishermen at Masset generally operate small boats.

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[20]Dalzell, Queen Charlotte Islands, pp. 302-303.

[21]"Masset Labor Force Inventory for Those on Reserve," (unpublished survey for the Skeena Agency, 1966), n.p.

[22]Ibid.

FIGURE 31

QUEEN CHARLOTTE CANNERY, NEW MASSET

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

Typical is a sixteen to eighteen converted pleasure outboard run-about with tiny cabin added.[23] These little craft carry two ten to twelve foot mounted trolling poles with one or two reels operating on each pole. This rig is used for halibut. The line is generally one-sixteenth inch steel cable. In the craft the Haida venture into Dixon Entrance trolling for halibut. This catch is either sold to the cannery and shipped to Prince Rupert or used for family consumption. During the autumn salmon run the

[23]In the late 1940's Masset fishermen owned about 10 large seine boats, but according to informants, a firm from Port Edward sold new, expensive engines to the village boat owners. Unable to make the payments, the mainland company claimed the fleet in lieu of payment.

small boats sail to the mouths of streams in Masset Inlet, the Yakoun, the Ain, and other smaller streams to set gill nets. Frequently a fisherman will be absent up to forty-eight hours setting, tending, and taking in the salmon catch.

Fishermen without enough capital to purchase or build their own boats work for one of the large crab boats or seiners which operate from New Masset. They spend most of their shore time mending nets and serve as deck hands when at sea.

Some of the old fishermen of Masset contend that the fish supply has declined since 1920. Large halibut trawlers and seine boats operating in the waters around the Islands take great quantities of fish before they reach the Islands. Several Haida fishermen voiced concern over destruction of the salmon spawning grounds on the Masset Inlet streams. Gravel for road construction is being taken from the stream beds, particularly the Yakoun River, the Inlet's major salmon spawning ground. Loggers have been allegedly destroying the stream breeding areas by discarding brush piles and logs into the streams and thus forming snags in the rivers.[24]

Logging

Logging employs twenty-two Masset Haida, second in number to fishing. Opportunity for this steady high-paying employment is somewhat limited for the Masset men because

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[24]Joe Weir and Ed Jones, interviews, Sept. 1969, in Masset.

only small timber resources are available locally for exploitation. Therefore, no large lumber company is interested in these small parcels of timber. The coastal dune forests are now being cut, but they lie in a narrow strip along the shore. The majority of the northeastern corner of Graham Island, the lowland, is covered by a raised bog plant community, and is of little commercial importance.

However, the job potential for logging is increasing as the coastal forests are exploited. In September, 1969 land was leased to cut 26,000 cubic feet of spruce, hemlock, and other species over a two year period.[25]

Many Masset Haida are reluctant to work for the lumber companies at Juskatla at the southern end of Masset Inlet or the operation at Sandspit, Moresby Camp, or other remote spots on Moresby Island. This reticence stems from the desire to return daily to their homes and families. Some would rather not work than to be a long way from home.[26]

Although the upland bog plant community makes for poor timber industry, it does yield vast amounts of sphagnum moss which has been utilized since 1966. Bering Industries of Victoria built a $882,700 plant to process the moss which is extracted from the 25,000 acres of bog between

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[25]"Forests Cut," Queen Charlotte Islands, Observer, Aug. 28, 1969, n.p. (mimeo).

[26]This opinion is supported by A. R. Kreager, Episcopalian minister at Masset, Robert Bell, Indian Agent, and several Haida informants.

Masset and Port Clements. Total resources are believed to be 130 million sixty pound bales. More important the plant employs twenty-five men on two shifts, eight of whom are Masset Haida.[27]

Further potential employment for the Masset Haida includes the kelp processing plant being built and the establishment of a Canadian Forces Communication Station. The kelp plant is located one mile south of New Masset on Masset Inlet and was completed in early 1970. Its import to the Haida economy has not yet been determined. The Canadian Forces Station will probably bring about the greatest chang in Masset since the coming of the missionary. Yet these changes may be favorable or unfavorable just as those brought by the missionaries. Favorable changes appear first. The facility, costing $17 million, brought immediate changes to the village: sewer system, a high school for grades eleven and twelve, a paved road, increased water supply, employment in construction and maintenance of the base and proposed 400 dwelling units. Most building is in New Masset, whose 1969 population of between 400 to 500 will burgeon to 3,000 by the late 1970's. Business expansion will be concomitant with population growth. Negative sides to this development are still in the future, but some Haida elders are skeptical of the consequences of the military installation.

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[27]"Sphagnum moss plant on the Queen Charlottes." Prince Rupert Daily News, Annual Queen Charlotte Supplement, 1965, p. 3.

Traditional handicrafts occupy only two men full and three others part time. Silver work, cedar-bark basketry, and wood and argillite totem poles are produced in Masset. Handicrafts are encouraged by both the village council and the Agency to supplement income. For example, in the winter of 1967-68 a class in argillite carving with ten enrolled was taught by one of the local craftsmen.[28]

Boat Building

During the first decades of the 20th century Masset was called the "shipyard of the Queen Charlottes." But as the village turned to wage earning, building gradually declined. Signs of this industry remain but are rapidly disappearing. Boat houses once lined the water front but now are falling into ruin or being dismantled for lumber. Such was the fate of the large boat house north of the Masset wharf, (Fig. 32) which was dismantled in 1969. Another boat building facility (Fig. 33) had decayed beyond repair and collapsed. The Masset village council has tried to revive this industry through courses for the young men, but these efforts have largely failed.

Economy of Skidegate

Early commercial ventures sponsored by the missionaries introduced the Skidegate Haida to management tech-

[28]A. R. Kreager, interview, July 1968, in Masset.

FIGURE 32

DISMANTLED BOAT HOUSE, MASSET 1969

Soure: photo by author, Sept., 1969.

FIGURE 33

BOAT HOUSE, MASSET 1968

Source: photo by author, July, 1968.

niques and systems of mutual financial cooperation. The Methodist clergy at Skidegate provided guidelines for pursuing and insuring community cohesiveness. Today, Skidegate reflects unity and stability.

By 1920 the fish oil business had fallen off and closed. The processing plant and 300 foot wharf quickly rotted in place. Relics of the oiler, large retorts and beams, lie on the beach where they fell from the crumbling structure (Fig. 34).

FIGURE 34

REMAINS OF THE SKIDEGATE OILERY

Source: photo by author, August, 1969.

Logging

Logging is now the largest single occupation of the Skidegate men with forty-six men or 43 percent of the whole force and twenty-three or 21.5 percent more are part time loggers.

Commercial timber production began in 1918 during World War I, and the operators hired few villagers. During the 1920's more were hired, but the 1930's and the Depression witnessed job discrimination toward Indian workers. They were only hired after all whites were employed. However, the outbreak of World War II gave employment and re-

vived the Skidegate Haida as first class workmen. War time conscription forced the companies to hire the Haida who proved to be good workers. After the war many more villagers were hired, first by Crown Zellerbach Ltd. which opened a camp near Sandspit. Because of limited transportation across Skidegate Inlet, the loggers were forced to spend the work week on Moresby Island returning home only on weekends. When MacMillan Bloedel and Powell River Ltd. began operations at Queen Charlotte City and Juskatla, Haida loggers gravitated quickly to that company. Mac. B. now employs 70 percent of all Haida loggers. They now commute daily by bus from their homes to Juskatla. The logging companies now prefer Haida workers over the non-Indian neighbors for several reasons which include reliability, hard work, and immunity to the Islands notorious winter weather. Often non-Indian residents of the Islands are drifters, coming to work for a few months, then off again and these drifters frequently quit logging to avoid exposure to the cold, wet, and windy weather in which the Haida have thrived.[29]

The twenty-three part time loggers quit during the summer months in order to fish. These workers are generally employed by small operators such as the Tauner Logging Company which ceases operations during the fishing

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[29]John Williams, interview, Aug. 1969, in Skidegate.

season to allow its Haida workmen to fish.[30]

In addition to wages, logging companies increase the band treasury by leasing Skidegate reserves for timber production. The Skidegate band collected $100,000 in 1969 for the leasing of their Skedans reserve.

Fishing

Although logging brings high wages and steady employment, Haida men, as they grow older, move away from logging and back to fishing. Twelve men are full time fishermen; twenty-three others fish part time. Skidegate fishermen operate in a different class than those at Masset. Their fishing boats are large craft, equipped with radar and other electronic gear (Fig. 35).

Because halibut fishing entails long voyages, most Skidegate fishermen concentrate on salmon. During the summer months pink and sockeye salmon are caught, and coho and cutthroat salmon are taken in the fall. Small amounts of halibut are occasionally caught during the summer months.

Boat Building and Handicrafts

Boat building has suffered a similar fate to that industry in Masset; other occupations are more lucrative and secure. In Skidegate, some boat houses still rest along the shore.

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[30]Rev. Harold Black, interview, Aug. 1969, in Skidegate.

FIGURE 35

SKIDEGATE FISHING FLEET

Source: photo by author, Aug., 1969,

Two Skidegate men devote their time to traditional crafts. Rufus Moody carves argillite totem poles, and has a ready market. He generally received ten to fifteen dollars per inch for a pole. In the retail market in Vancouver the same pole brings deals twenty to thirty dollars an inch. The entire argillite supply located in Slate Chuck Creek on the Islands has been reserved for Indian use. Gordon Cross, the second artist, produces rings and pendants from silver and gold. His work is greatly sought after along the coast. Three other men carve part time.

Two general store operators make up the remainder of the labor force. Eleven men are retired, and no male is unemployed. Table 14 summarizes the employment situation in both villages.

Prior to 1952 men frequently were unemployed. The village council, therefore, initiated the winter works committee to find work for these idle. The committee to a large extent has eliminated winter unemployment.

Working together, the residents of Skidegate have assembled an astonishing record for a community of its size. Welfare has been virtually eliminated; no able bodied man has been unemployed for more than one month since 1964. It is difficult to receive the dole; anyone capable of working will not be recommended by the band to receive payments. If jobs are scarce, unemployed persons do public work. Until 1969, only Skidegate had paved streets and Skidegate was first with a city water supply. The sewage system was built in 1963 using $13,000 of band money and $17,000 from Federal grants. The public water supply was begun in 1912 with a diversion in Slarkedus Creek at the 179 foot level; in 1938 the system was modified. 1952 brought the construction of a dam 60 x 40 x 8 feet on the creek. The water mains were modified again in 1957. The reservoir holding capacity is 80,000 gallons with 3,000 gallon per minute refill velocity. Cost is one dollar a month to users.[31]

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[31]John Williams, interview, Aug. 1969, in Skidegate.

TABLE 14

EMPLOYMENT SUMMARY

Village	Unemployed	Fishing	Logging	Combined Fishing & Logging	Crafts	Cannery	Other
Masset	25.9%	31.5%	15.8%	-	3.5%	14.4%	6.4%
Skidegate	-	13.6%	52.3%	26.0%	2.7%	-	5.7%

Source: Masset employment survey and John Williams, interview, Skidegate, 1969.

To celebrate the Canada centennial, villagers built a new recreation hall to replace the smaller one built between 1927 and 1935. Construction on the new hall was begun in 1964 and completed in 1967 at a cost of $120,000.

Skidegate is well organized. The village council has tight control on villagers and village planning. It determines where houses are located, levies local taxes and controls the sewer and water systems. The church organization wields considerable power. For example, the Women's Organization of the Church controls the building fund which now exceeds $10,000. An athletic organization, the Sons of Skidegate, participates in team competition with other communities, shows movies in the village hall, and acts as a public service in organizing funerals.[32]

Skidegate enjoys the availability of a hospital, administered by the United Church of Canada (Methodist) in Queen Charlotte City since 1946. This twenty-one bed facility employs three doctors and five nurses.[33] In 1952, a new hospital was to be located on land donated by the Skidegate Band, but opposition from the residents of Queen Charlotte City prevented the move to the new site.

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[32]Harry B. Hawthorn, Indians of British Columbia Berkeley: University of California, 1958), p. 183.

[33]An Outline of the work of the Board of Home Missions Among the Indians of Canada, 1962-63 (United Church of Canada, n.d.), p. 4 (Mimeographed).

Diet

Dietary habits indicate changes in resource utilization in addition to changing taste preferences. Fish still remains the most popular food. It is eaten twice a day by many families, with an occasional substitution of poultry or beef. Fish is still air dried but canning and more recently freezing has become a popular method of preservation. Much of the halibut and salmon is dipped in flour and fried in lard. Poultry and most beef is purchased at the stores. Prices are very high because all packaged food has to be shipped from Vancouver. Some beef is obtained from the slaughter of wild cattle, said to number about 400 head, which are descendants of animals imported by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Coffee, tea, flour, and sugar are purchased staples, but a great deal of food is still gathered. Hawthorn estimates that some older people eat approximately 50 percent gathered or collected food.[34] Salmon berries, salal berries, and huckleberries are picked in summer and frozen fresh for deserts or made into jam. Traditional foods, such as shellfish, herring eggs, seaweed, and sea mammals are now of little importance. Oulachen, or candle fish grease is still sought after and used but is very expensive. For special occasions the older women will prepare "Indian food."

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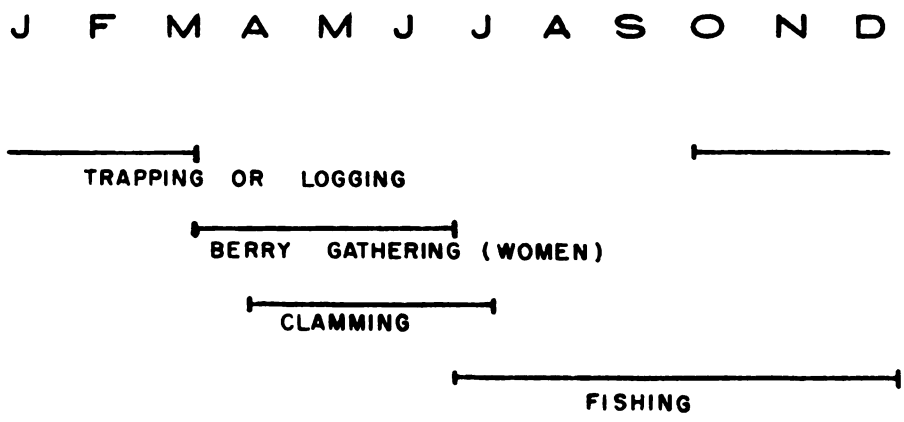
[34] Hawthorn, Indians of British Columbia, p. 182.

Seasonal Cycle

As the occupations change so does the cycle of activities. Since 1920 this seasonal tempo has been greatly altered and obliterated in the case of most of the men at Skidegate. During the 1920's and 1930's a common cycle was as follows:

FIGURE 36

SEASONAL CYCLE CIRCA 1920-1935



SOURCE: Compiled by author

The complexity of the yearly cycle of activities declined as the Haida approached 1969. For the majority of those in Skidegate, their activities resemble closely those of some one in suburban Vancouver or other North American cities, a year of daily commuting to the same job. Haida at Masset have not as yet reached this point but probably will as the sphagnum moss and kelp processing plants and

the military facilities are completed. The once far ranging Haida have joined the ranks of the commuter.

The Land Question

Until 1969 the Haida reserve system remained intact. However, as early as 1915 the Allied Tribes of British Columbia, whose co-founder was Peter Kelly, a Haida from Skidegate, dealt with land questions as well as other problems of mutual interest.[35] In 1969 the Canadian Government introduced a new Indian Policy which was to be fully implemented in five years. At this time the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will cease to operate. The substance of the new policy grants the Indian people full and equal participation in Canadian social, cultural, and political life. Most important of which is the provision which transfers control of all Indian lands to the Indian People. Until this time lands were held in trust by the federal government and any land transactions, such as leasing, had to receive federal approval. Under the new system land can be mortgaged to finance land development. The New Act also allows reserve land to be sold

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[35]Peter Kelly became an ordained minister in the United Church of Canada. He helped found the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, which, ironically, has never been strong among his own people. Kelly received his Doctor of Divinity in 1946, and was elected Moderator of the United Church of British Columbia. He died in 1966 at age 78. (See Indian News, Vol. 9, April, 1966, pp. 1-2.

at the consent of the Indian.[36] This provision is most controversial. Many older Indians in both villages fear a rapid takeover of Indian land by speculators who take advantage of Indians need of money. This is a question mark and only the future holds the answers, but if the future is a continuation of the past, the Skidegate and Masset Haida will adapt more readily than any other native Americans in Canada.

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[36]Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969 (Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1969), p. 6.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study proposed to identify and explain the cultural-geographic changes which have occurred to the Haida Indians on the Queen Charlotte Islands from 1774 to 1969. Cultural-geographic changes focused upon were 1) the alteration of spatial organization, including population change and distribution, migration, and transportation networks; 2) the man-environment relationship and influences which changed the manner in which the Haida used their traditional resource base; 3) the material culture, particularly house form, village pattern, and the totem pole.

Most of the cultural-geographic changes were brought about by contact with Europeans who came to the Islands for a variety of reasons. The following is a summary of those changes.

Spatial Organization 1774-1969

At the time of first European contact the Haida numbered an estimated 9,800 in thirty-four villages. During the next two centuries their population plummeted to approximately 500 in 1915 and slowly rose again to about

1,300 in 1969. Smallpox was introduced by Europeans in the 1780's, 1790's, and again in the late 1820's. The debilitating effects of cheap liquor was noticeable in the Haida villages as early as 1789. All these influences caused rapid population decline. In 1839 only 6,693 native Islanders remained. The scourge of smallpox returned to the Islands in 1860 and 1862, and approximately 2,300 more Haida met their death. By the mid-1860's Haida women journeyed southward to earn their livelihood in prostitution in Victoria, and, of course, returned bearing venereal diseases which further weakened the natives. Two villages were abandoned by 1836; depopulation rendered many other villages inviable.

Strikes of gold, copper, and coal brought ephemeral European settlement to the Queen Charlottes. From these brief stays ideas of trading posts and mission stations were conceived. Hudson's Bay Company established a post in Masset in 1871 and the Church Missionary Society of London (Anglican) sent a missionary to Masset in 1876. Methodists sent a mission to Skidegate in 1883. The Masset trading post provided the first centripetal force for village abandonment and migration and a great flurry of migration occurred. The general migration pattern was that those villages farthest away from the centers of attraction migrated first, moving nearer those actual centers.

The stepped migration pattern of the Haida on the Queen Charlotte Islands runs contrary to Ravenstein's first two "Laws of Migration" which state:

> 1) Migrants enumerated in a certain center of absorption will . . . grow less as distance from the center increases, and 2) inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock to it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts.[1]

Haida migration, conversely, began from points farthest away from the center of attraction and proceeded in a series of steps with each step moving closer to the center of attraction. The Ninstints-Tanu-New Klew-Skidegate migration illustrates this stepping process (Fig. 15).

The pattern of migration can be explained by three phenomena: 1) the influence of the location of trading and mission stations; 2) the traditional political autonomy of each village; and 3) the efficient modes of native transportation. Selection of Masset and Skidegate by traders and missionaries to be the sites for their respective stations structured the overall pattern of migration. The actual stepped pattern resulted from the traditional political autonomy of each Haida village. To migrate to Masset or Skidegate, the largest villages, meant surrendering their independence. If they moved the village site near the main settlement, they would have advantages of

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[1]E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," quoted in Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration," Demography Vol. III (1966), pp. 47-48.

medical aid, European trade goods, and the schools of the larger settlements without releasing their traditional autonomy.

Efficient modes of traditional transportation, especially the ten fathom canoe, enhanced this stepped migration pattern. These swift canoes placed the trading post or mission station within easy reach. It was not necessary, therefore, to migrate directly to Masset or Skidegate for desired goods and services. It is concluded, therefore, that little actual migration occurred on the Queen Charlotte Islands until centripetal forces, the trading posts or mission stations were created.

During the 20th century migration from the villages to the Lower Mainland and back to the Islands was a common pattern. Since World War II the daily journey to work has become the most important spatial characteristic of the Haida.

Spatial characteristics, in summary, have been vastly altered. The once far-ranging Haida passed through stages from ranging to innovative migration to more advantageous situations to commuting in a commercial society. Concommitantly, the Haida have changed from a highly mobile to a sedentary society.

Man-Environment Relationship

The economic man-environment relationship has tended to be relatively stable since pre-contact times. Fishing remains the chief form of livelihood for many Haida and fish comprise a major portion of the diet for all. Pre-contact Haida were skilled wood workers and today they work with wood, but now as loggers rather than craftsmen. Compared to many other Canadian Indians whose traditional forms of livelihood have been obliterated, such as the Plains hunter, the Haida have, indeed, kept some of their original man-land relationships. Attempts were made to drastically change the traditional economy when the Hudson's Bay Company introduced agriculture, and the Federal government subsidized food cultivation until early 1920, but these external pressures failed.

Giving full credit to the man-land continuity for 20th century economic success is perhaps, an overstatement. Indeed, man-land continuity produces stability and contributes much to the success of the Haida, however, Skidegate far exceeds Masset economically. If the hypothesis was totally accurate, the two communities would have achieved equal results. Three other factors, therefore, play roles in the relative success of one Haida community over the other. These include: 1) relative size of the communities, 2) conditions of local environments, and 3) the differential strategies and influences of the missionary and

social-environmental influences.

Even from the time of the first enumeration of the Haida in 1836-1840, Masset has been much larger than Skidegate. This first count showed Masset with 2,473 inhabitants and Skidegate with only 738; and in 1969 the population of Masset was 1,000 and Skidegate 350. Masset's greater numbers have impeded organization and unity. Factions still develop in Masset along lineage lines.

Secondly, Skidegate's situation within the commercially exploitable closed forest community provides ready employment for Haida lumbermen. Masset's situation, composed of the narrow band of coastal dune forest and extensive muskeg offers limited local possibilities for employment. Masset's dearth of resources combined with the apparent unwillingness of most men to leave their families overnight contributes to Masset's inferior economic situation.

Third, and most important, has been the differential strategies of the missionaries. The Anglicans worked in Masset and the United Church (Methodist) worked in Skidegate. Personalities of the missionaries structured policy. In Masset, Charles Harrison, for example, enforced strict curfews and military drills. Harrison and his successors tried to reshape the Masset Haida into proper British subjects. Their concern was primarily spiritual rather than pragmatic; Anglican contact was sporadic between the early

1920's and late 1950's.

The United Church at Skidegate had been for the most part, staffed with humanitarian, practical men. Before the 20th century the missionaries had introduced cooperative business such as the fish oil manufacturing plant and a co-op store. And these missionaries have been in Skidegate in an unbroken chain since 1883. Today the church and organizations of the church play an important part in the secular life of the community.[2]

The Seasonal Cycle

The change in the Haida seasonal cycle over the last 200 years indicates that 1) changes were gradual, 2) there was a trend toward a smaller resource base, and 3) a trend toward sedentary life (Fig. 37).

The Material Culture

The hypothesis states that Haida traditional landscapes would be changed through coercion by Europeans. This is only partially correct. During the first 100 years after contact architecture and the arts flourished. The totem poles, for example, sprang from carved house frames to door poles, to detached poles, rising eighty feet above the above the ground. European iron tools aided in the artistic explosion, but the prime cause was the wealth gained by

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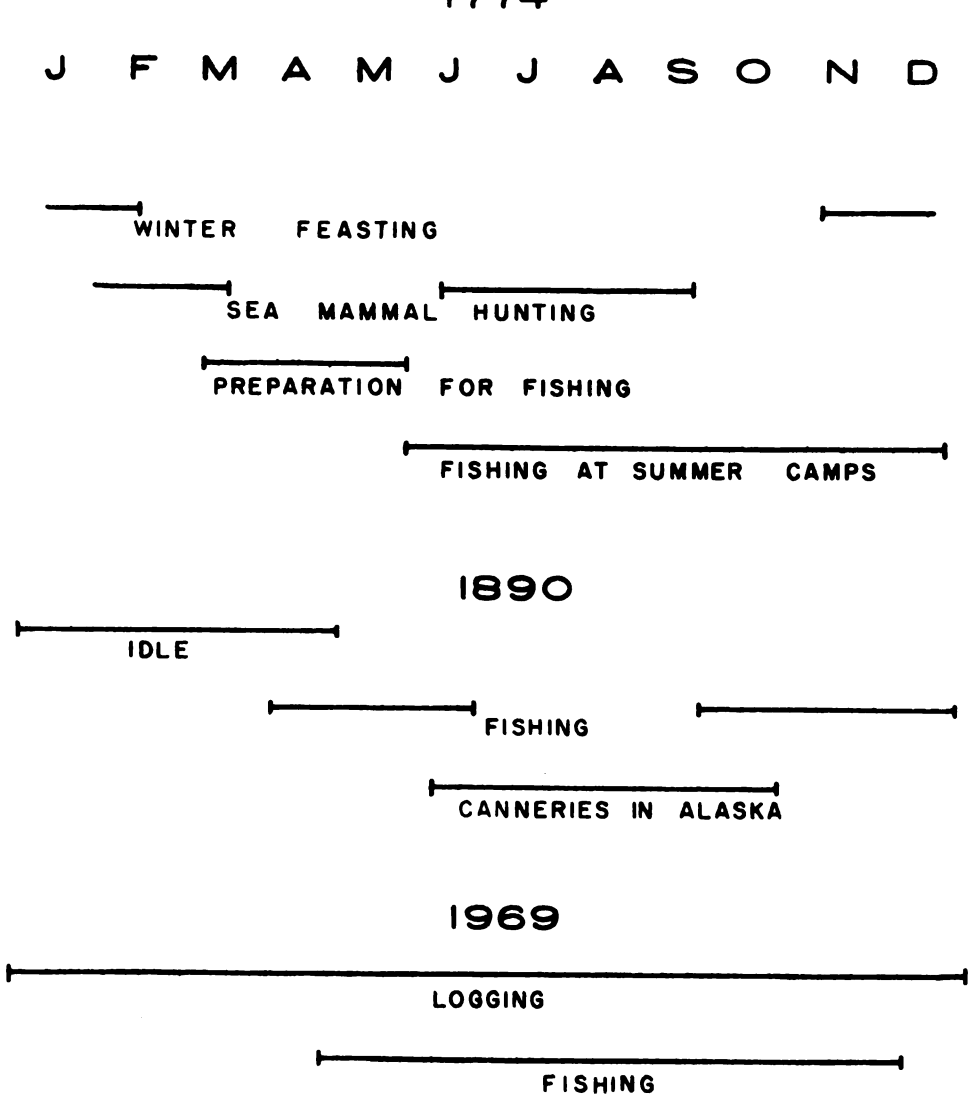
[2]John Williams and other informants in Skidegate attribute their success to the missionaries and their schoold.

FIGURE 37

SEASONAL CYCLES 1774-1969



SOURCE: Compiled by author

villagers who engaged in the fur trade with Europeans. But during the increasing complexity of art and architecture, disease and resulting depopulation continually weakened the Haida people.

The Haida, because of their weakened state, readily welcomed European missionaries by the 1870's and 80's. Only the missionary coerced the Haida into changing the cultural landscape, but surprisingly the totem pole, which the missionary saw as idol and work of the devil, was not the first cultural item changed. The missionary focused upon the houses. They removed the Haida from their large plank houses and built "comfortable English cottages." Of course, this act tended to break down the extended family social structure. But by the beginning of the 20th century, some clergy, using threats of eternal damnation, ordered the totem poles cut and burned. In a period of roughly twenty-five years, from 1880 to 1905, virtually all visible traces of the Haida culture had been eradicated. The missionary started with houses because the native villagers were less sensitive about them than the totem poles. Once all Haida were established in European houses and had accepted Christianity the totem poles were attacked. The missionaries found the lineal arrangement of the houses inoffensive, and, therefore, never sought to change it. Today, therefore, the most striking Haida feature of the village aside from the totem

pole, is their internal structure.

Epilogue

This concentration upon landscape, seasonal cycles, and economic successes, does not paint the entire picture, however. These native Islanders, the Haida, have endured untold suffering at the hands of the white man. At one time they were on the verge of extinction, ravaged by disease and despair, a despair that can be seen on the faces of many in Masset. Especially the young, they seemingly have no identity; the old can escape into the past, but the young have only the future. Many escape through alcohol. Very few of the young in Masset are interested in being Haida. Their language will die with the old. It is now but a relic with no use. Most villagers in Masset are in that vast in between, not white, not Indian. William Mathews, hereditary Eagle chief of Masset, at age eighty-three summarized their situation when he poetically said:

> The ancestral life was a good, clean life,
> They abandoned this for civilization which is also good
> But they have not completely made the transition
> And are between the two.[3]

---

[3]William Mathews, interview, July 1968, in Masset.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

THE SKIDEGATE MISSIONS 1883-1969

George Robinson	1883-1884
G. F. Hopkins	1884-1887
A. N. Miller	1888-1892
B. C. Freeman	1893-1907
John C. Spencer	1908-1912
(Lay Supply from Queen Charlotte City)	1913-1925
S. S. Peat	1926
J. H. Mathews	1927-1930
W. McKenzie	1931
Supply	1932-1934
B. Black	1935-1936
W. J. Selder	1937-1938
Basil S. S. Hartley	1939-1940
Supply	1941
R. C. S. Crysdale	1942
Geo. A. Affleck	1943
R. M. Warne	1944
Geo. A. Affleck	1945-1946
Supply	1947
J. W. Churchill	1948
Harold M. Wingfield	1949-1951
D. C. Hooper	1952-1955
J. D. Murdoch	1956-1960
J. D. Murdoch	1960-1961
William R. Bell	1961-1962
William R. Bell	1962-1963
William R. Bell	1963-1964
John Kay	1964-1966
W. A. Logan	1966-1967
Robert G. Baird	1967-1968
Harold C. Black	1968-1969

THE MASSET MISSIONS 1876-1969

William Collison	1876-1883
Charles Harrison	1883-1890
J. H. Keen	1890-1898
William Hogan	1899
H. A. Collison	1900-1909
William Hogan	1909-1914
Rev. Creary	1914-1916
A. E. Price	1916-1920
no resident minister	1920-1965
A. R. Kreager	1965-1969

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF KEY INFORMANTS

Joe Weir b. 1901

Joe Weir, in 1969, still was an active fisherman although nearly blind. During his early boyhood he saw the cutting and burning of most of the totem poles. He worked, during his teens, on his grandfather's schooner which hauled freight from the Islands to Prince Rupert and other settlements on the Nass and Skeena Rivers.

In the early 1920's he dug razor clams on North Beach, and during the late 20's and early 30's he worked as a high rigger in the Buckley Bay logging camp. In the late 30's he worked as a cow hand on a ranch in the southern interior of British Columbia. Joe now resides with his wife Carrie, his youngest son, and two grandchildren in a comfortable house in Masset.

William Mathews b. 1887

William Mathews, hereditary Eagle Chief of Masset, sat forty years on the village council. During his long life he has witnessed marked changes in Haida culture. He personally knew Charles Harrison, H. A. Collison, J. H. Keen, and the other missionaries at Masset. He was named for

William Collison, the first missionary at Masset.

Information obtained from Mathews is particularly useful in dating events. Over the years he has kept a notebook recording happenings and stories told him by his father and grandfather.

Mathews now is very hard of hearing. However, he can hear or, perhaps, lip read Haida but can not understand spoken English. A question is translated into Haida by his wife and he then responds in English. Although cumbersome, much information was obtained during the 1968 field season. In 1969, little communication was possible due to further hearing deterioration.

John Williams b. 1922

John Williams was village manager of Skidegate from 1963 through 1969. In this capacity he was privy to the economic development of the community.

He was educated through grade eight at Coqueeatla boarding school near Chilliwach. Upon returning to Skidegate he became a fisherman and logger until becoming village manager. He was a delegate to the Human Resource Development Conference in 1968.

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