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To Hilary

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to Haida Future-Making in Old Massett

The Back Road

There are two main roads in Old Massett. Formally, they are named Raven Road and Eagle Road, so-named for the two Haida "sides" – "moieties," in anthropological parlance - but most often people just call them the front road and the back road. The front road faces Masset Inlet, small dips allowing vehicles egress onto the rocky beach to unload boats for fishing. You can't miss the front road if you're driving along the road from the small Masset airport, as the highway becomes Raven past the "Welcome to Old Massett" sign that marks the entrance to the Old Massett reserve. If you keep driving along that front road, you'd soon find Christian White's longhouse, marked by two large poles, where the Tluu Xaadaa Naay dancers practice and perform. The poles are weathered, carved with animals and figures that sometimes represent particular clans' crests and other times are simply drawn from Haida stories and histories. Passing Christian's longhouse, sooner or later you'd hit the Fire Hall and the Youth Center, nestled close together, the eagle and raven designs painted on the Youth Center's entrance still fresh from their application in 2013. But let's turn up instead, at the first right turn we can, and head along the back road, indicated by a small white road sign that displays the road's name – Eagle Road - in English and Haida. There's no official place to park by that turn off, but one can get away with leaving one's vehicle parked in an out of way the spot by the side of the road, at least for a little while. Walking along there are houses, some beautiful and well appointed, others run down, a handful even vacant. While about a third are multi-floor affairs that seem spacious, many are smaller, almost squat one-story homes. There's no sidewalk on the back road, so you walk by the side of the road, along the edge of the asphalt and occasionally veering into peoples' lawns if there's traffic. It's probably windy. There's often rain.

The back of Christian's longhouse, which our route passes by, is less impressive than its front, a big patch of dirt that gets unimaginably muddy when the rain gets bad, Christian's carving shed to the left and the unadorned back entrance to the longhouse at the edge of the patch. There's usually a few trucks parked there, but when there's a "do" at the longhouse the entire area fills up fast. Keep walking, and we hit the Old Massett Village Council Band Office and Community Hall, "the Hall" for short, with its beautiful dark wood walls and huge sloping roofs. Walking inside, flanked again by two carved poles, there's a large open space that doubles as a site for almost all the larger community events and dinners and the only gymnasium on the reserve. Painted at the center of the floor – where the teams tip-off during basketball games - is the double-headed eagle and raven logo of the Haida Nation. Immediately next door to the Hall is the Chief Matthews School, where I volunteered just about every weekday (and the odd Saturday) of my fieldwork. It's a large, flat building, whose design evokes longhouse architecture, with large windows encircling the building. The entrance is marked with a small carved pole, excellent for hide and seek, and an elaborately etched granite wall. When the kids aren't playing, huge ravens hop around in the school's fields, and their croaks can be heard long after we move away from the school building.

Walking past Chief Matthews, whose small stretch of sidewalk ends quickly, we pass by more residences, a few with elaborately maintained lawns, others overgrown with grass. A car or two might pass by, slowing down to make sure there's no risk to us walkers, maybe stopping to say hello if the driver knows us, maybe driving along with a sidelong look at the strangers. Our walk has already taken a good half hour, but if we're thirsty, there's a pop machine humming outside one of the houses - though its prices are a bit steep - or there's the gas bar, which has a small convenience store attached. As far as I know, the red "Haida parking only" sign in the

window is not an enforced policy, though I've never tested it. Across the road there's another gas station, but this one's not operating and its windows are boarded up. The sound of dogs barking is an almost inevitable accompaniment to this stretch of the walk, and if one is unlucky a dog may run into the street after you to make it clear they are defending their homes or just to say "hi," a fact which can be nerve-wracking either on foot or while driving. At the home stretch now, we pass the Anglican Church, built again in the style of a longhouse, its entrance kitty-corner with another massive carved pole. Then the road dips down a small hill, past a pinked-roof bed and breakfast, a large grassy field, some plastic playground equipment tucked neatly away in its northeast corner, a small abandoned building with a sign that says "museum" out front, and Sarah's, another longhouse that sells local art and all manner of Haida related books, from the scholarly to the touristy – the most unexpected of which, for me personally, are the multiple copies of Franz Boas' Primitive Art that Sarah carries. Finally, the asphalt street gives way to dirt as the back and front roads join together at a wooded entrance leading first to the Old Massett cemetery and eventually into a series of forest paths that open into different parts of the beach. But it's been a long walk already, at least an hour from one end of the back road to the other, and at least we've seen half of town.

And yet, before the 1980s, there was no back road in Old Massett. This came as a shock when David Armstrong mentioned it to me offhandedly during an interview one afternoon. For more than a year, my spatial orientation to the reserve had been shaped by its two roads: front and back. It seemed to make so much sense. For one thing, the living arrangement of my friends and interlocutors seemed pretty equally split between the two roads, and the reserve's community spaces were likewise evenly scattered, even perhaps favouring the back road slightly. The two roads were even named Raven and Eagle, complementary, both halves together making

up the community. But Eagle, the back road, was new, relatively speaking. In our interview David Armstrong described moving back to Old Massett around twenty years ago and being among the first to build a house on the back road. He gestured at the road through his kitchen windows, at the more than fifty houses that ran alongside it. "All this was empty. This is new."

Old Massett is not, in other words, a static space, no matter how well the shape of the reserve currently appeared to "fit" with my either my own understandings of community layout or the particularities of Haida culture. Instead it is a dynamic and shifting socio-landscape – Chief Matthews was built in the mid-1990s, for instance, as an alternative to children on the reserve needing to go to elementary school in the neighbouring Village of Masset, historically a settler community. Christian's longhouse also dates from around that same time, its weather-beaten quality coming from the strong winds and steady rains of Old Massett's coastal climate rather than any extreme age.[1] Indeed, the oldest carved pole currently standing in the village – the pole that stands outside the church - was carved by Robert Davidson and raised a mere forty-five years ago (Davidson 2009), though the pole is still older than the church building itself, which was rebuilt according to its current design after the old church, which had a more (or should that be less?) traditional "western" architecture, burned down in the 1970s.

So too, the many "squat" homes that line both sides of Eagle are the product of a recent history: in the early 1980s, the Canadian federal government passed Bill C-31, amending the "Indian Act" that governs Native status in Canada so as to allow Native women who married non-Native men and the children thereof to retain their Indian Status and Band Memberships.[2]

[1] The full story of Christian White's longhouse and the poles he carved to mark its entrance can be found in the documentary Making Haida History, produced and distributed by the Tluu Xaada Naay Society.

[2] The politics of Bill C-31 and the ways it changed Canadian Aboriginal communities are highly complex, even as the bill correctly dismantled the deeply misogynist and racist assumption that

This meant that there was a sudden influx of new residents on Canadian reserves, who for the first time since their marriage or birth had a legal right to live on their Band's reserved territory and received small grants in order to build homes thereon. Many of the houses on the back road stem from this moment, and the "squat" houses were, a carpenter friend told me, the ones that could be built for precisely $40,000, the amount of said grant. Even the vacant houses and overgrown lawns have their own particular trajectories, most of them the property of Old Massett Band members currently pursuing their careers or education outside Old Massett but who, it is understood, will return home sooner or later.[3]

As the strange promise of these seemingly abandoned houses indicates, the back road, like Old Massett itself, is shot through with multiple social projects that operate at multiple temporalities. There is no homeostasis here. Instead, Old Massett is very much "in process;" indeed, it is in the midsts of many processes. And, crucially, these are social and cultural processes whose temporal horizons are not circumscribed by past or present alone; rather, they are more often anticipatory, aspirational, predictive, concerned with and anxious about what possible futures are to be manifested, inscribed into the social and physical world(s) of the Haida community. The "surprise" of the back road is that, despite appearances, it is ongoing, its squat houses speaking to a moment when the population of the reserve shifted radically, necessitating and anticipating new terms of inclusion (and exclusion) that are still being worked out, its absent sidewalk an index of the dilemma of finding funding for small municipal projects on reserve, its overgrown lawns a signal of population movement and the promise (at least the promise) of

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had previous pervaded Canadian law that Native women who married non-Native men should thereby "lose" their Indian status. Audra Simpson's recent Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States deals with some of the ambivalent consequences of the return of "the C-31s" to her home reserve of Kahnawake .(Simpson 2014).

[3] I deal with this in much greater detail in Chapter 2.

return. This dissertation, in the first instance, is concerned with these ongoing temporalities of life in Old Massett and, especially, with the fact of their futurity, the ways in which the community's Haida residents negotiate the complexities and ambiguities of the present through producing (and, at times, foreclosing) possible futures.

Rethinking Haida Futures

The fact of Haida future-making is especially significant because, from a colonial perspective, the community of Old Massett itself was not understood to possess any future at all. Although Haida people have been living in the Massett area since time immemorial, Old Massett as such, a colonially delimited Haida First Nations reserve, administered by the Old Massett Village Council, only came into existence in the late 19th century after small-pox and other introduced diseases had decimated the Haida population. Prior, individual Haida clans had made their homes in their traditional territories all over the island archipelago of Haida Gwaii, moving back forth from fishing and resource gathering camps in the summer to larger villages in the winter for feasting and ceremonies. Old Massett was simply one of these villages, *Uttewas*, "White Slope Town" (Stearns 1981:35), which like its neighbours was the rightful territory of a particular Haida clan, in this case, the *Git 7ans* and *Maaman Git'anee*. These lifeways were radically transformed after disease claimed the lives of, at a conservative estimate, over 80% of the Haida population,[4] eliminating entire generations and reducing many clans to a handful of members. Unable to continue living in their respective territories, the remaining pockets of Haida survivors "nucleated," to borrow Boelscher's phrase, in two communities: the town that became Old Massett on the north end of Haida Gwaii's largest island, and Skidegate to the south. In

[4] This estimate may in fact be *very* conservative. The Council of the Haida Nation's journal, *Haida Las*, gives the population loss as reducing the estimated population of 20,000 at the turn of the 19th century to 600 by the beginning of the 20th, a loss closer to 95% (*Haida Laas March, 2009:3).*

1876, the Anglican missionary William Collison founded a mission in the Masset area, and in 1882 the area was allocated to the new, colonially constituted Masset Band by the Joint Reserve Commission headed by Peter O'Reilly (Boelscher 1988:13). By 1910, Masset had become the seat of the Queen Charlotte Indian Agency (Brink 1974:100) and the islands the "Queen Charlotte Islands," appropriated by Canada as Crown land, upon which Haida people had been allocated a handful of reserves, a tiny fraction of the total territory their ancestors occupied before the turn of the 20th century (Boelscher 1988:13; cf: Harris 2002).

At the time, these events fit into a predictable colonial narrative. Or, rather, a colonial narrative of prediction. It was common knowledge at the turn of the 20th century in settler North America that Native peoples were vanishing. Their inevitable, eventual disappearance was a taken for granted, shaping Canadian federal "Indian" policies and popular representations of indigenous peoples alike. Take, for instance, Duncan Campbell Scott's poem "The Onondaga Madonna," first published in 1898:

> She stands full-throated and with careless pose,
> This woman of a weird and waning race,
> The tragic savage lurking in her face,
> Where all her pagan passion burns and glows;
> Her blood is mingled with her ancient foes,
> And thrills with war and wildness in her veins;
> Her rebel lips are dabbled with the stains
> Of feuds and forays and her father's woes.
>
> And closer in the shawl about her breast,
> The latest promise of her nation's doom,
> Paler than she her baby clings and lies,
> The primal warrior gleaming from his eyes;
> He sulks, and burdened with his infant gloom,
> He draws his heavy brows and will not rest (Scott 1898:15).

Scott's poem figures typical settler representations of Aboriginality and its already foreclosed temporality. Her race is "weird and waning," her nation doomed, and though her "pagan

passion" still "burns and glows," its end is inevitable, its tragic savageness "lurking" in her face. The Onondaga Madonna and her child were remnants of a time past, the "primal warrior gleaming from his eyes" only an echo of "ancient" feuds, forays and woes. It is telling that Scott's poem does not offer any reason *why* the Onandaga Madonna's nation should be doomed; it is, rather, a taken for granted dimension of the poem's narrative. For Scott, the Native "race" was disappearing, whether this be through the literal deaths brought by colonial violence and colonially introduced diseases or the "cultural death" of assimilation into settler society. Aboriginals, at least as such, had no future (*ff* see, e.g., Byrd 2011:ch. 1; Wakeham 2008:ch. 2).

And there is more to this than poetic narratives of inevitable indigenous disappearance. In this sense it is worth pointing out that, alongside his literary work, Duncan Campbell Scott was also Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada from 1913 to 1932. In that capacity, Scott championed departmental policies and programmed designed to ensure the "assimilation" of Aboriginal subjects into Canadian settler society. Here, for instance, Scott's views on a bill proposed in the early 1920s that would allow for the immediate enfranchisement of First Nations individuals at the cost of their Indian Status and any rights[5] deriving therefrom:

> I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that this country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone. That is my whole point. Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian

[5] The complexities of Indian Status in Canada are largely beyond the scope of this text, but, in brief, "Indian Status" is a federal category applied to recognized "Indian" Bands and their memberships. Status offers Native people particular rights and privileges, especially as regards their exclusive right to live on reserved land. Before the 1960s, Status Indians were not permitted to vote in Canada, as they were considered "wards of the state." The goal of enfranchisement programs such as those championed by Scott was to grant Aboriginal subjects voting rights in return for their rejection of Indian Status. If completed, such programs would have effectively eliminated the need for "reserves," as there would no longer exist any "Indian" subjects for land to be reserved for. Thus Campbell's suggestion below that enfranchisement (and the assimilation that it represented) would "solve" the "Indian Problem;" that is, the problem of the substantial presence of Native people continuing to live on and make claims to their ancestral territories, despite federal and provincial claims that all land within Canada belongs wholly to the Crown.

> in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department and that is the whole object of this Bill (Scott, quoted in Titley 1986:50).

Far from passively mourning the loss of an already doomed, "weird and waning race," in other words, Scott formed part of a colonial apparatus that was explicitly attempting to *make* Native people disappear. Particularly devastating among the policies and programs championed by Scott was the resident schools program, under the auspices of which Aboriginal children were taken from their families and brought to Christian operated boarding schools where, it was claimed, they would be "elevated from their condition of savagery" in anticipation of their becoming "citizen[s] in good standing" (Milloy 1999:3). The violence and abuses of this system are now notorious in Canada (cf: Miller 1996; Milloy 1999; Weiss 2015). As we shall explore in more detail below, then, Scott's literary representation of indigenous disappearance as pre-determined, as a sad but inevitable destiny, can thus be seen as forming part of a retroactive logic, a way of refiguring colonial policies and practices aimed at eradicating Aboriginal peoples into mere "responses" to an already given reality, as forms of settler compassion rather than immeasurable, ethnocidal violence.

The retroactive conviction that the only potentiality available to indigenous peoples is their own disappearance is one of the conceptual foundations of what an increasing number of scholars have termed "settler colonialism," in reference to colonial states like Canada in which the goal of colonialism is to *replace* already-present indigenous populations with a new, settler constituted polity (Wolfe 2006; Veracini 2010).[6] Settler colonial logics characteristically fix the

[6] This distinguishes settler colonialism from other colonial forms in which, as Patrick Wolfe argues, the goal was to extract surplus value from Native labour on colonized land. Settler colonialist projects do not seek simply to exploit land; rather, they seek to precisely to "settle" land, to render it into a space upon which a settler community can be (re)produced (Wolfe, cited in Veracini 2010:8).

temporal relation of settler and indigenous in the form of a mutual, albeit asymmetrical anticipation: settlers states always anticipate the elimination of the Native so that they can fully realize their project of replacement, while indigenous people continue to exist only in advance of their eventual, inevitable existential erasure (Cf: Byrd 2011; Povinelli 2011). As Scott's example shows, moreover, these logics effectively ideologically mask the violence of the actual settler colonial acts of erasure and replacement by making them appear as simple consequences of an already given, *fait accompli* "truth" of indigenous disappearance.

This is not to say that I believe that Duncan Campbell Scott necessarily *deliberately* wrote the Onondaga Madonna as an anticipatory justification of his later policies as head of Indian Affairs, nor that the pernicious temporal logics they embodied were coherently crafted by any one particular set of historical actors. Rather, I would suggest Scott as an epitomizing example of a far broader set of settler colonial cultural and political understandings (Fogelson 1989). Or, put another way, I think Scott honestly and genuinely believed that Aboriginal peoples were disappearing, and that this disappearance was both tragic and "necessary" for their advancement into what Scott and those like him saw as "civilized society" (cf: Titley 1986). But this is precisely the point. Scott's poetry and policies exemplified what was already colonial common sense in Canada and beyond its borders. They both presuppose and entail a set of basic epistemological assumptions about the contrasting natures of so-called "traditional" and "modern" societies that had by the 20th century become normative throughout colonial worlds. "Traditional" societies, of which Aboriginal Nations are taken as exemplar, do not change; instead, they can only reproduce themselves. This means that any shifts in traditional lifeways can be read as a loss of essence, a reduction in authentic "Nativeness" that leads ultimately to the disappearance of Native people as such (Raibmon 2005). "Modern" societies, by contrast, have

change built into the narrative; they are "historical," societies which "advance" through technological and social transformation. Indeed, this is the essence of the modernist notion of progress.

This dichotomy can be voiced in two different affective registers, embodied, rather ironically, by Duncan Campbell Scott's dual life: the "tragic" register of the Onondaga Madonna, which highlights the pathos of the loss of "traditional" cultures in the face of colonial modernity, and the "progressive" register of Scott's assimilationist policies, which emphasize the superiority of the "modern" life that indigenous people will participate in once they shed their "savage" ways. And we can see these same registers reiterated across different representations of the "traditional" and the "modern." In early Americanist anthropology, for instance, the apparently imminent "loss" of traditional cultures in the face of colonizing modernity was read as crisis, an overall diminution of the cultural diversity of humankind that provided an urgent impetus for the anthropological study of these societies – "salvage anthropology," as it was termed – (e.g. Boas 1982; Boas 1925; Swanton 1905; cf: Stocking 1996).

The famed structural anthropology Claude Lévi-Strauss preserved this sense of the pathos of cultural loss, though his work was less urgent and rather more elegiac than his Boasian antecedents. Take Lévi-Strauss' well-known distinction between "hot" and "cold" societies. For Lévi-Strauss, "societies studied by ethnologists" can be characterized as "cold" societies, as they "produce extremely little disorder" and "tend to preserve themselves in their initial state." They are like "clocks" when compared to the hot "steam engines" of "our large society" (Lévi-Strauss and Charbonnier 1969). For Lévi–Strauss, this distinction emerges due to differential sociocultural responses to change. Hot societies "accept it, with good or ill grace, and its consequences […] assume immense proportions through their attention to it," while "others

(which we call primitive *for this reason*) want to try to deny it and try […] to make the state of their development which they consider "prior" as permanent as possible" (Lévi-Strauss 1966:234, emphasis mine). The progress of colonial domination thus takes on a tragic character, wresting these "cold," "primitive" societies away from their comfortable strategies of reproduction and leaving them betwixt and between their indigenous pasts-as-present and an ever more totalizing Western modernity.[7]

While anthropology was voicing indigenous disappearance as tragedy,[8] others were celebrating modernity's triumphant progress. A classic iteration of this perspective can be found in Karl Popper's dichotomy between "closed" and "open" societies. While Popper shares with Lévi–Strauss the presumption that "tribal or 'closed" societies are hostile to change, in Popper's rendering the ahistorical character of "closed" societies is given as explicit deficiency. For Popper, such societies are defined by their "submission to magical forces" (Popper, Ryan, and Gombrich 2013:xli) and their acceptance "of the absolute authority of the merely established and the merely traditional" (xl). The closed society is by definition unfree, and "at its best" resembles an "organism," a "semi-organic unit whose members are held together by semi-biological ties," almost analogous to a "herd" (165). The open society is its exact opposite, representing the attempt of "uncounted unknown men to free themselves and their minds from the tutelage of authority and prejudice" based on their "impatience to better the lot of [their] fellows" (xl).

[7] No coincidence that Lévi-Strauss titled his autobiographical reflections on his fieldwork Tristes Tropiques (Lévi-Strauss 1973).

[8] Though it should be noted that Lévi-Strauss' characterization of traditional societies as being antithetical to change was not, even in his time, representative of all anthropology. Among others, Edmund Leach, Max Gluckman and many of his students in Manchester School of social anthropology had been exploring the relationships between social structure and change since at least the early 1950s, seeing ostensibly traditional societies in notably dynamic terms (e.g. Leach 1954; Gluckman 1954; Turner 1996). So too Marshall Sahlins' definitive work integrating historical dynamism with a structuralist framework (Sahlins 1981).

Closed societies are essentially passive, herd-like groups content to replicate the old "merely" because it is old, open societies are *active*, composed of decision-making *individuals* that attempt "to preserve, to develop, or to establish traditions, old or new, that measure up to their standards of freedom, of humaneness, and of rational criticism" (xl). As one might imagine, there is little ambiguity for Popper as to the preferability of open over closed societies. While closed societies are hidebound and without distinctive individuality or the capacity for change, open societies, which are necessarily liberal and democratic, set "free the critical powers of man" (xli).

Whether the disappearance of "traditional" societies was taken as a tragedy in the face of the inevitability of change or a triumph of "modern" democratic dynamism, however, what both registers share(d) is the basic assumption that indigenous life is static and unchanging – and, therefore, doomed to disappear in the face of "change." Thus the political project of settler colonial replacement is refigured as ontological fact: the societies that can't change are disappearing, because change is inevitable. The ways in which such disappearances are in fact *brought about* by the actions of settler states and agents are thereby erased as motivating factors in the narratives.

By these logics, the Old Massett reserve should have been a temporary space, its population "out of time" in both senses, at once removed from the flow of history and the endpoint of any distinctly Haida existence. This sense pervades Indian Agent communications about the community in the early 20th century. For the Indian Agents, as Van der Brink summarizes, there was a "certain sense of resignation" that "could be felt" among Old Massett's Haida, that their character was "bad," they were "lazy," or, even more damningly, that "these Indians were satisfied to work minimally and did little to improve conditions on reserve" (Brink 1974:139). Old Massett's doom seemed palpable in the eyes of these Indian Agents, who saw no

future for a community unwilling to accept the terms of "civilized" labour, nor any issue with the imposition of these forms of labour on the Haida community as being the only determinants of what could constitute productive work.[9] And yet, the Haida of Old Massett stubbornly refused to disappear. Quite the opposite, in fact. From its nadir point of less than a hundred individuals at the turn of the 20th century, the population of Old Massett has grown exponentially, with 694 Haida currently residing on the reserve and more than two thousand Old Massett Band members living elsewhere.[10] Nor has this population been "satisfied to work minimally," though this "work" has not always been legible (or legitimate) in the eyes of colonial administration. Among many other things, Old Massett has been a central participant in the politics of sovereignty and Native rights over the course of the 20th century, from being a hub of the Native brotherhood mid-century (Brink 1974:139; cf: Tennant 1990) to its residents' active participation in the Haida Nation's blockade of logging on Lyell Island[11] in 1984 and the Council of the Haida Nation's ongoing Land Title case. The community has been and remains home to some of the most influential Aboriginal artists in North America,[12] to Haida nurses and teachers, lawyers, business people and politicians, commercial fishermen and resource workers, scholars, storytellers and

[9] Indian Agent reports from this era and earlier often contrasted the ostensibly "bad" character of Massett Haida with the "industrious" members of the Skidegate band to the south, who were characterized as being much more "adaptable" to the economic and social values of the settler state (Brink 1974). This does not mean that the Skidegates were not equally being read through the logics of disappearance, however; rather, it is simply that the community of Skidegate represented the "progressive" face of assimilation, while Old Massett the tragic face of inevitable decline and erasure.

[10] Census take taken from Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Canada, as of March, 2015: http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=669&lang=eng, accessed April 2, 2015. I take up some of the significances of the fact that Old Massett's population now lives mostly away from "home" in some depth in my second chapter.

[11] Discussed in depth in chapter 5.

[12] Prominent Old Massett artist Robert Davidson, for instance, has just opened a Smithsonian exhibit focusing on more recent, abstract paintings that innovate on traditional Haida forms (http://www.si.edu/Exhibitions/Details/Robert-Davidson-Abstract-Impulse-5100).

writers. And there's always that second road, a commitment to the continuing possibility for the growth of Old Massett and a response to its demographic demands, expansion as opposed to disintegration, at once real and aspirational.

The fact of Haida growth alone, however, does not dispel the settler expectation of indigenous disappearance. How could it? The field of possibilities granted within the binaries of hot and cold, open and closed, allow for only two readings of Aboriginal community development: 1) The people of Old Massett are engaged in perpetual deferral, attempting to "preserve themselves" in a form as close to the "merely traditional" as possible even though this is an effort that is unrealizable by definition due to the cataclysmic changes of the 20th and 21st centuries; or, 2) they have embraced these changes and, indeed, "change" as such, and are thereby slowly but inexorably assimilating into Canadian settler society, thereby moving from "closed" to "open." In either case, the only future open to Haida is to disappear, encompassed literally and figuratively by the settler colonial nation-state.

The most fundamental contention of this dissertation is that this is not the only future for Old Massett and for Haida people. And this not just in the sense that other futures are possible on Haida Gwaii, although they certainly are. Rather, what I assert throughout this dissertation is that Haida people are actively *engaged* in the process of imagining, negotiating, and constituting these possible futures, for themselves and for the larger social world(s) of settler Canada. The acts of Haida future-making that I explore are multiple, sometimes even contradictory. There is no single, unified "Haida future" in Old Massett that could be juxtaposed against the colonial forecast of Haida disappearance. But this is, in fact, crucial. Unlike, for instance, the sketch of Crow life after colonial devastation given by Jonathan Lear, the future in Old Massett has neither "collapsed" nor is it being held in abeyance until the "old ways" can be brought back (Lear

2006:52). Instead, what is most radical about Haida future-making is precisely the proliferation of possible futures - some aspirational, others critical, some hoped for, others dreaded – that are at work in Old Massett. More, this work of future-making acts as a resource for the present, a field of potentialities to be selectively materialized or rejected by different Haida actors according to their own particular social and individual goals, ideals, anxieties (and so on).

This is also to say that there is more at stake in the work of future-making than the futures themselves. We have already seen the extent to which the negation of an indigenous capacity to generate new and ongoing temporalities is crucial to the work of settler colonial replacement. In working to open up futures, in negotiating a field of possible outcomes, some desirable, others disastrous, I contend, Haida people are actively retaking control of their own temporalities. Indeed, as I will show, they are asserting the capacity to determine possible futures for settler *as well as* Haida subjects, fundamentally inverting the order of colonial temporality. Each chapter examines a particular dimension of this work of temporal reclamation, demonstrating how my Haida interlocutors assert critical control over their pasts and their presents through the work of producing their futures. In so doing, they explode the foreclosures of settler colonial expectations, envisioning – and materializing – a fundamentally *open* field of Haida (and Canadian) futures.

What follows, then, is a necessarily partial and selective ethnography of Haida future-making. I make no claim to be able to fully represent the diversity of ways in which Haida people in Old Massett work with, on, and in response to their possible futures; indeed, their proliferation makes such an attempt unfeasible at best. My goal, rather, is to show the *significance* of Haida futurity for life in the present through an exploration of four important (and interrelated) instances of future-making in Old Massett and the modes of temporal assertion they

represent. This effort comprises Chapters 2-5 of this text, following Chapter 1's outline of the everyday temporalities of life in Old Massett. In order to lay the groundwork for this ethnographic work, in what remains of this introduction I offer a schematic account, first, of the use this dissertation makes of future-making as an analytic and the stakes of discussing temporality in a settler colonial context and, second, on my own methodology and its relation with the ways in which Haida people are actively asserting control over often fraught categories of "culture" and "tradition." With this framework established, I provide a contextualizing introduction to the community of Old Massett and then lay out the path this dissertation will take.

Temporal Foreclosures and Futures Present

Time and Deferral under Settler Colonialism

In 2011's Economies of Abandonment, Elizabeth Povinelli suggests, following Foucault, that "as democracy fitfully expanded across Europe and European conquest across the globe" a particular chronotopic formation developed, one in which "the truth of some would increasingly be judged in a past perfect being – their already having been, or their potential to stop being what they are in essence – while the truth of others would be judged from their potentiality" (Povinelli 2011:27). According to this chronotope, which Povinelli terms "late liberal," the "futures of some, or the hopes that they have for their future, can never be a *future,*" while others are evaluated solely in terms of a future they have yet to realize. This is no innocent distinction. Instead, as Povinelli asserts, it makes possible a deferral of ethical accountability in which, for some, "no matter what harms they do, the truth of those harms is deferred into the future. What is happening isn't happening because it is what it will have been when the last man has his say" (28).

This late liberal deferral, Povinelli suggests, is embedded within the political and economic forms that characterize globalized capitalism in general and contemporary colonial nation-states in particular. Indeed, it makes these forms ethically thinkable in the face of the "challenge of social difference" to liberal governmentality:

> From the 1950s onward, and culminating in the dramatic world events of 1968, anticolonial and new social movements transfigured the prior way in which liberalism governed alternative forms of life by putting extreme pressure on its legitimating framework – imperial acts of paternalist and civilizational governance. Anticolonial and new social movements refigured these paternalistic arts of civilizational care[13] into acts of colonial domination and dispossession (25).

In response to the crises of legitimacy engendered by this challenge, "state after state" instituted policies of "cultural recognition" in order to maintain their legitimacy as governing bodies (25). Such policies purport to "recognize" cultural difference as valid and integral to the contemporary, cosmopolitan nation, but they only do so in terms that are politically and epistemologically acceptable to the state. In so doing, "multicultural" states attempt to limit or control the capacity for "policultural" differences – to borrow the language of Jean and John Comaroff - that unsettle settler society or state legitimacy such as indigenous claims to territory and political self-determination (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003b). As Povinelli makes clear, the temporal dichotomies and deferrals of late liberalism form of a major dimension of this "defensive" process of recognition.

Take Povinelli's own analyses of Aboriginal land claims processes in Australia. According to current Australian law, for an Aboriginal group to prove to their rights to an ancestral territory to the settler state, they must demonstrate not only a continuity of occupation, but also to a "continuity of traditional beliefs, practices, and dispositions," even when some of these beliefs

[13] We will see how my Haida interlocutors form their own theories of political "care" in some detail in chapters 4 and 5.

and practices are repugnant to a mainstream Australian "public sense of moral decency" or even "prohibited by common and statutory law" (Povinelli 2002:3). In other words, Australian Aboriginal subjects are compelled to demonstrate their very overdetermination by a past read as "traditional" in ways that necessarily position them outside the ethical realm of so-called "contemporary" Australian laws and values in order, and this regardless of the complex social realities that these subjects may inhabit in their own terms. Australian Aboriginal difference is accordingly materialized not only as located in and oriented towards the past, but is also thereby marked as repugnant in its non-contemporaneity with liberal Australian society. Through this "cunning of recognition," it is made to seem natural that Australian Aboriginals would require the continuing governance (read: domination) of a settler society contrastingly defined by its seeming commitment to the realization of an idealized future of liberal freedom. The political project of settler occupation can thus continue to appear as the mere effect of an essential, epistemological difference between colonizers who produce the future and colonized who depend on a repugnant past. Still more devastatingly, the particular temporal quality of late liberal deferral means that liberal states have no need to account for their actions in the present, however brutal, because these actions can always be taken as being "retroactively justified" by their contribution to the realization of an idealized future-perfect, a future that always already will have been (Povinelli 2011:esp. ch.1–2).

While Povinelli's argument is focused primarily on the last fifty years of liberal governance, the strategy of deferral she outlines has a longer history. Jodi Byrd has argued not only that indigenous people continue to be "located outside temporality and presence, even in the face of the very present and ongoing colonization of indigenous lands and resources" (Byrd 2011:6) but that this deferral "into a past that never happened and a future that will never come"

provides the "ontological and literal ground" for settler governance, epistemology, and its original and ongoing imperial and colonial projects (221). The rendering of indigenous populations "out of time" can thus be seen as one of the central and foundational axes of the settler project, just as its maintenance is required both for ongoing settler colonial legitimacy and as a conceptual pre-condition for further expansions, conceptual and actual. (By this logic, we might add, Levi-Strauss and Popper's ostensibly purely sociological/epistemological dichotomies are revealed to have highly political conditions of possibility). This same complex is termed "the governance of the prior" by Povinelli, invoking both the logic of "priority" of settler subjects over indigenous peoples and the rendering temporally "prior" of indigenous existence in the face of settler occupation. In adopting this double logic as "the legitimate foundation of governance," Povinelli writes, "the settler state projected those who already inhabited the land before the settlers' arrival as spatially, socially and temporally 'before' - before it in a temporal sequence and before it as a fact to be faced" (Povinelli 2011:36).

Following Povinelli and Byrd, then, we can see deferral as one of the constitutive elements of settler colonialism. More than just a strategy, deferral makes possible the conceptualization of settler nationhood as an ongoing project that can sustain the continuing presence of indigenous peoples with prior claims to land and resources. It defuses (or, at least, attempts to defuse) the threat that is posed both by these peoples to the sovereign legitimacy of the colonial state and, still deeper, to the very conceptual coherence of settler nations as relatively politically and ethnically unified polities (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003b). Deferral allows settler colonies to figure themselves in the future-perfect, as projects that will have already been realized, bracketing the actual lived presents of indigenous people (and their political and legal claims) as that which will eventually have ceased either to matter or to be matter (cf: Butler 1993).

Nor is this structure of deferral limited to the more abstract horizons of settler colonial realization. Quite the opposite, we have already seen it at work in the policy-making work of figures like Duncan Campbell Scott, who operate under the assumption that Native peoples are inherently "doomed" to assimilate or to vanish, thus making it appear as their actions only hasten what is always already assumed to be true. Within the brackets of deferral, then, unfolds the lived realities, and imposed violences, of settler-indigenous relations, but stripped of their ethical significance, as if the attempted "erasure" of indigenous peoples was an ontological inevitability rather than an ongoing project of the colonial state.

Tense, Temporality, and Future-Making as Analytic

Alongside making clear the political significances of settler deferral, Povinelli and Byrd's critiques are also helpful in the ways in which they highlight the relationship between temporality and what Povinelli calls the "social divisions of tense" (Povinelli 2011:11). Tense, which for Povinelli refers to "the wide variety of ways of configuring the temporal relationship between what is being narrated and the act of narrating it," has a more than "strictly linguistic" significance. Rather, tenses shape how events can be enunciated and experienced as being located somewhere "in time" in relation to those enunciating and experiencing said events (11-12). An awareness of how tense organizes social and cultural articulations of temporality moves us away from philosophical attempts to define time, duration, or the future in the absolute (e.g. Bergson 2002; Deleuze 1988; Lévinas 1987). Instead, temporality is rendered legible and meaningful through particular sets of semiotic practices. And these practices can in turn be "absorbed," to borrow Povinelli's expression, into larger social, cultural, and political projects and formations. Thus why the "future-perfect" tense – indicating a guaranteed future happening, something which already will have occurred - can play such a key role in the constitution of late

liberal and settler colonial deferrals and, equally, why Povinelli suggests it is so important to shift away from this future-perfect rendering of liberalism's violences in order to recognize that they are in fact occurring in the "durative present" (12).

The emphasis on tense assigns language a critical place in the social structuring of temporality, entailing the possibility that different language communities may figure temporality very differently.[14] (This is, in fact, one of the key claims of many of Benjamin Whorf's classic writings on the relationship between language and thought (Whorf 1956)). That fact that Povinelli's critique of late liberalism as a global (or at least globalizing) phenomenon can rely so heavily on grammatical tenses prominent in English and Romance languages is itself a product of colonial history, demonstrating again the extent to which a certain social articulation of tense has become hegemonic for indigenous and settler subjects alike.

At the same time, we should not assume that colonial or liberal *attempts* at monopolizing the field of possible futures are always necessarily successful, even if they unfold hegemonically. Even the subtlest and most naturalized of hegemonies, as Jean and John Comaroff remind us, are "never total." Instead, the "hegemonic is constantly being made – and by the same token it may be unmade" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:25). Take for instance the fact (discussed in my second chapter) that the future-perfect itself, the substantial tense of colonial deferral, is also drawn on by Haida actors in order to formulate trajectories of movement within the settler colonial landscape – this, in other words, that strange promise of those empty houses that their owners will always, eventually come home to Old Massett. This future-perfect promise echoes against settler colonial assurance of indigenous disappearance, marking instead the possibility that Haida who leave the islands to pursue education and careers will inevitably return to Old

[14] We will return, albeit somewhat briefly, to the question of language in terms of how Haida people negotiate their futures further down.

Massett and put their new skills and experiences to work for the community's benefit. In this example, we see how even something as essential to the structure of settler temporality as the future-perfect can also be brought into other social worlds, ones that speak precisely against the premise that Haida, like other First Peoples, are simply awaiting their own erasure.[15]

Which is also to say that it is vitally important that, in making critiques of settler strategies - temporal and otherwise - we do not unintentionally replicate their terms and fix their objects in what Joel Robbins has called "the suffering slot," a "figure of humanity united in its shared vulnerability to suffering" (Robbins 2013:450). The goal of this dissertation is explicitly *not* to suggest that Haida people are abjected in the face of settler time, nor that their existence constitutes mere endurance within the brackets of liberal deferral. My purpose is instead to assert that Haida people are constituting a field of temporality whose horizons are open, even as they are shaped by tenses and tensions, even as they unfold under the shadow of colonial deferrals as futures past[16] and futures possible (but never certain).

With this caveat in place, we can see how tense acts as one significant way in which futures are understood and mobilized in Old Massett. There are others. In his recent essay The Future as a Cultural Fact, Appadurai suggests, first, that future-making is a fundamentally cultural activity – that is to say, it emerges within collective and social understandings and horizons of expectation – and, second, that it is shaped by "three notable human preoccupations: […] imagination, anticipation, and aspiration" (Appadurai 2013:286). While the boundaries

[15] Perhaps too we might see a similar failure of hegemony in the much bemoaned historical "rejection" of settler imposed wage labour by Haida people in Old Massett. From a temporal perspective, the preference for seasonal and resource oriented labour over the forms of "industry" most valued by missionaries and Indian agents erodes the dominance of what E.P. Thompson has called "clock-time," the regimented system of time-keeping that was (and remains) the preferred temporal form of industrial capitalism in both colonies and metropoles (Thompson 1967). We will touch on this again in Chapter 1.

[16] A term borrowed from Reinhardt Koselleck, which I will return to shortly.

between these three preoccupations are not perhaps as clear as they may appear in Appadurai's writing, he nonetheless usefully highlights the fact that the ideational dimensions of future-making are always to a certain extent specific and specified. This is to say that there are distinct ways – techniques, even - through which particular futures are rendered thinkable *as* futures, and these need not be uniform even within the boundaries of individual communities (or individual consciousnesses). Appadurai points to two specifically: "aspiration," or "hope," which he suggests is a "navigational capacity" through which "the poor" as subjects can imagine improved terms of interaction for themselves *viz*. the structures of society, capitalism, globalization, colonial domination, etc. (289-293), and "anticipation," which Appadurai characterizes as more prognostic modes of attempting to predict potential futures based largely on statistical data (293-299).

Appadurai's argument here takes on a somewhat Manichean character, as he contrasts an "ethics of possibility" grounded in "hope" with an "ethics of probability" grounded in an overwhelmingly financialized program of anticipation (295). We need not adopt either this particular dichotomy nor Appadurai's abiding (and rather Aristotelian) emphasis on culturally defined visions of "the good life" as the necessary objects of future-making practices (293), however, to recognize that both aspiration and anticipation are important "methods," to borrow Hirokazu Miyazaki's language, through which possible futures are articulated and brought to bear as responses to conditions of the present (cf: Miyazaki 2004; Miyazaki 2006). In Chapter 4 of this dissertation, for instance, I show how the aspiration for a particular form of "care" in political leadership acts as the corner-stone of a call for accountability and coherence across the different forms of government to which Haida are subject. This aspiration, I argue, represents at once a critique of leadership in the present and a road-map for how leadership should be (or at

least could be) in the future. So too, in Chapters 3 and 5, we see how the anticipation of potential ecological disaster on the islands of Haida Gwaii fuels a set of Haida social and political projects meant to ward off the nightmare future of environmental collapse.

As my examples above also demonstrate, future-making is not a purely ideational process. While they are certainly shot through with imagination, the acts of future-making I discuss in this dissertation are also always materialized (to at least a certain extent) through social practices. To give but a few examples, fundraising, adoption, protest, even roofing all appear as sites through which particular futures are made simultaneously socially legible and actionable in Old Massett, whether as desired possibilities to be worked towards or potential cataclysms to be avoided. Think here too of the back road, itself a visible sedimentation (if you know how to "look with your eyes," as my host grandmother repeatedly scolded me) of multiple future-making projects, some ongoing, others stymied.

This has the further consequence of rendering the "present" in Old Massett as in fact a landscape of possible futures on the one hand and "futures past" on the other. The latter is a concept developed by Reinhardt Koselleck, who suggests that any "given present" is itself a "superseded former future" (Koselleck 2004:3). This has two consequences for our argument. The first, already discussed at length, is that the continuing existence of Haida people, like other First Peoples in Canada and indigenous peoples globally, marks the colonial expectation of indigenous disappearance as itself a superseded future, one that shadows ongoing Aboriginal social projects even as their very existence mark it as a future past and passed. Second, and equally significant, when taken to its logical conclusion, Koselleck's argument suggests that rather than the "present" being in any sense a cohesive temporal "state," it is instead a striated

moment in which multiple planes of the past and formations of the future intersect with each other.[17]

This latter is particular important for my own use of future-making as an analytic in this dissertation. Each chapter considers a different such sociotemporal conjucture in Old Massett, examining how particular Haida renderings of past(s) and future(s) are brought to bear on a particular concern in the present. "Future-making," as I use it, thus includes not only various modes of imagining, anticipating, aspiring to, avoiding, structuring, and materializing possible futures, but also represents ways of reading the past and refashioning the present "retroactively," as it were,[18] so as to align them with desirable futures and against undesirable ones. There are distinct sympathies in my approach here with the notion of Native "traditional futures" as articulated by Jace Weaver. Certainly, I share with Weaver the conviction that "Native peoples do not want to 'conjure up a past and crawl into it.' They live in the present and want to move into the future while maintaining what is best in their traditions" (Weaver 2007:249–250). I think that the conventional temporality of "tradition" can be inverted, however. Rather than moving from the "traditional past" into the unknown future, in the instances I discuss my Haida interlocutors are drawing just as much on possible futures as a way of interpreting the past, of clarifying what can be taken as "traditional," and of marking the boundaries of what "fits" into

[17] Some echoes here of Deleuze's reading of Bergson and the relationship of the virtual plane of the absolute past to the lived actuality of duration, especially as regards the arbitrariness of the "present" as a temporal category (Deleuze 1988.) This said, I've already noted earlier that my goal here is not to offer any attempt at figure temporal categories in any absolute sense. The "present" here is rather a particular rendering of sociotemporal experience.

[18] I take the notion of a future that retroactively structures the present not only from Povinelli's critique of settler temporality – though, as I've noted above, I suggest it is a temporal practice that is also available to indigneous subjects – but, also, from Derrida, who characterizes the temporality of Marxian revolution in precisely this fashion in his Specters of Marx (Derrida 1994).

ongoing Haida life. And, in this dissertation, I attempt to demonstrate at least a few of the ways in which they do that.

Ethnographic Standpoints (About Culture and Tradition, for Example)

Which brings us to a rather significant point about the goals and methodology of this work – in particular, its relationship with the categories of "culture" and "tradition." As should be clear at this juncture, one of the primary goals of this work is to challenge the (political and theoretical) notion that indigenous people are incapable of generating their own forms of future-oriented temporality. As I have also shown, one of the elements of settler imaginaries of indigenous time is the conviction that Native peoples are overdetermined by a form of "tradition" that allows only the replication of static pasts rather than any form of dynamic change. Considered from the perspective of Haida future-making, however, conventional settler dichotomies between what is "traditional" and what is "modern" cease to make sense. Haida futures do indeed draw on long-standing historical, cultural forms, including moiety distinctions, clan hierarchies, resource gathering practices and ceremonial forms, but they draw also on a myriad of other sites of social meaning of different time depths. There is nothing incoherent for my interlocutors in political future-making that weaves together liberal democratic aspirations and the complex notion of personal, social, and ecological respect indicated by the Haida word yahgudang, to take but one example (discussed in depth in Chapter 4). Each can be understood equally as "Haida," in so far as they form part of the structures of meaning that Haida people mobilize in imagining their futures and evaluating their present. Rather than a category of absolute constriction, then, or a "template" for repetition, "tradition" in this context can be better understand as a particular mode of potentiality in the context of many such modes, whose

complex, at times paradoxical intersections both define and limn the field of possible Haida futures (cf: Richland 2007; Richland 2008).

Which is not to say that "tradition" as an explicit category is absent in Old Massett. Quite the opposite, what my interlocutors usually refer to as "traditional culture" is everywhere. Within this rubric can be found carving, weaving, and other traditional arts (see note 29), "Haida dancing," singing, storytelling, certain categories of major community events that include, most notably, potlatches and mortuary feasts, and even to an extent the learning of the Haida language itself. Such "traditional" practices are an integral dimension of Haida life and for many of my interlocutors key components of what constitutes their identity as Haida. (To give one emblematic example, the teaching of the Haida language and traditional forms of singing and dancing are a key reason for the popularity of the Chief Matthews School in the community). So too, these modes of culture cannot be readily distinguished from either Haida economic practices or the political landscape of Haida Gwaii, as I explore further in Chapters 4 and 5.

I do not, however, attempt in this dissertation to make interventions about what constitutes this "traditional" dimension of culture, though I am certainly interested in the ways in which it is deployed (e.g. Chapters 3 and 4, at least to a certain extent). The most significant reason for this is that I have been asked by a number of my interlocutors in Old Massett not to do so. These requests speak to a number of different challenges in contemporary indigenous life. One is the hyper-salience of such concepts as "tradition" and "culture" - or, perhaps, "Culture," following De Cunha's proposed convention (Cunha 2009) - as tropes drawn on by indigenous populations throughout the globe in furtherance of economic and political rights, benefits, and goals. These invocations are complex, at once reifying colonial preconceptions of indigenousness while also mobilizing these very problematic pre-conceptions towards indigenous ends (Comaroff and

Comaroff 2009; Niezen 2003).[19] In the context of these challenging politics, the question of who has a right to "speak for" indigenous culture is a fraught one, and one that must accordingly devolve on indigenous communities themselves. This especially because of the (often fair) perception in communities like Old Massett that researchers have come and been given a great deal while offering little in return.

To wit. At the end of one of my earliest interviews, my interlocutor "S" and I were leaving the building where we'd spoken "on the record." As we walked out, S turned to me and told me, frankly: "You aren't the first, and you won't be the last. No one else can save us, but we can't really turn people away." S' meaning, elaborated during our interview, was that Haida people should not depend, nor have to depend, on outsiders to be "saved." Researchers come and go, taking advantage of Haida hospitality and generosity, but rarely do they make concrete contributions to the community. Worse, they leave and represent what it means to be Haida to the rest of the world, often without further consultations with those from whom they are representing. They effectively wrest control of the terms of Haida culture from Haida people themselves, even if their efforts in so doing are well-meaning. S' sentiments were echoed to me by others in Old Massett, often summarized in the question: "What makes you different?"

I do not feel I've arrived at a satisfactory answer to that question over the course of my research and the writing of this dissertation. But, equally, I do not think I should be able to neatly "resolve" what it means to be a non-indigenous scholar working in a First Nations community, within the complex context of settler colonial Canada. The challenge posed by S and to others does, however, prompt serious and critical reflection on what it means, and what is has meant, to do anthropological research on Haida Gwaii. There are, I should make clear, certain tensions that

[19] I return to these issues in a bit more depth in Chapter 2.

are unavoidable in the writing of ethnography on the northwest coast. One emerges out of disciplinary history. The northwest coast is the site of much of founding Americanist anthropologist Franz Boas' fieldwork, and from it have emerged some of the discipline's classic questions on the nature of value, ritual, and rank and social class. The potlatch, in particular, has been the focus of tremendous analytic attention, and much ink has been spilled in the attempt to fix its multiple social roles for First Nations people themselves and its significance as a way of thinking about economy and cosmology more generally (e.g. Adams 1973; Bataille 1988; Boas and Hunt 1897; Bracken 1997; Codere 1950; Goldman 1981; Mauss 1990; Rosman 1986; Suttles 1987).

The literature focused on Haida people has by and large followed this pattern, though John Swanton's sensitive early attempts to present a Haida cosmology and world view in what, I think, he took to be a fully emic way are at the least deserving of note (Swanton 1905). What followed from Swanton has by and large maintained his focus on the intersections of cosmology, art, ritual, and political structure (e.g. Murdock 1934; Murdock 1936), and perhaps too a similar sensitivity, as demonstrated especially by Margaret Blackman's work with the late Haida elder Florence Davidson (Blackman 1992) and Marianne Boelscher's careful structural analysis of the negotiation of Haida rank and political status within the clan system (Boelscher 1988). But this careful sensitivity to the detail of Haida culture as understood by the ethnographer is also, in a sense, problematic. Boelscher's ethnography, for instance, though focused explicitly on "the dialectics of symbolic thought and politics" in Old Massett (10), contains scant mention of the Old Massett Village Council or the then emerging Council of the Haida Nation, thus restricting the field of Haida politics almost exclusively to interactions within the clan system, largely by elders. The ways in which this "traditional" dimension of Haida life *necessarily* intersects with

the other concerns of life as lived in Old Massett, political and otherwise, are elided in such analyses,[20] as are forms of Haida sociality that do not appear to be in continuity with pre-contact lifeways, even as such ethnographies offer ever more nuanced accounts of the particularities of culture on the northwest coast in dialogue with the vast literature focused thereupon.

There is a real danger, then, that ethnography that begins with this rendering of "culture" as its object might inadvertently erase issues of real significance to those under study, particularly in the context of ongoing settler domination and indigenous anti-colonial political activity.[21] Here the rich history of anthropology on the northwest coast can in fact act as a constraint upon possible research projects, limiting the questions posed and answers given to only one dimension of indigenous life on the coast, however important and sensitively rendered. Equally, it risks pushing ethnographers away from recognizing the complex ways in which indigenous subjects themselves explicitly mark "traditional" concepts, values and forms and, for that matter, the notion of "tradition" itself, as part of their social projects (and prospects). Indeed, one could (and I think, should) consider the requests I received not to attempt to "perform" expertise about Haida traditional culture as themselves part of that project, Haida assertions of their own rights to determine the bounds of tradition and culture. And it is not coincidence, from

[20] Notable exceptions to this pattern are Blackman's previously mentioned life history of Florence Davidson and Mary Lee Stearns' 1981 Ethnography Haida Culture in Custody. Though even in the case of the former, Blackman's focus on her own interest in aspects of "traditional" Haida culture such as puberty ceremonials considered embarrassing and obsolete by Davidson colours her account, as does its lack of focus on the role of the Anglican church in Davidson's life, much emphasized to me by her relations. Stearns' account is troubling in an entirely different register, as it suggests that Haida people have a particular cultural mentality that accommodates domination from exterior sources (see Stearns 1981, chapters 1 and 2 in particular). This might explain why, though Blackman's text remains popular in Old Massett despite its issues, Stearns is not looked on kindly.

[21] Audra Simpson critiques much of the anthropological literature on the Iroquois for such erasures, suggesting that overtly or accidentally participate in settler control over and marginalization of Native social, cultural and political life (Simpson 2014:85–92).

the perspective of this dissertation, that a key dimension of this is an assertion of control over "tradition" – a temporal frame through which Native culture has long been figured.

With this in mind, I have attempted here to pay careful attention to what Kim Tallbear might characterize as the multiple "standpoints" that are present within a community and the different ways in which these standpoints solicit, figure, and/or refuse representation over the course of research and in academic texts (TallBear 2013:23–25). As S and others have made clear to me, it is not my place as a non-Haida researcher to attempt to speak from the standpoint of "Haida culture," making claims as to what such culture is, isn't, was, should or will be (cf: Smith 1999). This "refusal," in Audra Simpson's sense (Simpson 2014:Chapter 4), shapes my approach in this dissertation to questions of the cultural. What I have attempted to do instead is to follow the terms through which my interlocutors frame their potential futures as they move in and out of the boundaries of what could be considered "traditional," foregrounding distinct narratives of the Haida past and present as they emerge through the lenses of different modes of future-making. Rather than risk being overdetermined by the textual archive of received understandings of culture on the northwest coast, I have approached this dissertation "naively," guided by how Haida culture, politics, value, tradition, and temporality were represented to me over the course of my own fieldwork and my interviews, within the context of my relationships in Old Massett rather than external to them.

Two final, related caveats before moving on. The first is that the interviews I quote during this dissertation are subject to the oversight of the individuals being interviewed. The second is that the major concepts that this dissertation explored are given in English as they were expressed to me, and with one exception in Chapter 4 I have not attempted to trace how they might relate to cognate words or concepts in Haida. In large part because of the Canadian settler

state's sustained attack on Aboriginal languages over the course of the 20th century (see note 5), English was the first language of virtually all my interlocutors under the age of sixty, though some were involved in programs of Haida language learning and teaching. It would be accurate, therefore, to claim that the language of contemporary Haida thought is largely, at least for the moment, English, and I have treated major concepts that emerged in my interviews accordingly rather than assumed they are *necessarily* correlated to prior Haida expressions or terms.[22]

Old Massett, Haida Gwaii

Eagles and Ravens

With these caveats in place, it is helpful at this juncture to provide a certain measure of contextual information about the community of Old Massett and the larger Haida-Canadian world in which it is positioned. Given the argument laid out above, I have not included a conventional "historical background/context" chapter in this dissertation, as in my chapters I attempt instead to follow how different modes of future-making offer different lenses for reading the Haida past in the light of possible Haida futures. There are, nonetheless, some basics that are required to allow these readings to make sense to non-Haida readers. What follows is thus a compressed overview of some key dimensions of social, economic, and political life in the Old Massett area of Haida Gwaii.

Starting, then, from Old Massett itself. The 2011 Canadian census reported that the reserve community of Old Massett (or Masset 1) had a total population of 614 living in 248 private dwellings. There were more men than women living on reserve by a relatively small margin, and

[22] This is of course a choice that belongs to a very particular moment in time, as Haida is also in the process of revitalization and now being taught to school age children in both the Massetts and Skidegate. I think it likely that as this education continues Haida will again have a more direct influence on peoples' conceptual registers, which I would imagine would be reflected in informal discourse.

the median age was 40, with particular concentrations of residents under 25 and between 40 and 60.A little under half of the adult population was married, with about half of those reported couples having at least one child and sixty-five single parent households, most commonly women. 610 of 614 residents reported knowing and speaking English as their primary language. Note, however, that the census did not include Haida as a "selected Aboriginal language," and thus gives no official sense of how many Haida speakers currently live in Old Massett or speak the language at home.[23] Indeed, on the whole these figures give relatively little sense of the specificity of Old Massett as a community. It appears much like many Canadian rural towns, English-speaking, quite small, with its population concentrations of under-twenties and over-forties suggesting that many of its young generation have moved away – a suggestion further supported by the census' reported demographic decrease from 694 to 614 between 2006 and 2011, though a more recent survey by Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Canada gives the reserve's population at 669, hinting at a certain degree of fluidity in community population rather than a steady decrease.[24]

But let's nuance the story told by these numbers. As I noted earlier, in a certain sense Old Massett is a "hybrid" community, created as a response both to the devastations of disease and the needs of colonial agents and missionaries to centralize the Haida population for administrative and religious purposes. This centralization meant that Old Massett's populace has always been made up of members of multiple clans, split between the Eagle and Raven "sides."

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[23] Taken from http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=5947803&Geo2=PR&Code2=59&Data=Count&SearchText=Old%20Massett&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=, accessed April 18, 2015.

[24] Survey data from March 2015: http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNRegPopulation.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=669&lang=eng, accessed April 19, 2015.

(This in contrast with socio-political organization before the late 19th century, in which each individual clan moved between its own winter villages and summer resource grounds. Prominent clan members certainly *visited* each other's villages, but only in the capacity of honoured guests – or occasionally enemies conducting a raid – rather than as permanent residents (cf: Swanton 1905). Each clan continues to hold rights to their associated territories and resources, but these were not recognized in any of Canada's reserve allocations to the Old Massett or Skidegate Bands, nor are they acknowledged by the federal government's ongoing claim to sovereignty over the islands of Haida Gwaii.) Whether one is Eagle or Raven, accordingly, is one of the defining questions of community social life, and one's answer – Eagle, Raven, or, in my case, *yaatz xaadee,* "foreigner," – indicates where one "fits" in the community. Children learn their side very young, and it is one of the first questions I was asked by many of the students at Chief Matthews as they were getting to know me. This was not, note, necessarily because they assumed I was Haida. When, for instance, one young man asked me, "so, what are you, Eagle or Raven?" and I answered, as I always did, "Well, I'm neither Eagle or Raven. I'm non-Haida, a *yaatz xaadee*," his response was simply "Yeah, I know, but what are you?" For him, being Haida was not a necessary prerequisite to being Eagle or Raven nor to participating in Old Massett community life in the ways entailed by this membership.

While there may well be ontological dimensions to this young man's response,[25] it also indexes the extent to which non-Haida have become part of the Haida social world over the

[25] Marianne Boelscher's 1988 structuralist ethnography of Old Massett is focused on precisely this point, suggesting that the dualism of Eagle and Raven is one of the fundamental structuring principals of a Haida worldview (Boelscher 1988). She is supported in this claim by Swanton's foundational account of Haida culture at the turn of the 20th century (Swanton 1905) and by Levi-Strauss himself, who takes the Haida divide between Eagle and Raven as one of the examples *par excellence* of so-called "totemic" dualism (Lévi-Strauss 1963). I am agnostic on this point, I confess. On the one hand, I have no doubt whatsoever that the dichotomy between

course of the last century. Eagle and Raven are formally exogamous moieties, but similar restrictions do not apply to Haida and non-Haida marriage, and by the mid twentieth century such marriages had become relatively common. While I don't have "hard" data on the percentage of these "mixed" marriages, I have few friends from Old Massett whose families do not include at least a handful of non-Haida relations, often in their immediate households and sometimes going back to their grandparents' generation. These non-Haida spouses are often adopted into the "opposite" clan of their partners – Eagle to Raven and vice versa – giving them clan affiliations, a Haida name, and an official identity in Haida ceremonial and clan political processes.

These adoptions also hold intergenerational significance. Haida clan membership is matrilineal, which means that the children of a Haida father and a non-Haida mother would be born without membership in either a particular clan or one of the two overarching sides. Parental adoption avoids this issue, either before a child's birth or, as occasionally happens, alongside one's already born children. (Though they are the most common instances, adoption is not limited to non-Haida spouses or their children, as we will see in particular in Chapter 3. For example, I noticed on a personal level that, after about a year of living on reserve, many of my acquaintances began to assume I'd been adopted into the clan of my host family, though I had not been honoured in this fashion. Social intimacy can thus be read as both a cause for and a consequence of adoption, alongside its somewhat more regulatory dimensions. More on these points in Chapter 3.)

The Two Masset(t)s

Eagle and Raven is of marked social significance for my interlocutors. The extent to which this extends into a coherently dualistic cultural "world-view," however, I think is at best ambiguous, and offering a determination of this is, for ethical as well as methodological reasons elaborated below, outside the scope of this dissertation.

The relative ubiquity of these marriages and of Haida adoption more generally hints rather strongly at the fact that what constitutes the "community" of Old Massett does not stop at the boundaries of the reserve. There is considerable ambivalence to this, however. Next door to Old Massett, just three kilometers down the road, is the Village of Masset. Masset - "New Masset" to many of my older Haida interlocutors – is historically a settler town, built in the first decade of the twentieth century to capitalize on the opportunities for resource extraction in the area and the "free" (though never ceded by any Haida clan) land for white homesteading. While there was relatively little contact between the reserve and this settler community at first, soon Haida people were interacting on a regular basis with their white neighbours (Cf: Stearns 1981). Not that they had much choice. As the "settler" town in the Masset area, New Masset quickly monopolized all the essential services for both communities, a process which began with its somewhat dubious acquisition of the area's post-office (the still circulating rumours that the settler town had actually "stolen" the post-office from the reserve are discussed in Chapter 3). By the time of my fieldwork, New Masset was the site of said post-office, the local branch of Northern Savings Credit Union, a small airport, the local Co-op grocery and hardware store, another grocer and a Field's general store, the only secondary school on the north-end of the island, an elementary school, three Chinese restaurants of dubious quality, two diners, one upscale restaurant, two bars and the only large dock in Masset Inlet. Old Massett, by contrast, had no grocery stores, no restaurants, no ATMs, and only two small convenience stores selling mostly "junk" food and snacks (though the deliciousness of the home-made popsicles at one of those stores, Nora's, should not be underestimated). Only the hospital was positioned "in-between" the two villages, having been built deliberately at the exact midpoint of the road from Old Massett to New.

Groceries, banking, and mail, in other words, all meant leaving the reserve, as did air travel off island or even just "eating out" if one didn't feel up to cooking that night and there was no community dinner going on.[26] And don't forget that (New) Masset is separated by three kilometers of road from the entrance of Old Massett. It's only a ten minute drive, but it's more like a forty-five minute walk, and that's not counting how slow it can go when one is weighed down by groceries and fighting the winds and stinging rain. Having a vehicles or friends and relations in possession of them (and money to help with gas) is thus effectively essential to getting by on the reserve. Given these conditions, it's not unusual for Haida families to choose to live off-reserve, and they make up a significant portion of the Village of Masset's population of roughly 900 individuals.[27] By my rough estimate, at least 1/3 of the families "uptown," as my interlocutors in Old Massett usually refer to (New) Masset, include at least one Haida parent. This makes the total Old Massett Band population in the Masset area closer to a full thousand individuals, and the social sphere of Haida life most certainly encompasses both towns. Indeed, I think it is fair to suggest in many respects for most Haida that the two Massetts constitute a single community.

This, at least, in a contemporary context. The history of the two communities is fraught, and we can only skim its surface here. The absolute predominance of services and stores in the (New) Masset area is itself a material echo of the village's prior forms of sharp segregation. Mid-

[26] Though one should not underestimate how many community dinners happen in Old Massett on a week to week basis, between big "dos" like potlatches and headstone movings and smaller affairs fundraising for the church or for individual families' medical and/or travel needs. More on these latter in Chapter 2.

[27] 884 according to the 2011 Census, down from 940 in 2006. Taken from http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=5947023&Geo2=CD&Code2=5947&Data=Count&SearchText=Masset&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1, accessed April 21, 2015. We'll return to the significance of these declining population figures further down and in more depth in Chapter 2.

twentieth century, the boundaries between Haida and non-Haida were sharply policed by the Masset settler population, epitomized memorably by the Credit Union's initial policy of not allowing "Indians" to hold accounts and the ostensibly un-crossable divide – as one of the elders I interviewed told me - between the "Indian" and the "white" sections of the old movie theater.[28] (We might note, in passing, that this offers further evidence for the ambiguities of futures past and present as material presences in social life. I doubt very much that any of the non-Haida residents of the Village of Masset would currently advocate segregation of Haida from non-Haida, with the exception of some of the "old guard" who drink at the legion and are reputed to speak racistly when there is no one there to censure them. And yet, they alongside their Haida neighbours live in an effectively segregated social space, one in which the monopolization of essential services continues and thereby indexes the continuing marginalization of Native needs in settler landscapes. In this sense the future past has not yet passed. Rather, it remains materially present, whatever the intentions of contemporary settlers).

These forms of segregation alongside myriad others were maintained by the settler population at the same time as more and more Haida were moving uptown, though in this case most often not by choice. Recall the Indian Act's then extant stipulation that Native women who married non-Native men would lose their "Indian status" and the Band membership this entailed. This meant that upon marriages to non-Haida men, Haida women lost the right to live on reserve, and *had* to move away. For those who did not want to leave the islands entirely (and most did not), the only place to move that would still enable closeness to friends and family was the Village of Masset. There were many children of these marriages by the 1960s and 70s growing up in New Masset rather than on reserve (Cf: Gill 2010:44), which some of my interlocutors

[28] Said theater was retired, I believe, around the 1970s, by which point the segregation policies had been ended.

hinted engendered friction both with non-Haida "uptown" and those Haida growing up in Old Massett itself. Tensions, then, between adoption and segregation, integration and exclusion, which I suggest echo through several valences of Haida future-making and the terms through which they envision and enact Haida relations with non-Haida (see, esp. Chs. 3, 5 and the conclusion).

We should also note that neither "Haida" nor "settler" are monolithic categories on Haida Gwaii. Just as many Haida can (and do) claim multiple trajectories of heritage and belonging, the people who might be classed as "settlers" are a disparate group. Some come from "old" families who have been on island since the turn of the 20th century. Others, who we will meet in much more detail in Chapter 3 and who my Haida interlocutors refer to as "hippies," were attracted to Haida Gwaii by the promise of ecological abundance and/or purity. These latter began to arrive in waves after the 1960s, and currently form the lion's share of the population of the Tow Hill area outside New Masset. "Towtown," as its residents refer to it, is a loosely organized group of residences erratically spaced out along a dirt road leading out to Tow Hill itself and beyond that the the beaches and forests of Naikoon. It has a population of about two-hundred with highly variable connections to the Haida social world.

The final major historical category of "settlers" are military personnel, who staffed a Canadian naval base that was established on reserve in the 1940s, moved uptown to New Masset in the 1960s, and ultimately decommissioned in the late 1990s, leaving behind a remotely operated communication station, a series of PMQ houses (short for "private married quarters," organized in residential "circles" on the outskirts of Masset and now occupied by non-military families after being put on sale by the Armed Forces), and the abandoned shell of the old base's buildings, left to turn to ruins for a decade before being finally demolished in early 2015. The

intricacies of the relationships between Haida, non-Haida, and military personnel is outside the scope of this dissertation, particularly as the base had already been abandoned for a decade during the time of my fieldwork,[29] but for now it suffices to say that it forms a significant part of the 20th century history of the Masset area, offering employment to many Haida, a not insignificant number of marriage partners (or less licit liaisons), and, equally, causing a series of racially charged conflicts in the community (some of which are chronicled in Ian Gill's account of the origins of the Council of the Haida Nation (Gill 2010)). As one of my interlocutors summarized it: "First, we were two, then we were three, and now we're two again."

Occupations, Prospects and Politics

So, we might now enquire as to what all these people - enmeshed as they are in these complex social and kin networks - actually do with their time. One answer, at least in terms of preferred activities for Haida people (and many non-Haida, for that matter), is fishing. Indeed, I quickly came to learn the "calendar" of salmon spawning during my first year living in the community: Spring Salmon first, as their name suggests, large and oily, prized as the best salmon to bake or grill fresh, then the vibrant red Sockeye in June, caught through net-fishing in the nearby rivers while Coho have begun to show up in the inlet alongside the now diminishing Springs, and finally Dog (or Chum) salmon in the late summer and early fall. And alongside salmon there's halibut, whose relative rarity and commercial value make it a more prestigious fish to eat or serve than salmon, and crab, caught either in small groups by the beach or huge batches in large-scale traps in the stormy waters of the Hecate Straight, not to mention the occasional octopus. We could also include the extensive and labour-intensive clam-digging activity that goes on between April and June in the broad rubric of the gathering of marine-life.

[29] Though the base and its' history have now become a major focus of my ongoing research in the Masset area.

Fishing and other forms of marine gathering play multiple roles in Haida life. First, and perhaps foremost, is one of subsistence. One of the distinguishing features of virtually all the homes I've visited in Old Massett are the large freezers that sit in the corners of kitchens or dominate a side of pantries. These are usually stuffed with fish caught in prior summers, and, at least in the houses where I've been a guest, neatly organized in freezer bags or vacuumed sealed, with month and year of catch written in big black felt: "Sockeye, June 2015," "Coho, August, 2013." Fish and marine life was historically the primary component of Haida diets (e.g. Brink 1974; Swanton 1905), and its significance should not be underestimated now, especially given the high cost of groceries and the relative lack of employment opportunities on island (more on this point in just a moment). And the distribution of caught fish is itself a major social activity, a way for family members to provide for each other – David Armstrong, for instance, has been known to give literally hundreds of Sockeye away to his aunts and other senior relations alone – and a mode through which Haida leaders can demonstrate "care" for their constituents and their status as *able* to provide for others (explored in detail in Chapter 4).

As the above might suggest, fishing and other resource gathering activities plays a central role in the community dinners and feasts that punctuate the social calendar in Old Massett, at which at the very least a fish chowder is *de rigeur*, if not also filets of salmon or halibut. (At a potlatch I attended in the summer of 2014, for instance, the hosting clan distributed a whole crab to each of the more than five hundred guests.) Fish and other produce gathered from the waters, in short, holds significance at multiple social scales, from individual subsistence to community feasting, and this both symbolically and materially, to which we will return in more depth in Chapter 4. At the same time, fishing is a major commercial activity for many Haida, and has been for a very long time indeed. Before the 20th century, the trade of marine resources by Haida

to other First Nations and European traders and the early settlers was a major source of new goods – both material and, at times, immaterial[30] – on island (cf: Brink 1974). While this trade was at least arguably very advantageous to its Haida brokers, after the decimating shifts of the late 1800s Haida fishing rights alongside those of other coastal First Nations were sharply curtailed by the Canadian state (Harris 2008). Aboriginal trade was a particular target of these restrictions,[31] and by the 1960s most Haida commercial fishermen were working as crew on white operated fishing boats for meager wages rather than profiting directly from the sale of their caught fish - a trend that was exacerbated by the loss of Old Massett's dock and its autonomous seine fleet in the same era (Stearns 1981).

The shading of the status of Haida fishing from a core dimension of Old Massett sociality to a marginalized component of larger settler commercial enterprises is indicative more generally of the challenges of employment for Haida in the settler economy. To put it bluntly, there isn't all that much work on Haida Gwaii, and what work there is not always well remunerated. Alongside commercial fishing, for much of the 20th century there were employment opportunities for Haida in the fish canneries that had been established on island and in menial positions at the military base, but both of these sources of work, relatively low-paying as they

[30] To wit, John Swanton's 1905 ethnography attempts to show which of the then extant Haida crests and narratives originated through off-island trade from Tsimshian or Tlingit sources, though like any attempt to derive cultural origins his findings should be treated with a certain measure of critical grains of salt (Swanton 1905).

[31] Canadian fishing regulations for Aboriginal people draw a sharp distinction between "subsistence fishing," which is permitted for First Nations Band Members in theoretically unlimited amounts but can only be used for "immediate subsistence," and "commercial fishing," which is, essentially, fishing for profit. This despite the fact that Haida like virtually all of their Aboriginal neighbours made no distinction historically between these two modes of fishing. Indeed, the social distribution of fish to family and clan members shades rather organically into the trade of fish to other clans or Nations, meaning that the Canadian distinction between "subsistence" and "commercial" fishing is arbitrary at best, and may in fact have been a deliberate attempt to disrupt Aboriginal commercial networks (Harris 2008).

were, have vanished with the closures of the base and the canneries. What remains is mostly resource-work, lumber especially, which is seasonal and typically short-term, service jobs at the local stores, or positions in local governance and education that normally require a certain measure of post-secondary education not available on island. In recent years ecological conservation and ecotourism have also emerged as sites of potential employment, but much of the latter is for settler owned fishing lodges that are known to make punitive demands of their employees' time and energy. Given these limited possibilities for work it is not unusual for people in Old Massett to get by through a combination of seasonal work, Employment Insurance benefits, and subsistence fishing.[32]

In consequence, for many young people it becomes almost a necessity to leave the islands for education or employment opportunities. They go to Vancouver, Prince Rupert, Prince George, or even Edmonton or Calgary, enroll at the University of British Columbia, at Simon Fraser University, or at the University of Northern British Columbia, pursue technical training in electronics, in carpentry or plumbing, start small businesses, or just work at 9-5s. Their numbers aren't huge, perhaps ten or fifteen individuals leaving the islands per year, but they add up, as the differences between the 2006 and 2011 censuses show, and there is real anxiety on the islands that its population is slowly vanishing. As I discuss in Chapter 2, this anxiety is countered in Old

[32] There is also the "traditional" Haida art market – "traditional" here in quotes to signal that this is an emic Old Massett usage of the term rather than my own imposition - encompassing carving, weaving, and jewelry-making, among other forms of artistic practice. Major Haida artists such as Robert and Reg Davidson or Christian White can command impressive prices for their pieces, and fulfill commissions for buyers from private galleries and wealthy collectors to major art pieces for sites such as the Vancouver International Airport. For most younger or less prominent artists, however, the scope of art sales are primarily local – to visiing tourists directly or small shops like Sarah's Longhouse that specialize in the work of Old Massett and Skidegate artists - with occasional more substantial sales to off-island galleries. This is a competitive market, though for some young people learning traditional artistic techniques alongside Haida dancing, singing, and language is a compelling reason to remain on island despite the other limitations of life and work on island.

Massett itself by the social certainty that Haida who leave will always come home – a future-oriented perspective on mobility that I refer to as "homing" - but outside the reserve there is less confidence, and in the smaller settler towns "for sale" signs alternate regularly with still occupied lawns. Which isn't to say that the settler population is vanishing, exactly, despite the occasional alarmist headlines in the island newspaper *The Haida Gwaii Observer* (e.g. "Census Reveals Massive Population Loss on Haida Gwaii").[33] Rather, it is shifting in composition and location, with new residents moving to "hippie" enclaves such as Towtown or the village of Tlell in between Massett and Skidegate and espousing "off-the grid" lifestyles (see Chapter 3) even as small, resource-work oriented settler towns such as Port Clements, Sandspit, or even New Masset itself are seeing the encroachment of ever more houses that seem to remain perpetually "for sale."

The limited economic possibilities on island and the modes of mobility they condition (if not necessitate) form one pivot around which Haida future-making is articulated and explored in this dissertation. The second centers on political organization and governance in the Haida world. The average Old Massett Haida is subject to what might honestly be referred to as a dizzying array of governing bodies. In brief:

1) As a member of a matrilineal clan, s/he is subject to the authority of a Hereditary Chief, appointed by the clan's membership, and the clan's matriarch(s), senior female elders who are an integral dimension of the clan's leadership.
2) As an Old Massett Band member, s/he is subject to the elected Old Massett Village Council, who act simultaneously as the municipal government of the Old Massett reserve and administer the Band itself.

[33] Haida Gwaii Observer, February 10, 2012. Weblink: http://www.haidagwaiiobserver.com/Article.aspx?Id=5328, accessed April 26, 2015.

3) As citizens of the Haida Nation, s/he is subject to the elected government of the Council of the Haida Nation, an autonomous First Nations government that administers the Haida Land Claims Case for the islands of Haida Gwaii and numerous on-island sectors, particularly fishing.

4) If s/he happens to reside in the Village of Masset rather than on reserve, then s/he is also subject to the authority of Masset's municipal government, which, I have been told, has never yet elected a Haida mayor.

5) As a Canadian citizen, finally, s/he is, subject to the authority of the provincial government of British Columbia and the Federal government of Canada. Like all other First Nations subjects, Haida have only had the right to vote as "full" citizens of Canada since 1960. Prior, they were considered "wards of the state." Even now, the federal government administers the terms for Canadian "Indian Status," which includes the special rights that Haida receive as First Peoples and funding for and the oversight of individual Bands such as the Old Massett Village Council.

Each governing body mandates their own particular configuration of duties, obligations and privileges for their constituents and figures them differently as citizens and subjects, and this in occasionally contradictory ways. To give but one example, the Council of the Haida Nation and the Old Massett Village Council are both Haida operated governments that mark their constituents as "Haida," whether as the members of a Haida Band or the citizens of a Haida Nation. But they are also formally completely distinct from one another. The Band is historically an organ of Canadian settler governance, founded in the early 20th century alongside the establishment of the Old Massett reserve itself. The CHN, by contrast, emerged in the 1970s as a unified platform for the Haida Land Title Case and then gradually developed more and more

governmental dimensions, particularly after the 1980s (see Chapter 5). Old Massett's Haida are claimed as constituents by both, but they each represent a very different instantiation of what it means to be Haida as a political and social category and entail equal distinct relationships to the Canadian state and its mainstream settler population. It's complicated, in other words, and future-making is a critical tool for Haida both in negotiating this entangled governmental landscape (Chapter 4), and in constituting political authority and legitimacy (Chapter 5).

Dissertation Outline

With this background in place, I turn now to the structure of this dissertation, which proceeds in two parts. The first, entitled "Home," focuses on mobility as a nexus for Haida future-making. Chapter 2, "Coming Home to Haida Gwaii: Haida Departures and Returns in the Future Perfect," expands on one of the dilemmas mentioned above: that, for young Haida, leaving the islands is effectively necessary in order to pursue education past the post-secondary level or careers outside certain rather circumscribed areas. The necessity of these movements and the continuing lack of opportunities on island raise the anxious possibility that these departures might be permanent, especially as more and more of the Haida population chooses to reside off-island. For my interlocutors in Old Massett, however, these anxieties are warded off and the return home made certain through a set of futures rendered in the tense of the future-perfect. The first, "homing," reflects the shared social sense that off-island Haida will always necessarily be "called home" to Haida Gwaii when they are ready, not only by their friends and relations but also by the islands themselves and the activities that they alone makes possible. Intertwined with "homing" is a second future-perfect certainty, "homecoming," which mandates that, while all Haida come home, they will still need to be taught *how* to be at home once they have returned, a process that ultimately channels the skills and experiences returnees have accrued off island for

the good of the Old Massett community. The chapter explores the production of these twinned futures, showing their emergence from a longer history of Haida mobility and how they are materialized in the present through fundraising and other community events.

Chapter 3, "Of Hippies and Haida: Fantasy, Future-Making and the Alluring Power of Haida Gwaii," considers a consequence that follows from the logics discussed in chapter 2. That is, while Haida Gwaii has the power to bring Haida home, its homing quality is not limited *to* Haida, and its promise of natural abundance and life "away" from urban capitalism has also attracted a growing number of settlers intent on living out their fantasies of unspoiled nature and life "off the grid" on island. These migrants, who are often (derisively) referred to as "hippies" in Old Masset, fix the island and its indigenous inhabitants as the objects of a particular form of fantasy, one that erases Haida rights and resources even as it proclaims respect for "indigenous practices." This raises the specter of a cataclysmic future for Haida people in which the lands and seas of Haida Gwaii are depleted by settler subjects acting without regard for Haida people or resource practices, prompting Haida to attempt to strategically incorporate "hippies" into Old Massett social relations as a means of producing alternative futures. The chapter explores these intersections, with a particular focus on the ways in which these settlers understand and represent themselves as inhabitants of Haida Gwaii and how, in turn, my Haida interlocutors represent them as potentially threatening strangers. It is through future-making, I suggest, that these seemingly incompatible representative schema can be strategically (or at the least aspirationally) reconciled.

Having considered some of the social dynamics of future-making on Haida Gwaii through the theme of mobility, Part 2 of the dissertation, entitled "Care," moves on to the political, considering governance, leadership, and legitimacy as another central cluster of themes in Haida

future-making. Chapter 4, "Leading from the Bottom of the Pole: Care and Governance in the Haida World," begins with another dilemma for Haida people. How is one to manage the complex and sometimes contradictory landscape of governments to which contemporary Haida are subject? One answer, I suggest, is to take all these governments as being accountable according to a single, shared ethical framework that, for at least some of Old Masset's Haida, hinges on the notion of "care." To "care" for one's constituents in this framework is both to provide for and to listen to them, to "take care" of them and to "care about" their concerns and perspectives. My interlocutors articulate this schema through a critique of the present which is at the same time an act of aspirational future-making – this is what governments *should* do, this is how leaders *should* behave. In so doing, they render comprehensible and potentially commensurable the otherwise incoherent entanglement of governments that lay claim to their allegiance and define their political identities as Haida people and citizens of Canada.

Chapter 5, "Precarious Authority: Arendt, Endangerment and Environmental Protection on Haida Gwaii" follows on Chapter 4 by examining the notion of "care" at a different scale. It follows the emergence of the Council of the Haida Nation in the 1970s and its transformation into a fully state-like governmental entity after the dramatic events of the Lyell Island blockade in the mid-80s. Central to this transformation, I suggest, is the CHN's claim to a legitimacy that is founded in care for the islands of Haida Gwaii themselves, protecting them from external threat and guaranteeing their existence for the future generations of the Haida Nation. This means, however, that the authority of the CHN is founded in the very precarity of the islands it claims to protect, leading to the *need* to project a theoretically unending future of threat to Haida Gwaii in order to justify the continuing jurisdiction of the CHN as its care-full protector. Here, it is precisely the anticipation of a nightmarish future that gives legitimacy in the present, a mode

of future-making that is in a sense the precise converse of the aspirational futures of the previous chapter.

Finally, in my concluding chapter I engage directly with questions of territory and sovereignty that have been implicitly or explicitly present to various extents in each of the previous chapters. What relationship to Haida Gwaii has been sketched out for and by Haida people over the course of these modes of future-making? What demands are thereby made socially, politically, and ecologically? What does it mean to incorporate the diversity of possible Haida futures into our understandings of sovereignty, indigenous and otherwise? In the answers to these questions my dissertation begins to sketch out, I suggest, we can also detect at least a hint at new ways of imagining and materializing the relationships of indigenous peoples to settler societies, ones premised not on an always imminent erasure but, rather, on the openness of possible futures.

Part 1: Home

Chapter 2: Coming Home to Haida Gwaii: Haida Departures and Returns in the Future-Perfect

Populations in Motion

More than 2,000 Haida do not live on the islands of Haida Gwaii, the ancestral home of the Haida people to which the Council of the Haida Nation currently claims sovereign Title and the site of all of the Haida reserves in Canada. These Haida are instead "scattered across the world," as the CHN's website puts it, with particular concentrations of Haida in nearby Prince Rupert and Vancouver, British Columbia's largest city.[1] These two thousand make up a significant percentage of Canada's total Haida population, around or just under half, at a rough estimate. Such vast numbers of off-island Haida are all the more impressive considering how physically and financially difficult it can be to actually travel away from (or to) Haida Gwaii, particularly for the residents of the Haida reserve of Old Massett on the islands' north end. There are effectively two options. First, you can fly. Pacific Coastal Airlines operates a single daily round-trip flight from Village of Massett to Vancouver, weather permitting and the airport is only only a fifteen minute drive away from the reserve (if one has a car, of course). The plane is always small, with a crew of one pilot and one flight attendant, and if you have been lucky enough to get the "big plane" (relatively speaking) there is one bathroom. If you have been unlucky in this respect the flight time of two and half hours can feel very long indeed.

This is, of course, if the plane leaves. Given the terrible winds, the wet and icy conditions and the frequent fogs of Haida Gwaii's long winters, the Pacific Coastal flight is often delayed or outright cancelled for the day. For this reason foggy mornings can trigger flurries of phone calls and Facebook updates tracking the flight's status – "will it take off?" "Plane took off!" "But will it land?" "Fog seems to be burning away, it should land!" The worst experience, I have been

[1] Taken from http://www.haidanation.ca/Pages/history/haidanation.html, accessed May 1, 2015.

told, is to be close to landing, the islands at last in sight after a long and bumpy flight, only to be informed by the pilot that the plane cannot land due to poor weather conditions and will, instead, be turning back to Vancouver. This usually leaves the plane's occupants exhausted by the whole mess and the passengers waiting and chatting in Masset's two-room airport without a plane to board. The weather should clear up by tomorrow, everyone hopes. If one wishes to avoid the uncertainties of Pacific Coastal, Air Canada also runs a daily round-trip flight from the islands to Vancouver, but since they fly from an airport that is a more than three hour drive (and one ferry ride) from Old Massett it is for most of the north end's prospective flyers a less desirable choice.

Or there's the ferry to Prince Rupert, the preferred option for anyone heading out to pretty much anywhere in northern British Columbia and/or those who want to avoid the flight's high price tag of $250 a seat.[2] The ferry leaves from Skidegate Harbor, around a two hour drive away from Old Massett. As of September 6, 2014, said ferry leaves Skidegate twice weekly, on Tuesdays at 10 AM and Thursdays at 10 PM. There are typically a few more weekly sailings in the summer months, though rarely more than four or five a week. The ferry ride is around six hours long, crossing over the Hecate Strait that separates Haida Gwaii from the mainland. The Hecate Strait is known for its shallowness, frequent strong winds and storms, and its navigational difficulty, and, though actual accidents are rare, the leading the ferry ride has a nasty reputation for provoking nausea and illness. A ferry ticket is, however, comparably reasonable as compared to a plane ticket, coming in at only $45 dollars per ticket, though to bring a car on the ferry jumps one's costs up by at least $160 dollars.

[2] And it is a very high price tag indeed, particularly for the many residents of Old Massett whose incomes stem from a combination of short term, seasonable labour and Employment Insurance payments (*cf:* Ch. 1). This is one of the reasons why fundraising plays such a significant role in Haida travel off island though, as we shall see, economics are by no means the only reason for travel fundraising's social significance.

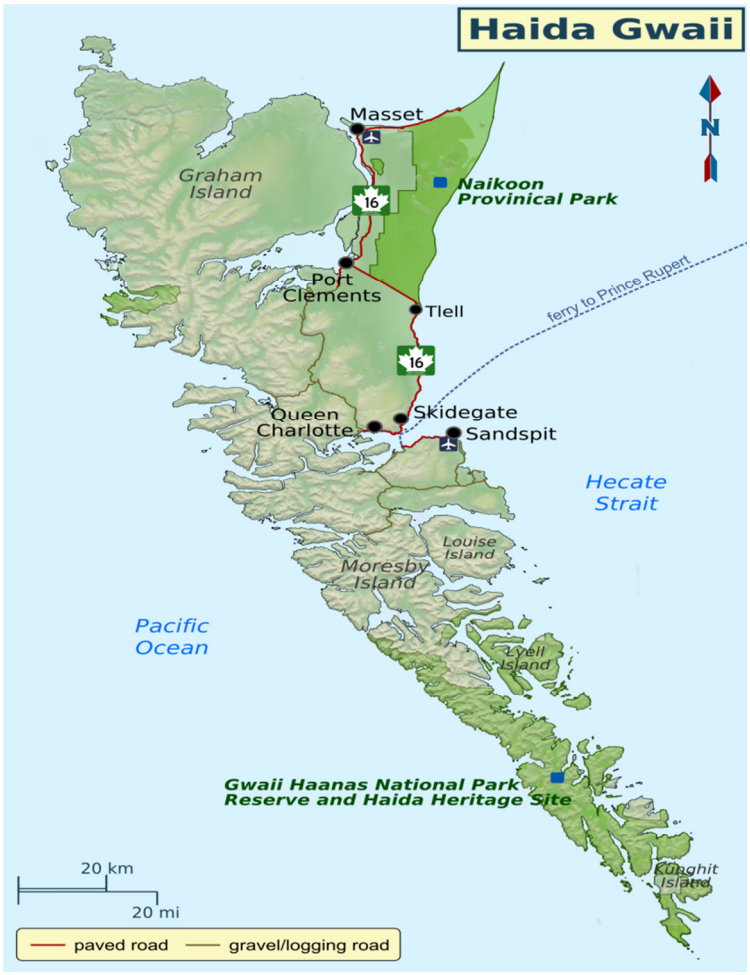

Figure 1: The Territory of Haida Gwaii c. the early 2000s. Note the two airports and the ferry terminal near Skidegate. Photo taken from Wikimedia commons.

However difficult, expensive or uncomfortable it is, however, Haida people do leave the islands. Frequently, in fact. Most of the plane flights and ferry rides that I've taken have been alive with conversation, as friends and relatives joke with each other, as families travelling together keep their kids occupied for the long trips, as people "run into each other" in the line-up for food on the ferry. Some are travelling for a few days to purchase vehicles or major appliances (there are, after all, no car dealerships or department stores on Haida Gwaii, and even smaller items ordered online can take a month or more to arrive). Others are off on trips, visiting friends and family off island or simply taking a vacation. In these forms of travel, the trip off island is

temporary – flight or ferry delays notwithstanding – and the return home to Haida Gwaii is assured, even if one's bags are heavier or they're crammed into the back of a new truck.

There is no such assurance for some of other Haida travellers on those flights and ferries, those who are truly leaving the islands, "moving to the city" – the usual expression on island, though which city is not always specified – to pursue their education or their careers. It is these people who make up the two thousand Haida residing off-island. There's been no single mass exodus of departing Haida that might account for that figure. Rather, it emerges out of a gradual flow of mostly young Haida leaving year by year, on their own or in small groups, with even the heaviest annual travel times in Old Massett – August and September, coinciding with the start of new school years, and June at school's end – rarely seeing more than twenty such departures. But these add up, and the most recent Canadian census reports that Old Massett's population alone diminished from 694 to 611 between 2006 and 2011, a pattern which is extent across the islands.[3] Most of the community residents with whom I've spoken explain the demographic changes in Old Massett as being a consequence of younger Haida leaving for school, for work, or, as one resident put it to me, "more support or more stuff for their kids to do, because there's not a whole lot offered here for that."

"Not a whole lot" might be somewhat understating the case. As mentioned in my introduction, post-secondary education on island is limited to sporadic course offerings from Northwest Community College's on-island campuses, though much of even their programming

[3] Figures taken from Aboriginal and Northern Affairs Canada's 2011 profile of Old Massett (http://pse5-esd5.ainc-inac.gc.ca/fnp/Main/Search/FNMain.aspx?BAND_NUMBER=669), the National Household Survey data from the same year (http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/aprof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=BAND&Code1=630669&Data=Count&SearchText=Old%20Massett%20Village%20Council&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&A1=All&Custom=&TABID=1), and the 2006 Aboriginal Community Development Initiative report on Old Massett (Statistics Canada 2006).

is centered off-island. Most of the jobs available to young people are seasonal, whether logging, commercial fishing, or ecotourism[4] (and note that such labour is highly gendered, with relatively few opportunities for female employment), and while there are more regular jobs available in areas such Haida governance and health-care these positions often go to those with some degree of university education. In a very real sense, then, to gain higher education, professional training, or to build a career outside seasonal labour, young Haida are effectively required to leave Haida Gwaii and move somewhere with more pedagogical and professional resources, with Vancouver and Prince George, as per CHN, being particular hubs (see Ch. 1 *ff).*[5]

One might expect, then, that there would be tremendous anxiety all over Haida Gwaii over this seeming decline in the on island population. This is indeed the case in certain places, indexed by a 2012 headline in the *Haida Gwaii Observer* (mentioned in passing in Chapter 1) that reads "Census Reveals Massive Population Loss on Haida Gwaii."[6] And yet the question of whether or not Haida who left the islands would return did not seem to prompt any particular uncertainty for my interlocutors in Old Massett. Instead, I was told repeatedly that these Haida will "always come home," even if their ultimate return "to stay" comes many decades after their

[4] Some young Haida work for the non-Haida owned fishing lodges as fishing guides or cooks, which require them to spend their summers living in these lodges and often demand almost punitive hours.

[5] Which is not to say that no young people live in Old Massett. However, many of the young Haida I know that lived full-time in Old Massett were traditional artists, developing their skills as carvers, weavers, and jewelry-makers and beginning to establish themselves in the commercial northwest coast art market. Being on-island meant these young artists had access to traditional materials, training from senior artists, and could participate most fully in Haida ceremonial practices, all understood by my interlocutors as being essential features of learning how to be a traditional artist.

[6] Haida Gwaii Observer, February 10, 2012. Weblink: http://www.haidagwaiiobserver.com/Article.aspx?Id=5328, accessed April 26, 2015.

initial departures. Here, for instance, is how Nonnie[7] Laura, an elder and community leader, pit it to me:

> And for the community, in the end they usually come back when they get older, so we'll always have someone coming home. But until they get their education and their occupations settled, they'll stay out, off in the mainland. But they'll always come back home.

And there is some demographic evidence to support Nonnie Laura's certainty, as 2015 numbers from Aboriginal and Northern Affrairs Canada indicate the population of Old Massett Haida living on reserve has increased to 694, greater even than in 2011. But even with this increase, the majority of the Old Massett population nonetheless remains off-reserve, and, excepting those living in the nearby Village of Masset or elsewhere on island, far away from the islands of Haida Gwaii. What, then, is the relationship between these demographic realities and the uncertainties they represent and the apparent social assurance of my interlocutors? How can Nonnie Laura and the many who share her conviction *know* that Haida will always come home?

In this chapter, I argue that it is the very fact that the conditions of the present seem to encourage Haida to leave the islands that makes the social certainty of return so significant. The assurance my interlocutors voiced that Haida will always come home voiced represents what I suggest is a particular mode of future-making, a performative[8] attempt at the formation of an already assured future-perfect in which the fact of Haida permanently returning to the islands is

[7] "Nonnie" is the Old Massett Haida word for grandmother, used here as a term of respect.

[8] My use of the notion of performance here is strongly influenced by Judith Butler's analysis of performativity in gender (Butler 1990; Butler 1993), which is itself an extension of Austin's work on performative language (Austin 1975). In brief, a performative in the sense I am using here is an attempt to bring a desire reality into being through discourse and other forms of social action. The use of the future-perfect as a way of negotiating the present is, in a sense, performative by definition, since it takes one particular vision of the future and draws upon it *as if* it is an already assured reality so as to *make it* an already assured reality.

assumed in the departure itself.[9] This certainty, which I refer to, borrowing one of my interlocutor's formulations, as *homing*, elides the possibility that the various attractions of city life and the relative lack of economic opportunities available on island might keep Haida away *in the present* through the determination of a future that is already-given. The fact of homing itself, however, poses its own anxieties for the people of Old Massett – how will returnees act? Will their time in the city have changed them? Will they still know how to behave appropriately? In light of these questions, I explore how homecomings can become challenging achievements, requiring sustained attention and awareness on the part of those who return. At the same time, (if you'll pardon the expression) community awareness *of* these fraught homecomings acts as a second mode of future-perfect assurance, one that renders certain the fact the skills and experiences brought home by returning Haida will be put to the best interest of the community.

I begin with a narrative of one person's experience of moving away and coming home, exploring how that narrative in turn opens out to a more general set of social notions about travel and movement in Old Massett that are articulated in narratives and materialized through community practices such as fundraising. I then turn to a highly synoptic history of Haida mobility, showing how the twinned logics of homing and homecoming are a response not only to the anxieties of the present, but also to the conditions (and nightmares) of the past. With these ethnographic and historical posits in place, I bring my analysis into conversation with James James Clifford's reflections on indigenous mobility in his Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the

[9] Worth noting here that almost every one of my interviewees, regardless of age or gender, spoke of moving off island at some point in their lives, all of whom had since returned "home." Their time away varied from a few years to multiple decades living and working off island, typically spent in British Columbia's urban centers. Most had left the island originally to achieve university degrees or specialized training, either returning to the islands once their education was complete or working in the city in their chosen profession for a more extended period of time. This latter scenario is somewhat more common.

21st Century (Clifford 2013), suggesting that "diaspora" might not be the best framework through which to view modes of mobility such as those that flow across the Haida world. The chapter ends ethnographically with a brief depiction of a "homecoming" feast in Old Massett and the ways in which it pushes the boundaries of what falls inside the logics of homing and homecoming.

Homing and Homecoming

"Coming Home was Always in my Heart"

Carol Dean left Old Massett in 1976. She'd grown up on-reserve, gone to school "uptown" in New Masset, seen the communities grow and change. "I remember," she told me, "when we got indoor plumbing. I remember not seeing a stick of pavement. My name's, well I don't know if they've re-paved, but I remember them paving the front road, and all of us went in there and carved our little initials in the cement and mine was down by the hill." After finishing high school, she moved away to continue pursuing her education and, ultimately, her career. It was a profound change, and this in small as well as in huge ways. She recalled, laughing, how, "when I first left, people would ask me, 'well, where do you live?' And I would say, 'well, I live in the blue house beside the brown house.' You know… And they'd go, 'no no no, what street?'[10] But Dean got used to it and built a life. "In the world,[11]" as she put it, she worked as a business manager.

We should pause here to note the contrast between Dean's city job as a business manager and the forms of largely seasonal work available in Old Massett. For one thing, a business management position is a regular form of employment, one that extends over the course of the

[10] It's just as hard the other way, as I can vouch from my own experience moving to Old Massett.
[11] Reading over my interview with Carol Dean, it strikes me that she never once identified which city she'd moved to when she left Old Massett. A failure on my part not to have asked, certainly, but perhaps an indicative one.

year and, further, promises potential increases in salary and promotion at fairly determinate intervals. Part of the appeal of work "in the world" as opposed to on island, in other words, is its reliability, consistency or, in a word, its *durability*. Many of the Haida I've known who reside off island have pursued similar such positions, working as assistant managers in retail locations, educators, administrators, or even as corporate employees, most often after having obtained undergraduate degrees or college diplomas.[12] Said education occurs most often either at Vancouver's major universities – The University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University – and colleges or the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George in the interior of British Columbia, but there are also many other programs throughout the province (and beyond it) that see Haida graduates, from culinary certification courses to apprenticeships in the trades. (Though income can sometimes act as barriers for access to these programs, this can be somewhat offset by scholarships aimed at First Nations students, about which many of my interlocutors both on island and off are extremely savvy). To this extent, at the least, Carol Dean's experience in moving to the city echoes more broadly.

Carol Dean moved back to Old Massett in 2008. She described "coming home more, and more, and more" in the prior few years and "finally realizing… this is where I want to be. So in 2008 I moved home." As one might imagine, Dean's move home was a major, life-changing decision: "I gave up a life when I left here, and I had to be ready to give up that life. And I just knew one day... I just knew, I'm ready. And when I started saying to myself, this is NOT where I'm supposed to be, that's when I came home." And yet, it was also a decision Dean had been anticipating making ever since she first left home, thirty-years before. "When I left," she told me multiple times during our interview, "I always knew I would come home." And that knowing

[12] One acquaintance of mine even alternates working at a full-time administrative position for a Vancouver university with running her own small business as a vintage fashion designer.

was always with her; as she put it, "coming home was always in my heart." For Dean, in other words, eventually moving back to Old Massett, "coming home," was an emotional and intellectual certainty, even if when she first left she could not have predicted *when* that return would come.

Which doesn't mean that coming home was easy, a point Dean also emphasized:

> It was very difficult because, out there, in the world, I was in business management. And I was the one in charge, I was the one who did all the talking and teaching and to come here, and have to… to sit back and listen, was very very hard. I told my brother a while ago that I'm learning how to hear what people are saying. I'm a good listener but I never *heard* what they were telling me. And now I have to. When I go out I'm sitting there and I'm hearing, and I'm really listening now. Before it was… pfff! So to change your attitude, after being gone, not knowing your culture, not knowing your language, not knowing your family. Not even knowing your community, was a very big shock. I thought I would just sail back in here and pfff, I left when I was this old and here I am again… but it wasn't.

Homecoming, in other words, doesn't end when one steps off the ferry or disembarks the plane. Rather, it is an ongoing learning process that is at once cultural and personal, a way of becoming-at-home that requires patience, attentiveness, openness and a willingness to really listen. More, it requires the awareness that one *needs* to "sit back and listen" in the first instance, that all the experience and the skills one has acquired "out there, in the world" do not obviate one from the need to "change your attitude." It is this recognition that Dean marks as particularly challenging, especially as it is one that emerges in part in response to community distrust:

> For an educated person to come home, to a small reserve, isolation like this… people look at you different. People who were my friends when I was growing up here, you know, said well… you know, "she's so stuck up, she thinks she knows it all and she's been out there and she knows everything." And, that's so not the truth.

In the context of this perceived elitism, Dean's emphasis on learning and listening takes on added resonance. By becoming reacquainted with family, language, culture and community in *their* terms, Dean can prove that she isn't "stuck up," that, in her phrasing, "I'm not here to take

over your job, I'm not here to take over your man, I'm just here." Implicit here, too, is the fact that Old Massett itself is not by any means static, subtly indexed in Dean's wistful musing as to whether or not they've "re-paved" over the initials of her and her friends.[13] Both Dean and Old Massett, in short, have changed since her initial departures, each following their own particular temporal courses. In returning – indeed, *to return* in a meaningful social sense - Dean must realign herself with an Old Massett that is also transformed, even as this realignment is framed both by Dean and those compelling her to "really listen" as getting to know Old Massett as "home" once again. (Though Dean is not without some pushback of her own. In her framing of Old Massett as "small," subject to "isolation like this," she marks herself as an "educated person," one with a wider experience of the world than those who might be critiquing her. To respect the need to learn how to be at home, for Dean, does not prevent her from at least hinting at a certain parochialism in the attitudes of others.)

Homing and the Future-Perfect

In one sense, Carol Dean charts out a trajectory of movement circumscribed by certainties. Dean knew she had to leave Old Massett as a young person, knew she would move back one day, and knew when it was time to leave the city and come home. An element of this knowing was practical – Dean told me she knew as a young person that the only way to achieve

[13] Indeed, the changes between 1976 and the late 2000s were tremendous in the community, particularly after the return in the 1980s of "the C-31s," Haida women who had lost their Native status through marriage to non-Haida and their children. With the passing of Bill C-31 these Haida were able to (re)gain membership in the Old Massett Band and establish residences in the community, markedly transforming the spatial and social landscape of Old Massett. The details of this transformation go beyond the scope of this chapter, and though the ambivalence of these "returns" echo in many respects other challenging returns to Old Massett I describe later in this chapter, the fact that many "C-31st" lived in the nearby "settler" town of Masset rather than off island gives this moment in Old Massett's history a somewhat different specificity (cf: Chapter 1). See also Audra Simpson's recent Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Sovereign Statues for a discussion of the ambivalent role played by "C-31s" in the history of the Mohawk community of Kahnawake (Simpson 2014).

the education she desired was to leave, and she worked hard to make that possible, just as she choose to return at a time in her life when she was ready to retire from her work "in the world." And yet there is also an ineffable quality to her knowing, a sense she had that it was "time to leave" and "time to come home" that she did not attempt in our interview to explain. At the same time, Dean makes very clear the ambivalent realities of mobility, the confusion and strangeness of being away from home and, equally, the confusion and strangeness of being home again. Leaving and coming home are, in Dean's account, each fundamentally transformative, at once making possible and demanding certain forms of education and self-knowledge at the same time as they unsettle one's previous understandings, even one's ways of being. But these are transformations with a well-defined endpoint, "coming home," physically and socially, the certainty of which permeates the experience of being away.

Crucially, moreover, Dean did not see the certain knowledge of Haida Gwaii as home as unique to her. Rather, in speaking of the next generation, she told me with confidence that "they're gonna leave the island hopefully one day for more education but they'll know… this is home." Dean's sense of assurance that young Haida leaving the islands would always at least know that Haida Gwaii was "home" was shared by many of my interlocutors; indeed, some put the claim in even stronger terms. Recall Nonnie Laura's comments to me, here reproduced in a slightly longer excerpt:

> L: They [Haida youth] seem to be going off island more, mainly to continue their educations, so that's a positive for me.
>
> J: Yeah. Do you think when people go off island it can be hard sometimes to bring them back, or is that not an issue?
>
> L: Hmm, it is hard to get them back here once they get their schooling completed, but that's better for them in the long run. And for the community, in the end they usually come back when they get older, so we'll always have someone coming home.

> But until they get their education and their occupations settled, they'll stay out, off in the mainland. But they'll always come back home.

For Nonnie Laura, the fact that Haida who had moved off island would eventually come "home" was, again, certain, though, much like Carol Dean's own experience of leaving, Nonnie Laura could not predict when they would be ready to return for good. So too, Nonnie Laura and Dean shared a feeling of optimism about this process of youth leaving and returning for education, indexed by Dean's "hopefully one day for education" and Laura's "so that's a positive for me."

These same themes – that youth leaving Haida Gwaii to pursue their education was basically desirable, that these same youth would always, one day, "come home," but that this homecoming itself required attentiveness and care – were resonantly reiterated by respected artist and community leader David Armstrong – who, as noted in Chapter 1, returned to the community from his own time off island in the late 1970s - during our interview:

> J: When it comes to education, what do you think about the fact that in order to get past a Grade 12 education people have to leave the islands and then come back, basically?
>
> D: If I was to get a pen, put a dot on here, little dot, we're just a little dot in that dot. And when I'm fundraising […] to help them [youth] leave,[14] I always feel it broadens your horizon when you leave here, you see what the real world is. We all live in our little world here, I mean, this is our world, but everything that happens beyond here affects us, so I always think it's great everybody leaves, go see what the rest of the world does then they understand it. Because anything that happens in the outside world affects us.
>
> J: And when people leave, what do you think brings them back?
>
> D: Hmm, it's a *homing device*, just the islands, I mean, it's a great place. When my daughter left, […] she didn't want to come back right away, she wanted work experience before she could come back and help or work here and do stuff, because they have work experience in the outside world, and then you're able to come back and help because they have work experience in the outside world.. But there's a neat guy, an old man, a friend of mine was coming home, and this old man told my friend, "You know, when you go home, you have to see what's going on before you try to

[14] We'll return to this form of fundraising further down.

> change things or do anything." He said, "You can come in like the big southeast wind [J: Yeah] but you'll go out just as fast."

Like Dean, Armstrong contrasts the "little world" of Haida Gwaii and the "real world" off-island, suggesting that leaving "our world" so as to better understand the "rest of the world" is something that broadens horizons and, equally, allows returning Haida to better help their community with their additional education and work experience. And what compels that return is the way in which Haida Gwaii seems to call its people home, acting, as Armstrong strikingly puts it, as a "homing device."

But what is it that makes Haida Gwaii able to act in this way, to be a "homing device?" What is it that calls Haida home? The conditions of possibility for return, at least, seem relatively clear, connected to the completion of education or career milestones - what Nonnie Laura referred to "getting their education or occupation settled." Carol Dean's return home coincided with her retirement, for instance, and David Armstrong likewise notes that his daughter only wanted to come back when she had enough "work experience" so that she could "help" or at the least "work here and do stuff." Indeed, most of the returnees I've spoken to formally or informally have come back either at the end of a career trajectory or on the completion of degrees of one variety or another. But this still does not explain *why* Haida Gwaii is understood to summon its people home once they have arrived at these junctures in their life cycle.

For some, like recent returnee Sharon Lawrence, the answer is, at least in part, "culture:"

> L: Cuz when we moved to Vancouver, they had West Coast night there, and but it didn't have, like all Haidas, but you're still, you're still exposed to cultures there. I guess you could take the culture with you, but I don't think it'll be as, like, one of the big things that they do is, like the food gathering stuff and stuff, you can't really do that, yeah, but the language and the singing, you *could* dance at home, but…
>
> J: It's not really the same?

> L: Yeah, no, no. And the stories that you hear from the elders that are here if you go visiting or if you're living close to your nonnie [grandmother] and tsinni [grandmother], you could hear those, and, it all depends, I guess, how into your culture you are. If you're not really that into it, then, then they're not really… they're missing out on a lot, but they're really not, right? If they're not really into it or whatever. [15]

Lawrence's point here is not that a Haida's relationship to culture vanishes when they leave the islands. They can "take the culture" with them, participating in West Coast nights – events typically organized by Aboriginal community centers in which dances and songs from the different northwest coast First Nations are shared and performed – and even perhaps singing, dancing, and speaking Haida at home. But the whole complex of Haida culture is only present on the islands, comprising as it does not only the formal ceremonial performances that can be given at a community center West Coast night, but also the social and familiar relationships that are manifested in and through those performances[16] and all the other "things that they do" on island, like "food gathering and stuff." And, as Lawrence makes clear, such modes of culture are intimately bound up with kinship relationships. Living "close" to their grandparents – and I think we can read this as an affective as well as a spatial closeness - gives a Haida person the opportunity to hear their stories and, not coincidentally, to spend time with them, factors which were a significant dimensions of Lawrence's own decision to return home to Haida Gwaii with her young family after she had completed her course of education in the late 2000s.

[15] See chapter 1 pages 38-40 for a discussion of "culture" as Sharon Lawrence is using it here.
[16] "Haida dancing" on island, for instance, is often done by whole clans together, both as a way of building in-clan solidarity and pride and to honour other clans through performance at community events. Dancing, in other words, is not just knowing the steps or singing the songs – that, one can do "at home" in the city, that is, inside the privacy of one's own house. But who one is dancing with and who one is dancing for are just as integral to what makes the performance *meaningful* as Haida dancing, and those dimensions can only be fully present "at home" in our sense, on the islands of Haida Gwaii.

The desire to again be close to friends and family, to fish and gather berries, to participate in "the culture" in its full socio-familial dimensions, in short, to "reconnect" with the community in ways at once intimate and cultural (and intimately cultural), animates many returnees and their senses of what makes Haida Gwaii such a distinctively "great place.[17]" And yet, there is a certain ineffable excess to Dean's "knowing in her heart" and Armstrong's "homing," a sense that Haida Gwaii calls people home simply because that's what Haida Gwaii does. We should not ignore this excess. Quite the opposite, therein lies one element of the future-perfect quality of "homing." The future-perfect, recall from Chapter 1, is a grammatical tense in which a future is framed as already determined – "this is what will have happened." This same already given quality characterizes the social logic of "homing," the *certainty* that Haida people will return home soon or later because Haida Gwaii will have called them back. The certainty of homing extends past all the concrete reasons that could be offered as to what makes Haida Gwaii worth returning to; instead, as framed by Dean, by Armstrong, by Nonnie Laura, and by many of my other interlocutors, homing is simply future-perfect fact. And this facticity is vital precisely because the return home *cannot* be made certain through any calculus of costs and benefits in the present, both in the sense that the relative lack of employment and education opportunities on island and, perhaps too, its "isolation" could always be found wanting in relation to the opportunities the islands offer and, more broadly, that it leaves the return up to individual choice.

Fundraisers, or, Homing, a dollar at a time

We should not, however, see this future-perfect certainty as purely a performative product of discourse. Rather, it is materialized through various social practices, of which fundraising is

[17] As we will see in Chapters 3 and 5, this set of practices sketch out a particular Haida relationship to the environment and resources of Haida Gwaii, one that can act both as a site of and justifical for political-ecological claims (Chapter 5) and an object of problematic settler emulation (Chapter 3).

among the most potent. Young Haida rarely leave the islands "on their own." Family help is almost a given, but often Haida mobility is facilitated through community fundraising. Fundraisers form part of the tissue of day to day life in Old Massett. Indeed, a week barely went by during my twenty-one months of fieldwork in which there was not a fundraiser of some kind. I attended many of them, and in my capacity as an elementary school volunteer even helped set up a few. Most of the fundraiser took the same essential form, combining a public dinner and a "loonie-toonie" auction,[18] named for Canada's one and two dollar coins, located in public buildings rented for the occasion (Often the firehall or the Adult Day Centre) or, less often, in peoples' own homes. The hosts of the event, either a family, a larger clan, or an organization, prepare dinner – usually some kind of salmon, often seafood chowder, sometimes "holiday" foods like turkey, stuffing and mashed potatoes – which is then sold to participants either at a set cost or by donation.

Set aside from the dinner tables are tables laden with goods for the auction, each marked with a name tag indicating the item in question and the identity of its donor. This latter is especially important. The auctions in Old Massett that I attended were invariably well stocked with donations from all over the community, from members of the host's family and their fellow clan members to friends, Band, CHN, or municipal officers, local organizations, well-wishers and traditional artists. The goods auctioned off vary accordingly, and my field notes record auction tables with baby mittens and Monster-High dolls sitting next to hand-woven scarves bearing Haida designs and carved argillite pendants, gift baskets full of homemade jam and fresh-caught fish leaning against pre-packaged make-up sets. People, in short, donate what they

[18] Though there are many other modes of fundraising in the Massets, and raffles and 50/50s or "money trees," in which people enter to win half of a total donated amount while the fundraisers keep the other half, are also common.

can, and I have yet to attend a fundraiser that did not have at least twenty or thirty such items for auction. There can be far more. One participates by purchasing a set of one or two dollar tickets and dropping them into the bags placed next to each auctioned item, with the auction taking place once it is judged that enough tickets have been amassed. Successful events can raise upwards of three or four thousand dollars in a single day.

People fundraise for many different reasons - to support family or clan events, for instance, or to raise money for school activities. Most commonly, however, fundraisers are aimed at making possible some form of travel. Fundraising for "medical" is perhaps most frequent, allowing family members to travel with their loved ones who have become ill and had to be sent to off-island hospitals. Alongside "medical" travel,[19] though, there are also dinners held to raise funds for young Haida who wish to leave the islands to go "off to school" and, their corollary, dinners meant to raise funds to help "bring the kids home," for a family event, for the summer, or for good.

In a very real sense, then, the entire community of Old Massett participates in the process of leaving home and homing back, offering support for travellers and returnees through donations, labour, or simply through the purchase of a nice meal and a few auction tickets. Granted, the social work done thereby can exceed the fact of travel itself. Through the donation of gifts, individual Old Massett community members can figure themselves as able to give well, marking them at once as generous and supportive and demonstrating their own status in the community. Echoes on a smaller scale, perhaps, of the mass distributions of gifts that occur at

[19] Though "medical" travel is not the focus of this chapter, it is a crucial dimension of Haida mobility. The Band will cover the costs of off-island travel for medical care, but only for the patient themselves and one family member. Extended trips with multiple family members thus require additional funding. Support for this form of travel is also a notable mode of political "care," in the sense we will discuss in Chapter 4.

potlatches and feasts (e.g. Steltzer 1984). There is also the thrill of winning one of the prizes, most of which are far more valuable than the one or two dollars needed for an auction ticket.[20] Nonetheless, the primary focus of a fundraiser remains the transit of one or two individuals. Or, put another way, when considered as ritual, fundraisers unfold multiple loci of value production and redistribution. For individual donors, they represent opportunities to increase their own social value through generosity – which, as has often noted, is a long-standing virtue in the Haida world as elsewhere on the coast (e.g. Boelscher 1988), while also offering the opportunity to gain access to luxury and prestige objects that might otherwise be unaffordable. At the same time, they sediment together those individual values towards the particular end of Haida mobility, rendering both leave-takings and returns as community productions.[21]

These fundraisers also extend the socio-spacetime of Old Massett, to borrow Nancy Munn's language, well beyond the borders of the islands themselves (Munn 1992). This literally, in the sense that travel fundraisers contribute to Haida moving and visiting across Western Canada. But also, and resonantly, symbolically. Young Haida leaving home are never "alone" if they have been the subjects of a fundraiser. Rather, they operate with the authorization of collected social value, carrying "home" with them in this sense. And this is affective as much as it is symbolic. Home, Carol Dean noted, was "always in her heart." Fundraising can also entail reciprocity – young Haida who have been the recipients of community generosity are all the more beholden to "come back and help" once they've achieved their goals "in the world." This is

[20] Offhand, I can still remember winning both a carved argillite Eagle pendant and a copy of a coffee table style book honouring Haida language teachers. A friend of mine once joked to me that Loonie/Toonie Auctions had become a mild addiction with her after she had a streak of excellent luck with them.

[21] Though this does not mean that fundraisers are not also subject to striations within Old Massett between different families, clans, or individuals, conflicts that are often reflected in attendance or donations.

not to say that helping is necessarily experienced as a burdensome obligation. In David Armstrong's account of his daughter's return, for instance, it is precisely the desire to be able to adequately help that accounts for the timing of her homecoming, an experience which is quite general across my younger interlocutors when discussing both why they have returned or with to in the future. Especially when taken as a metonymic emblematization of these larger modes of reciprocity, we can see how fundraising in the present thereby works to constitute the future-perfect of homing, the already assured return home of Haida who leave. So too, fundraising for the return to Old Massett once again extends Haida value across sometimes vast swathes of geography to "bring the kids home" in the most literal sense. Fundraisers thus represent one mode through which the larger community of Old Massett can render mobility into a desired social project, one with an acceptable goal – becoming "whatever they're going for," as one interlocutor put it to me – and determinate end point.

Homecoming, Helping, and "Knowing what can be Done"

Or, rather, an end-point for one mode of homecoming and the beginning of another. Recall the parable that David Armstrong tells. It is a good thing to come home and to try to put one's new skills and experience to work for the good of Old Massett and Haida Gwaii. But one cannot come in "like the big southeast wind" either. Just as Dean asserted that you have to "listen, really listen," Armstrong's parable emphasises that you "have to see what's going on" before attempting to put to work the very skills and experience one has "gone to the outside world" to acquire. These modes of attention are necessary in part because the transformations brought on by the experience of mobility, by education, by a career "in the world," by definition exceeds the epistemological, social, and economic boundaries of "home." Consider, for illustration, this excerpt from my interview with Carol Dean:

> The Haida people, and, and the thing about today is that more of us are coming home with more education. Excuse me, more of us are coming home that have seen beyond Vancouver what can be done. More of us are travelling, more of us are, are willing to come home, and… it takes a long time for a person to decide to come home because we know what we're coming home to. You know… we're coming home to one grocery store, one clothing store, one this, one that, one this… And the, the limitations we're coming back to.

For Dean, Haida who come home bring with them tremendous potential – they have expanded their horizons and they have access to a broader set of resources – conceptual and otherwise – in order to help their community. They "know what can be done." And there is real value to that knowing, tremendous potential. "It's good for living," as another of my interlocutors put it, "just to go away and get another job and move somewhere, because they're exposed to so many things and here we're so secluded." But that very knowing also highlights the "limitations" of living in Old Massett, the inadequacies and the things that *should* be changed. The "risk" that someone like Carol Dean poses isn't just that she might "steal a job" or "steal a man," but, more strongly, that she might seek to change how life in Old Massett is lived, a particularly threatening idea when she is perceived (and recognizes herself) as having become disconnected from the culture and community of her own home because of her time away.

It is in response to this risk that the work of homecoming as social process unfolds, taking on a dual character. From one perspective, the ambiguous realities of homecoming reiterate the spatial displacement of mobile Haida as a social displacement, a distance that can only be crossed through careful attention to one's family, one's culture, and one's community. Which certainly puts to the lie any confusion of the assurance of homing with any particular ease when it comes to homecoming – As Carol Dean put it, "I thought I would just sail back in here and pfff, I left when I was this old and here I am again… but it wasn't." Instead, the social expectation is that returnees must be cautious in bringing home the benefits of their new

experiences and perspectives, that they will look and see, sit and listen, really listen. Change cannot come as imposed from without, in the form of *fiat*. (Such fiat, as we will shortly see, carries dangerous echoes of the program of colonial imposition that restructured Haida governance without consultation or consent shortly after the initial decimation of disease.) Homecoming, in short, has tremendous potential, but it must be manifested through dialogue and attentiveness, through *care*,[22] on the part of both of the returnee and their family and friends.

Equally, however, the very fact that the challenges of homecoming are *mandated*, implicitly and explicitly, by community sentiment, perceptions and practices points us towards the integral role that homecoming plays *as* a fraught process in the production of this always already assured future of Haida community strength. This is to say, it is precisely because homecoming *must* be a learning process, and is seen as necessarily such, that Old Massett can affirm its own capacity to channel the transformative potential of Haida who have come home in a way that benefits Old Massett socially, economically and politically while preserving it as "home" for Haida people, as site of perpetually inevitable return. Here another dimension of coming home in the future-perfect. Just as homing works to counter the ambiguous possibility of Haida remaining off-island with the social and discursive production of return as an already given dimension of departure, the logic of homecoming as process counters the risk of returnees attempting to transform the community without attention, care, or understanding.

Taken together, these twinned logics of homing and homing figure a future in which Old Massett as a Haida community can only ultimately be improved through the cycle of departure and return, of Haida people leaving home and homing back – a future, that is to say, in which the necessity of young Haida leaving can only strengthen the community, rather than put its very

[22] We will return in depth to the idea of "care" on Haida Gwaii in Part 2 of this dissertation.

existence at risk. By this logic, it can be assured that those two-thousand Haida currently living off-island will eventually come home and bring their learning and experience back to the community. But this work of future-making does not just address the demographic anxieties of the present. Rather, this futures sketched here are themselves transformative responses to a longer and deeply ambivalent history of Haida mobility, a history over which the nightmare returns that brought smallpox home to Haida Gwaii in the late 19th century cast a very long shadow. As responses to the ever-present phantasm of this devastation, I will suggest, the already assured quality of homing and homecoming act wards against the erasure of Old Massett and, indeed, the very possibility of a Haida home(land), offering a way for mobility itself to be taken up as a positive and productive form of contemporary Haida life.

A History of Going Home to Haida Gwaii

The Canoe People

To begin, a Haida narrative, recorded by John Swanton during his fieldwork in the community of Old Massett as "The Canoe People," circa the turn of the 20th century with version from both Old Massett and Skidegate, here in précis:

> A hunter and his friends killed a black bear that was different from others, and next morning found themselves at the bottom of a deep cavity from which there was no exit. By and by one of them suggested that they put one of their dogs into the fire, which they did, when lo! the dog above them at the top of the pit. They all put their dogs in, with the same result, and determined to do the same to each other. At once they were all on top of the mountain. Then they came to their canoe and started homeward; but when they reached the town, no one took the slightest notice of them, and they discovered that they had become supernatural beings. After that, they gave each other names; and in after years one of them spoke through a shaman, letting him know their story (Swanton 1905:213).

Despite the separation of their telling by more than a century, there are definite resonances between The Canoe People and Carol Dean's autobiographical account. Like Dean,

the hunters have left their community in pursuit of something – here subsistence in a more direct sense, though the pursuit of education and career certainly echoes this in a more extended vein – that could not be found at home. Though unlike Dean, at least at first glance, the hunters have not "left home" *qua* major life change. Rather, their hunting – which, the longer account makes clear, takes place away from town (Swanton 1908:365-370) - reflects the regular, seasonal pattern of movement that was an especially common part of Haida lifeways before the decimation of disease and the advent of colonial "administration." Pre-20th century, Haida people lived in between winter villages - where whole clans concentrated together for potlatching, important ceremonies, feasts, and story-telling – and smaller summer resource camps focused on fishing, hunting, gathering berries, plant matter, and all the other resources necessary for the winter's events (e.g. Swanton 1905; Brink 1974). It was a given, in other words, that these hunters would eventually return to their home villages once their activities were complete.

And yet, the hunters find that they cannot go home again, at least in the forms in which they left. The hunters take an incorrect action, though the narrative does not make it clear whether or not they could have known not to kill the "bear that was different from others," and in consequence they must transform themselves into spirit beings. The canoe people are thereby reborn, with new names and new capacities, but in consequence they are no longer beings that can be *recognized* as belonging to the community that they left – "No one took the slightest notice of them." Here, in a sense, both the obverse and the corollary of the logic of homing. If homing refigures long-term mobility from the potentially disjuncturous into the affirmative and the expected, the Canoe People shows that even in regular and expected modes of Haida mobility there is the potential for radical transformation, for returning home as a different being. And, crucially, the narrative does not mark the distance between the Canoe People and the residents of

their former "home" as un-crossable. Rather, a ritual specialist is required to make the spirits legible to their community in their transformed state, allowing their story to be known.

Haida Mobility in the Colonial Era and the Nightmare Face of Homecoming

What the Canoe People also shows is that ideas about and concerns over mobility are hardly new for Haida people. Quite the opposite, judging both from oral narratives and historical accounts, Haida have been highly mobile since time immemorial. Alongside the regular forms of seasonal migration I discussed above, Haida engaged in trade (and raiding) on the mainland of what is now British Columbia. These were no easy journeys, requiring the physical stamina and navigational mastery to cross by canoe the notoriously stormy and dangerous Hecate Strait separating the islands of Haida Gwaii from the northwest coast. By the 18th century, Haida trade extended as far south as California, requiring canoe trips that took multiple years to finish. And the occupation of British Columbia by Russian, English, and Canadian settlers brought their own incentives for mobility, with some Haida, for instance, serving as guides or assistants on settler exploratory or resource gathering missions (Brink 1974:33). Most significantly, the city of Victoria became a hub for Haida travel in the mid-19th century, a favoured destination to engage in trade with whites and other Aboriginal peoples and cultivate access to settler economic capital. Indeed, Victoria in the late 1800s was something of a precursor to contemporary urban centers as a hub for indigenous labour migration, as Boas famously observed during his first visit to the provincial capital in 1886:

> The stranger coming for the first time to Victoria is startled by the great number of Indians living in this town . . . we met them everywhere. They dress mostly in European fashion. The men are dock workers, craftsmen or fish vendors; the women are washerwomen or working women. . . certain Indian tribes have become

> indispensable to the labour market and without them the province would suffer great economic damage (Boas, quoted in Edmonds 2010:16).[23]

The density of the Aboriginal population in Victoria in those years – already more than four thousand individuals by the 1860s (Edmonds 2010:10) – and its concentration at the northern edge of the city made it particularly vulnerable to outbreaks of smallpox and other devastating diseases. The settler government responded to these outbreaks through increased segregation and attempts to evict "Northern Indians" from the community. Penelope Edmonds describes one such order in May, 1862 as leading to said peoples being "escorted out of the harbour by gunboat" (14). These forced "removals" from Victoria in turn led to the increased spread of disease up the northern coast of British Columbia and onto Haida Gwaii The imported illnesses devastated the Haida world, decimating the Haida population and eliminating generations and clans almost in their entirety (Blackman 1992:63).. The Council of the Haida Nation's Journal, *Haida Laas*, gives the population loss as reducing the estimated population of 20,000 at the turn of the 19th century to 600 by the beginning of the 20th, a reduction to .03% of the pre-contact population (*Haida Laas March, 2009:3*).

In her life history as told to Margaret Blackman, the late Haida elder and matriarch Florence Davidson gives a harrowing account of the arrival of smallpox and its impact on her family:

> Smallpox came from Victoria. On the way home the people camped overnight, some would get sick and they'd leave the sick ones there. It spread all over the islands. Both of my mother's parents died in the smallpox epidemic and my grandmother's parents, too. They were going home to Kiusta from Masset. My mother's parents were in one canoe, my grandmother's on the other. There were some other people from Kiusta with them. They stayed overnight at Jalun River and put up cedar-bark

[23] There were also less "licit" forms of indigenous labour prominent in settler Victoria, particularly prostitution, the "threat" of which was met with increasing colonial attention and regulation as Victorian settlement increased and the "model" of the white settler shifted towards an increasingly bourgeois Victorian middle-class ideal (Barman 1997).

> tents. They were supposed to leave right away in the morning but they took sick. They all got sick at once. […]
>
> Amy [Davidson's grandmother] and my mother and Wiba, my mother's playmate, were the only ones who didn't take sick. […] The little girls were playing on the beach when their uncles, Gináwən and Kiłgúlans, came by from Masset on the way to Klinkwan [Alaska]. Amy's father saw the canoe landing and told them not to stop because they were sick; he didn't want them to catch smallpox. The uncles grabbed the two little girls, my mother and Amy. Wiba was a little ways from them, and they couldn't get to her because my grandmother's father had a gun. He was shooting at them, trying to kill them because they took the two girls. When my mother talked about Wiba she used to cry. Wiba ran after them but they couldn't rescue her because Amy's father had the gun. She got left there and she wasn't even sick. I guess she died with the rest. They were all wiped out, no one was saved from there. My grandmother used to tell me the story of it when I was little (Blackman 1992:63–64).

The loss, terror and sorrow of Davidson's account, I think, speaks for itself.

Considered from the perspective of this chapter, the arrival of smallpox and the utter devastation it brought appear as the nightmare face of homecoming, a return home that radically transforms home; indeed, that desolates its very capacity to *be* home. By the early 1900s, the remaining Haida on Haida Gwaii (now renamed the Queen Charlotte Islands by colonial administration) had centralized into two villages, (Old) Massett[24] and Skidegate, the individual clans no longer populous enough to occupy their respective home territories. The two towns were quickly declared reserves by the colonial government, and they were brought under the close supervision of Canadian Indian agents and a substantial missionary presence.[25] I think it fair to state that both The Canoe People, told to Swanton in both Masset and Skidegate soon after these cataclysmic events, and even contemporary narratives like Carol Dean's unfold under the shadow of this shattering historical homecoming. Just as now, Haida in the 19th century left their home communities in order to pursue the forms of opportunity and economic advance that were

[24] The "Old" of "Old Massett" was a later addition, added once the settler community of "New Masset" had established itself (most particularly, by laying claim to the local post office).
[25] Primarily Anglican in Old Massett and Presbyterian in Skidegate.

manifested under the emerging settler colonial regime. They returned carrying with them settler colonialism's worst horrors, and the Haida world was fundamentally and irrevocably altered thereby. The nightmare of these returns – so starkly described by Davidson – continues to haunt Haida mobility, imbuing homecomings with the potential for radical excess, for the subjective transformation that comes with leaving home to return as an uncontrolled and uncontrollable transformation in the community itself.

The Legacy of the Past and the Future-Perfect

It is a testament to the resilience, to the strength and the courage of Haida people that over the course of the 20th century they were able to rebuild, to render Old Massett into the home of Carol Dean's childhood. And neither did the devastation of disease mark the end of regular modes of Haida movement, either on island or off. The rise of a thriving cannery industry with many of its locations away from Old Massett meant that earlier patterns of seasonal resource migrations were echoed by regular summers spend working and living at the canneries in their mid-century heyday (cf: Blackman 1992). At the same time, labour migration off-island became increasingly regularized as British Columbia's Aboriginal population became more fully integrated into (and reliant on) the cash economy (cf: Knight 1978) and white settlers established absolute control over the fishing industry (Harris 2008).[26] By the time of Mary Lee Stearns ethnography of the Masset Band in the 1960s, it seemed almost a common place for the young Haida students of George M. Dawson Secondary to aspire to leave the islands to pursue their

[26]Canadian fishing laws allowed First Nations unrestricted access to subsistence fishing, but their capacities for commercial fishing were sharply curtailed. Stearns records the consequences of this in the Massets of the late 60s, noting that most Haida commercial fishermen either worked for non-Haida or were part of smaller and less profitable fishing operations as compared to their white neighbours (Stearns 1981). When combined with the amount of capital necessary to fuel and maintain fishing crafts, various forms of wage labour became necessary for Haida both *to* continue subsistence practise and as alternatives to total dependence on them.

futures, whether in the form of work or more advanced education (Stearns 1981), or, at least, so Stearns records.

These modes of voluntary mobility – real and aspirational – were not, however, the only forms of movement that Haida experienced in the early to mid-20th century. Like other First Nations, Haida people were subjected to their children being taken by colonial authorities and placed in church-operated and government-funded residential schools. The premise of these schools was, notoriously, to "kill the Indian and save the man," separating young Aboriginal children from their families, forbidding them from speaking in their own languages or practising the customs and ways of being they had learned from their parents, and transform them into fully assimilated Canadian citizens. Chronically under-funded and often in poor repair, the schools were breeding grounds for infectious diseases and incidents of abuse – physical, emotional and sexual – were disturbingly common, and these terrible conditions on top of the fundamentally violent premise of the schools themselves (Miller 1996; Milloy 1999). Many children returned from these schools deeply traumatized, disconnected from their families and home communities[27] and without more than a rudimentary education according to normative Canadian standards.[28] Here again we see the nightmare face of homecoming, (forcible) transformations that render those who return almost unrecognizable by those at home and, perhaps even more devastating, robbed of their own capacity to reintegrate into the community they were stolen

[27] Writing about the Western Apache, Keith Basso notes that the return of children from boarding school was often greeted by sustained silence on the part of their parents, who, Basso suggests, are afraid that, " as a result of protracted expo- sure to Anglo attitudes and values, the children have come to view their parents as ignorant, old-fashioned, and no longer deserving of respect" (Basso 1970).

[28] As they were more focused on "civilizing" children than educating them, many residential schools did not succeed at providing children with even basic Canadian-style education.

from.[29] Which is not to say that those who *did* return to Old Massett from residential schools were necessarily unable to reconnect and rebuild lives in the community; many did, and Old Massett recently honoured them alongside those who were lost to the schools by the raising of a carved pole outside the Elder's center. But just as the memory of smallpox haunts the rebuilt Haida world, so too do the residential school kidnappings and traumatized returns they engendered continue to shadow Haida modes of mobility.

This sense of haunting emerges, I think, out of the complex relation between voluntary and involuntary mobility in the Haida present. In one sense, individuals like Carol Dean or Sharon Lawrence very much *chose* to leave the islands, in that they were not forcibly taken away by colonial authorities as they would have been even, in Carol Dean's case, a single generation prior. At the same time, their reasons for leaving were conditioned by forces that were not of their own making. As I have already suggested above and in Chapter 1, Haida have little choice *but* to participate in the contemporary capitalist economy, a situation which in turn requires conforming to certain settler norms of education and employability. Indeed, "success" according to these norms of mainstream Canada can be a genuinely and deeply felt desire for Haida subjects just as non-Haida ones, and this even despite longstanding historical racism against and marginalization of First Peoples in Canada in the labour market and elsewhere. The conditions of contemporary mobility thus have the potential to echo prior instances of "forced" Haida,

[29] Parallels here with the return of Zuni veterans to their community after World War 2 described by John Adair and Evon Vogt (Adair and Vogt 1949). Many of these veterans had been drafted from the community despite Zuni efforts to protect them from military service, and on their return there was a period of "marked dysphoria" in the community between the returnees, some of them traumatized by their experiences in combat and those who had stayed home (550). The older generation in particular did not understand why these young men had difficulty continuing with their pre-war activities, while the veterans suffered from restless and alcoholism. Veterans from the nearby Ramah Navajo, by contrast, were welcomed back immediately with public ceremonies, and seemed to have less difficult reintegrating into the community.

embedding within them the possibility for the literally cataclysmic nightmare homecomings of the late 19th and mid-20th centuries.

In this sense the very compelling quality of homing and homecoming as future-perfect logics wards against these shadows of the past, rewriting the narrative of departures and returns into one that incorporates mobility in the settler world as a necessary and valuable dimension of Haida life. Indeed, from the perspective of an elder like Nonnie Laura or senior community member like David Armstrong, "moving to the city" becomes a requisite part of the Haida life-cycle, rather more akin to an extended liminal phase[30] than to any absolute "break" with Haida culture or sociality. By anticipating both the physical return of homing and the social return of homecoming as future-perfect certainties, Haida like Nonnie Laura and David Armstrong refigure the shadows of a history of mobility marked by uncontrollable change into potentialities for growth, personal and communal, for those who have already returned and for those whose return is taken as a given.

Indigenous Commutes and Indigenous Diasporas

The consequences of this future-oriented (re)-framing of mobility go beyond the islands of Haida Gwaii, or even Canada. Rather, I would suggest that paying attention to Haida mobility in the future-perfect provides a useful way of approaching what, in his 2013 Returns: Becoming

[30] My invocation of liminality here gestures to Van Gennep's classic notion, later further elaborate by Victor Turner, that during "rites of passage" initiates moving from one category of social personhood to another pass through an interim phase of being "betwixt and between" both categories (Turner 1967; Gennep 1961). Key for our purposes here is that "liminal phases," despite their unsettling quality, are an expected dimension of social and ritual life, and their disruption is meant to transform the initiate him or herself rather than destabilize a given society as a whole. My point here is not that Haida movement constitutes a cohesive ritual like those analysed by Turner, nor that it necessarily *is* a liminal phase of life for those experiencing it (though it may be for some). Rather, rendering "leaving home" an expected part of Haida life gives it a similar social role, an "expected" disruption that will necessarily end with the reintegration of the transformed subject into the social fold.

Indigenous in the 21st Century, James Clifford has whimsically referred to as "indigenous commuting." Taking as his example the indigenous Kanak population across the island of New Caledonia, Clifford argues that modernist narratives of the "exodus from rural villages into swelling cities" are not adequate to understanding how Kanak people move. As with the movement of Haida people back and forth between island and mainland, Clifford states concisely that, in the Kanak world, "there's a lot of coming and going" between home towns and cities, on New Caledonia and even beyond it (Clifford 2013:51). And Kanak are not the only indigenous people who "commute" in this sense. Rather, Clifford emphasizes that there are comings and goings taking place throughout indigenous and colonial worlds; so too, that all the different ways indigenous peoples move in and through and over complex historical landscapes cannot be ignored by scholars of indigeneity. "As we try to grasp the full range of indigenous ways to be 'modern,'" he writes, "it's crucial to recognize patterns of visiting and return, of desire and nostalgia, of lived connections across distances and differences" (52).

Crucial but, also, unusually perplexing. This because of the "indigenous" dimension of indigenous commuting, the fact that the peoples whose mobility Clifford calls on his fellow scholars to recognize are typically regarded as having a privileged attachment to place. Consider for illustration Ronald Niezen's characterization of indigeneity as referring to "a primordial identity, to people with primary attachments to *land* and culture, 'traditional people' people with lasting connections to ways of life that have survived 'from time immemorial' (Niezen 2003:3). Niezen's definition, given early in his history of the global indigenous movement, occupies an uneasy middle-ground between long-standing settler discourses of Native people as being fixed-in-place spatially and temporally, "savage" others living close to nature (as opposed to the presumed to be cosmopolitan and modern settler subject) and the reality that many indigenous

people do indeed claim (and feel) privileged connections to their home territories, their ancestral lands, and long-standing and traditional (though never frozen or static) ways of being.

This uneasiness in turn reflects the fact that any definition of indigeneity, Niezen's or otherwise, unfolds in a highly political context. More precisely, such claims and conceptions of indigenous peoples as having essential or heightened connections to their home territories cannot (and should not) be separated from either the attempts by colonial governments to appropriate these lands and displace indigenous people from them, or indigenous claims to their rights to their home-lands and the political ability to govern and care for these lands and themselves on their own terms. So, for instance, when Tlingit elder Gabriel George tells his audience that his home territories "are vital not only to our subsistence, but to our sense of being as Tlingit people," as anthropological Thomas Thornton records, it is no coincidence that his statement is given at a U.S. Forest Service hearing in Alaska in opposition to an extensive program of commercial logging on Tlingit territory (Thornton 2008:3).[31] This does not mean that George's words are not also deeply felt, just as, Clifford tells us, Kanak activist and political leader Tijibaou "deeply believed that a continuous relationship with a place – its ancestors, history, and ecology – was necessary if Kanak people were to feel *a l'aise*, if they were to find breathing room in the contemporary world" (Quoted in Clifford 2013:51).

How then, Clifford pushes us to ask, are we to regard indigenous mobility, indigenous commuting, without either falling into the trap of essentializing indigenous peoples as being fixed in place or at the same time ignoring the very real and meaningful ways in which indigenous senses of place are felt, experienced, and politically deployed? Or, as he puts it in a

[31] The claim to a privileged, indigenous relationship to place that also necessarily entails political and legal rights under settler colonialism is one to which we will return directly in Chapter 5. The (potentially) corollary notion that indigenous people therefore have a particular, unmediated relationship to "nature" is explored as an object of settler fantasy in Chapter 3.

barrage of questions, "How is "indigeneity" both rooted in and routed through particular places? How shall we begin to think about a complex dynamic of local landedness and expansive social spaces? Should we think of a continuum of indigenous and diasporic situations? Or is there a specifically indigenous kind of diasporism? A lived dialectic of urban and rural? Life on and off the reserve? Island *and* mainland native experiences?" (52). Haida homing suggests one possible response to this field of dilemmas, figuring local landedness as the pivot about which "expansive social space" forms and transforms, the home that remains home precisely because it is always already certain that Haida who move through social space (and time) will eventually return home. Moroever, Haida homing is a temporal as well as a spatial phenomenon, one in which the certainty of future homecoming configures mobility in the present, allowing it to be thought alongside other forms of Haida movement in which the return is already presumed in the leaving.

Emphasizing the temporal dimensions of long-term Haida movement aids us in considering the analytical value in Clifford's characterization of indigenous mobility precisely *as* indigenous. There is little doubt, as Clifford argues, that there is an "uneven, overlapping range of experiences, constraints and possibilities" shared between indigenous peoples in motion and "other migrants and transnational dwellers" (85). Popular international literature and film overflows with narratives of young people leaving their small town and moving to the city, of necessity and/or to pursue "opportunity," often inflected by the particulars of race, class, gender, and so on. Are the experiences of, for instance, Joyce's Stephen Dedelus as he moves from rural Ireland to Dublin, or Elison's Invisible Man going from the American South to the city, not also "rooted in and rooted through particular places?" The difficult homecoming as theme is equally prominent – as Thomas Wolfe reminds us, sometimes "you can't go home again." And yet, my

Haida interlocutors might quibble with Wolfe's famed title. In a certain sense, because of the future-perfect quality of homing, Haida who move away from the islands, even for an extended period of time, have not precisely "left" home. Home, rather, remains with them, the always imminent destination of their "commute" off island, even if it is a transit that is decades long. Considered as a form of "indigenous commuting," in other words, Haida mobility in fact unsettles the crucial modernist distinctions between the "rural home" and the "diasporic city" even as it reconstitutes them.

What is less clear is whether we should consider these modes of movement as forming part of a "specifically indigenous kind of diasporism." Indeed, even Clifford's own usage of the term seems ambivalent. "Diaspora," Clifford writes, "classically presupposes distance from the place of origin and deferred returns," the diasporic relation to homeland defined by "characteristics forms of longing, long-distance nationalism, and displaced performance of 'heritage" (73). The "lived spectrum of indigenous seperations from, and orientations to, homeland, village or reservation," however, Clifford quickly suggests, complicate this conventional notion of diaspora, in particular, "diasporic assumptions of 'loss' and 'distance'" (74). Ultimately, Clifford asserts that "the varieties of indigenous experience proliferate between the poles of autochtony (we are here and have been here forever) and diaspora (we yearn for a homeland: "Next year in the Black Hills") (76), which seems something of a retreat from the claim to the possibility of a specifically indigenous form of diasporism. For Clifford, ultimately, while the fantasy of the indigenous may imbue the diasporic - "We yearn for a homeland" – and there may be "diasporic aspects of indigenous life," the categories remain relatively conceptually solid, and the indigenous and the diasporic become simply "two kinds of belonging [that] interpenetrate and coexist" (77). There is a marked irony here. By retaining the notion of diaspora despite his

acknowledgment that there is "an 'indigenous' specificity that eludes diaspora's central emphasis on displacement, loss, and deferred desire for the homeland" (83), Clifford renders that very indigenous specificity indistinct. Rather than "[getting] somewhat closer" to the "sociospatial reality of connectedness-in-dispersion" for indigenous peoples (73), as Clifford suggests, diaspora in fact disguises the ways in which indigenous modes of mobility might differ quite radically from already established theoretical paradigms of movement and migration.

Here again, at least in the Haida context, temporality is crucial. Take "nostalgia," one of diaspora's most prominent temporal-affective structures. Discussing the Croatian diaspora in Toronto, Daphne Winland argues that:

> Among the most powerful influences in sustaining homeland imaginaries is nostalgia, the structured feeling towards the past. Memories that variously authorize versions of Croatian selfhood have combined to produce or reproduce images of and desires for Croatia. Aside from the material links that many Croats have to Croatia, belonging is lived at least partially through nostalgia and memory (Winland 2007:52).

Nostalgia, in other words, constructs Croat belonging through a relation to the homeland in the past and as the past. Diaspora is marked by such past-oriented formations - "loss," "longing," "displacement," all invoke a separation that is both temporal and spatial. Indeed, there is a sense in which the homeland of a people in diaspora *cannot* be returned to because it is defined through its very pastness. This is to say, Croatians might indeed "go home" to Croatia, but it will not be the Croatia of diasporic memory. The "fantasy of indigeneity" here, as Clifford might put it, is precisely a fantasy, constituting the desired object as lost by definition (Žižek 2009); cf: Chapter 3 *ff)*.

Haida homing inverts this temporality, structuring Haida mobility and understandings of homeland through the lens of an always already assured return. This does not mean that there are

no elements of nostalgia for Haida people living off-island, nor, for that matter, that the Haida Gwaii they leave is the same as the islands to which they come home. But the fundamental temporal orientation is reversed. Diasporic nostalgia figures the homeland as past and as passed, while homing render "home" perpetually imminent, the expected destination of a commute that could last a week, a month, or thirty years. And more too, interwoven with the imminently spatial return that homing promises is the social return of home-coming, the process of learning how to *be* at home that Dean and Armstrong point to. To be away from home by these logics is, in short, to be in the midst of a transformation that is only fully realized in the return itself. It is mobility oriented to the future-perfect rather than to the past tense, and this just as much for the "homeland" that has been left as it is for those living in transit.

Haida homing and homecoming represent simply one mode of mobility that unfolds in the context of indigenous-settler relations. There are no doubt others.[32] And I think Clifford is correct to draw our attention to them, and the ways in which the mobility of indigenous people suggest different ways of framing long-standing ways of thinking about the movements of populations and individuals alike. However, what I think the Haida case points to is the extent to which settler attempts to control the movements of Native peoples have been not just been characteristic of the historical conditions of indigeneity, but are perhaps constitutive of them. Recall again that "home" for most First Nations is a category of experience *and* political claim, a traditional homeland that is asserted as such through the language of sovereign indigenous nationalism. Like Haida themselves, the majority of the indigenous Nations of North America have at the least had the experience of having their territories radically curtailed, if they have not also been subjected to forced mobility and migration themselves. The significance of indigenous

[32] See for instance Renya Ramirez' Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond for other examples in the American context (Ramirez 2007).

mobility in a settler colony, in other words, is not simply the fact of indigenous people in motion; rather, it is tied up in the assertion of the capacity of indigenous people *to move* as they wish, and to still have a "home" to which they can return (cf: Simpson 2014). We see this articulated clearly in the Haida "Homecoming Feast" to which I now turn by way of conclusion.

Conclusion – The Homecoming Feast

In May, 2012, a "Homecoming" feast was hosted in Old Massett. Particularly welcomed at this feast were children of Haida descent who had been and were being raised "off-island" by foster families. Tables lined the hall, each one prominently displaying a family tree for guests to fill in, while banners hang overhead displaying the names and Crests of each Haida Clan. As guests arrived, they were directed to sit at the table assigned to their clan - a somewhat unusual seating plan on Haida Gwaii (though more commonplace on the mainland) - and fill in their family trees as best they could for benefit of the arriving foster youth. Less successful was the instruction for each clan to decorate their tables themselves, leaving some tables laden with ferns and flowers and others rather bare. As they waited for dinner to be served, guests chatted among themselves and moved around the hall saying their hellos to friends and family.

By six-thirty dinner was ready, huge pots of seafood chowder and deer stew standing in the center of the Hall, right atop the two-headed Raven and Eagle symbol of the Haida Nation. After dinner, the main events begun. Representatives from each Clan were called, one at a time, to greet their off-island relations and present them with gifts of regalia, letting the youths know they will always be Clan members, and family. Then there were speeches from community leaders, some of the youth themselves, and Clan chiefs, in which it was reiterated over and over again that these youth have "come home" to Haida Gwaii, that Haida Gwaii will always be their home.

One Chief, *Sgaann 7iw7waans*, Allan Wilson,[33] even declared that though there are only five to seven thousand Haida in the Haida Nation, when they are at home they are so powerful that they must seem like five to seven million strong in the eyes of the Canadian government. Even if these youth had only come home "for a visit," this time, Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* assured the audience, they would come back again and again, and, one day, they would move home for good. This is just the effect Haida Gwaii has on people, as Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* frequently articulates in his speeches.

The concerns of the feast reiterate many that have been discussed in this chapter. Young Haida who might otherwise be spatially and socially disconnected from the islands are assured that they will always be able to "come home" to Haida Gwaii, just as they are integrated into Haida social structures "at home" that entail complex forms of belonging and reciprocity. Homing and homecoming, in a slightly different key.[34] At the same time, Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans'* speech indexes one more dimension of the Haida logics of mobility I have discussed; in particular, the larger significance of their future-oriented temporalities. As I noted earlier in the paper, most of the population of Old Massett band members resides off island, just as does much of the larger Canadian Haida population.[35] At the same time, however, the Council

[33] As is conventional in Old Massett, I give Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans*'s Haida name before his English one.

[34] Adoption is itself a fraught issue on Haida Gwaii, particularly those that resulted from the notorious "Seventies Scoop," in which B.C. Child Services deemed many First Nations families "unfit" to keep their children and removed them from their homes (Blackstock 2008). More "nightmare" modes of mobility, in other words, ones that occurred so soon after the kidnappings for residential schools that they exacerbated already open wounds for many families and premised on racist assumptions about the quality of Native parenting. This said, the adopted children attending this homecoming feast left the islands more than a generation after the worst excesses of the Seventies Scoop, and their foster families were welcomed and honoured.

[35] Alaskan, or *Kaigani*, Haida have a somewhat different relationship to Haida Gwaii, the intricacies of which exceed both the scope of this chapter and the rigorous knowledge of the researcher.

of the Haida Nation is advancing a major Land Title Claim on behalf of all the citizens of the Haida Nation to have their sovereign rights to the islands recognized under Canadian and international law.[36] To claim Title over a territory when the majority of the population does not, in fact, reside within said territory runs contrary to the expectation enshrined in the Western European tradition of political philosophy that sovereign nation-states represent territorial unities that enclose their populations (Brown 2010).

Given this (colonially-instituted) ambiguity, the fact that Haida expectations of homing and homecoming are framed in the future-perfect as always already given is revealed as doing significant political work. By these logics, it is assured that every off-island Haida *will* eventually come home; indeed, in a certain sense they have not ever truly "left," remaining with the field of Old Massett's socio-space time in both literal and symbolic senses. Two thousand Haida might be off-island, but their inevitable return renders it certain that the Haida Nation will seem as if it is even million storng. Rather than eroding the presence of Haida people on Haida Gwaii through a gradual process of exodus, then, the logics of homing and homecoming – the guarantee of spatial *and* social return – allows the uncertainties of mobility to be refigured as already assured sites of strength and (careful) growth for the Haida communities on island. Not every Haida may live on island at the moment, but they will always come home to it, and it will always be their home, and, as Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* indexed, their rightful and sovereign territory. Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans's* declaration that when Haida are at home they seem five million strong in the eyes of Canada is thereby rendered not as a momentary moment of joy, but rather as an ever-renewing social reality, a future that is at once prophetic and always already true. At the same time, Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* opens up a new question for us. If drawing

[36] See Chapters 5 and 6 for more details on the CHN and the Land Title Case.

people home is simply the effect that Haida Gwaii has on people, what are the consequences when non-Haida too are attracted to the islands, particularly those who see in it the same virtues (or what they understand to the same virtues) as my Haida interlocutors? I turn to this question, and the forms of future-making that extend from it, in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Of Hippies and Haida: Fantasy, Future-Making, and the Alluring Power of Haida Gwaii

The Education of S

In early June, 2013, the Enbridge Joint Review Panel held a series of hearings on the islands of Haida Gwaii soliciting the opinions of both Haida and non-Haida residents about a proposed pipeline project that would transport crude oil from northern Alberta to the B.C. coast, after which the oil and bitumen would be carried by "supertanker" through the stormy and unpredictable waters surrounding the islands. This proposal, which I treat more fully in my conclusion, was met with immense resistance from islanders, both Haida and non-, and this resistance, in turn, generated marked solidarities between all those who lived on and cared about the future of Haida Gwaii. As I was reminded while I sat listening to the testimony of a woman in her mid-thirties we'll call S, however, there are longstanding cleavages underneath the surface of this solidarity. S was a non-Haida woman who, she told the court, "had lived mainly in the city and been disconnected from the land." She moved to Haida Gwaii about three and a half years ago on a temporary teaching contract and described her experience on island thus far in distinctly salubrious terms:

> I have come to love this beautiful, natural environment. And I certainly thrive here and am really happy here with what I've learned from the community members, from the Haida people, and the environment itself.
> […]
>
> So it's been -- I've had some wonderful experiences with that also on the east coast area, seen many whales when you're kind of out there by yourself, surfing, well, usually with one other person at least; and often alone in the area near the mouth of the Heillen River. And there, I've had some amazing experiences with just the birds flying around and feeling alone, yet so secure, no matter what the waves were like, whether it's a calm day or whether there were crazy waves.
>
> It's just been a beautiful, beautiful experience that this place has to offer that is so special and so unique and needs to be protected (Enbridge Hearing Transcript June 1: 4831-4836).

For S, there was little doubt of Haida Gwaii's status as an icon of beautiful, unspoiled nature, nor that it was in part precisely this natural quality that made the islands "so special and so unique," and therefore in need of protection. And a major dimension of that specialness, S went on to explain, was the "harvesting," the gathering of foods from the islands' lands and waters, which she found revelatory as a person who had previously been "disconnected from the land:" "I've gone to a patch before and learned how to pick berries where they've been grown by a farmer. But to go out and pick berries that are just growing in the wild is an amazing experience, and learning more and more about that" (4838-4842). As S continued, the Haida elder who was sitting next to me, Nonnie K, turned and whispered in my ear: "So THAT'S what happened to all our berries!" Nonnie's K's *sotto voce* comment to me formed an ironic counterpoint to S' narrative. For Nonnie K, the berry patches where S was harvesting were distinctly *not* "in the wild." Rather, they were gathered from Haida land and belonged first and foremost to Haida people. This both in the sense that, historically, each individual Haida clan had exclusive rights to their particular berry patches (Boelscher 1988:36), and the more general fact that *all* of Haida Gwaii is Haida ancestral territory, to which the Council of the Haida Nation claims sovereign Title on behalf of all Haida people.

"Harvesting," in a Haida sense, is not just about the act of food-gathering – it is also about the rights *to* gather food in the first instance, the recognition that Haida Gwaii is not "unspoiled nature," however beautiful it is, but rather a complex socio-ecological landscape of human and non-human relations, rights, permissions, and duties (e.g. Boelscher 1988).[1] These rules were even recognized by geologist George Dawson, who wrote in his 1880 report on Haida life that,

[1] I return to issues surrounding ecology and caretaking on island in detail in Chapters 4 and, especially, 5.

"so strict are these ideas of proprietary right in the soil that on some parts of the coast sticks may be seen set up to define the limits of the various properties and woe to the dishonest Indian who appropriates anything of value […] that comes ashore on the stretch of coast belonging to one another" (Dawson, quoted in Boelschere 1988:35). But these "sticks" – visible markers of clan territoriality – had disappeared by the time of S' arrival, more than a century after Dawson, one of the many consequences of the colonial appropriation of Haida Gwaii as Canadian "Crown" land, and the restriction of Haida property rights to reserved spaces on island (*cf:* Chapter 1). Instead, S found in Haida Gwaii a "beautiful, natural environment," a site of bounty and beauty that is (by definition) available to all.

All this does not mean, I think, that S was insincere in her feelings of gratitude, or that she did not recognize that the techniques she was employing to harvest were Haida in origin. Quite the opposite, she made sure in her narrative to:

> say thank you to the local people and to the Haida for what I have learned about harvesting and also been able to partake in clam digging, which is also very fun and adventurous and a great way to connect with what we eat. And again an appreciation for how precious food is and how much time and care does go into collecting food from the land, and also learned hunting skills, which I never would have imagined, living in the city (4842).

And yet, consider how S casts the role of Haida people through her very "appreciation" of them, figuring them as beneficent teachers aiding others in "connecting" with the land and with their food. By this logic, Haida people might possess an unusual amount of wisdom *about* the islands' land, seas, and how to gather the resources found therein, but this does not thereby grant them any exclusive rights *to* those resources.

Indeed, in their very sincerity S' continuing characterizations of the islands as "wild," "natural," or even "unique" partake in long-standing European and settler epistemologies that take the natural to be outside the realm of the social, that which is, by definition, "untouched" or

"unspoiled" by man (Williams 1980:77; Braun 2002).[2] As William Cronon has pointed out, the creation of these spaces of "untouched wilderness" in North America were made possible, in part, through the actual and conceptual removals of the indigenous inhabitants of these areas. "The myth of the wilderness as 'virgin' uninhabited land," writes Cronon, "had always been especially cruel when seen from the perspective of the Indians who once called that land home" (Cronon 1996:15). By means of such myths, Haida are erased as the rightful owners of the lands, waters, and resources of Haida Gwaii. Instead, they are refigured - in terms that are not their own - as guides to and living examples of a particular kind of "connected" lifestyle to be generously shared with others – that is, as simply one more element of the wilderness that can be consumed (cf: Trouillot 1991). Such erasures need not be conscious; on the contrary, Roland Barthes has argued that it precisely beneath the level of consciousness that myth operates as a form of depoliticized (and depoliticizing) speech:

> Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them innocent, it gives them a natural and eternal justification, it gives them a clarity which is not that of an explanation but that of a statement of fact (Barthes 1972:143).

The myth of "nature" as unmediated and absolute opposite to life in the city is thus naturalized (if you'll pardon the expression) and robbed of any of social or historical specificity or limitations. So, just as Nonnie K quipped, in their acts of "connecting" with Haida Gwaii conceived of as "nature," there's nothing to stop non-Haida like S from, as it were, taking all the berries.

"Hippie" Fantasies and Haida Futures

[2] Braun notes astutely that even the absolutely separation of the "natural" from the social nonetheless constitutes a profoundly social way of imagining so-called "natural" landscapes. The "natural forest" could not exist unless it was constituted as such by a particular group of actors, both in an imaginative sense and, as often happened in colonial contexts, through conceptual and physical removals of Native peoples (Braun 2002; cf: Cruikshank 2005; Mawani 2005).

S was not alone in finding in Haida Gwaii a suitable object for living out fantasies of "natural" connectedness, nor, for that matter, was Nonnie K in her reservations about the very real consequences to Haida life of those fantasies. Rather, S formed part of an increasingly prominent community of people living in the Masset area that my interlocutors occasionally (and somewhat ironically) refer to as "the hippies." Demographically speaking, the folks Haida call "hippies" come for the most part from "Towtown," an unincorporated community spread out along Tow Hill at the cusp of Naikoon Provincial Park, fifteen kilometers and a forty-five minute drive east of the reserve. Towtown's population numbers roughly 250, individuals, couples, and small families, many among them relatively recent arrivals on island. Among them are doctors, nurses, administrators, artists, tradespeople, and the unemployed, although all have at least the economic capacity to own or rent their properties and afford the often exorbitant prices on island for groceries. The residents of Towtown, in other words, are relatively geographically distant from the reserve, and, somewhat ironically, represent an opposing trend to the Haida migrations discussed in Chapter 2. This is to say, as more and more Haida are compelled to leave the islands for economic reasons, more and more non-Haida are moving to communities like Towtown and buying property with previously acquired economic capital. But beyond spatial and economic distance, however, what is most significant for my interlocutors in defining the category of "Hippies" is their *social* distance from Haida life. As an Old Massett ideal type, at least,[3] "Hippies" don't mix with Haidas. Or, more precisely, they don't participate in day to day life in

[3] This ideal type, at least for the moment, should be considered as my own analytical abstraction, though it is grounded in characterizations that have been shared with me by many of my interlocutors and acquaintances in Old Massett.

Old Massett nor form part of its regular social and kin networks, though they may occasionally attend major community events.[4]

This latter trait in particular is what distinguishes hippies from other non-Haida living in the Masset area. As I will elaborate later, non-Haida have been living in close proximity to Haida people since the turn of the 20th century. Many of the descendants of the original settlers who founded the town of (New) Masset that neighbours the Old Massett reserve, for instance, continue to reside in the Masset area, their children going to high school with young Haida, their families sometimes intersecting through marriages or friendships, and this even as ongoing settler-Haida racism also can continue to colour those relations (see Chapter 1 *ff)*. More further down, but for now the point is simply this: they intersect. "Hippies," ideotypically speaking, don't.

It might seem odd, then, that S would speak so resonantly of her gratitude to Haida people for their teaching. Then again, and this is the key point, it is highly unlikely S thinks of herself as a "hippie" in the sense I have just described. For one thing, outside of Old Massett, the term is somewhat archaic – its use *in* Old Massett, as we shall see, indexes a longer history of a particular setter-Haida set of relationships. More significantly, though, the category of "hippie" as I draw on it in this chapter is, as I have already suggested, a Haida ideal type. The people classed by Haida as "hippies" represent themselves and their relations to Haida people through a different set of lenses. Most prominent among these is a loose assemblage of ethical and material positions and practices typically referred to by Towtown residents as "going off the grid." Though in a literal sense "the grid" refers to the grid of electric and telephone lines that criss-cross much of the globe – and run along the highway connecting the communities of Haida

[4] With occasional frictions, as we will discuss below.

Gwaii, though occasionally the wind knocks a few poles over – in the sense used by "off the griders," as they sometimes called themselves, "going off the grid" is a somewhat more capacious concept. Essential to it is the attempt to somehow leave "city life" behind and reconnect with "nature," with each understood as being effectively diametrically opposed to each other. This attempt can be materialized residentially in different ways, from the full-scale abandonment of electricity, telecommunications and plumbing in one's residence to a decorative outhouse attached to a house with otherwise conventional utilities, but what we will see characterizes "off-the-grid" narratives most strongly is the notion of "escape" itself, both from the urban space of the city as such and, more profoundly, from a particular rendering of contemporary capitalism. (The irony of an escape from capitalism that is only possible through a certain level of economic success *under* capitalism is not, as we will assert, one that should be lost to us).

Like S herself, then, many of the people who might be referred to as "hippies" by my Haida interlocutors claim at the very least an imaginative connection to Haida life, if not necessarily one grounded in ongoing social relations with actual Haida. This because of the resonance that the notion of a more "indigenous" way of living offers for their conceptualizations of life "off-the-grid." Indeed, I would submit that the disconnection from actual Haida social that paradigmatically defines "hippies" is, paradoxically, precisely what gives S and others access to a generalized notion of indigenous ways of life and an image of Haida people as benevolent environmentalist teachers without particular claim to the environments themselves.[5] Without any direct involvement in the substantial social realities of

[5] This said, as we will see in Chapter 5, the Council of the Haida Nation also makes a certain claim to a particular Haida ecological sensibility, one which grants them a special connection with and rights to the islands of Haida Gwaii. The political positioning of Haida as naturally

Old Massett, the contested claims between different individuals, families and clans over appropriate behaviors, over rights to territory and resources,[6] over respectful conduct to humans and non-humans, Haida might appear as a homogenous category, "The Haida," as it were, defined by their "connectedness" with nature rather than any particular social and political rights. From this perspective, moreover, any Haida who does offer assistance to a non-Haida, who helps them, say, learn how to harvest berries or fish, might be taken as authorizing these practices unconditionally on the part of "the Haida."[7]

But, as I will argue in this paper, this is a fantasy. And as we have already begun to see, in constituting Haida Gwaii and Haida people as objects of fantasy, the people identifiable variously as "off-the-griders" and "hippies" erase much of the legal and political *content* of Haida relationships with Haida Gwaii, from traditional clan territorial rights to the ongoing Haida Land Title claim to the islands as a whole. What I would like to suggest in this chapter, in the first instance, is that the conditions of possibility for being an "off-the-grider" on Haida Gwaii and being a "hippie" from a Haida perspective derive from the same core fantasy. My goal here, I should specify, is not to conduct a "thick" ethnography of the residents of Towtown. Instead, what I am interested is the fantasy that makes their representations various as "hippies"

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ecological actors opens an ambivalence in Haida relations to non-Haida who avow a similar commitment to and connection with environmental issues. As we will return to in more depth in the conclusion, herein lies the potential both for solidarities between Haida and non-Haida and non-Haida appropriations of fantastic or imagined forms of "indigeneity" that erase indigenous peoples in the process.

[6] Though *not*, we should note, over the basic fact of Haida Title to 100% of the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii.

[7] Anthropologists are not without guilt in the production of such generic representations of indigenous life (cf: Trouillot 1991). It is telling that, when the Council of the Haida Nation recently republished John Swanton's 1905 ethnography of "the Haida," they attempted to identify systematically each of his interlocutors by name and clan affiliation, so as to appropriate his narrative from a generalized account of "Haida culture" to the dialogic product of the specific understandings of distinct Haida as mediated (and originally erased) by the ethnographer.

and "off-the-griders" possible. This is a fantasy, moreover, that has a longer history than either of these categories of representation taken on their own. In one sense, the conceptual erasure of indigenous people as having actual rights to their own territories is one of the fundamental pre-conditions of settler colonialism, one that in turn necessitates the actual (but always unrealized) erasure of indigenous populations as such through extermination, displacement, or assimilation (Wolfe 2006; Harris 2002). Following this logic, we can position "hippies" within a much longer trajectory of non-Haida settlers who wish to rewrite the realities of the island – consciously and unconsciously – to accommodate their own particular desires. But there are also specificities here that need to be remarked on. Unlike, for instance, the early settlers attracted to the islands for resource exploitation, the crux of S' love for Haida Gwaii is its quality as a seeming bastion of unspoiled nature and what I am quite certain are her very genuine feelings of respect for Haida people understood as this nature's caretakers. The first concern of this chapter, then, is to attempt to understand how certain fantasies of Haida Gwaii that may appear to be diametrically opposed to those of other settlers can still partake in the same historical complex of settler colonial erasure, even as they are coded through the language of respect for Haida practices and lifeways.

There is, however, another dimension to our story, ones connected to the core concerns of this dissertation. I have suggested that what defines "off-the-griders" is their mobility, their attempts to "escape" from the city by literally moving away from it to a place that is imagined as otherwise to urban, capitalist life. Now recall David Armstrong's claim that Haida Gwaii is "homing device;" after all, it is "such a great place." Armstrong was speaking of the way in which the islands call home migrant Haida, but the possibility exists that this very quality of Haida Gwaii as a "great place" might call others as well. So too, the appeal of practices that, as recent Haida returnee Sharon Lawrence suggested, "you can't really do" when you're in the city,

"food gathering" central among them. These practices play a major role in bringing Haida home, but their appeal, as S demonstrates, extends beyond Haida people themselves. What I will argue is that, in fact, the future-oriented logics of Haida mobility that I have previously outlined – homing and homecoming – also anticipate the dilemmas posed by "hippies" and suggest possible strategies for reconciling these same dilemmas. In this sense, the problem of the theft of the berries that Nonnie K posed speaks metonymically to a much more general depletion of Haida resources on island, one that demands preventative response. One more nightmare face of mobility, then, a future in which Haida Gwaii has called so many people to it that Haida themselves are robbed of the precise qualities that make the islands "home" at all. In the final section of this paper, I thus suggest some of the ways in which Haida people draw on strategies of selective inclusion to work against this alarming possibility, offering alternative modes of future-oriented "homecoming" that could potentially regulate the excesses of settler fantasy that constitute the categories of "hippy" and "off-the-grider" alike.

Fantasizing Haida Gwaii

Emily Carr and the Case of the Stolen Name

Figure 2: Totems by the Ghost Rock, 1912, by Emily Carr

In her autobiographical volume Klee Wyck, noted British Columbia artist and author Emily Carr describes a cluster of carved poles she came upon on a 1912 visit to Skedans, one of the southern islands of the Haida Gwaii archipelago:

> They were in a long straggling row the entire length of the bay and pointed this way and that, but no matter how drunken their tilt, the Haida poles never lost their dignity. They looked sadder, perhaps, when they bowed forward and more stern when they tipped back. They were bleached to a pinkish silver colour and cracked by the sun, but nothing could make them mean or poor, because the Indians had put strong thoughts into them and had believed sincerely in what they were trying to express (Carr 2009:51).

Apparently abandoned and in disrepair, the poles signify for Carr the ruins[8] of a dignified and sincere society now passed, their continuing pride mixed with the sadness of their decay. In the same volume, she reflects on her trip to another Haida island, Cumshewa, in similar terms: "The memory of Cumshewa is of a great lonesomeness smothered in a blur of rain. Our boat headed

[8] The twinning here of ruin and fantasy comes at the suggestion of Hilary Leathem and her work exploring imperial ruins in Kenya and Latin America.

for the sea. As we rounded the point Cumshewa was suddenly like something that had not quite happened" (54). Lonely and ephemeral, these spaces of traditional Haida life lose reality as soon as they are out of sight, leaving Carr with only the memory of sadness and her sketches. Some of these sketches later became paintings, *Totems by the Ghost Rock* and many others through which Carr memorialized this haunting and lonely landscape. As time went on, her paintings increasingly showed the visible artifacts of Haida life becoming overwhelmed by nature and losing their discernible features. One of these, painted in 1930, is even entitled *Vanquished*.

Figure 3: Vanquished, 1930, by Emily Carr

Absent from these paintings are the Haida guides who accompanied Carr on her visits to Haida Gwaii. Despite their crucial roles in leading Carr to the various sites (and sights) she sketched, Native peoples are not depicted in her paintings. Even in her writings they seem

markedly opaque, existing across a cultural and emotional divide that Carr does not attempt to breach. Take, for instance, her reflections on the response she imagines two of her guides must have to the now empty village at Tanu:[9] "The feelings Jimmie and Louisa had in this old village of their own people must have been quite different from ours. They must have made my curiosity seem small. Often Jimmie and Louisa went off hand in hand by themselves for a little, talking in Indian as they went" (45). Left untranslated, if not untranslatable, the imagined emotions of Jimmie and Louisa echo the sad dignity of the ruins of the Haida village sites themselves, metonymic for all that had been lost since the arrival of settler subjects and all that was, from Carr's perspective, continuing to vanish,[10] something that will ultimately feel like "something that had not quite happened" as its material remnants disintegrate into a natural oblivion.

That Carr's paintings do not depict the growing Haida populations in Old Massett and Skidegate[11] – Old Massett's population, for instance, went from 372 in 1910 to 465 in 1934 (Brink 1974:109) – or the complex ways in which those Haida people negotiated missionization, the potlatch ban, the establishment of an elected Band Council (see chapter 4 for more on this particular history) or the "oversight" of colonially appointed Indian Agents simply tells us what is already more or less obvious from Carr's own writings: Carr was not concerned at any point with representing the living Haida world, but, rather, with the illustration of what she understood to be its ruins and the resonances that they carried for her. The fact that she also does not

[9] Spelled "Tanoo" by Carr.
[10] Sidelined here as well is the possibility that totem poles are their own beings, with their own particular life and death cycles, and their returning to nature is simply one part of that cycle rather than a sign of the ghostly disappearance of First Nations people. This is a perspective often expressed, for instance, by coastal First Nations carvers.
[11] Jean and John Comaroff point to a parallel complex of erasures in missionary travel narratives in chapter five of their Of Revelation and Revolution. See esp. pp. 174-178. Indeed, as I've suggested above, various forms of "erasure," are both the actual *and* conceptual preconditions of settler colonialism and, as the Comaroffs push us to recognize, perhaps colonialisms more broadly.

entertain the possibility that guides like Jimmy and Louisa may in fact be playing an active role in the representation of their world, "curating" the sites to which Carr was taken and thereby shaping Carr's depictions,[12] suggests likewise how little she was concerned with the realities and possibilities of Native life in the present. My point here is not that there is anything especially unusual in Carr's elisions of the living Haida world in her representations of its apparent disintegration; quite the opposite, Carr's sense that the "real" Native world was vanishing with the advent of settler "civilization" is typical of her time.[13] Indeed, her emphasis on the tragic dignity of Haida monumental art as it falls to ruin suggests Carr possessed a considerable degree of respect for Haida culture as she perceived it. But this is precisely the crux of the issue – in the very modes through which Carr attempts to demonstrate the beauty and pathos of Haida life now vanquished, she erases the presence of actual Haida people on their land. It is this particular confluence of sincere feeling and the erasure of the social and political reality of the object of that feeling that I'm interested in exploring in this paper as a form of fantasy.

My usage of the term "fantasy" here is in part indebted to Slavoj Žižek's discussion of fantasy as a psychoanalytic concept in his The Plague of Fantasies (Žižek 2009). Especially relevant is what Žižek, drawing on Lacan, characterizes as the first feature, or "veil," of fantasy: its "transcendental schematism." Fantasy, Žižek argues, does not simply "realize a desire in a hallucinatory way." Rather, it *"constitutes* our desire, provides its coordinates; that is, it literally 'teaches us how to desire" (7, emphasis mine). In this sense, we should not think of fantasy as emerging *from* an encounter (real or imagined) with a fantasy object, but, instead, as constituting

[12] My suggestion here is influenced by Aaron Glass' persuasive suggestion that Edward Curtis and George Hunt's film In the Land of the Headhunters was far more collaborative than has previously been understood (cf: Evans and Glass 2013).
[13] This was, for instance, one of the major premises of Boasian "salvage" anthropology (Stocking 1996). See also Rosaldo on "imperialist nostalgia" (Rosaldo 1989).

the conditions through which we can conceptualize a potential object of fantasy before it can even be encountered as such. The real work of fantasy is not in imagining how delicious it might be to eat a strawberry cake, to borrow an example Žižek himself takes from Freud (10). Far more significantly, fantasy is what first establishes that strawberry cake is something delicious that I want to eat. In Lacanian terms, "fantasy mediates between the formal symbolic structure and the positivity of the objects we encounter in reality – that is to say, it provides a 'schema' according to which certain positive objects in reality can function as objects of desire, filling in the empty places opened up by the formal symbolic structure" (7). Through fantasy, we render persons and things into objects of our own desires, conditioned by the lacunae in our subconscious. The actual positive existence of those objects, their reality outside the "schema" of fantasy, has no bearing on this process. Indeed, Žižek suggests, there can be no intersubjectivity that is not pre-determined by fantasy's schema (11).

But, as Žižek is well aware, fantasies emerge out of real social histories and produce real social effects. In this sense we can see in Carr already the manifestation of a particular myth of nature, one which, Raymond Williams has suggested, first emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this rendering, nature was "all that was not touched by man, spoilt by man: nature as the lonely places, the wilderness" (Williams 1980:77). And yet, as Williams points out, frequently this very untouched quality was (and is) ascribed to places that "are in every sense man-made," the product "of human design and human labour." In admiring spaces as "natural," then, Williams argues that it "matters very much whether we supress that fact of labour or acknowledge it," especially as "some forms of this popular modern idea of nature seem to […] depend on a suppression of the history of human labour" (77). This, as Roland Barthes reminds us, is what myths *do*, purifying away the complexities of actual social life and history as part of

the constitution of a particular (fantasy) narrative. In Carr's case, the labour that is elided in the her depictions of Haida life falling into wilderness is precisely that of settlement, the direct and indirect ways in which Haida and other First Nations people were *removed* from the spaces they previously occupied. What "vanquished" (or attempted to vanquish) Haida life was not the inevitable advance of a wildness that overgrows any evidence of human existence; rather, it was the real actions of settler colonialism and their devastating consequences.

Thus why, for instance, Jimmie and Louisa are so conspicuously absent from the islandscapes to which they guided Carr and, even, perhaps, why they are referred to in text by the general term "Indian" rather than more specifically as "Haida." For Carr, the meaning of "Haida" as tragic ruin was already pre-determined, even when faced with the evidence of their continuing existence. Nor was Carr alone in perceiving the islands as "emptied" of their inhabitants. Indeed, if for Carr the fantasy of the vanished (and vanquished) Haida spoke to pathos, loneliness, and the inevitable triumph of nature, for the early settlers of Haida Gwaii it bespoke opportunity. With the exception of the missionaries[14] who had already taken up residence in the in the newly centralized Haida communities of Massett and Skidegate by the turn of the 20th century,[15] the white settlers who were beginning to arrive on the island in the

[14] Missionaries, of course, bring with them their own fantastic schemas according to which the "Natives" can be categorized, though one that is outside the scope of this chapter. This is made quite clear in the title of one of the earliest Haida missionaries autobiographical writings, In the wake of the war canoe : a stirring record of forty years' successful labour, peril & adventure amongst the savage Indian tribes of the Pacific coast, and the piratical head-hunting Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands, B.C. (Collison 1916). For more on missionaries on the northwest coast, see for instance Harkin 1997). On the ways in which missionaries refigured colonized subjects according to their own ethical, cultural, economic and political understandings more generally, see Comaroff and Comaroff 1991and Comaroff and Comaroff 1997).

[15] This centralization, as I discuss in my last chapter, was a consequence of the devastating impact of disease on the Haida population. With most of their populations lost to illness, the decimated clans left their home territories and gathered together in two communities, Masset and

early 1900s were attracted by the appearance of what they understood to be empty land. From a Haida perspective, of course, this land was by no means "empty," both in the sense that it remained populated with non-human beings with whom respectful relations needed to be maintained, a point which Swanton affirms in his contemporaneous ethnography of "the Haida" (Swanton 1905), and also in the sense that the island was divided into individual clan territories which had only recently been abandoned due to the devastation of disease (see chapter 2 *ff*). Haida title to Haida Gwaii in its entirety was never ceded, nor did any individual clans give up title to their territories or the various animal and vegetable resources therein. All this was ignored by early settlers, who operated under the assumption that, with the exception of the reserves for Haida people that had been explicitly laid out by Canadian federal and provincial agents, Haida Gwaii was *terra nullius,* "land belonging to no one," and was thus theirs for the homesteading (cf: Harris 2002).

By 1908 these homesteaders had laid out plans for what would become the village of New Masset, three miles up the inlet from the Haida reserve (Stearns 1981:34). While in her ethnography of the Massett Band Mary Lee Stearns contends that there was at first relatively little contact between Haida living on the reserve and their new neighbours, a rumour I was told by a long-time resident and informal oral historian of New Masset, J, suggests a rather more complex picture of their interactions. According to J, the original nomenclature of the two Massets was as follows: The reserve, which was simply named Massett, and the settler town, New Masset. As the earlier "official" community in the eyes of the Canadian government, the reserve was the site of the post office for the larger Masset area. At a certain point, however, likely around the early 1920s, the residents of New Masset conspired together to "steal" the post-

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Skidegate, which were shortly classified as the primary reserves of the newly instituted Massett and Skidegate Bands by the colonial government.

office, re-designating their town as "Masset" and presenting themselves as the "original" community in the area. The post-office was transferred to (New) Masset, where it remains to this day, while the reserve community became "Old Massett." Whether or not J's story represents historical fact,[16] it resonates as social truth in Old Massett – multiple community members to whom I've recounted J's narrative have told me they have either heard the rumour already or that it seems like something that "could definitely be true," while many of the Haida elders I've spoken with continue to refer to the Village of Masset as "New Masset." As social fact, then, then, "the kind of thing that might be true," the story of Massett's stolen name embodies a settler desire not just to displace but to *replace* Haida people as the rightful "owners" of Haida Gwaii, erasing presence and the right to be present in the same instant.[17] *Terra Nullius* in the colonial world is never simply found. It must always, somehow, be made.

Likewise, the fact that so many of my interlocutors found the story of the stolen name so feasible points to an ongoing Haida[18] critical awareness of such settler desires. Indeed, the relationship between a set of settler community asserting themselves as the always already rightful owners of Haida Gwaii, its lands, waters, and resources and Haida attempts to maintain

[16] I've not been able to locate references to these events in any of the histories or ethnographies focused on 20th century Haida Gwaii with the partial exception of Kathleen Dalzell's popular history of the islands. Even there, Dalzell makes no explicit mention of the "theft" of Old Massett's name. Instead, Dalzell notes simply that, once the homesteaders had decided to name their city "Masset" rather than the earlier intended "Graham City," "the two Massets were differentiated by calling the Indian village *Old Masset* and the new white settlement *New Masset*"(Dalzell 1989:154). This absence strikes me as inconclusive either way, especially given Dalzell's own status as a settler descendant. And, as I note above, the crucial "factuality" of the story of the stolen name is social rather than historical.

[17] It is also, perhaps ironically, an origin story for how the Masset area was placed on the colonial "grid," since post precedes electricity, roads and telecommunication in the history of Haida Gwaii. The privilege of "leaving the grid" is one that does not extend to most indigenous subjects, as we will develop further below.

[18] And, so too, a far greater awareness of the violences of settler among some contemporary non-Haida, particularly those, like J, who have made their home on the islands for decades and count many Haida among their own family.

their own rights, practices lives, and livelihoods in the context of this "settlement" forms one of the major dimensions of the history of life on Haida Gwaii in the 20th century (and now the 21st). Emily Carr's romantico-tragic vision of the material dissolution of Haida material worlds fits within this trajectory, one of many settler fantasies whose fulfillment is contingent on the disappearance of Native people, just as the material conditions of colonial occupation made possible her "exploration" of Haida Gwaii's southern islands. Unlike the homesteaders who founded New Masset, however, Haida people were *an object* of Carr's fantasy rather than an obstacle to it. Or, rather, the conflation of Haida sociohistorical life with the natural landscape of the islands. In this sense, we might see Carr not only as one settler fantasist among many, but also as a precedent for the "off-the-griders," for whom it is not just Haida Gwaii as such that acts as the object of fantasy, but a particular imagining of Haida lifeways *qua* their "connection" to nature as mythical "wilderness."

"Off the Grid"

The following text begins the first episode of "Masa off the Grid," an online series of short videos chronicling the efforts of one Masa Takei to build a cabin and establish a life "off the grid" in the Tow Hill area:

> Masa Takei is trading in his urban life in Vancouver to spend a year living off the grid.
> He will be documenting every moment of his epic adventure for RadX.

The film then cuts to a long take of Masa sitting in his Vancouver apartment, panning around Masa to show the "explosion of crap," as he puts it, that he will be taking with him up to Haida Gwaii. The objects included multiple pairs of boots, a thick rain jacket, small and large tents and other camping equipment, a hunting rifle and a shotgun, and a camera tripod, shuffled in between piles of plastic containers. A set piece, in other words, demonstrating all that is

necessary for "urban" man to move "off the grid" and "into the wild." After Masa explains all these objects will need to somehow be made to fit in his Subaru truck for transportation, we move to a series of short interviews with people that another segment of text informs us are Masa's friends. One addresses the camera as if speaking directly to Masa: "You've gone from this Zen master to this hunter man and now you own two guns, a rifle, you might even own more, actually." "Killing things, eating them," another friend begins, "from as I understand it." Another friend jokes that "they do have the vicious man-eating deer, you know, that you're going to have to contend with." Masa, his friends suggest, is already in the process of metamorphosis, preparing for his new "off the grid" life and the even more fundamental alterations it will bring.[19] Moving "off the grid," then, is not simply a change of space; it is an ethical project, one that entails profound transformation not just in one's self as well as in one's lifestyle. Going "off the grid" can have this revolutionary effect because it is rendered as a productive form of trauma, an "extreme experience" laden with danger and uncertainty. Indeed, later in the video Masa is shown having just exited the shower, a symbolic, albeit implicit, moment of purification before he boards the final ferry to Haida Gwaii, "the wild." Little surprise then, that RadX, the sponsor of Masa's video series, is a Canadian speciality television channel that specializes, according to Wikipedia, in broadcasting programming "around the themes of risk, adventure, and danger."[20]

In the narrative of "Masa off the Grid," Haida Gwaii serves simply as "the wilderness," the stage upon which the ethical transformation of living "off the grid" can unfold. No rationale is given as to why the Tow Hill area was chosen as particularly suitable for Masa's adventure, nor

[19] "Journey to Haida Gwaii from Vancouver – Part 1 - Masa Off the Grid." URL accessed Feb 10th, 2015: https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=CO_WbHMygVY
[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RadX, accessed Feb 10th, 2015.

do his early videos devote any attention to the history or even the broader geography of the islands. Instead, as viewers we follow Masa on the overnight ferry from Prince Rupert to Haida Gwaii, encountering the islands for the first time as they come into his view, forested and covered in mist. Haida Gwaii here seems to represent "nature" as such, becoming thereby effectively interchangeable with any other site at which pure nature (as imaginative construct) is manifested (Again, cf: Braun 2002). What stands out particularly in this respect, if one knows the history of the islands, are the repeated references made to hunting deer as subsistence practice *par excellence*. In reality, however, deer are a comparatively recent addition to the islands' fauna, introduced in the late 19th century by early settlers as a food source. While deer hunting has since become somewhat prominent as a subsistence practice for Haida and non-Haida both, its significance pales in comparison to fishing and even berry-picking, traditional Haida activities and major historical and contemporary components of diet on island. The emphasis that Masa and his friends put on deer hunting, then, is rather more about their particular understandings of "the wild" then it is a real reflection of what it means to engage in subsistence practices on Haida Gwaii. We might also note how different, on the surface, Masa's framing of Haida Gwaii appears from S' – Masa's Haida Gwaii is the space of emergence for "man the hunter," which is not quite the same kind of "connection to nature" that S emphasizes in her stories of natural "gathering." And yet, each participates, as we shall see, in the same basic mythologizing of the "nature" of Haida Gwaii, if you'll pardon the pun.

The Tow Hill community to which Masa arrived, which he refers to most often as "Towtown" is a loosely knit group of individuals and small families residing in the Tow Hill area, numbering approximately one-hundred fifty by my estimate. The group is relatively diverse in background and occupation, ranging from medical and legal professionals working on island

to sporadically employed resource workers and craftspeople. They are all, however, roughly between their late twenties and early forties, with enough income to have purchased (or, very occasionally, rented) land in the Tow Hill area and keep themselves provisioned. Some of the family units have small children, with a handful of older adolescents residing with their parents in the area. Few, if any, are Haida. The extent to which they are actually "off the grid" varies – most have professionally built houses with electricity (though some residences rely on generators for their power) and at least cold running water, though indoor plumbing is a bit less common. Vehicles are a necessity, particularly sturdy trucks, as all these residences rely to at least a certain extent on the Co-Op grocery store in the Village of Masset for their food and basic supplies. While not every resident of the Tow Hill area would identify themselves as subscribing to an "off-the-grid" lifestyle, notions of Haida Gwaii as a "natural paradise," to borrow from S' account, are common within the community and often take center-stage in the way in which "Towtown" residents narrate their sense of life on the islands. Masa's narrative of building a cabin with his own two hands "in the wilderness" is therefore perhaps an extreme case in relation to the complexities of lived realities in Towtown, but in his accounts he also brings together most of the key elements of the *representations* of the "off-the-grid" lifestyle and its associated philosophies and can thus serve as a useful typification in the mode of Weber's use of Benjamin Franklin to exemplify the Protestant ethic (Weber 2001:chap. 2).

For our purposes, what is most important about the work that Masa is doing in his videos and supplementary Facebook Notes to refashion Haida Gwaii as "wild space" to fit with his own fantasies and those of his intended audience are the ways in which they render Haida people and knowledge. Explicit references to Haida people or culture, it is worth nothing at the outset, are rare, even as the focus of Masa's videos turns from the construction of his "off the grid" cabin to

more general accounts of life in the Tow Hill community.[21] But Haida are not completely absent, particularly in Masa's video and note dealing with the Enbridge Joint Review panel. Masa begins his note, simply entitled "Masa Notes – Day 346," with this paragraph:

> One of the real benefits of building a cabin on Haida Gwaii is the immense natural wealth there is here. The islands are even shaped like a cornucopia. *As they say*, "when the tide is out, the table is set." With some knowledge, it's almost impossible to starve here. It's a food-gatherer's dream. And what better way to spend a day than out in the woods or on the water harvesting (emphasis mine).[22]

A number of things are striking about Masa's language in this passage. First, he makes an immediate association between the resources of the island and "wealth," a phrasing that immediately frames Haida Gwaii as a site of potential consumption. This is a form of wealth that, Masa implies, is given to all – the islands, he writes, "are even shaped like a cornucopia." The value of the islands, then, comes at least in part because it provides a seemingly endless abundance of things that can, quite literally, be consumed. So too, the only criterion to access the

[21] The video entitled "Day 136 - A Haida Gwaii Wedding and Paddle Boarding – Masa Off Grid" (URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r-pC8NIFQKE, accessed Feb 13, 2015) gives a particular good sense of how Masa depicts this community. The wedding, represented as a "community event," is depicted through photographs and Masa's narration, with a particular emphasis on the sartorial styles on display. Masa notes that he was told the wedding was going to be "pretty casual," but then felt underdressed when he ran into an individual he calls Chris who "had gotten his hair done and was wearing a new dress," as a photo shows an older man wearing a large brown wig and a tight green khaki dress, holding a small recorder. While the text of the encounter may be meant to index Masa's own process of "getting to know" the Towtown community, the meta-text is distinctly celebratory, marking the wild and unconventional sartorial styles on display at the wedding through repeated images and not designating as unusual in any way the fact that the marriage is between two female partners. "Towtown" is thereby framed as a space of creativity and the proud rejection of conservative Canadian social norms . Notably, of all the many forms of clothing on display I can detect none that resemble Haida regalia, typically worn at major community celebrations. It is also worth pointing out that Masa's video refers to the event as a "Haida Gwaii" wedding, encompassing the whole islands within the particular mode of Towtown ceremoniality. It almost need not be said that most Haida weddings, or for that matter the weddings of many non-Haidas, bear little resemblance to the one that Masa documents.

[22] This quote and those that follow are taken from the note "Day 346" on Masa's public facebook page. URL: https://www.facebook.com/notes/376964678999164/, accessed Feb 13, 2015.

"food-gatherer's dream" that the islands make possible is the possession of "some knowledge," techniques that could, presumably, be taught to anyone. Tellingly, he gives the expression "when the tide is out, the table is set" as something that "they say," an impersonal pronoun without specific referent.[23] During my fieldwork I've also heard that same phrase, many times, but always given as a Haida saying.

In Masa's account, in short, food-gathering appears as a skill available to anyone living on Haida Gwaii, one that requires only the right knowledge in order to access. Once this knowledge is learned, the food-gatherer than has access to an unlimited amount of terrestrial and marine resources. And Masa follows this pattern when he *does* make explicit reference to Haida people, here, for instance, in his summary of Haida testimonies to the Panel: "Haida had come to speak about the traditional food collecting that is integral to the way that *people* have lived here for millennia" (emphasis mine). The wording is significant here – "traditional food collecting" is a set of practices that are "integral to the way that *people*," a general referent that could encompass anyone, "have lived here for millennia." Haida can speak about these practices, which Masa also mark as "traditional," but food-gathering itself is not specifically Haida, nor something to which Haida people might have exclusive or preferential rights. Instead, food-collecting is figured as something that people who live on Haida Gwaii do, *whether or not they are Haida*. The role of Haida in this formulation is one effectively of technical seniority – they have been living on the island since time immemorial and therefore possess the skills and understandings necessary to unlock Haida Gwaii as a "food-gatherer's dream." They are teachers, but the knowledge they teach, just as the abundant resources of the islands themselves, are open for the taking.[24]

[23] A gnomic utterance, perhaps.
[24] Which is not to say that Masa is necessarily conscious of this implication. While we've not met personally, I'm acquainted with many of his circle, and I believe if asked directly they would

In this way, Haida practices and resources are stripped of their legal and political specificities and rendered into general commodities, available to all consumers. A substantial consequence emerges from this framing. In attempting to render Haida Gwaii a space of natural abundance that escapes and allows escape from the spaces of urban capitalism – another Tow Hill resident testified at the Enbridge Panel that she moved to Haida Gwaii explicitly to "escape from supercapitalism" – off-the-griders render the islands themselves into commodities they can consume, just as they appropriate Haida food-gathering techniques as commodities stripped of their social specificity. The escape from capitalism reproduces capitalist abstraction and, in turn, capitalist conditions of appropriation. But this seemingly paradoxical reproduction too, Žižek reminds us, is an aspect of fantasy. Again drawing on Lacan, Žižek suggests that narrative itself is fantasy in its "primordial form," serving to "occult some original deadlock." The answer to the question of "why we tell stories," Žižek suggests, is that "*narrative as such* emerges in order to resolve some fundamental antagonism by rearranging its terms into a temporal succession" (Žižek 2009:11, emphasis original). In Lacanian psychoanalysis, this original deadlock is generated by the fact that *object petit a*, the impossible object that fantasy attempts to reach through unconscious substitution within the context of an interpretive schema, emerges as already-lost. "Narrativization," then, "occludes this paradox by describing the process in which the object is first given and then gets lost" (15).

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acknowledge Haida rights with little hesitation. But, as I suggested with Carr also, this is in itself one of our central issues: the degree to we are conscious of our fantasizing, as Žižek insists throughout his text, is only the very tip of the iceberg of an essentially unconscious process. When they appear at all in Masa's video and written texts, Haida people are fantasy objects, generous and wise teachers presenting a better way to live than that offered by city. There is no space in this narrative for these teachers to have vested interests precisely in *not* teaching non-Haida, for fear that they will strip the islands bare of the land and marine resources that rightfully should only be gathered by Haidas.

From this perspective it seems quite natural that the fantasy of escaping from capitalism by going "off-the-grid" in fact reproduces the terms of capitalism; "emergence and loss coincide" (16), as Žižek puts it. Here again Raymond Williams' insights into the development of the notion of nature as "wilderness" are telling. For Williams, the "real split" that is represented by the apparent absolute divide between "nature" and "man" is in fact a split within capitalist sociality itself; that is, the split between humans as produces and humans as consumers. "The consumer wants only the intended product; all other produces he must get away from, if he can. But get away […] to treat leftover nature in the same spirit: to consume it as scenery, landscape, image, fresh air" (Williams 1980:81). At the heart of any conception of nature as "wild," in other words, are precisely the capitalist logics of consumption that those like Masa are attempting to free themselves from. Capitalism as the object to be escaped from is (re)constituted in the very narrative of escape itself.

This also means that on a certain fundamental level the fantasies of Masa and the other residents of "Towtown" are not quite their own. Instead, they form out of the intersection of a set of received social meanings – "capitalism," "nature," and "Nativeness," for instance – and the ways in which those meanings are configured by social actors in response to conscious and unconsciousness needs and drives. Settler fantasies can thus reiterate the imaginative and symbolic conditions of settler colonialism, just as they authorize its material operations – and this just as much for those who wish to escape from the exploitation that colonialism and capitalism bring as those who seek consciously to benefit from it. Philip Deloria gives a particularly resonant example of this phenomenon in his now-classic Playing Indian, in particular in his discussion of "New Age" spirituality and its appropriations of Native identity in the United

States. Responding to Church of Gaia member Stephen Buhner's claim that "Native" religious authority could be learned and passed on to anyone unless formally revoked, Deloria writes:

> Even as the Church of Gaia sought Indian spiritual essentials,[25] then, its members disengaged themselves both physically and intellectually from native people. Adopting the behavioralist dynamic of the hobbyists [another group of settlers "playing Indian"], Buhner suggested that spiritual insight resulted from a teacher-learning encounter, and that it was manifested through a certification process in which one's qualifications might be revoked for cause. Yet in many native societies, and especially among the Plains people so beloved by New Age seekers, real spiritual authority came from spiritual experience itself. Buhner valued [New Age spiritual leaders] Sun Bear and Ed McGaa not only for their spiritual experiences but for their compiling of cultural knowledge – texts that could be purchased, interpreted, mastered and materialized.
>
> What mattered most was Buhner's claim to be able to acquire and practice sacred traditions. He made the claim not in terms of his own training or experience, but by calling on essential Americanisms – freedom of religion and equal opportunity – that rang with an intensity equal to that of McGaa's military sergice. "Our church," claimed Buhmer, "believes that no person because of their skin colour, should be prohibited from worshipping God in the manner they choose." Indianness – coded as a spiritual essential – was the common property of all Americans" (Deloria 1998:171).

Ironically, if unsurprisingly, Deloria continues, freedom of religion among Native peoples in the United States was at that time under sustained attack (171), a fact which indexes the inherent imbalance of settler claim to universal rights in a colonial context – it is the settler regime that determines what constitutes a "universal right" and what does not (e.g. Blackburn 2009; Brown 2004; Cunha 2009; Nadasdy 2002), just as it defines the boundaries of "acceptable" and "unacceptable" cultural practices (Povinelli 2002).

In Deloria's account we again we see the paradox of sincere fantasy. There is little doubt that Buhmer deeply believes in and respects what he understands to be authentically "Indian" spirituality, but the terms of that respect hinge not on any in-depth understandings of actual

[25] The notion that there might even *be* generic "Indian" spiritual essentials, we should add, is itself part of the complex of fantasy that Deloria is critiquing.

Native spiritual traditions, but, rather, a fantastic category of essentialized pan-spirituality that selectively emulates whatever perceived element of "Indianess" can be assimilated into a fantasy schema. So too, maintaining this fantasy requires Buhner and his fellow spiritual seekers to disassociate themselves with any Native people who might potentially undermine the fantasy by not fitting within it, or even overtly challenging it. The result is an "Indian spirituality" entirely removed from relationship with actual Native people, their rights, their beliefs, their struggles, and their lives, a process of abstraction and commodification that perfectly mirrors the very forms of capitalist disassociation that New Age practitioners were seeking to escape just as it reinscribes settler colonial appropriation and erasure. And, as Deloria elegantly points out, it is no coincidence that American Indians were particularly "available" for the purposes of settler fantasy formation. Rather, their very presence as the original inhabitants of North America posed a continual dilemma for a people seeking to define themselves as a new nation in opposition to Britain: on the one hand, Americans sought to identity *with* Native people *qua* icons of connectedness with the American landscape, rendering themselves thereby "real" Americans; on the other, in order for settler Americans to accomplish this identification and "control the landscape," Deloria writes, "they had to destroy the original inhabitants" (Deloria 1998:5). In order to manage this paradox, the settlers "played Indian," fashioning Indian identities for themselves that were both modelled on their understandings of Native lives and simultaneously demonstrated settler control over the terms through which Nativeness itself could be defined. And this alongside a set of political and military policies meant to bring about the actual erasure of American Indian peoples, whether through their assimilation into "civilized" subjects or their violent extinction.

Thus the terms under which Native people can be *made* into fantasy are not simply psychoanalytic. Rather, they are historical and political, contingent on the material realities of settler colonialism even as they replicate its exclusions and, perhaps, attempt to fill its lacunae. Thus Masa's particular figuration of Haida people as simply the most senior practitioners of a way of life that represents for him at once a path to the utmost abundance and an escape from a mainstream society whose "greed," Masa posits in his note, is the true reason for the proposed pipeline. "Nature" is an unmediated space, separate from the social practices of humans, whether Haida or non, and it must be saved from its consumption by mainstream society so that it can continue to be consumed, albeit less fatally, by others. The complexities of Haida life, and, indeed, the complex ways in which Haida Gwaii has been produced as a space, are necessarily erased in this depiction, and not just the sovereign rights to territory and resources mentioned earlier in my paper (and also addressed from a different perspective in Chapter 4). What is equally absent from characterizations of Haida people as "gurus" for off-the-grid lifestyles is the stark fact that Haida lives are by no means off the grid. Quite the opposite, as Aboriginal subjects in Canada, Haida people are monitored intensely by the Canadian government, *particularly* their subsistence practices, which have been tightly regulated since the imposition of settler governance on Haida Gwaii in the late 19th century. Settler control of the definition of what constitutes legitimate subsistence fishing, for instance, has markedly constrained the possibilities for Haida commerce in the 20th century, leading to a fishing industry dominated by non-Haida making huge profits off islands' waters (Stearns 1981; Harris 2008). What Masa refers to as "the immense natural wealth" of Haida Gwaii is from a Haida perspective a landscape of stolen or appropriated resources, a process which has been facilitated by Canadian "regulation" of Aboriginal rights and the spaces that this process has opened up precisely for settler presence.

Another cruel irony, in short, and it points to something significant about settler fantasies – they are a closed circle, beginning and ending within the frame of an already assumed set of understandings about indigenous territories and indigenous lifeways. Indigenous peoples are not, however, simply passive objects upon which fantasies can be imposed; rather, as Deloria reminds us consistently throughout Playing Indian and as I have already begun to explore with my brief suggestion about Carr's guides, American Indians, Aboriginal peoples, and Haida themselves have their own set of responses to and strategies for managing settler fantasies and the erasures they presuppose and entail. In my next section, then, I turn to how Haida people respond to hippies and their fantasies, and how they manage them as in a sense a product of distinctly Haida logics about the "homing" quality of the islands of Haida Gwaii and the ways in which arrival as a form of "homecoming" can and should be negotiated.

Hippies and Haida

Hippies as "Strangers"

"Off-the-grid" narratives typically emphasize the arrival on Haida Gwaii as a form of radical break with the past. We've seen this already in Masa's videos, and it is echoed, among other places, in an episode of the Home and Garden Television's program House Hunters: Off the Grid entitled "Goodbye City-Life, Hello Haida Gwaii, British Columbia." The episode focuses on a young couple looking for a cabin on Haida Gwaii after becoming discouraged with their lives in Berlin, and concludes with the couple speaking to the camera about the transformations that life off-the grid has already brought:

> Steffi: Life off the grid is great. There's a lot of freedom, there's a lot of time to myself. We can go mushroom picking. […] We can go for walks on the beach, Jason can go surfing. Here it's very natural.
> Jay: The home that we chose pretty much has everything we wanted, minus the beach view for me. It's so nice having hot water in this cabin. We're learning to deal with taking a little trek to the outhouse. We don't have to get up at 6 o'clock like we

used to, so we just sleep in. And the first thing, I go outside, and I get some firewood, and I go inside, put it in, and get the heat started again.
[…]
Steffi: I feel way more myself than I did in the city.[26]

If the move to Haida Gwaii represents a strong break with their own pasts for Jay and Steffi,[27] for my Haida interlocutors in Old Massett the social category of "hippie" is by no means a new one. Indeed, the very term "hippie" is used to weave together multiple groups of settler arrivants to the islands into a single, coherent social "type." I was first introduced to the issue of hippies on Haida Gwaii by D, a long-term resident of Old Massett who told me that, in the 1960s, he and his friends used to drive around looking for hippies who had come to the islands in pursuit of hallucinogenic mushrooms, rumoured to grow particularly well and at great potency in the damp forests of the Masset area. On locating such a hippie, D told me, they'd haul him into the back of their truck and drive him out of town. While I'm not sure whether or not D was exaggerating for effect, his stance seemed to be clear: People who come to Haida Gwaii to exploit the land based on their own desires were not welcome, and it was a Haida prerogative to remove them. In this sense, while the mushroom hunters of the sixties are different in myriad ways from contemporary off-the-griders, they can be folded together through a common critique of their appropriative relationship to Haida Gwaii and their lack of social connections. These people are each identified as "hippies," unknown to the Haida community except categorically as threatening strangers.

[26] Taken from HGTV's House Hunters Off the Grid, Episode: "Goodbye City Life, Hello Haida Gwaii, British Columbia. http://www.hgtv.ca/househuntersoffthegrid/episode/?epId=315378
[27] Though worth noting that Jay notes earlier in the episode that he spent part of his childhood on the islands, though the amount of time spent is left unclear. Having met both Jay and Steffi after their televised move to the islands during my fieldwork, my impression is that Jay does indeed have family on island, but left very young.

To be a stranger is not, however, to be completely removed from a social group. Rather, as George Simmel argued in his classic essay on the topic, strangers are included within the social group precisely because they are considered outside of it, because they confront the group with their status as outsiders to it. The stranger, Simmel writes, is:

> the potential wanderer: although he has not moved on, he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed within a particular spatial group, or within a group whose boundaries are similar to spatial boundaries. But his position in this group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself (Simmel 1971:143).

The threat of the stranger, for Simmel, is at least in part their "objectivity," the fact that the stranger "is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendencies of the group." Not simply "passivity and detachment," objectivity in Simmel's sense is "a particular structure composed of distance and nearness, indifference and involvement" (145). The dilemma that hippies present is not that they are simply absent from Haida life; rather, it is that they are selectively present within it *on their own terms*, even to the point that they understand themselves to be acting "like" Haida outside of the very social frameworks that Haida people exist within. They are too close and too far away all at once.[28]

How, then, do Haida people mark "hippies" as such? I have so far suggested that "hippie" constitutes an ideal type for the Haida residents of Old Massett, one that is fluid and flexible enough to weave multiple groupings of settlers together within a single critical framework and distinguish them from Haida people and non-stranger settlers. To be labelled a "hippie" is thus already a critique, a way of marking inappropriate behavior on the part of non-Haida[29] who are not conducting themselves in a proper manner in the context of the Haida social, political, and

[28] In this the "stranger" is distinct either from the "tourist," who is a visitor by definition, or the pure settler "colonist" who seeks to replace the local populace entire.
[29] Or even, very occasionally, Haida themselves.

material world. It is significant, however, that I have rarely, if ever, heard the word "hippie" used in public discourses – whether chiefly speeches at community dinners or community meetings. So too, it rarely appears in my "on the record" interviews with Old Massett residents. Instead, shared understandings of "hippies" are a mode of community common sense, made manifest in ironic asides and knowing glances, as the punchline of humorous stories like D's, or every so often in complaints over drinks at the bar. And, as in the sidelong comment from Nonnie K which began this chapter, they are usually provoked by an absence of respect for Haida norms and rules, even when this absence is implicit or unintentional.

Consider, for illustration, a set of small incidents that occurred during the community dinner and pole-raising honouring the survivors of residential schools that was held in Old Massett in the spring of 2013. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to detail the full violence and abuses of residential schools,[30] but they remain a charged and emotional topic in Old Massett, and a number of former residential school students were in attendance at the dinner. The dinner and pole raising were open to anyone, however, and there was a large crowd gathered in the Old Massett Community Hall by the time I arrived. While most were either Haida or long-time non-Haida members of the Old Massett community through friendship or family connections, there was a smattering of Towtown residents as well, attracted as much, perhaps, by the exciting prospect of seeing a new pole being raised as by the particular significance of the occasion. Some of these were families who had brought their young children, and as the evening continued

[30] But see chapter 2 for more detail. For now, it suffices to reiterate that these schools were spaces of colonial violence in which Native children were abused physically, emotionally and sexually, and where they were taught as a matter of school policy to reject and despise the communities they were taken from and their own traditions and languages as barbarous and unchristian (cf: Miller 1996; Milloy 1999). As the term "survivor" indicates, these schools left a legacy of lasting trauma for many who attended them.

these children became restless and began to run around the hall. While walking around during a feast to greet friends and family seated at different tables is usually permissible, and even a certain degree of supervised children's play, the volume of the Towtown children and their interruption of residential school survivors as they made speeches began to be noted with disfavor by Haida at the tables, including my own. As the disruption continued, the people began to turn to each other (and to me) and to comment on the emerging situation – "*they* don't know how to raise their children," "No discipline, none at all," "where are their parents?" to quote a few from my field notes. Eventually the master of ceremonies for the evening intervened and asked parents in the audience to quiet their children and keep them from running across the hall. The MC's warning was general, but it seemed clear to my table-mates at whom it was directed, and I later heard the events narrated by a number of acquaintances as a characteristic example of the failures of "hippie parenting." The ideal type of "hippies," in short, is always both presupposed and entailed – the children going "out of control" was taken as typical (or, rather, typifying) "hippie" disrespect just as the disruption itself acted as yet another example of this very disrespect.

Futuring Hippies

Based on what I have argued so far, it might seem as if the relationship between Haida and settlers like S, Masa, and Jay and Steffi is defined by a mutual disconnection. To themselves, Masa, Jay and Steffi (at least) are "off-the-griders," exploring a better life on Haida Gwaii modelled on their fantasies of "living in nature" in a way that seems to them to draw from Haida *qua* indigenous lifeways. For that very reason, they (and the Towtown community these individuals exemplify) are seen as "hippies" by many Haida in Old Massett, defined by their disconnection from and disrespect for the realities and the rules of actual Haida social, political,

and ecological practices. But encounters between "hippies" and Haida also cannot be avoided – as I've noted, the population of the Towtown area is already more than two-hundred fifty, and it is growing. The residents of Towtown participate in the economy of the islands, shopping at the local stores in (New) Masset and, more significantly, at times purchasing art or fish from Haida directly. Some of the more career oriented of the Tow Hill community also intersect with Haida regularly in their professional lives, particularly those working in the health care field. And the "hippies" are out on the lands and the waters anyway, "called" by the imagined cornucopia of Haida Gwaii. How, then, to manage relations with people whose own representations of self and (indigenous) other differ so significantly from those of their Haida neighbours?

True, D's anecdote has already presented one strategy: Round them up and kick them out, to paraphrase. I am unsure, however, if even D would take this up as a desirable approach more generally. Rather, I suspect the anecdote was meant more as a way of asserting through humour the kind of rights that Haida should have over non-Haida on their territories, even if these are rights they cannot formally exercise in the context of colonial occupation (Cf: Basso 1979). And even were it possible to drive them all out of town – and even if the very impossibility of this strategy did not index the very ways in which "hippies" are made possible in a literal as well as conceptual sense by the ongoing process of settler colonialism – it would also represent a foreclosure of a possible set of allies for Haida actors and goals, were they able to learn how to behave properly. Instead, I assert that strategic Haida future-making represents one way through which the seeming social deadlock between Haida and hippies is rendered manageable by my interlocutors. This, in the first instance, because the very arrival of non-Haida "called" by the islands is anticipated by the Haida logics of mobility I have already discussed, an always potential consequence of the power that Haida Gwaii possesses – both through its material

characteristics and its ineffable appeal – to call people "home." The islands are a homing device, in other words, without an off-switch, and this facilitates the appropriation of the islands as the object of wilderness fantasies of all varieties. Or, rather, Haida Gwaii is a homing device whose only true off-switch would entail the catastrophic destruction of all that makes the islands "home" for Haida people, which, we should add, could stem from the irreversible environmental degradation that projects like the proposed Enbridge pipeline or mass lumber extraction (discussed in detail in chapter 5) potentially represent.

The cruel irony is that "off-the-griders" can thus understand themselves to work entirely in solidarity with what they believe to be environmentalist values they share with Haida, even as their behaviors in fact replicate the very modes of settler erasure and consumption that these people have attempted to "escape" in their moves away from the city. And the threat that hippy disrespect poses is by no means trivial. "Stealing all the berries," hunting and fishing "off-the-grid," even behaving disrespectfully at a community dinner all stand metonymically for far larger structural attempts to exploit the islands and defuse Haida rights at least in part through the project of rendering Haida practices (and Haida themselves) into "cultural commodities," to be consumed in accordance with settler fantasies of authenticity and wealth. A nightmare-future, in short, in which Haida are robbed of their very capacity to be Haida on Haida Gwaii in the same moment as they are fixed in place as iconic cultural objects. Relics, fading alongside the natural landscape.

But, as we have already seen, the future-oriented character of Haida logics of mobility applies not only to the "homing" quality of the islands, but, equally, to the "homecoming" process itself. Homecomings for returning Haida, recall, are figured as being *necessarily* challenging, a process of social reintegration that requires care, respect, and attention from the

newly returned. Through this, the threat of cataclysmic homecomings – and the nightmare futures they entail - can be warded off. The important question thus becomes *how* to bring "hippies" into social relations with Haida, so that they too can be made subject to some form of "homecoming" process. We see one possible answer in a speech given given by Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans,* Allan Wilson, to the Enbridge JRP panel:

> Listening to the Panel, I heard a few comments made today. People expressing their passion for Haida Gwaii. Some have been here for months. Some, just a few years.
> There's one fellow in Queen Charlotte city, he's been here just about all his life. I think it's -- I think he's here for 60 years or something, I'm not sure. *But he said, "I'm a newcomer."*
> That shows the Panel and all the people how those that are born here for generations, how we feel. You look on the map up there from Langara to Cape St. James up to Naikoon. *It's our home. It's our front yard, our backyard, it's our home*. We live for Haida Gwaii.
> […]
> And it just floors me to listen to all the people that have just come here in the last six months, last year, two years, six years, their passion for Haida Gwaii.
> Our very life is because of Haida Gwaii. *People have chosen Haida Gwaii first because of its beauty. And then, they meet the people and it gets deeper.*
> People have come here to visit. Some become permanent residents. *Some only come here for two or three days, it ends up being a lifetime. That's the effect Haida Gwai has on you. And if it doesn't happen to this JRP, this Panel, I don't know* (Enbridge Hearing Transcript June 14th:7569-7575, emphasis added).

Here, Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* emphasizes the universal (and universalizing) power of homing – "Some only come here for two or three days," he tells the panel, but "it ends up being a lifetime." At first, Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans's* acknowledges, this pull stems from the beauty of the islands itself, but then "it gets deeper." While Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* does not suggest explicitly what "getting deeper" implies, he hints towards it in his earlier characterization of the man who had been on island for sixty years but still declares that he's a "newcomer." In recognizing that, as a non-Haida, he is a relatively newcomer to the islands, this man demonstrates precisely that he is not a "stranger" and that he is aware of the relative shallowness of his own relationship to Haida Gwaii in comparison to those of the Haida people for whom

Haida Gwaii has been home since time immemorial. In short, he shows respect. By this logic, what gets "deeper" are the relationships of newcomers with Haida and the increased awareness of Haida rights and respectful modes of conduct that these relationships bring. (In variations of this speech that I've heard Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* give in the context of other public events and community dinners, he is more explicit, referring to the non-Haida present as "guests" and "friends" of the Haida Nation.) More than its beauty, then, more than its capacity to be the site of fantasy, the "effect" that Haida Gwaii has on newcomers is to bring them into relationship with the islands *as* the home and the sovereign territory of Haida people and with Haida themselves. And, Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* asserts, the islands will have the same effect on the JRP itself.

Here the very mutability of the social category of the stranger, the "hippie," as social type takes on a distinctly future-oriented significance. To be a "hippie," recall, is not so much a permanent state as it is a mode of disrespectful behavior. This also means that it is possible for hippies to adopt other forms and behavior and to be thereby refigured, to learn respect and to develop appropriate social relations with Haida people. Just as Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans*'s "newcomer" of sixty years residence recognized that his love for the islands did not make them "his," hippies can be brought out of the tautological character of their fantasy schemas through their developing relationships with the Haida social world. A different mode of "homecoming," in other words. Just as returning Haidas do, settler arrivants need to *learn* how to be at home on Haida Gwaii *as* a fundamentally Haida space, though the social demands of that learning are certainly different from those made to Haida returnees. And this is an essentially social process that unfolds between Haida and non-Haida in myriad ways. We might, for instance, reinterpret S' unnamed "Haida people" from beneficent teachers showing her how to "connect" with the natural world and the food found therein to being in the midst of teaching her what "care" for the

land, seas and resources of Haida Gwaii actually entail, for Haida people and for her as their guest. Nonnie K's aside to me thus marks S as not having fully learned or been able to express the lessons she was being taught, a deficiency which can be corrected, or, alternately, indicates the extent to which any such moments of selective inclusion on the part of some can and will be contested by others. So too, there is another joke that D likes to tell about his own experiences with "hippies;" "Ask me what I think about hippies? Well, I married one."

Conclusion – Adoption and its Discontents

A number of months after completing my fieldwork, I received a Facebook message from Alice Stevens, a friend and colleague at the school in Old Massett where I volunteered throughout my time in the community. Alice had recently been appointed matriarch of her clan, and had a radical proposal she wanted my thoughts about: she planned to adopt into her clan the children at the school who, as she put it, "had no already established connection to a Haida clan or family." A few brief reminders about the form of adoption to which Alice referred, already sketched out briefly in Chapter 1. Traditionally, and typically, membership in a Haida clan is conferred matrilineally. Each clan belongs to one of the two exogamous Haida moieties, Eagle and Raven, but possesses its own chief and matriarch.[31] "Adoption" in the sense that Alice meant is the ceremonial adoption of an individual into one of these clans, affiliating the adoptee with the particular political and social structure of the clan and giving the individuals a "place" in the larger moiety system. Typically, this form of adoption happens in two, related contexts. Often, when a Haida is marrying a non-Haida, a clan from the opposite moiety to the Haida spouse will adopt the non-Haida into their fold. This is particularly significant when the non-Haida spouse is female, as adoption would allow their children to be born with an already established clan and

[31] The moieties do not have any supra-clan political structure.

moiety affiliation and, thereby, a clear place in the clan structure and ceremonial practices of Haida life. For similar reasons, children of "mixed" couples are also often adopted, either alongside their non-affiliated parent or independently.

What Alice was proposing was somewhat different. Rather than non-Haida with established intimate relationships with Haida families, Alice sought to adopt the handful of non-Haida school children currently attending Chief Matthews. These children come from a diversity of background, but most of their families have relatively little connection to the Haida community beyond their children going to school in Old Massett. A handful might even have been among the "hippie" children who disrupted the Residential School Survivors' feast two years ago. As the minority in a Haida operated school that combined Haida language and cultural instruction with a more traditional curriculum, these non-Haida children are somewhat betwixt and between, participating in the activities of the school and learning Haida alongside their school mates, but without a clan or, especially, a moiety affiliation they have no formal place in the Haida ceremonial world. By adopting them into her own clan, Alice would effectively resolve this tension, allowing these children to be full participants in the Haida culture they are learning at school and, at least to an extent, embrace it as their own.

Multiple strands of our narrative converge here. Chief Matthews is not the only elementary school present in the larger Masset area, and as its mandate is focused specifically on the children of Old Massett Band members only a few non-Haida are even permitted to attend. While I think the excellent reputation of the school certainly contributes to the choice of non-Haida parents to (at least attempt to) send their children to Chief Matthews, another factor is the cultural "appeal," as it were, of their children receiving an education in the basics of Haida traditions. In this perhaps a familiar mix of a sincere desire to respect Haida people and Haida

culture and settler fantasies of authentic indigenous experience, much the same as that which motivated some of these same parents to attend the dinner and pole-raising with their children two years previous. As opposed to the incidental nature of said dinner, however, sending their children to a Haida school brings these families into regular and sustained contact with Haida people in positions of authority and care[32] *viz-a-viz* to their children. Whatever the fantasies of their parents, in other words, these children are learning about Haida culture on Haida terms.

Alice's plan to adopt these children crystalizes that process. Brought into a Haida clan, non-Haida children would become subject to yet more Haida authority: that of the clan's chief, matriarch, and its elders, just as Haida clan members are.[33] So too, they would be brought into ongoing kin-relations with multiple generations of Haida that would continue well-past the children leaving Chief Matthews. Brought into the clan, these children could be (and, indeed, would need to be) taught how to behave respectfully in Haida social and political contexts and in relation to subsistence and resource gathering practices. This is to say, these children would be taught when it is appropriate and what it is not appropriate to take the berries, to fish, to gather crab and clams, and to partake in all the other forms of "natural abundance" to which Masa referred so salubriously. Adoption would thus serve at once as an act of care in the present, giving non-Haida school children a deeper sense of belonging in the Haida community in which they are participating, and an anticipatory strategy for the future, constituting a generation of on-island non-Haida who would not only know the "rules" of appropriate Haida behavior, of respect, but would also be encompassed within Haida traditional structures of authority and governance. The tutelage of homecoming extended over multiple generations.

[32] For more on relation between authority and care in the Haida world see Chapters Four and Five.

[33] Though as we will see in chapter 4, this is not envisioned by either Haida chiefs or other clan members as a despotic mode of leadership.

Alice's proposal is, as she told me, "controversial, to say the least." In particular, she's met sustained criticism from those who are skeptical that these children could ever be "real" adoptees without already established relations to Alice's clan. These critics repeat a commonly voiced criticism that previous "unconnected" adoptees have not participated in the lives of their clans or contributed to them financially. Rather, they suggest that such adoptees enjoy the honour of adoption, but treat it as a gift rather than a responsibility. By adopting these school children, Alice would be opening up things to outsiders that should belong exclusively to Haida, just as has happened again and again on Haida Gwaii. Aspirational futures encounter the distressing possibility that they may simply be new (and worse) forms of the past. Which is a possibility that I think is to be expected. Žižek is insistent, after all, that fantasy is a closed system, a schema which presupposes the interpollation of the other before the other is even encountered as such. There is thus the very real possibility that any attempts at breaching the circle of settler fantasy by Haida will fail, even under the conditions of sustained tutelage that Alice's adoptions would make possible. Or, still more distressing, that Alice's act of future-making could aid in bringing about the very nightmare future of exploitation that her plan seeks precisely to avoid.

Whatever the ultimate fate of Alice Stevens' proposed adoptions, they demonstrate that Haida people are by no means passive participants in their own erasure, whether ideological or actual. Neither vanished nor vanquished, Haida constitute futures whose very uncertainties index the ongoing possibilities of Haida life. Both Alice and her critics envision futures that respond to the conditions of the present and present certain courses of action, even as those responses necessarily contract each other. And at least one of the fundamental questions at the heart of those futures – how to manage the unlimited, fantastic desire for environmental exploitation from twenty-first century settler society – resonates far beyond the islands of Haida Gwaii, for

indigenous and non-indigenous alike. Thus a figure like Masa, who can at once be a staunch supporter of the ecological protection of Haida Gwaii and a participant in the exploitation of that very ecology. In this sense, we should note that, while this chapter began with an account of the deeper disjunctures underlying the apparent anti-Enbridge solidarity of the larger Haida Gwaii community, it is also those very "shallow" solidarities that offer the potential for the forms of relationship building that Alice Stevens envisions and Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* envisions. Indeed, for Chief *Sgaann 7iw7waans* this is not even a question – it's just the effect Haida Gwaii has on you.

Transition

We now move from Part 1 of this dissertation to Part 2, "Care." In the first part, I have shown how Haida future-making extends past the boundaries of the islands of Haida Gwaii, and necessarily so. The futures my interlocutors constitute are mobile futures, concerned with the ways in which the movements of Haida and non-Haida make up the complex and fraught realities of contemporary Haida life. Future-making, I have argued, offers ways of working through these dilemmas, figuring alternative Haida futures to erasure even though they do not in any sense "escape" the constraints of settler society or the ways in which those constraints condition Haida (and non-Haida) mobilities.

If these futures show that Haida futures need not be constrained by the waters of the Hecate Straight and the Pacific Ocean that surround Haida Gwaii, they demonstrate equally that the island form a central pivot in how Haida people imagine what it means to live *as* Haida in the world. In Part 2 we thus turn to the question of what it means to live *on* Haida Gwaii, through the particular lens of the political. The two chapters are in a certain sense very much sequels to the concerns of Part 1, fleshing out a few Haida readings of what constitutes "respectful relationships" with other Haida, with non-Haida, and with the islands themselves. But now governance, authority and accountability enter our story, as we examine how future-making can also speak to deeply political questions and concerns for my Haida interlocutors.

Part 2: Care

Chapter 4: Leading "from the Bottom of the Pole:" Care and Governance in the Haida World

Two Scenes from Political Life on Haida Gwaii

1. It is late in the evening on the second day of May Russ' potlatch. The dancers have finished, the speeches are over, and the guests who fill the Old Massett Community Hall have been well and thoroughly fed, this anthropologist included. It is time for gifts to be distributed. As we sit digesting, members of Chief Russ' clan circulate between the tables and along the bleachers, handing out jars of jam to each of us from tightly packed boxes. Then, as we watch, two palettes piled-high with packages of sugar, flour, and bags of potatoes are wheeled into the center of the Hall, coming to rest right on top of the double-headed Eagle and Raven emblem of the Haida Nation. Staples for cooking, the piled goods are gradually handed out to the guests by Chief Russ' clan. Once everyone has received one of each item, the clan members go around again handing out everything that remains. May Russ' chiefly Name, made official by her hosting of the potlatch, is *Taawga Halaa Leyga*, "Food Gatherer," and it is clear to all that she wishes to show her guests she lives up to her name.

2. On a typical Haida Gwaii summer afternoon, sunny and cool, the wind refreshing, I am sitting at the kitchen table of Tom Richards.[1] We are chatting "on the record" about leadership on the islands of Haida Gwaii – the ancestral home and sovereign territory of the Haida Nation, our interview punctuated by the sounds of a young family member practicing piano and the occasional barking of a small but anxious dog sitting by the table. Richards, an incumbent chief, is explaining his problems with one of the islands' elected governments to me, his speech rapid and passionate: "We've been […] supporting them, but what did we get? Nothing. They don't

[1] As is true throughout this dissertation, all names are pseudonyms with the exception of those used in a public context, as is the case for Chief Russ.

even come down to offer help to do a roof." For Richards, this governmental unwillingness to aid in literally putting roofs over peoples heads seems metonymic of a broader lack of support; one that is aggravated by what Richards' feels is an absence of reciprocity on the part of elected leaders.

And yet, the roof repair that Richards alludes to is in fact itself an ongoing government project in the Haida reserve community of Old Massett, funded and operated under the auspices of the local Band[2], the Old Massett Village Council. Replacing older, and often leaky, shingles, the durably coloured metal roofs the Band provides for its members dotted the community when I arrived in the field, their number steadily increasing as time went on. Offering protection from drafts and shelter from Old Massett's frequent (and chilly) rain, new roofs represent an immediate improvement in the quality of life of individual families. At the same time, they act as (hopefully) durable symbols of an effort by the Band to work in the interest of its people, to support them as they have been supported by them.

The support displayed in "doing a roof" and the food that Chief Russ distributed are in a certain sense tokens of the same type. In the first instance, they signify attempts by political leadership in Old Massett to provide for their people, at the very least symbolically. Indeed, Chief Russ' gifts of flour, potatoes and sugar are basic cooking requirements for most Old Massett families, while is it hardly possible to overstate the significance of solid roofing in the damp climate and sometimes violent winds of Haida Gwaii. Chief Russ' food and the OMVC's roofs are, in other words, figures of necessity. That fact that both hereditary and elected leaders in Old Massett are concerned in this sense with the immediate necessities of their constituents is,

[2] Bands in Canada are administrative political entities, created most often as a result of colonial intervention. They refer both to groupings of Native peoples on associated reserve territories and the immediate governing entities for those peoples.

I would contend, telling. It reflects what I will argue in this chapter is a long-standing but still evolving political-ethical notion of "care" in the Haida world; one, further, that plays a potent role in the political imaginations of the people of Old Massett. As I will sketch out, this is a mode of "care" that brings together an expectation that a leader *takes care of* their people, ensuring that their needs are met, and, equally, ones that holds leaders to account in *caring about* their people, showing their constituents the respect and reciprocity whose absence Tom Richards felt so keenly.

As Richard's criticisms suggest, however, this "care" is not always achieved by individual leaders; rather, a leadership oriented to care is as aspirational as it is actual for my interlocutors in Old Massett, a way of figuring how leaders *should be* for community members and standards to which leaders themselves can strive (or can be expected to strive). In fact, as I will argue in this chapter, the aspirational quality of this figure of "care" is central to the social and political work that it accomplishes within the Haida world. It anchors a different mode of future-making from those we have seen previously, constituting idealized futures that work retroactively to critique governance in the present. Unlike the future-perfects of Haida mobility, the futures that "care" sketch out do not gain their social power from their performative certainty. Quite the opposite, it is the very fact that leaders *do not* always satisfactorily conform to standards of "care" that gives political future-making its ethical significance here. Through contrasting the leaders of the present with the ways in which they "should be" (though perhaps never will be), I demonstrate, my interlocutors gain an important resource for navigating the complexities and contradictions of a political landscape dense with governing bodies. In order to understand the significance of this work, however, it is useful first to have a basic sense of the political entities currently active in Old Massett.

Governance in Old Massett

As I briefly noted in Chapter 1, the Haida residents of Old Massett are subject to a myriad of distinct governing entities. Chief Russ, for instance, is a Haida Hereditary Chief, leader of one of the islands' exogamous, matrilineal clans. In pre and early contact times, these clans were the sole political entities on Haida Gwaii, each an autonomous polity, possessing exclusive rights to certain territories and resources on island. The role of clan leadership, consisting of chiefs and matriarchs - senior and respected women in their clan who provide counsel on clan priorities, proper behavior, ceremonial and cultural questions, and in at least some cases chiefly succession – was to coordinate the resource gathering activities of their clan members and manage the clan's material and symbolic property. The clans were in certain senses competitive, but they were also profoundly interdependent – there were, and are, for instance, certain ceremonial responsibilities that can only be fulfilled by the clan of one's father, which will always be different to one's own due to the matrilineal nature of clan affiliation (cf: Boelscher 1988; Swanton 1905).

This political landscape was fundamentally reshaped by violent disruptions to and transformations of Haida life in the late 19th century. Small pox and other introduced diseases literally decimated the Haida population, obliterating some clans entirely and leaving others with perilously few members. So too, the coming of missionaries and colonial officers radically reshaped the ways in which Haida social and cultural life could be lived. The clan system did not disappear entirely in the midst of such radical transformations, but it was suppressed with the institution of colonial laws banning the potlatch and its associated materials and, perhaps even more potently, through the exacting force of missionary disapproval. As the clans were pushed into the "background" of Haida public life, the settler government divided the islands' population into two Bands, Old Massett and Skidegate, associated respectively with reserves at the north

and south ends of Haida Gwaii's largest island. As part of this division, the Old Massett Village Council was established as the Old Massett Band's immediate governing entity, a role that continues into the present. In contrast to the hereditarily appointed Clan chiefs, the OMVC is composed of an elected eight member Band Council drawn exclusively from Old Massett Band members, supported by a large staff of (Haida and non-Haida) civil servants. Often referred to simply as "the Band" by its members, OMVC exists at a sometimes ambivalent intersection between its history as an organ of the Canadian federal government and its role as a pseudo-autonomous Haida municipal government serving the interests of the people of Old Massett (Stearns 1981; Boelscher 1988; Brink 1974).

A more recent addition to the Haida political world is the Council of the Haida Nation. Originally a legal entity that was mandated in the early 1970s to advance a single Land Title Claim for the entire Haida Nation, the CHN has come to act as what one of my interlocutors described as a Haida "federal" government. In this capacity CHN administers a variety of different functions on island beyond the Land Title Case itself, including Haida resource management, though it remains technically independent from the individual Haida Bands. All Canadian Haida are considered to be members of CHN, whether or not they also belong to the Old Masset or Skidegate Bands. Like OMVC, the CHN is a democratic entity, with an elected president, vice-president, and representatives from Old Massett, the Haida town of Skidegate, and various British Columbian urban centers in which Haida live. A joint "Chief's Council" has also been established in connection with CHN. The Chief's Council represents chiefly authority in the context of the CHN's own political actions and provides seats to every individual Hereditary Chief, though, at least in theory, each individual Chief remains responsible primarily for their own Clans.

And these are only the islands' (at times complexly) Haida governments.[3] Since the late 19th century, Haida Gwaii has been asserted by the Canadian state to be sovereign Crown territory, subject to the federal government of Canada and the provincial government of British Columbia. At once agent of dispossession and the primary source of reserve funding, Canada also lays claim to the people of Haida Gwaii as its subjects. Under Canadian law, Haida people were (like all First Nations) considered to be "wards of the state" until the early 60s, when they were granted full citizenship and the right to vote. This means that contemporary Haida are simultaneously full Canadian citizens and constituents of a First Nation seeking self-determination within that nation-state. They are members of matrilineal Clans that have been returning to public prominence steadily in the last few decades. They are also Band members, and citizens equally of the Council of the Haida Nation, the province of British Columbia, and Canada itself.

The Expectation of Care

In short, Old Massett's Haida are faced with a dizzying array of governments making claims on their allegiance. Moreover, these governing entities function at different scales, with distinct but highly overlapping constituencies and not always clear lines of inter-governmental communication. In order to render life within these entangled spheres of political authority livable, the people of Old Massett must operate, to borrow a term from Jean and John Comaroff, on an "awkward scale" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2003). Like the Comaroffs' ethnographers, my interlocutors in Old Massett are faced with a situation in which received modes of looking at and

[3] And, as per Povinelli and Nadasdy, the work of fashioning ostensibly "indigenous" governments in ways that mirror and are responsive to the political forms and imaginaries of dominant colonial powers is at best profoundly problematic and at worst risks reiterating the very modes of colonial domination indigenous rights claims are meant to unsettle (Nadasdy 2003; Povinelli 2002).

understanding the world are no longer adequate to account for its complexity and ambiguity, a world in which the political autonomy of the local[4] has been decisively breached, undercut by colonial forces that have radically restructured the social and political horizons of Haida life.[5] Nor are Haida people are not alone in this. Rather, the forms of political transformation, expansion, fragmentation, and (re)construction to which they have been subjected to under settler colonialism and in which they themselves also engage parallels situations throughout colonial worlds. Take the terrain of Mohawk refusals between the U.S. and Canada sketched out by Audra Simpson (Simpson 2014), the ambiguous status of Aboriginal people under ever more restrictive regimes of recognition in Australia (Povinelli 2002; Povinelli 2011), or even the contradictions between indigenous peoples and the "indigenous state" of Bolivia (Canessa 2014), to name a few. In each case we can see the extraordinary complexity of indigenous political landscapes in the settler colonial present. Where, we might ask, can be found points of orientation for those who must engage within these landscapes day in and day out?

In the next chapter, we will explore a Haida institutional response to this re-horizoning, one that reflects the more general movement throughout the indigenous world to assert shared rights to sovereignty and self-determination in the face of colonial attempts at erasure. But this does not mean that the proliferation of these claims (and of the indigenous governing entities that make them) necessarily makes the situation any clearer on the ground. Rather, what am I

[4] This is not to say that Haida people existed as a cultural isolated pre-contact. Far from it, as I have argued in previous chapters, the history of the Haida Nation is itself a history of movement, of travel for trade and occasionally war, of the exchange and diffusion of ideas, of songs and dances, of stories and people (*Cf:* Brink 1974). But it is also undeniable that the political horizon of Haida Gwaii has radically shifted in the last one hundred years, wresting control away from Haida people themselves and locating it far away from their home territory in the centers of settler political power.

[5] Worth noting that Comaroff's focus is in particular on the translocal forces of global capitalism, while I am borrowing their terminology in a more settler colonial register. On the significance of capital and employment in Haida life see Chapter 2.

interested in here are the ways in which Haida people draw on a highly aspirational mode of future-making to align together the multiple and multiply entangled governing bodies active within Old Massett through their interpolation within a single ethical-political evaluative framework. What anchors this framework, I suggest, is a complex notion of "care." At once tropes, discourses, orientations to practice and relationality, and affective structure, care allows these governments to be thought together, to be imagined as part of an idealized schema in which they do not inherently contradict; indeed, in which their primary purpose is precisely to "care," for and about, their constituents. And in the attention to the basic necessities of the every-day, this model of care attempts, perhaps awkwardly, to re-orient political attention to the local, even to the relational. In so doing, "care" serves not only to sketch out a possible (or least desirable) future in Old Massett, but also to demonstrate the anxieties and inadequacies of the political present, serving simultaneously as aspiration and critique.

Through care, Haida people can align their multiple and multiply entangled governing bodies active within Old Massett through their interpolation within a single ethical-political evaluative framework; one in which their primary purpose is precisely to "care," for and about, their constituents. And in the attention to the basic necessities of the every-day, this model of care attempts to re-orient political attention to the immediate, to the relational. It sketches out a possible (or least desirable) future in Old Massett even as it demonstrates the anxieties and inadequacies of the political present, serving simultaneously as aspiration and critique.

But how is it that a notion of care has come to play this role in Haida political and ethical thought? After all, as we shall explore in more detail below, the established literature focused on Haida political life makes scant reference to any notions of care at all, much less a framework in which "taking care" and "caring about" are central to Haida governmental ethics (e.g. Swanton

1905; Stearns 1981; Boelscher 1988). Nor does care appear prominently in the larger literature on indigenous politics, save the significant exception of studies of environmental caretaking.[6] Yet over my twenty one months of fieldwork in Old Massett, conversations about leadership consistently referenced care. Granted, such references were typically made without elaboration. When I was told, for instance, that in pre-contact times chiefs "took care of people," or that the Canadian government "doesn't care" about Haida, both claims I will return to later in this article, the meaning of care, I suspect, was taken as self-evident. But it is precisely this self-evident quality, the ways in which proper forms of care can be taken as community common-sense, that gives care at once its particular ethical power and risk rendering it invisible to political anthropological analysis. In highlighting the significance of care for Old Massett's Haida, I strive to show how an entire ethical framework can be unfolded out of this seemingly mundane and taken-for-granted notion.

In this sense, this paper joins a growing body of work that attempts to foreground notions of care as fully viable political, philosophical, and/or ethical systems of value and practice. Most relevant to my argument here is the emergence of an ethics (or multiple ethics) of care over the past few decades of feminist theory (e.g. Gilligan 1993; Baier 1995; Held 2006).[7] Central to much of this work, philosopher Virginia Held suggests, is a focus on "the compelling moral salience of attending to and meeting the needs of the particular others for whom we take

[6] Though the association of Native peoples with environmentalism is itself fraught with essentialisms, of varieties both strategic and imposed (cf: Harkin and Lewis 2007). As my focus here is on interpersonal political relationships rather than environmental politics, I do not treat this form of caretaking in this essay. It, however, is a major focus of two of my dissertation chapters (see Weiss n.d. Chaps 3 and 5).

[7] Discussions of care have also been prominent in social science work concerned with healthcare and palliative care (cf: Goldfarb 2012), though a detailed engagement with this work is beyond the scope of this essay. This said, I do return, albeit briefly, to care in the context of health further down.

responsibility" (Held 2006:10). In order for this focus to be made *ethical*, Held argues, "the various aspects and expressions of care and caring relations need to be subjected to moral scrutiny and *evaluated*, not just observed and described" (11). In these general terms, we might think of the Haida figure of care with which we are concerned here as very much a relational ethics in Held's sense. And yet, they partake in different specificities. Held's care ethics, and the larger world of feminist ethical theory synthesized therein, takes as their center the relationship of care between parent and child (3). "All persons," Held writes, "need care for at least their early years. Prospects for human progress and flourishing hinge fundamentally on the care that those needing it receive, and the ethics of care stresses the moral force of the responsibility to respond to the needs of *the dependant*" (10, emphasis mine). Attention to the dependant entails an ethics that is embedded within particular relationships, that respects emotion as well as reason, and that is "skeptical of […] reliance on universal rules" (11). In adopting these priorities, Held's care ethics troubles conventional philosophical boundaries between the public (and the political) and the domain of the private and the domestic. For Held, intimate emotions and individual relationships of taking care are the crux on which ethical judgments can be made rather than impediments to the development of a truly universal (and abstract) reason (10-13). (Here again, in other words, the effort to take care's ubiquity as a sign of its significance to social life rather than restricting it to the "invisible" – and profoundly gendered - domain of the home and the mother.)

Though it shares with Held's synthesis the emphasis on attention to the needs of others, the Haida ethics of care that I discuss takes different relationships as its model. For my interlocutors, it is mutual accountability between leaders and their constituents rather than the dependency of a child on their parent that defines care as a mode of attentiveness. Particularly

significant here is the fact that the "particular others" who are the subjects of care in Old Massett are the very same people who can, in turn, ethically evaluate whether or not their leaders are truly providing them with adequate attention. This is an ethics of care, in other words, that stems as much (if not more) from the attention of the recipients of care as it does from the caregivers. Examining care in Old Massett thus allows us to expand the framework of care ethics, offering different forms of "care-full" attention from the modal (Western) case of parent and child. Yet this, too, seems very much in the spirit of Held's ethics of care, which are always "sensitive to contextual nuance and particular narratives" (10). In Old Massett, then, we see care in a different light and from a different context, one that both resonates with and yet differentiates itself from those forms of care ethics with which Held is concerned.[8]

Accordingly, this chapter explores three political contexts in which this complex figure of care is articulated within Old Massett, beginning with the sphere of Hereditary Chiefs, then moving to local elected government, before turning in conclusion to how people in Massett speak (or, rather, choose not to speak) about Canada's settler governments themselves. Before doing so, however, I sketch out a more full sense of how I am framing the notion of "care" in this chapter, drawing on two useful etymological relatives of the term as it is deployed in Old Massett, the Latin *cura* and the Haida *yaghuudang*. Building on this definitional work, I will attempt to show how "care" both speaks and is responsive to a broad set of anxieties and concerns in the Western world around the notion of political representation and accountability.

[8] There are also, of course, gendered dimensions to Held's efforts and those of feminist care ethics more generally. Part of that project is to demand equal consideration to care and other things that have conventionally been regarded as "merely" woman's work, putting these things rather at the center of an ethics that can in turn speak to all the same concerns as rational, universalist philosophies that disguise phallogocentrism (Held 2006:12; cf: Irigaray 1993). Haida care ethics, by contrast, are understood as domains of both men and women, both of whom occupy (and can occupy) public positions of leadership and/or demand accountability from their leaders.

At the same time, I suggest, it is distinctly Haida, inextricable from Haida history and the complex networks of responsibility, obligation, and emotion[9] that are entailed through Haida kinship and social relations. Or, perhaps better, it offers a particular way of reading these histories and these relations. The people of Old Massett thus draw on care to cohere a political future that is neither overdetermined by traditions – whether those of "Western" political thought or Haida history – nor unmoored from them. Rather, they show how the same forces of colonial domination that have since contact been attempting to rob Native peoples of the practical power to decide their own political destinies have in part laid the groundwork for forms of Aboriginal political imagination that can re-conceptualize settler worlds as much as indigenous ones.

Etymological Assistants

The word "care" is typically invoked by my interlocutors in Old Massett without elaboration. When I was told, for instance, that in pre-contact times chiefs "took care of people," or that the Canadian government "doesn't care" about Haida, both claims I will return to later in this chapter, what it meant to "take care" or "not care about" was, I suspect, taken as self-evident. To work out the precise coordinates of "care" in Old Massett requires teasing apart this seemingly self-evident quality and determining instead what ethical, relational and affective elements allow the figure of care to be political common sense for my interlocutors. To aid in this task, I would like to introduce two etymological relations to Old Massett's "care," the Latin *cura* and the Haida *yahguudang*. Before turning to the first of these, however, I should emphasize that I am not claiming that either *cura* or *yahgudang* are identical to care, nor are they necessarily its direct semantic ancestors. Rather, these terms are useful because each helps foreground different dimensions of what care *is* for people in Old Massett.

[9] This third element sometimes forgotten in the literature on kinship and status on the coast.

Turning first, then, to *cura.* In his philological study Security: Politics, Humanity and the Philology of Care, John Hamilton emphasizes the diversity of the semantic fields with which the term *cura* is associated in Latin usage. Conceptual ancestor of modern English's "care" and "concern," *cura*'s meaning "shifts according to *quality* and *value*." *Cura* can denote something either "physical or mental – an object of concern or the concern for an object," and it can likewise be marked "either negatively or positively." Most relevant to our investigation are *cura's* mental dimensions. "Taken positively," Hamilton writes, "mental *cura* may signify 'attentiveness,' 'diligence,' or 'assiduous administration.' It is the care one devotes to a project, the concern one exhibits for oneself and for others, or the consideration one bestows to a task or an office at hand." It's converse, negative mental *cura*, can be translated as "anxiety" or "nervous fear," a "troubling of the mind or an internal unease that impedes action" (Hamilton 2013:10–11). *Cura* thus carries a considerable ambivalence, intertwining attention with anxiety – to care for something, to pay attention to it, may indeed also "trouble the mind," leaving us anxious with worry about that which we care for, or simply anxious (a doubling which is nicely expressed in the phrases "to take care" and "to have cares").

It is this dual dimension that most helps us in sketching out "care" in Old Massett. Like *cura,* care here operates as a mode of attentiveness, in particular a paying attention to the needs and, as we shall see, the opinions of others. And also like *cura,* care in Old Massett is anxious, subject to the constant evaluation of community members and acting as a potentially troublesome burden for those attempting to demonstrate care-full leadership. Care, in other words, is a heavy and perhaps ambivalent responsibility, but by this very fact it carries an essentially social value, capable of linking together constituents and their leaders through the attention they pay to each other. This attention, as *cura*'s dual nature aids us in recognizing, can

be an act of "taking care," but it can also be a concern for others, a "caring about" that manifests just as much in the evaluation of the failings of leadership as in the efforts of leaders to show that they are attentive to the needs of their people.

In particular, it is "caring about" that the Haida term *yahguudang* specifies in the context of Old Massett. Translatable as "fit for respect," *yahguudang* too is a notably polysemic term. In her 1988 study of the management of traditional social status in Old Massett, for instance, Marianne Boelscher identifies *yahguudang* as the quality most associated with people of high or "noble" status. "As attributes of behavior," Boelscher suggests, "the high ranking person is supposed to show san guudang "high mindedness," and have a "big attitude," guddangee 7iiwan" (Boelscher 1988:70–71). Demonstrating these qualities requires not only formal distributions of property – potlatching, most iconically – but also considerable knowledge of the social conduct that is expected from people who are fit for respect. This means that being *yahguudang* requires access to considerable material, social and symbolic capital – one has not only to know what to do, but one also has to have access to those able to teach the proper social codes and cultural knowledges expected of a person worthy of respect. In turn, the validation of one's ability to enact these codes of conduct comes in the form of the public approval of other Haida. To remain *yahguudang*, in other words, necessitates the constant evaluation by and, ultimately, affirmation from the larger Haida community (Boelscher 1988:71).

If Boelscher's argument points usefully towards some of the ways in which *yahguudang* is essentially social, a quality learned from others and manifested through public attention, her emphasis on status acquisition and demonstration as the primary focus of traditional Haida social relations obscures *yahguudang's* more affective, even intimate, dimensions. Consider, for

example, the late and greatly respected Haida elder Florence Davidson's description of "respect" in the Old Massett of her youth to anthropologist Margaret Blackman:

> When I was young people used to think a lot of each other. They had more respect for each other than now. They used to invite people in and they used to bring home lots of food and they called each other "chief." Most of all they respected each other, not like today. […] When someone got married, the whole town got excited. If a Yala one [member of the Raven moiety] got married, all the other Yala run around and do work for the one getting married and they give lots of donations to the doing (Blackman 1992:136).

There are certainly material – the bringing home and sharing of "lots of food" – and socio-symbolic – the inviting people in and deferential language of using the appellation "chief" – elements to Davidson's account, aligning it in these senses with Boelscher's writing. For Davidson, though, "respecting each other" also extends further, into a sense of shared feeling. When Davidson describes the build up to a marriage, it is the whole town's *excitement* that she emphasizes. That excitement is coupled with "helping out" through labour and donation, but for Davidson the material and social dimensions of respect are not isolated from collective affects.. Being *Yahguudang*, in other words, is not simply to be "tied to a network of social and ritual obligation," as Boelscher puts it (Boelscher 1988:91), but, rather, to be oriented to others in such a way that "the desirable" and "the obligatory," to borrow a formulation from Victor Turner (Turner 1967:30), are comingled.

We can see this same comingling in the lessons about respect that Davidson received as a young girl, lessons that she learned from her own family and practiced through her relations with them. Davidson's mother taught her to have and show respect to her future husband, instructing Davidson not to "let him wash dishes or his own clothes" (Blackman 1992:94), and, accordingly, her husband would "respect you all your life" (Blackman 1992:96). Her father instructed her to show respect to others by not bragging about Davidson's own children; her aunt advised her to

show respect by inviting people for a dinner following her uncle's death (Blackman 1992:142). More than anything, Davidson's family taught her that to show respect to others was also to show respect to her own family and to herself. In her mother's words, "We belong to chiefs too and you're not supposed to talk any old way. You have to respect yourself." (Blackman 1992:96). In one sense, Davidson is indeed describing the acquisition of a cultural code of conduct, the practices and knowledges necessary in order to be "a person worthy of respect." But these rules are taught and made meaningful in the context of kin relations and the shared affects, the intimacies, that these relations engender. And these affects extend from the immediate family to the very broadest category of Haida kinship, as Davidson makes clear in her reference to the idea that every "yala" – that is, every member of the Raven "side," one of the two Moieties to which every Haida belong[10] - shared in the excitement *as well* as the responsibilities of a wedding doing.

Taken together, Boelscher and Davidson's accounts show *yaghuudang* as a dynamic social force, one that operates in public and in private as a mode of social conduct and as a way of evaluating that conduct, intertwining affect and obligation all at once.[11] In its very dynamic complexity, I would suggest, *yahguudang* operates both as a template for "care" in old Massett and as one its significant dimensions. Like *yahguudang,* "care" within Old Massett functions as a

[10] As in all Haida communities, Old Massett's clans and their individual members are divided in two moeities, some belonging to the Raven side and others belonging to the Eagle side. This fundamental division is as important today as it was in the time of Florence Davidson's childhood, a way of organizing the immediate social world[10] and the broader cosmology of Haida Gwaii alike (see Chapter 1 *ff)*. More precisely, the sides represent an over-arching structure of relation that links every Haida person together. Each side is formally exogamous, with affiliation passing through the mother's lineage just as does individual clan membership.

[11] *Yahguudang's* significance even extends beyond the human realm, as I discuss in more detail next chapter. For now, I would just note that it is no coincidence that the Council of the Haida Nation's Land Use Vision for Haida Gwaii is entitle *Haida Gwaii Yah'guudang*, "Respect for this Place" (Council of the Haida Nation 2004).

mode of attention subject to perpetual evaluation, a set of social expectations to which leaders are held accountable – standards which, as we shall see, have much in common with those laid out for *yahguudang* people. As with *yahguudang,* further, the attention that "care" entails is one that is charged with affects, as particular ways of "showing" care are rendered compelling and made to be (or at least made to appear to be) indexical of a deeper "caring about" others.

The associations I have drawn here between *cura*, *yahguudang* and care do not by any means exhaust care's semantic universe, in Old Massett or otherwise. We could also note care's strong contemporary associations with the medical world – "health-care" – or the ways in which care is linked to an intensely gendered notion of "nurturing" – maternal care, so to speak – in much popular discourse. Still further, there is the "care of the self," whether in Foucault's philosophical-ethical formulation (*e.g.* Foucault 1997) or as popularly instantiated through the seemingly endless supply of "self-help/self-care" literature. It would be remiss to suggest that these other renderings of "care" in North American mainstream society do not have their own influences on how care is drawn on politically in Old Massett. But I would also submit that these other influences operate *within* a broader figure of "care" as a mode of affect-laden attention, to others and from others. And now, with our broad definitions in place, we can turn to an examination of what this vision of care entails in the political world of Old Massett, beginning with care's role in the "traditional" political leadership of Haida Hereditary Chiefs.

Chiefly Care

Taking Care as "Making Survival"

"The chiefs," I was told by a local leader soon after I had begun my fieldwork on Haida Gwaii, "always used to be on the bottom of the pole because they took care of people." The

"pole" the phrase invokes is both literal and metaphoric. In the literal sense, it refers to "totem[12]" poles, the towering cedar pillars emblazed with carved images of Haida crests and historico-mythical figures that stood in front (and identified) every major longhouse before the 20th century (Swanton 1905:122) and continue to be raised to mark important buildings and sites on Haida Gwaii into the present day. The expression pictures a Haida traditional past in which figures representing clan chiefs were placed at the bottom of these house-poles, giving the chiefly figure the appearance of literally "holding up" the other figures on the pole. Significant here is the fact that totem poles typically depicted only the crests or stories belonging to a chief's clan (or occasionally the clan of their spouse), meaning that the "people" a chief took care of were first and foremost their own lineage group – or, to put it in more appropriately Haida terms, their family. The expression thus provides a potent model for Haida leadership, one that is grounded in a claim to how things "used to be" in the traditional Haida world.[13] By its logic, to "take care of people" is, first and foremost, to possess a particular ethical disposition towards them. The "caring' chief must put the needs of their clan and family above their own personal interests, supporting them in every way they can. Equally, they must not be "stuck-up," but

[12] The appropriateness of the term "totem" in regards to so-called "totem poles" is debatable, reflecting a colonial history of the (mis)representation of First Nations traditions and cultures. The term does, however, remain a very common usage in British Columbia to describe carved house-poles, memorial-poles, and other forms of northwest coast monumental art, particularly by non-Native people.

[13] The Haida world was decimated by the a series of smallpox epidemics in the mid to late 19th century, resulting in the loss of a huge percentage of the islands' population. This was followed by the arrival of missionaries, the annexation of Haida Gwaii by the Crown, and the establishment of reserves and an Indian agency on the islands along with European-style government organization (Brink 1974; Boelscher 1988: ch. 2). For many of my interlocutors the primary referent for "traditional" life is the period before these tremendous changes took place. (This said, it could certainly be argued that the category of tradition is perhaps more properly moral than it is temporal, projecting a time of "proper" Haida social order and organization that describes how things should be as much as how things truly "were.")

rather recognize that caring for their people is a heavy responsibility, one requiring humility and willingness to be always *for* one's clan

With such an orientation in place, the next question is *what,* exactly, a chief should do in order to properly take care of their people. For Tom Richards, himself an incumbent chief, the most important responsibility of a Haida Hereditary Chief is, as he puts it, "to make survival." To make survival is in the first instance to assure the necessities of one's clan members. Chiefs, Richards tells me, are "supposed to make sure their [clan] is looked after, they're going to have food on their table." A chief, in other words, must guarantee the survival of his clan as a unit by assuring that its members can literally survive, securing care in the most material of senses. This responsibility is mediated – and, in a sense, constituted – by the nature of Haida clans themselves as corporate, property-holding entities with exclusive rights to certain territories and resources on Haida Gwai. These include, as summarized by Boelscher:

- major salmon spawning-rivers
- halibut and cod banks off shore
- important berry patches (especially cranberry and crabapple
- bird nesting sites
- rights to stranded whales on the coastline near lineage-owned lands
- trap and deadfall sites for land mammals along rivers
- access to house sites in ancestral villages (Boelscher 1988:36)

In the traditional system[14], Boelscher argues, "while resource ownership is shared by the entire lineage, and access to its resources is provided for all its living members, the management or

[14] As I suggested in a previous note, the temporal status of "tradition" in the Haida world is complex. On one level, Haida notions of "traditional Haida culture" are grounded firmly in local (and a few anthropological) understandings of pre-contact and 19th century Haida cultural practices before the massive traumas and shifts of the last one hundred and fifty years. This past – understood as a time when Haida cultural practices were coherent and undisrupted - acts as an anchor for claims to tradition in the present. Consider here my introductory example of the chiefs who always *used* to be on the bottom of the pole. As this example suggests, however, tradition also lives in the present as a moral formation, a distinct way of organizing, understanding and evaluating social relations available to Haida people. Tradition is thus both real and ideal,

"stewardship" of the corporate estate is in the hands of the lineage chief" (Boelscher 1988:36–37). As "stewards" of their clans' lands, chiefs are tasked with overseeing the resource gathering activities of their clan members and, in theory, hold the rights to final decisions on allowing non-clan members to hunt, fish or gather on clan territory.

In Swanton's 1905 ethnography, the primary significance of this management role is implied to be the opportunity it allows for individual chiefs to accumulate property and thus increase their own personal prestige. The increased rank of the Chief, in turn, is understood to benefit their clan's overall standing (*e.g*. Swanton 1905:66–71). From this perspective, the clan works primarily *for* the chief, producing the resources that s/he can then use to hold feasts and ceremonies and thereby increase their own status; only indirectly increasing that of their clan. Richards' characterization of a chief that "makes survival" inverts this assumption, figuring the chief as steward not only of territory and resources, but also of people, responsible for *their* survival precisely because s/he is in the position to manage the clan's resource-gathering activities. Which may indeed have always been true of Haida political life, if we take the iconography of the "chief on the bottom of the pole" to mean what my interlocutor argued for and couple it with the limitations of the European imaginary of political authority with which Swanton and his fellow ethnographers were operating (and more on this in my next section).

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history and theory, factual and moral. Ethnographic accounts of Haida life have for the most part been concerned with describing this traditional system, though their understanding of *what* it means to describe a traditional system has shifted markedly from Swanton's apparently objective descriptions of Haida life to Boelscher's characterization of Haida traditional categories as flexible symbolic resources invoked creatively towards the ends of individual actors, with other scholars falling somewhere between (Swanton 1905; Stearns 1981; Blackman 1992; Boelscher 1988). My goal in this chapter is not to make a decisive claim about tradition's status one way or the other – rather, I attempt to draw on it as my interlocutors do, simultaneously concrete and proscriptive, a structure *for* Haida life *qua* Haida, but also flexible, creative, and open to transformations. Accordingly, I refer to claims about the Haida traditional world in the present tense, even when the rules and structures they describe do not reflect the complex reality of the lives of Haida people when taken in isolation.

Whatever its status as a historical argument may be, however, Richard's characterization of a chief that "makes survival" is a powerful moral claim about political life in Old Massett's present, about the work that Haida chiefs *should be doing* and what they *can do* in the future in order to act in what is for Richards the proper "chiefly" manner.

Nor is Richards' program for chiefly care limited to the "traditional" political world alone. Recall that the traditional precepts of land and resource ownership have been complicated considerably by co-existing regimes of territory and governance which have emerged in Old Massett as consequences of colonial intervention and domination. In particular, chiefly capacities to manage their clan's lands and resources are seriously constrained by the fact that the territory reserved for the Old Massett Village Council is legally mandated to belong in common to *all* Band members, whatever their clan affiliations and, likewise, the ways in which the Council of the Haida Nation works to claim and manage the lands and resources of Haida Gwaii for all Haida. For Richards, however, these facts do not diminish a chief's responsibility to provide for their clan. They simply shift the terms through which a chief can make survival. Subsistence certainly remains central; chiefs, Richards tells me, should "make sure [their people] get their share of food fish when it comes into the community," referencing CHN and OMVC's fish distribution programs (and more on these later). Even if they do not control the distribution of food, in short, a chief still must assure that their clan remains fed.

And it is *their* clan. As Richards' emphasized over and over again, a chief must always be working for their clan first and foremost, their particular matrilineal lineage and its members. While this means that chiefly responsibilities form one very significant dimension of what Bolescher characterizes as "the networks of mutual rights and obligations" that structure the ways in which Haida think about kinship (Boelscher 1988:36), it also means that chiefly politics

– and, indeed, Haida clans in general - cannot be separated from the complex tissue of affects that are shared between families, something which exists far in excess of the formal symbolic analyses of Boelscher. A chief's "people" are also their brothers, sisters, aunties, and uncles, their cousins, nephews, and nieces, and their mothers and grandmothers. So too, clan members relate to their chief as a family member as well as a political leader, him or herself a parent, child, uncle, aunt, or cousin to each and every person in the clan. For Richards', in other words, the particularity of the clan/kin/family unit cuts across the "abstract" equality of OMVC and CHN's officially democratic vision of elected representation.

As we shall see, the very specificity of this mode of chiefly attention is deeply if implicitly tied into anxieties that emerge for my interlocutors in consideration *of* those elected governments, but the fact that Richards is discussing a profound intertwining of what in Western political theory are often sharply distinguished as the spheres of "family" and of "politics"[15] might also aid us in understanding Richards' own expansion of the requirements of chiefly care beyond direct resource management. Discussing the payments given to Hereditary Chiefs by the CHN for attending Chiefly Council meetings and other events, Richards tells me:

> You know, [the chief] can take his share from going to the meetings and, you know, taking the trips and that, but by all means all the money that he's making should go the clan, so the clan has a system to fall back on, just pay for their needs like hospital and funeral services and the potlatch and things like that.

Consider how Richards' delineates "needs" in this statement. He begins with the "hospital," situating us again firmly in the realm of direct survival; indeed, the claim that a chief should use his resources *qua* his chiefly position to make sure his clan receives adequate health-care seems a quite natural progression of a concern with their subsistence. But Richards is concerned with

[15] A distinction which, of course, Foucault also famously trouble(E.g. Foucault 2007; Foucault 1978)

more than the physical well-being of his clan members. Equally important are their *social* needs – note that his next item is "funeral services," reflecting the fact that funerals and, especially, memorial dinners are perhaps *the* most common community ceremonial events in Old Massett. This social ubiquity does not, however, diminish the fact that memorials are also moments of profound emotional significance for kin and community members mourning their deceased loved ones. Putting on an appropriate mortuary dinner is thus an obligation on multiple levels, a requirement in order to show public respect for one's late kin while also the appropriate moment for surviving family members to end their mourning and "let go" of their loved ones. For Richards' to highlight it is to show his own sensitivity to both the social dimension of Haida life in Old Massett and the emotional, chiefly care that crosses between facilitating formal obligations and affective support. Finally, Richards' designates potlatching as a clan need (as opposed to an exclusively chiefly one), suggesting that potlatches can be sites of *clan* distinction and reciprocity rather than preserves of chiefly status-building alone.[16]

Which is also to say that the possibilities and constraints for chiefly leadership today are sharply distinct from the era that Swanton wrote about. And necessarily so. Chiefly leadership in the present forms only one layer of the larger Haida political landscape, and a leader like Richards must confront the question of his own value and necessity in a way that would not have made sense a hundred years ago. So too, what it means to "manage" resources for a clan, to "make survival," takes on a markedly different salience when "resources" are construed within a capitalist cash economy within which many Haida have limited incomes. In order to act "traditionally," as a chief "should," Richards must in fact look forward, attempting to understand

[16] They also, it was suggested to me by an OMVC officer, represent a way for food and gifts to be redistributed to community members who may be in need without any social stigma.

how chiefly leadership can fulfill the needs of the present and the future without losing its specificity as Haida. This is, to put it mildly, a challenging and ongoing project.

And not just for Tom Richards. Take Chief May Russ, *Taawga Halaa Leyga*'s, potlatch. In classic accounts of Haida Gwaii and the Northwest Coast, recall, a potlatch is primarily a site of chiefly status advancement. The more guests a chief invites, the more status a chief gains for themselves and for their clan, making the impetus to host the largest event possible one of personal and social advancement, the careful (re)production and manipulation of a social hierarchy in which one's own interests are advanced in competition with other chiefs (*e.g*. Swanton 1905; Boas 1982; Codere 1950). In these renderings, particularly Swanton's, clan members are figured at best as attendants, gaining indirect prestige from their chief's actions and participating out of familio-political obligation. And there are elements of that interpretation that remain true today. Notions of status and rank remain alive and well in Old Massett, though as much as icons of historical lineage as based in present social action, and potlatching is mandatory for Hereditary Chiefs to be publically acknowledged as such in the community and to be offered a seat at the Chief's Table under CHN – which, mind, is itself a quite recent addition to Haida political life, traditional and otherwise. But Richards' account helps us render alternative narratives of Chief Russ' potlatch. It allows us to see Russ' distribution of food as not merely an attempt to gain status through property distribution, but instead as a public, performative claim of a commitment to "taking care" of her clan and of the community by at least symbolically "making survival" for them.

And it allows us to recast the role of Russ' clan in the potlatch, likewise. A chief cannot hold a potlatch on their own. The level of resources necessary – totalling many, many thousands of dollars, a tremendous output of food and gifts, and the labour to prepare a dinner for more

than five hundred people, is absolutely prohibitive for any individual or small group. Rather, in order to potlatch, a chief *must* have the support of their clan – their clan must be willing to donate their money, their time, their labour, and their food, and equally they must be willing to dance and publicly affirm their support for their incumbent chief. A potlatch, in other words, is a site of tremendous mutual attention, of care *for* a chief just as much as a site in which a chief attempts to show that they are able to take care of others. And, Richards tells me, it is a tremendous amount of work for a chief to prove he is worthy of that attention: "You're supposed to earn it before you take a position like that," he tells me, "which is help your community out, and your family, and your clan." When I ask him about chiefs being "on the bottom of the pole" he responds, "Yeah, they hold everybody up, that's how it is."

Representation

Working together to put on public dinners and potlatches, "dos," as people call them, is not the only way in which clans and their members operate in relationships of reciprocal attention with each other. As one of my interlocutors put it, chiefs are "spokespeople" for their clans. They are expected to speak for their clan in public ceremonial and political contexts, protecting and advancing the interests of their people through discursive eloquence while maintaining decorum and dignity. Stearns labels this dimension of chiefly responsibility "expressive leadership," the "function of articulating the views of constituents and fulfilling their expectations of the chiefly role" (Stearns 1984:200). While for Stearns, expressive leadership is portrayed as a right seemingly derived from clan hierarchy,[17] many of my interlocutors

[17] More precisely, Stearns, following Swanton, contrasts the "expressive" leadership of lineage chiefs with the "instrumental" leadership of "house" chiefs, suggesting that in the pre 20th century Haida world the role of the highest-ranking chiefs was primarily a symbolic one. This both in in the sense that high-ranking chiefs acted as symbols of their clan and that they were the foremost managers of their clan's own symbolic property and resources (Stearns 1984:199–201;

emphasized how the right to "speak for" a clan derives in large part from a chief's willingness to listen *to* their clan, to "sit down with them," as a common Old Massett turn of phrase goes.

Which is that say that, for the people of Old Massett, representation is a dynamic and generous idea, a mode of accountability and a way of thinking about the political *and* ethical responsibilities of leaders and non-leaders alike to be respectful, reciprocal and even inspirational. This was expressed to me eloquently by Carol Dean, who, since her homecoming, has become very involved in the life and work of her clan:

> The chief represents the clan. My chief represents us. I don't know how the other clans work so I couldn't comment on them, but in my clan our chief does not go in and represent our clan without speaking to the matriarchs and the clan members first. And I think that's the role of a chief. […]. Our chief, talks with our matriarch a lot, and we talk with the family a lot, you know, not just about politics, because my clan is really out in the community, you know, they're the fighters, they're the volunteers. They do a lot in the community, and that's the way our chief and our matriarch have it. We just glance over and if they shake their head we're up, and we know it.

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cf: Swanton 1905:60–75). Whatever its veracity as a historical claim about pre-20th century Haida political organization, it is not difficult to imagine how vigorously Tom Richards might disagree with the idea that chiefs have ever been or could ever be absolved of "practical" duties toward their clan, whatever their additional symbolic roles. Such a disjuncture not only points to the ways in which "traditional" models of authority are complex and open to multiple interpretations rather than static depictions of unchanging cultural realities (cf: Richland 2008), but it also aids in us recognizing potential lacunae in the Haida ethnographic record that reflect the dominant modes of thought of previous ethnographers. To wit, ethnographers from Swanton to Stearns have described Haida politics in terms overdetermined by notions of power and control. In their depictions, chiefly leadership becomes almost solely concerned with the mobilization of physical and symbolic resources to further the chief's own status; likewise, the distribution of authority in the Haida world comes to be reducible to an economy of control, with discussions of the "roles" of chiefs pivoting fundamentally on which chiefs control which sectors of social life. In Foucauldian language, we could say that these interpretations rest firmly on a "repressive" notion of power, with little interest in its productive dimensions (Foucault 1977). Equally, we might detect in such arguments a (not necessarily conscious) way of thinking about "traditional" societies as essentially despotic, implicitly contrasted with more "equitable" and "modern" forms of political organizations – a legacy of anthropology as "handmaiden of colonialism," perhaps (*cf:* Asad 1975).

In Dean's terms, representation is a product of a responsible interaction between chiefs, matriarchs, and other clan members. The chief's role is to act as the voice of this collaboration, but it is the clan who authorize his or her speech, and it is their interests that the chief represents when s/he "goes in" to meetings and ceremonies. In this sense the chief is fundamentally accountable *to* their clan in how s/he represents them,[18] making representation another moment in which being a leader in the Haida world is understood to require putting one's people *first*; care from the bottom of the pole rather than a right accruing from simply being "at the top" of a hierarchical system. This is particularly important because the sites of chiefly representation have expanded dramatically from the formal, "traditional" Haida world of Stearns and Boelscher's focus; indeed, we have seen this already hinted in Tom Richards' note about chiefs making sure their clans are adequately provided for by CHN and OMVC distributions of food fish. Chiefs are expected to represent their clans in meetings with the Canadian government, in conversations with elected Haida leaders, in their own joint meetings at the chiefly table, to name only a few.

Moreover, as Dean makes clear, those same collaborations that authorize chiefly representation can also act as sites of moral guidance and integration for the whole clan. Chiefly consultation, "talking with the clan," becomes a moment in which the clan's values can be aligned. Here, then, another facet of care's affective charge, a Durkheimian vision of clans building shared meaning through "talking with each other," perhaps not as dramatic as Durkheim's own examples but in its own sense effervescent. And the attention that these meetings cultivate can be so sensitive that Dean feels her clan members need only receive the subtlest of signs from their leaders to be compelled to take action in the community (and note

[18] As an Old Massett elder put it to me, "chiefs should be involved with our political world but they have to be accountable to their own clans."

too, in passing, to what extent Dean highlights community care as the object of her clan's actions). In these instances, we see that representation can work both ways, a role taken on by clan members when they act in public with chiefly authorization just as much as one the chief performs when he or she speaks at meetings and ceremonies with the authorization of their clan.

This is not to say that the mutual attention of chief and clan is always achieved. Indeed, in my time in Old Massett the most frequent criticism I heard of chiefs was an unwillingness to "sit down" with their clan members, to listen and then represent their interests accordingly. In some cases this might be attributed to a chief's inexperience or lack of awareness about his or her responsibilities, but more disturbing for some of my interlocutors was the possibility that a chief might become "too close" to the elected governments on island, attending meetings and appearing at public events but forgetting the attention, the *particularity* that Richards argued so strongly defined chiefly responsibilities. We might ask, then, how the landscape of chiefly leadership in Old Massett *could* be reconciled with electoral politics and the abstracted sense of equality (and equal representation) through which contemporary democratic governments operate. This is no easy question, but just as these notions of "care" offer potent ways to critique leaders who fail to "take care" or "care about" in the proper ways, they also provide an aspirational site through which cohesion *can* be imagined, a way of aligning leaders together across the different modes and scales of government in a commitment to take care of and care about their people. Per this aspiration, as Tom Richards has already suggested, chiefly care is not the only form of political care that Haida people receive, but is rather the most intimate, a care that operates not only in a traditional framework but also by particularizing and personalizing the equality of democratic politics so that a chief's people can be sure that they are "taken care of" by a leader who is directly accountable to them. This, as we shall see, *compliments* rather than

contradicts the way in which care (or the expectation of care) operates in the context of the island's elected governments, to which I now turn.

Care in the Context of Elected Governments

To be a "Haida Provider"

The roofing project that formed the substance of my second introductory scene is not the only project through which the Old Massett Village Council aims to "take care" of its constituents. Mostly notable for our purposes, both OMVC and the Council of the Haida Nation operate food distribution programs, providing salmon, halibut and herring roe for their citizens in the summer and turkeys at Christmas.[19] The modes of distribution vary – Christmas turkeys, for instance, are handed out individually in bags heavy with sacks of onions, potatoes, and, of course, the sizable frozen turkey itself, while the summer's food fish is often distributed in large filets taken right from the back of a truck packed with salmon and halibut, to be taken inside and cooked or frozen right away. The intention behind these programs – at least in an official sense – is aptly symbolized by the name of the vessel that was being used by CHN during my fieldwork to catch fish for distribution: *The Haida Provider*. To provide for people, to take care of them by "making survival:" *The Haida Provider* indexes this as a public priority of the largest elected Haida government, one that is in turn shared by the Old Massett Village Council itself.

But this is in a rather different sense than that envisioned by Tom Richards. Neither OMVC nor CHN's food distribution programs would be enough to feed a family day to day. Instead, they are carefully chosen alimentary items which index each government's aspiration to distinctly Haida modes of leadership. To give out food fish – the pre-eminent staple of Haida diets since time immemorial and favourite foods in the present (and this not even going into the

[19] The latter funded in part via on-island trust money.

vital reciprocal relations between humans and salmon that engender ceremonies such as that which welcomes the first salmon back into the island each spring) - shows both a sense of respect for and continuity with Haida history and tradition and a concern for contemporary quality of life and nutrition. It is to be a "Haida provider" in multiple senses, indicating the will to provide care for Haida citizens in ways that are traditionally legible but no longer limited to the responsibilities of clan chiefs alone. Likewise, to provide turkeys at Christmas marks the Band as sensitive to its members' social needs. Christmas is a major event for many families in Old Massett, and it is not uncommon for individuals to spend entire weeks in late December going from one Christmas dinner to the next at the houses of various different relatives, friends, and loved ones. In attempting to aid Band members in hosting and preparing these dinners, OMVC is performing its understanding of and support for the social events that matter most to its citizens, a care that it is affective as it is traditional. Through these efforts, the elected governments not only attempt to show that they *are* acting as Haida leaders, they also work to create solidarity with Haida citizens who by accepting the gifts, implicitly acknowledge the elected governments as legitimate leaders – or, rather, leaders who carry a deeper legitimacy than that which is conferred by election alone.

This does not, of course, mean that either the roofing program or the food distributions are panaceas for local acceptance of the policies of its elected leadership. (Indeed, the people of Old Massett can be (and often are) vocally critical of policies with which they disagree and priorities which they find misplaced.) These programs can, however, be understood in the manner of a baseline, a minimum standard of "taking care" that the people of Old Massett expect from their elected governments. Recall that Tom Richards' oblique reference to the roofing program from our opening was itself framed as a critique of other elected leaders not assisting in "doing roofs"

themselves. Whatever else their elected governments do, in other words, their Haida constituents expect them to be able to provide for their people, assisting with the necessities of the every-day, food shelter, &c., demonstrating a commitment *to* the every-day lives and needs of their citizens. (It is no coincidence that another major site of government attention and community expectation is the generation of employment for Haida people, we might add). And, worth noting, these are expectations to which elected leader can *always* be held responsible, whatever their particular priorities or positions, something which is especially important as there are no "parties" in Haida electoral politics to mandate coherence across the positions of individual elected representatives. This allows Old Massett residents to maintain a stable baseline standard for the most basic attention they require from their elected governments across the specificities of individual elected leaders and the composite governments they form.

Accountability

It is the reception of the efforts of OMVC and CHN to be "Haida providers" as the minimum standard of "taking care," the most basic necessary attention that elected governments should be offering their citizens – and the critique of its absence – that I think distinguishes the political landscape of Old Massett. Or, more precisely, it is the capacity *for* this reception. The notion that a government should take care of its citizens, that is should provide and help them provide, is not, after all, absent from discourses of liberal democracy writ large. Consider the 2009 inaugural address of Barack Obama, for instance, when he promised a government that "works," which he elaborated as meaning that it helped "families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified." Obama similarly promised leaders, "those who manage the public's dollars," who will be "held to account" to make sure they act wisely,

responsibly, and transparently.[20] What is left unclear in President Obama's speech, however, is just *how* he and his government *can* be held to account by the American people should they break their promises.

The situation for elected leaders on Haida Gwaii is rather different. This, in an immediate sense, because of size. A clan chief can (and indeed, should) know each and every member of their clan personally. They are family, after all. But even the elected leaders the Council of the Haida Nation itself, responsible for a community of approximately six thousand Haida, are personally known by many of their constituents or via inter-familial connections.[21] Even more significantly, as I have already begun to suggest, there is a strong shared sense among people in Old Massett that their leaders *should be known* to them, that they *should* be *directly* concerned with their day to day needs and necessities, their opinions and perspectives on community issues. It is not enough, in other words, for a leader to proclaim that they will "take care" of their people through speeches. It must be *shown* through a leader's attention *to* their people, through caring about their needs and their perspectives, and, especially, through their direct accountability.

Which, in the context of "Western" political theory, presents something of a paradox. Political theorist Carl Schmitt famously (or perhaps notoriously) argued that endemic to the very idea of democracy was a contradiction between the role of the people as legal subjects and as themselves the law-making, sovereign power. Arguing that the very essence of sovereign power is the ability to transcend the laws in order to define them – "sovereign is he who decides on the exception," to quote Schmitt's most well-known formulation (Schmitt 2005:5) - Schmitt

[20] Text taken from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/20/us/politics/20text-obama.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

[21] A fact which was emphasized to me very strongly when I was paid a visit by the then Vice President of the Haida Nation because her auntie has suggested to her that she speak to me about my research.

suggested that there was a basic incoherence to the notion that a democratic public could be understood to be to be subject to laws that were of their own making. This contradiction renders democratic governance inherently unstable, its leaders unable either to act as properly transcendental, Hobbsian sovereigns or to be *truly* accountable to the public will because of their law-making (and thus exceptional) powers (Schmitt 1985). For Schmitt, a transcendent sovereign simply cannot be accountable to their legal subjects without losing the very thing that *makes* them sovereign. From this perspective, the promises of a figure like Obama are *by definition* impossible to fulfill, evidence of a basic structural confusion that defines democracy, engenders dissatisfaction in its citizens, bad faith in its leaders, and leaves the entire system perpetually open to crisis.

It would, of course, be simple to say that elected leaders on Haida Gwaii are resolutely *not* transcendent sovereigns, ensconced as they in complex colonial entanglements, over-determinations, and negotiations, and thus Schmitt's cataclysmic contention does not apply. But I think that underestimates the extent to which Schmitt's argument reveals a general anxiety at the heart of democracy, an indeterminacy that adheres within leaders as those who can make law while still somehow remaining subject to it. This means simultaneously that it is difficult within democracies to know *how* leaders can be held to account for their actions except through the electoral process itself, and that once leaders are in place their claims to wish to "provide for," to "take care" of their people carry an unavoidably uncertain status. Which is perhaps precisely why seminal democratic theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau eliminated care completely as a possibility for political leaders. In The Social Contract, Rousseau argues that there is only one primary difference between the authority of a father over his children and a ruler over his people:

> The only difference is that, in the family, a father's love for his children repays him for the care he bestows on them, while in the state, where the ruler *can have no such feeling*

> *for his people*, the pleasure of commanding must take the place of love (Rousseau 1968:51, emphasis mine).

I find it striking that Rousseau simply takes the premise that a ruler is incapable of caring for his people as a given in his argument. In so doing, Rousseau effectively hives off political leadership from personal relationships, asserting, indeed, that it is the very *absence* of interpersonal connection, of *care*, that is the distinctive feature of political rather than parental authority. This *pace* older models of sovereignty like that of medieval theorist Bodin, who argued that the authority of the father and the king are themselves nested microcosm of the divine authority of God, a being whose care for human-kind is all-encompassing, if also most definitely beyond human understanding and design (Bodin 1955).

That Rousseau marks this break in the context of an immediately pre-revolutionary France seems to me to be hardly a coincidence, as it firmly (if implicitly) rejects the idea that the paternalism of a king could be an index of genuine care for his subjects rather than simply a disguise for "the pleasure of commanding." Rousseau's state is neither an extension of the family nor one component in a divinely ordained "great chain of being." Rather, it is the rational product of a social contract, through which the people can truly rule themselves as sovereigns and subjects all at once (Rousseau 1968:62–64). But there are issues with Rousseau's approach. Principally. if Schmitt is correct and this aspiration is structurally impossible in the context of the European tradition of sovereign statehood, then Rousseau's elimination of care leaves us with the rather bitter irony of a leader who can neither be held accountable through the structure of governance *or* be expected to care for their subjects. We are left with a truly capricious ruler, one who could be concerned only with their own capacities for domination and the pleasures derived thereof – which, we might add, resembles strongly the imaginary of "traditional" leadership with which John Swanton and his successors seem to be operating in their approaches to Haida

politics. In other words, when one is operating within a tradition of political theory that has long understood care and political authority to be incoherent, it becomes especially easy to figure "non-democratic" societies as being governed through what is effectively hierarchical self-interest. Likewise, it severs democratic leaders from the expectation of (or perhaps even the capacity for) interpersonal responsibility, leaving the subjects of democracy with the (according to Schmitt impossible) hope of a leadership that is accountable simply *because* it is democratic.

My interlocutors in Old Massett favor a different option, one that suggests that it is through the cultivation of proper modes of attention, of "caring about," that the ambivalences of electoral accountability can be negotiated. Over and over again, the people with whom I spoke emphasized to me the importance of an elected leadership that is transparent, that holds regular community meetings, that communicates honestly and in detail with its citizens about in-progress projects and ultimate goals. Above all, my interlocutors sought an accountable leadership, a leadership that listens to its people and makes decisions based on their needs and *their* perspectives. This position was put forth elegantly to me by Nonnie Laura, who had been a Band Councillor for a number of years. The Band Council and the CHN, she told me:

> They have to include the community. You can't just do it on your own, expecting them to be happy with what you have chosen. It's the people that voted you in, that, that have the right to know what you're doing. […] That's the way it should be done, you have to include the community. Not just on, on certain subjects, education or housing, it has to be done right across the whole table, everything has to be included, to include the community, *because it's their lives you're supposed to be looking after (*emphasis mine).

For Nonnie Laura, the *reason* that Haida governments need not only to be accountable to their citizens but to include them directly in the decision making process – "you have to include the community," she repeats multiple times – is because they are responsible for "looking after" the lives of their citizens. It is the responsibility of leaders to care for their people that precisely

necessitates an accountable governance. Through the act of voting, Nonnie Laura explains, Haida citizens are entrusting their lives to their elected leaders, and it would be a violation of that trust to "expect them to be happy with what you've chosen" for their lives without including them in the conversation. To act for one's people, in other words, requires listening to them, a mutual attention in which leaders and their constituents "sit down" with each other and discuss issues "right across the whole table." And this not because of any inherent property of democractic sovereignty – elected leaders as embodiments of the public will *tout courte* – or the paternalist generosity of rulers, but rather from a fundamental premise that leadership itself is a responsibility to take care. In this sense, Nonnie Laura's argument mitigates the abstracting quality of democratic political organization, the separation between citizens as social people in determinate relations to each other and as "a people," subject-sovereigns of a polity. Instead, Nonnie Laura takes leadership as essentially relational, grounded in trust, care and reciprocity that must be *enacted* through mutual attention in public meetings and community involvement.

Which is not to say that this is attention without its attendant anxiety. Central among these are questions of *who*, in fact, are being listened to *as* community members. This was explained to me by William Stevenson, a well-respected Haida artist and community member, as a risk adhering in part in the way political organization plays out on island:

> What I see in the past 10 years or 20 years is that political groups tend to happen in households and in coffee shops and then who do the people have to answer to: Those people in the coffee shops? The people on the street corners? The people in individual houses? While shutting out a lot of the population.

How, Stevenson asks, can an elected leader represent people with whom they have no personal connections (as through households), with whom they have no social relationships (as in coffee shops)? Likewise, he troubles the notion of a "public" meeting, suggesting multiple meeting spaces with varying degrees of intimacy and intersection that allow political powers to

germinate. Rather than taking relationality to be incommensurate with democratic leadership, in other words, Stevenson suggests that the dilemma of electoral accountability is precisely the particularity of relationships, the privileging of certain connections above others, and the inability to know the needs of constituents one does not, in fact, know.

As with the particularity of chiefly leadership, it requires careful (or, rather, care-full) management in order to negotiate the perils of a relational politics within an ostensibly abstractly equal democratic space. This negotiation is itself anxious, tacking as it must between developing a reciprocal attentiveness between leaders and their people and mitigating the risks of a particularity that excludes. For Stevenson, at least, achieving this balance could be possible, as he explains to me, as long as elected leaders are making the effort to communicate openly and transparently, to genuinely and in good-faith keep their community informed of their decisions and to *listen* to their constituents' opinions and perspectives. Which is, to put it another way, that dimension of "caring about" which we have been exploring throughout this paper. And taken together, Nonnie Laura and William Stevenson help us see how elected leaders can *"*care about*"* their people, just as the food distribution and roofing programs formed a minimum standard for how they can "take care" of them. In so doing, they show how, through care, people in Old Massett are attempting to at once work through the challenges of a hyper-complex political landscape, rendering its ambiguities into relationalities, its ambivalences into coherent expectations *and* through some of the most intractable questions of "Western" political thought. They may not "solve" them, but what is most significant is that they have grounds on which to envision strategies at all, ground which derive, I think, as much from the values and expectations that I have already shown adhere within and towards chiefly leadership, leaders who are also expected to "take care" and "care about," provide for their people and listen to them, and leaders

who are *by definition* enmeshed in webs of complex relationality, of kinship, with their constituents. Indeed, perhaps we could imagine the relationality for which Nonnie Laura argues as a bringing in of the intimacies, affects, and expectations of kinship into the seemingly abstract realm of electoral politics, a making sure that leaders know, to draw on Sahlins' recent (re)definition of the notion of kinship, that they are part of a "mutuality of being" with their constituents, "intrinsic," as Sahlins puts it, "to one another's existence" (Sahlins 2013:2)

Conclusion – On Aspiration and Relation

Which I think makes it extraordinarily telling that so many of my interlocutors felt there was relatively little worth saying about the Canadian government itself. Indeed, across my interviews I have many hours of discussion about political expectations and understandings of traditional leaders and of elected Haida leaders, but my questions about Canadian governments often elicited short, rather blunt responses. Tom Richards' was particularly succinctly: "So that's my opinion of them [Canadian politicians], they're greedy. They're just the same as anybody else, *they don't care*." To not care, following our notion of care, means to *not* pay attention, to be unwilling to provide and put one's people forward – leading from the bottom of the pole, as it were – and, equally, to resist "sitting down" with one's people, avoiding meeting with them, listening to them, and showing respect and building relationality. And, given the long history of marginalization and violence towards Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the theft and exploitation of their lands and resources, it hardly surprising that Richards concludes that Canadian elected leaders have failed at demonstrate care. Canada's governments have never shown any kind of commitment to the values that Richards' believe constitute real leadership. To him, they (or at least their representatives) are "greedy," purely self-interested without regard to the needs of others. What purpose could there be, then, in offering long assessments of Canadian

failures when there isn't even a possibility they *could* enter into respectful relationships with the Haida Nation? If leadership is understood as relational, as requiring a care that is also a commitment to reciprocity and respect, then it is a damning indictment of Canadian Aboriginal policy that my interlocutors do not even consider them worthy of critique, suggesting that it is not even imagined that Canada has the *capacity* to act as a proper government.

For this to change, Nonnie Laura told me, "the province and the federal government, they have to sit down and have respect for the Haidas, as they do other First Nations." So far, she said, "it seems like when we finally get someone to talk to us, sit down and have respect for us and we have respect for them, something else comes up and gets dumped on our lap that disrupts everything." The way to move forward, in other words, lies in "sitting down," in demonstrate precisely the mutual, reciprocal attention, the care, that the people of Old Massett expect from their leadership and aspire to see as the central concern of their governance, whether it is chief to clan, Band to members, or nation to citizens. Canada's failure now does not mean it need fail in the future, nor, indeed, that the vision of an elected government committed to "taking care" of and "caring about" its citizens in ways oriented by a respectful and mutual, affectively charged attention need be limited to the indigenous world alone.

But this is not the only possible future that Haida people envision for their relationships with the political leadership of settler Canada. As we will explore in the next chapter, the Council of the Haida Nation itself gained its current significance through its role in protecting Haida Gwaii from the threat of environmental exploitation from Canadian government and corporate interests. Such threats point towards a nightmare future in which Haida Gwaii is devastated by ecological disaster, leaving it unable to be a true home for Haida people. In positioning itself against this nightmare future, I suggest, the CHN produces a particular form of

authority for itself. At the same time, it expands the boundaries of "care" from human to human relations to the relations of humans with the non-human, with the flora and fauna, the lands and seas, of Haida Gwaii.

Chapter 5: Precarious Authority: Arendt, Endangerment and Environmental Protection on Haida Gwaii

It is August 15th, 2013 and the wind is up in the appropriately named Hlk'yah ḠaawḠa (Windy Bay). The sound of singing and drumming from the water competes with the gusts of wind, energizing the considerable crowd that waits by the bay, in windbreakers and Haida ceremonial regalia. On the horizon appear canoes rowed by Haida youth, proudly singing a song in Haida known in English as "the Lyell Island song." The song commemorates events that took place in this very bay two decades prior, when an alliance of Haida and non-Haida blockaded the island of Athlii Gwaii (Lyell Island) in order to oppose a massive logging campaign that threatened to deforest the southern regions of the islands of Haida Gwaii, then called "South Moresby." The rowers have been training for months to make the journey down to Athlii Gwaii, learning the skills and acquiring the appropriate conditioning for the arduous journeys by canoe which were their ancestors' primary mode of transportation. Their canoes flank the Gwaii Haanas Legacy Pole, a new pole carved by Jaalen Edenshaw for the occasion, now almost finished its transit by barge across the waters that separate Graham Island, Haida Gwaii's primary inhabited island, from Athlii Gwaii. The pole is due to be raised in Windy Bay to commemorate the Lyell Island blockade and its ultimate result: the constitution of the "South Moresby" area as the Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve, protected from logging and ultimately marked as a UNESCO World Heritage site, Haida Heritage Site, and National Marine Conservation Area Reserve.

The "legacy" represented by Edenshaw's pole is multi-faceted. In one sense the pole memorializes the struggle at Athlii Gwaii itself, the many Haida and their environmentalist

allies[1] who faced loggers and police, overcame discomfort, difficulty, and, in some cases legal detention, and "held the line" on Athlii Gwaii, to borrow the common phrase still used on island to describe the blockade. At the same time, the Legacy Pole speaks to the paper struggle that followed the blockade, the negotiations between Haida and Canadian government representatives that produced, first, a provisional commitment from the federal and provincial governments to protect the South Moresby area, 1988's "South Moresby Agreement," and, finally, 1993's "Gwaii Haanas Agreement" between the government of Canada and the Council of the Haida Nation. Said Agreement states that, notwithstanding their differing views on the sovereign status of the islands of Hwaii Gwaii, the governments will work together "to constructively and co-operatively share in the planning, operation and management of the [Gwaii Haanas Heritage Site]" based on their shared recognition that the area is "one of the world's great natural and cultural treasures," to which "the highest standards of protection and preservation should be applied."

The protecting parties appear clear in the Agreement; indeed, their respective claims are given in two parallel columns on the document's first page. On the right side of the page is the government of Canada, which claims Haida Gwaii alongside all of Canada as "Crown land," subject to the "the sovereignty of Her Majesty the Queen" and "the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada and the legislature of the province of British Columbia." To the left is the Council of the Haida Nation, which sees the islands as "Haida lands, subject to the collective and individual

[1] We will return to the relationship of non-Haida enviromentalists to the Haida protestors at Lyell further down. Indeed, the transition of the defense of South Moresby from a more purely "environmentalist" concern to a primarily "Haida" one is central to our story.

rights of the Haida citizens, the sovereignty of the Hereditary Chiefs,[2] and the jurisdiction of the Council of the Haida Nation" (Gwaii Haanas Agreement 1993:1-2). The parallelism between the two parties is palpable, indexed by their textual alignment in two columns. Both the government of Canada and the Council of the Haida Nation are jurisdictional entities, operating under the sovereign power of traditional, hereditary leaders, their claims to Title over the islands of Haida Gwaii and Gwaii Haanas in particular equally total and inherently contradictory. (This contradictory equality, we might add, is slyly subverted in the pole itself, which features prominent depictions of Haida watchmen and figures representing the Haida who held the line at Lyell, with only a small face, named "visitor," representing, according to Parks Canada, "people who come and experience Haida Gwaii." And though Parks Canada's website states that the Eagle at the pole's top and the Sculpin at its base symbolize the Agreement between the Canadian government and the CHN, Edenshaw's choice to use Haida crest figures for both animals makes quite clear that this is a pole commemorating a Haida legacy, first and foremost.[3] Echoes here, perhaps, of the historical role that poles played marking particular clan territories, all of which were ignored in the refiguring of Haida Gwaii as a *terra nullius* wilderness at the disposal of settler society. See Chapter 3 *ff*).

What one might not guess in reading the 1993 Agreement is that, at the time of its signing, the Council of the Haida Nation was barely twenty years old. Originally established in 1974 in order to advance a unified Haida Land Title Claim on the part of all Haida citizens[4] (cf:

[2] The relatively clear statement here that Haida sovereignty is vested in the Hereditary Chiefs is muted in later CHN documents, particularly as the CHN itself has incorporated (or attempted to incorporate) the Chiefs into its own governing structures as the Chief's Table.

[3] http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/bc/gwaiihaanas/natcul/natcul5/natcul5b.aspx

[4] From the minutes of the Council of the Haida Nation, Executive Meeting Saturday, December 7, 1974: "BE IT RESOLVED THAT this Convention direct the Executives in the formulation of a proposal for negotiating a land settlement, the Executive seek the formalization and retention

Gill 2010:41), the Council of the Haida Nation has emerged in the past three decades as what one interlocutor described to me as the "federal" to the two Haida band's "municipal" governments[5], an overarching Haida government with an elected president, vice-president and a series of representatives, its own laws, a constitution, and a mandate that includes fishing, marine and forestry concerns on island alongside the advancement of the ongoing Haida Land Title Case. The CHN, in other words, acts very much in the mode of a Haida democratic nation-state, albeit one complicated considerably by its status as a nation-within-a-nation in Canada.

But, crucially, it was not constituted in 1974 in this state (pun intended), fully formed. Rather, as I will argue in this essay, it was in large part the events at Athlii Gwaii that allowed the Council of the Haida Nation to manifest itself *qua* nation-state. Or, more precisely, it was what the CHN's involvement in the Athlii Gwaii blockade and its aftermath represented. In taking action at Athlii Gwaii, the CHN materialized itself as *the* overarching Haida political entity responsible for the protection of the lands and seas of Haida Gwaii, already exercising the sovereign rights and responsibilities it was attempting to (re)claim from the Canadian colonial state. The Council of the Haida Nation emerged in its contemporary form, in other words, out of the promise to *take care* of Haida Gwaii, the traditional territory and ancestral home of the Haida Nation, and its concomitant efforts to position itself as capable of fulfilling that promise in relation to Canadian settler society and Haida people alike. In this sense the CHN expands the

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of aboriginal title rather than the surrender of their aboriginal rights forever" (http://www.haidanation.ca/Pages/history/chn.html, accessed April 27, 2014).

[5] Though this is not an uncontroversial position in itself, and the precise relationship between CHN and the Old Massett Village Council in particular is the subject of continuing negotiations, the chronicling of which is somewhat beyond the scope of this essay. Sufficient for our purposes here is to note that the analogy of "federal" to "municipal" does not reflect any official hierarchies between the governments, which are technically independent of each other with overlapping citizenry. See Chapter 4 for more on how Haida people in Old Massett negotiate the complexities of these and other issues of overlapping governmental jurisdictions.

boundaries of "care" on Haida Gwaii from the forms of accountability and attention in inter-human relations that we have already seen in Chapter 4 to relations between humans and nature, and then turning this rendering of care to distinctly, and significantly, political ends.

They are not alone in this. By contrast, Jake Kosek has suggested that, drawing on Foucault, that "acts of caring, improvement and stewardship of the health of land and people" can be conceptualized as "pivotal to the formation and reproduction of institutions and subjects of governance." Focusing on the work of Forest Services in northern New Mexico, Kosek argues that "acts of nurturing nature," of care, "create the conditions through which subjects are hailed, natural essences become fixed, and regimes of rule are reproduced" (Kosek 2006:69). Unlike Forest Services, however, the Council of the Haida Nation is not a well-established node within a larger complexes of settler governance, nor is it backed by the authority of a colonial nation-state. Rather, the CHN is an emerging indigenous government, rejecting Canadian state authority in its claims to self-determination for the Haida Nation even as it is solicits the recognition *of* that claim by that very state authority. As a recent entity, moreover, the CHN does not have a *de facto* relationship with Haida citizens; quite the opposite, as we have already seen in Chapter 4, CHN is by no means the only game in town when it comes to governance on island. The CHN thus must also solicit the recognition by Haida people that it *is* a (or rather, the) Haida government, one that would be able to represent Haida needs and rights to colonial Canada.[6] Entailed and Pressupos as we have who also need to recognize it. CHN must thus rely on the performance of a particular kind of good governance, of care, in order to ground its authority. Through enacting care, I suggest, the CHN can both presuppose and entail its authority as a legitimate government on Haida Gwaii. By seeking to take care of the islands, CHN

[6] As Danilyn Rutherford reminds us, performances of sovereignty are always oriented to different (at times conflicting) audiences (Rutherford 2012).

demonstrates both that it has a right *to* take care of the islands and that it is already, in fact, doing so. In this way this chapter compliments the previous one, demonstrating a quite different mode through which the notion of care is used to ground a Haida future-oriented politics, embedded here not in the everyday expectations of accountability of leaders to their citizens, but rather in a notion of accountability to the land that works retroactively to legitimize those accountable, a theme to which I also return in detail in the essay's second part.

The events surrounding the Athlii Gwaii blockade thereby take on a critical significance for the production of the authority of the Council of the Haida Nations. In this essay, I suggest that the "line at Lyell" stands as a moment of what Hannah Arendt referred to as "foundation," in which the CHN cohered itself as a quasi-nation-state analogous to Canada itself. Indeed, the profound significance of these events to the CHN is reinforced by the fact that the "Lyell Island Song," the very same that was sung by those young canoe paddlers at the raising of the Legacy Pole, has also been adopted as CHN's national anthem. The first section of this chapter accordingly explores the events surrounding the Athlii Gwaii blockade as a Arendtian moment of foundation for the CHN, one that continues to authorize its jurisdiction into the present day.

At the same time, however, the ecological protection from which CHN draws continuing authority complicates Arendt's past-oriented temporality, as threats to Haida Gwaii's natural environment in the face of deforestation, marine degradation and potential oil spill remain ever-present despite the successes of Gwaii Haanas. This means that the promise to take care of the islands that authorized the CHN's foundation *qua* nation-state is inevitably open, and this in two senses. In the first, it is a promise that cannot be resolved as long as Haida Gwaii's environment remains perpetually precarious, a precarity that stems in part from the fact that the CHN must act within the constraints of Canadian settler rule and thus cannot ultimately guarantee the protection

of the islands. And yet conversely the authorizing force of the promise to take care of the islands depends precisely on this precarity, the fact that Haida Gwaii needs perpetually *to be* protected. This in turn enables the authority of the CHN to be reinscribed, a ward against the precariousness of its own positionality. The second half of this essay explores this complex temporality, showing how a foundation in precarity rewrites Arendt's orientation to pastness and instead presents a figure of authority that draws simultaneously from the past and the potential future in order to continue to authorize politics in the present. Future-making, in other words, in an anticipatory key, demonstrating how the anticipation of a nightmare future retroactively authorizes certain actions and entities in the present (see also Chapter 3). Equally, the ways in which this form of future-making invokes and reiterates a particular reading of the (Haida) past offers a striking example of how different modes of future-making act as lenses through which the past can be read, interpreted, and taken up in the present and for the future.

Athlii Gwaii as Founding Moment

Arendt and the Temporality of Foundation

In her essay "What is Authority," Arendt identifies the concept of authority as Roman in origin, deriving from the Latin *augere*, to "augment." And what "authority or those in authority augment," Arendt writes, "is the foundation" (Arendt 1968:121–122). In its original context this foundation was that of the city of Rome, and those in possession of authority in the city's present were always those who could trace their descent or transmission (or, rather, tradition) from the founders of Rome themselves. This means that "the authority of the living was always derivative […] upon the authority of the founders, who no longer were among the living" (122). While power, in Arendt's reading, is grounded in the ruler as such and relies on violence or persuasion as its means of compulsion (92-93), authority comes from without, from the shared social

recognition of a past foundation that compels through tradition itself. The past, in other words, is always present in Arendt's reading of authority. More, it acts as if to *structure* the present, legitimizing a social hierarchy and a particular distribution of authority within that hierarchy.[7] But the "as if" is important. The past does not structure the present of its own volition, nor can it act through some manner of ontological fiat. Rather, the past is always manifested in and through actors in the present, by those who wield authority or symbolize it by their very nature as elders and, even more significantly, by the rest of the social body that *recognizes* the authority of these elders. By definition, Arendt tells us, authority cannot coerce. Were it to do so, it would lose authority's distinctive quality and become instead simply another mode of power. Instead, Arendt quotes Mommsen in referring to authority's claim as "more than advice and less than a command, an advice which one may not safely ignore," one which is binding, Arendt adds, without requiring either "the form of command nor external coercion to make itself heard" (123). Without the social recognition of authority, both in its modes of sedimentation via established social hierarchies and in its individual moments of deployment and response, it would be effectively meaningless.

The past, in other words, was not simply present in the life of the city of Rome. Rather, the past was perpetually *made* present, its founding authority simultaneously presupposed and entailed through the continual (re)assertion of the past's very authoritative character as such. Which is why, I think, Arendt argues that the loss of stability in contemporary understandings of the past constitutes such a major crisis for authority itself (95). What has been destabilized in

[7] The structure of authority is visually by Arendt, through the image of an "inverted pyramid," its peak reaching into the earth in the same manner as Rome's hierarchy in the present is oriented towards the city's foundation in the past. Authority is concentrated at the pyramid's tip – the highest level of Rome's hierarchy – because of its relative proximity to this foundational ground from which authority derives (124).

Arendt's characterization of "the modern world" is precisely those system of traditions that could allow the past's authority *qua* foundation to be continuously reinvoked and thereby reinscribed. This in turn means that, for Arendt, authority itself has now vanished (91-95).

One of the contentions of this essay is that, *pace* Arendt's bold assertion of authority's contemporary absence, the Council of the Haida Nation draws on a distinctly Arendtian mode of authority "from without." As we shall see, this authority is constituted through a complex temporality, one that articulates with the precarious future and both immediate and distant pasts. But as with Rome itself, what makes these multiple temporal strands cohere together as a source of authority for the CHN is the foundation. Or, rather, as noted above, it is the fixing of a particular series of historical events *as* foundation, both in the moment of their occurrence and in their continual reiteration as such into the present. In what follows I characterize the events surrounding the Athlii Gwaii blockade and the creation of the Gwaii Haanas heritage site as foundational in this sense for the Council of the Haida Nation. Though my account relies primarily on official CHN sources and journalist Ian Gill's recent pseudo-hagiographic history of the Council of the Haida Nation, this is not because I take these records to reflect the "whole" story of the events surrounding Athlii Gwaii. Quite the opposite, it is their very partiality that I rely on. Foundational events, as I have argued, require reiteration, and it is the very way in which official histories of Gwaii Haanas (re)figure those events as the story of the CHN that forms the site of my analysis. That the blockade and its aftermath have significances that exceed this narrative is certain; indeed, were the events at Athlii Gwaii not deeply and multiply meaningful to many Haida it would not be able to serve the CHN *as* a source of foundational authority in the first instance, a point to which we will return later. But for now, at least, we are (necessarily) in the realm of heroic history.

Preludes to Athlii Gwaii: *Duu Guusd Tribal Park*

In 1981, the Council of the Haida Nation, under the leadership of Grand Chief Percy Williams, designated an area of about 150,000 hectares on the northwest coast of Graham Island as the Duu Guusd Tribal Park, subject to the Haida Nation's protection, and petitioned the province to defer all development plans within the park's borders (Haida Laas 2010:4). It was, suggests Ian Gill, an "audacious claim given that, as with South Moresby, the Haida had no more *legal* right to declare one square centimeter of Crown Land a park than did anyone else" (Gill 2010:102). This assertion accompanied a formal land claim, the CHN's Declaration and Claim to the Haida Gwaii, also put forward that year, and indexed what Gill characterizes as a "re-construction" of the CHN after a period of relative inactivity in the 1970s (100-102). The twinning of the claim to Haida Land Title together with the pursuit of ecological protection on island was a deliberate move, its logic well expressed at the time by Percy Williams himself:

> These existing aboriginal rights are limited only by the capacity of what the land and sea can produce, and defined again by the laws of nature and common sense which ensures we sustain those rights through successive generations. Degeneration of the land and sea will further reduce our rights; therefore we have a moral obligation to defend our resources and determine the fate of our tribal territories (Williams, quoted in Pinkerton 1983:68).

As Williams expresses here, the loss of Haida lands and waters to ecological degradation is itself a blow to Haida aboriginal rights, reducing the territory and resources to which the CHN lays claim for all Haida people. Environmental protection thus becomes inextricable from sovereignty, acting simultaneously as an exercise of Haida rights and their existential guarantee. More, it is a *moral* responsibility, one that Williams gives as incumbent for Haida people and that is rendered compelling by the simultaneous invocation of "natural law" and "common sense." It is, in other words, natural, moral, and sensible that Haida people should defend Haida lands, both for the sake of their rights in the present and, significantly, so that these rights can be

maintained into the theoretically infinite future of "successive generations." The figure of the Haida caretaker presented here fuses the political and the ethical, construing a Haida polity whose rights - and, by implication, existence - are inextricably linked to the ecological health of the islands.

Equally, Williams statement renders it self-evident that the Council of the Haida Nation, already charged with advancing the Title claim to Haida Gwaii on behalf of all Haida, should be actively defending the islands' environment. What is audacious in this is not just, as per Gill, that the Council of the Haida Nation was acting without settler legal rights to make claims upon Crown land, but also that, in so doing, the CHN was bringing itself into being as a governing entity *capable of* acting upon those lands in the first instance. Recall that at this point CHN was only seven years old, and that these declarations marked its first substantive activity in the Canadian public sphere. Even more significantly, the CHN was the first governing entity (at least *in potentia)* founded on Haida Gwaii since pre-contact times that was not the product of Canadian settler intervention[8]. Instead, as former CHN officer and artist Michael Nicoll Yahgulanaas put it, "[t]he CHN is not registered, mandated or otherwise defined or dependent upon the laws and customs of Canada or the United States. CHN authority flows directly from the land through Haida lineage" (Yahgulanaas, quoted in Gill 2010:100). By this logic the CHN can be seen as a genuinely autonomous indigenous government, but it is nonetheless one that exists *within* the boundaries of Canadian settler colonialism in a general sense and, more specifically, in a political landscape already (at least overtly) controlled by the institutions of Canadian governance. If the claim that CHN's authority flows from the land is in one sense a bold assertion of a CHN authority that transcends the proximate and imposed "laws and

[8] As noted in Chapter 4, the Haida Band Councils were colonially mandated municipal entities funded by the Canadian federal government and subject to its management and regulation.

customs" of settler polities, it also indexes the very precarity of that authority, which can *only* stem from sites not already overdetermined by colonial domination.

The designation of Duu Guusd Tribal Park can be seen as a move precisely to carve out a space of autonomous authority for the CHN that could supersede the impositions of colonial rule. By drawing on an image of Haidaness as inextricable from the lands and seas of Haida Gwaii, the CHN and its representatives worked to ground themselves as an autonomous Haida government charged with the protection of those lands from government and corporate incursion in the present, and so as to preserve this emplaced Haidaness and the site of its emplacedness for future generations. It is no coincidence that this operates through the assertion of particular spaces as preserves of "nature." As we have already explored in Chapter 3 (primarily via a different Williams), the constitution of "nature" as a space essential opposed to *qua* untouched by "man" is a major trope in Western settler understandings of the environment(Williams 1980; Cronon 1996). In declaring portions of Haida Gwaii as "natural spaces," the CHN effectively weaponizes this logic, construing at least part of the islands as necessarily out of reach settler corporate and government interests. At the same time, it figures itself *qua* the Haida Nation as an entity that has both the right and the responsibility to take care of this landscape, a move which draws in part on already established settler representations of Native peoples as being themselves parts of "nature" (cf: Harkin and Lewis 2007; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991:Chapter 5). This is, to reiterate, precarious work in 1981, given the CHN's relatively newness as a Haida government (just as much for Haida people themselves as non-Haida) and the absence of colonial acknowledgment of its existence. Moreover, in comingling Haida rights and the protection of nature, the CHN leaves open the possibility that non-Haida who also claim particular affinities to nature might also wish to join the cause without necessarily sharing in the project of the assertion

of a distinctly Haida sovereignty over the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii (parallels, again, to Chapter 3). In order to understand the events of Athlii Gwaii as the next moment in the CHN's uneasy trajectory, then, we need now turn to another site of precarity: the environment of Haida Gwaii itself.

Preludes to Athlii Gwaii: Endangerment

The first chapter of Elizabeth May's Paradise Won: The Struggle for South Moresby begins with a vignette in the mode of a parable. She opens with the image of a lone kayaker in the waters of what would eventually become Gwaii Haanas. He has been alone for days, save for a fleeting vision of "an Indian warrior" among the "decaying totem poles" at the "sites of ancient Haida villages" where the kayaker has been making camp. But it was only "a ghost or his imagination, or a bit of both" (May 1990:4). The kayaker voyages on through this seemingly abandoned landscape haunted by the ghosts of ancient Haida until, suddenly, his solitude is broken by the cry of an eagle. Soon after, the kayaker discovers the corpse of a bald eagle, "magnificent," unmarred by death. May gives us the Kayaker's thoughts: "This should be preserved, […] It should go in a museum" (5). Following this impulse, the kayaker stuffs the eagle with moss and begins to carry it with him, the mournful calls of the eagle's mate following him in his travels. Upon his return to the water, the kayaker draws an image of an eagle on his sail, mimicking one "on an old pole he had seen at an abandoned village"(5).

The perspective now shifts to that of a Haida man, looking out into the water. The man notices the approaching kayak with the eagle on its sail and, May tells us, "it was like nothing he had ever seen on earth" (5). The kayaker and the Haida man meet and the kayaker lifts the eagle from his vessel, thinking to give it to the other man so that it can be taken to a museum. This exchange follows, ending the chapter:

> "Why do you bring me this eagle," the Haida man asked.
> "Because there are so few of them left," came the answer (6).

The kayaker, we will later be told, was Thom Henley, future environmental activist. The Haida man was Percy Williams, just a few years before he assumed leadership of the CHN.

There is much to unpack in May's narrative, not the least its blurring of ancestral Haida and natural landscapes or its implication that a non-indigenous environmentalist "gave" the concern for ecological protection to a contemporary Haida leader. What I would like to highlight for now, though, is the dying eagle and the trope of endangerment that it invokes. Endangerment, Tim Choy writes:

> is a key trope in environmental politics. It structures images of simultaneous tenuousness, rarity and value. To speak of an endangered species is to speak of a form of life that threatens to become extinct in the near future; it is to raise the stakes in a controversy so that certain actions carry the consequences of destroying the possibility of life's continued existence. Species can be endangered, as can ecosystems (Choy 2011:26).

As May's account continues, it becomes clear that the uncertain future of Haida Gwaii's eagles is meant to be metonymic for the islands' environment as a whole: valuable, unique, and under considerable threat. Indeed, take Percy Williams own reflections on the encounter at a 1974 Skidegate Band Council meeting, as quoted by May: "[…] But I realized what this young man said was true. Most places in the world there aren't many eagles left. I realized that what we have here is special and that, if we don't take care of it, there won't be any place like it left in the world" (May 1990:22).[9]

[9] Though both Williams and May assert the significance of preserving the natural environment of Haida Gwaii, this does not necessarily mean that "nature" carries the same meaning for both of them. Rather, as I've suggested in Chapter 3, even the most passionate of settler ecologists (or perhaps, especially the most passionate of settler ecologists) have difficulty recognizing that, for most Haida, the islands of Haida Gwaii are not a space of "untouched nature" but one, rather, of complex Haida human and non-human relations that carry associated rights and responsibilities.

Which begs the question of why Haida Gwaii had, by the mid 1970s, become so palpably endangered. The short answer given by both Haida and non-Haida activists at the time and reiterated in contemporary accounts was the settler lumber industry, which was clearcutting between 3,000 and 4,000 hectares of good or medium quality timber on island annually (Gill 2010:107). Said clear-cutting produced a destructive domino effect on the islands eco-system, as summarized in the Council of the Haida Nation's 2004 Land Use Vision:

> On the land, logging has greatly changed the age and character of the forest —out of balance with the ability of the land to function and replenish itself. Habitat places for cedar, salmon, bear, nesting seabirds, hawks and many other things have fallen to economic interests in timber. The measured flow of water from hillside to stream and ocean has been disrupted, and the modern community economy is at risk because of a few short decades of short-sighted policies and practices (Council of the Haida Nation 2004:13).

Here, in other words, the logic of May and Williams' metonymy. No forests, no waters, no fish, no eagles, no Haida Gwaii, at least as the "special place" of Williams' statement. For activists like Henley as for the emerging leaders of the CHN, uncontrolled logging could thus be constituted as a threat to "the possibility of life's continued existence" on Haida Gwaii.

More, the danger of mass logging to these actors was not just the threat it posed to the land and seascapes of Haida Gwaii or to the Haida rights said territories embed and embody. Rather, it put to the possibility of being Haida itself at risk, as future CHN president Guujaw made clear in a 1982 interview with environmental documentary film-maker David Suzuki:

> Guujaw: […] Throughout these islands now, most of that type of a watershed has been changed for all time by logging, and our people have determined that Windy Bay and some other places in the Charlottes[10] must be left in their natural condition

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As we shall see, the CHN eventually addresses potential confusions of this nature (pun intended) by undertaking the blockade on Athlii Gwaii as an exclusively Haida activity.

[10] The Queen Charlotte Islands, the 20th century Canadian settler name for the islands of Haida Gwaii until it was officially replaced by Haida Gwaii, the islands' Haida name in the early 2000s.

> so that *we can keep our identity and pass it along to future generations. A forest like that, the ocean and those things, are what keep us as Haida people today*.
>
> Suzuki: And if they're logged off?
>
> Guujaw: If they're logged off we'll probably end up *the same as everyone else*, I guess (Quoted in Gill 2010:111, emphasis mine).

In tying Haida "identity" to the "natural condition" of Haida lands, Guujaw expands the sphere of endangerment from the ecological to the cultural. Haida people may physically continue to exist if their lands are "logged off," but that which makes them Haida, Guujaw suggests, will have vanished. Instead, they will "end up the same as everyone else," that is to say, fully absorbed and assimilated into settler society, their distinctive traditions, history, and ways of being erased. Haida culture thereby becomes as endangered as the islands themselves, tenuous, rare, and valuable, and the struggle to protect Haida Gwaii takes on the quality of a fight for the survival, not just of Haida rights or Haida lands, but of Haidaness itself.

The linkage Guujaw builds here is one that is frequently reiterated in later CHN documents and charters, as we will explore in more detail the second half of this chapter. And there is a risk to claims of this kind, as they risk conflating Haida culture with the natural landscape and thereby reinforcing settler imaginaries of Native people as themselves mere extensions of nature. At the same time, the extension of endangerment to encompass Haida people as such does powerful social work for Guujaw and his allies, allowing them to raise the stakes of their defense of the islands' environment at the same time as it positions that defense as a primarily, indeed, an *essentially* Haida issue, and one that must, accordingly, be addressed by Haida people. Strategic essentialism, *par excellence*, but also one that plays on the larger existential implications of environmental endangerment. After all, on a certain fundamental level, if the natural environment is devastated, human life as such will become unsustainable. A

claim like Guujaw's is thus a claim to difference that can also be, metaphorically, a claim to a deeper shared humanity, a way in which, by recognizing the need to care for the environment, Haida people can act as a more ethical and responsible state than the colonial state itself (cf: Muehlebach 2012).

Thus why, unlike Elizabeth May's depiction of "ancient Haida villages" decaying into the forests of Gwaii Haanas, Guujaw's assertion does not reach back to a vanishing Aboriginal past. Instead, it delineates a complex temporality in which taking action in the present – the protection of Haida Gwaii's environment – will preserve continuity with an ongoing Haida cultural history and identity - a tradition, if you will – and allow this tradition in turn to be maintained in the theoretically infinite future of "future generations." We will see this temporal configuration again; indeed, I submit that it forms the core structure of the CHN's invocation of authority as protector of Haida Gwaii. For such a structure to become meaningful, however, it requires instantiation in practice, a moment at which it is made real for Haida citizens and non-Haida alike. Which brings us, at last, to the blockade at Athlii Gwaii.

The Line at Athlii Gwaii

There comes a time
when a people got to do
what a people got to do

and when the stakes are
your land and your culture
losing is not an option

a people armed with the truth
are a people with conviction
that over-rides fear

a generation at a crossroad
chose to stand
– Guujaaw, 2010 (quoted in Haida Laas 2010:2)

It was, according to Ian Gill's account, "cold, wet and rainy all at once" (Gill 2010:127) on the island of Athlii Gwaii as three boats full of Haida arrived in Sedgewick Bay and began to set up camp in late October, 1985. With plywood bunkhouses and a cookhouse established, these Haida then set a fire in the middle of the logging road that carried trucks and loggers deep into the island's forests. In response, they were quickly confronted by a crew of loggers, who told the Haida that they were "blocking the highway," and "breaking the law." In response, newly established CHN president Miles Richardson told the loggers, "this is Haida land, and there'll be no more logging" (Gill 2010:127-128). In that moment, the CHN decisively asserted (and thereby founded) its authority *qua* nation-state. Lyell Island, Athlii Gwaii, was Haida land, and the Haida Nation, as spoken for by Richardson, had arrived to protect it. And, more, they had arrived on their own, a small party of Haida alone against, as Richardson later put it, "the whole economic system of all Canada" (Gill 2010:120).

Or so goes the myth. Not insignificant to this moment is the fact that the logging in the future Gwaii Haanas area was *not* an exclusively Haida concern. Rather, environmental activists had been advocating for its defense since the mid-1970s under the auspices of the Island Protection Society, whose founding members were both Haida and non-Haida and included Thom Henley and Guujaw himself (Gill 2010:69). For the Society, the "South Moresby issue," to use the language of the time, was an environmental issue first and foremost, albeit one into which Haida rights and culture could be folded. This is reflected in the authorship of the Society published coffee-table book Islands at the Edge: Preserving the Queen Charlotte Islands Wilderness, which includes essays from primarily non-Haida authors (with the notable exception

of celebrated Haida artist Bill Reid[11]) (Society and Cousteau 1984). It is no coincidence that this volume and its particular framing of the South Moresby issue inspired this quote from wilderness artist Robert Bateman, published in one of another wilderness society's pamphlets:

> Certain areas must be maintained so that they present a total environment, a harmonious whole. South Moresby does this now. The ecological connections of air, water, land, and life are among the most lavish on the planet. The overlay of the Haida culture and its remains is the human touch that enhances the totality (Western Canada Wilderness Committee 1985:2)

For Bateman and the perspective he represented, in short, the connection of Haida culture with Gwaii Haanas was a supplement to the larger issue of preserving South Moresby's "total environment," and a partly vanished one at that.

It was thus by no means a matter of course that the blockaders on Athlii Gwaii would be made up exclusively of Haida. Instead, as Miles Richardson told Ian Gill, it was a deliberate political strategy. Richardson's comments to Gill are worth quoting at length:

> When I got involved in politics, what went into my mind is, 'I need an issue here.' Not to make my mark as a leader – that was secondary – but to assert the Haida Nation as a nation… South Moresby was the biggest issue of the day. The challenge then came to take the huge momentum of this environmental issue, which was by then a national issue – *The Nature of Things* had done their piece, the Islands Protection Society had been doing first-class public relations and building alliances as an environmental issue - and as I saw it as a young leader, our job as the Council of the Haida was to *restore* what had *become* an environmental issue into a Haida issue. […] We needed a cutting edge. We were fighting the whole economic system of all Canada. That cutting edge was title. […] So you know, the way we did that was with the blockades. And that's why we wouldn't let anybody but Haida on those blockades. We wanted a crystal clear, unmistakable message that this was a Haida issue – it was an environmental issue, but it was a Haida *responsibility*. And that's why we did that (Richardson, quoted in Gill 2010:119-120, emphasis mine).

In the first instance, then, the significance of the South Moresby issue for Richardson was not the significance of South Moresby in and of itself, but rather in its capacity to serve as site for the

[11] Though as Reid himself did not grow up on island and only began to explore his Haida heritage as an adult, his status as being able to "speak for" Haida issues is a fraught one.

assertion of the Haida Nation. Or, rather, the Council of the Haida Nation.[12] Recall now the significance of recognition to the operation of Arendtian authority. In Richardson's rendering, the blockade at Athlii Gwaii becomes precisely the site at which the CHN can assert itself *to be recognized* as a Haida nation-state, and this in two directions. In one, from the Canadian government, legal apparatus and settler corporate interests, who are called on to negotiate with the CHN *as* representative of the Haida Nation. From the other, individual Haida citizens themselves, called on to support the blockade as a crucial Haida issue and, thereby, to support its leadership in the form of Richardson and the CHN; indeed, to be represented *by* the CHN. Here precisely is a Kosekian moment of "nurturing nature" through which "subjects are hailed" as Haida in two conflated senses – as environmental actors on the one hand, and thus constituents of the CHN as the organization spearheading the blockade for the good of all Haida. But in this this case we see not the "reproduction" of a regime of rule, but rather its instantiation.

This is in part the significance of Richardson's careful use of the language of restoration and responsibility in his statements to Gill. The CHN's job in spearheading the blockade, Richardson notes, *restores* "what had *become* an environmental issue into a Haida issue." In so doing, Richardson refigures the conceptual parameters of the South Moresby cause, shifting from the environmentalist position of *including* Haida rights as part of a set of larger issues towards one in which the protection of the Gwaii Haanas area – and, indeed, all of Haida Gwaii – are and have always been a Haida *responsibility*, one in which non-Haida organizations can take part as allies but also risk distorting. More, echoing Percy Williams, care for the islands is a right, one

[12] The slippage between Haida Nation as a general term for the Haida people as a politically sovereign entity and the Council of the Haida Nation as distinctly Haida government occurs throughout the CHN's history, in official documents as well as in quotes from significant figures such as Richardson. We will return to this slippage, and one of the ways in which it is marked in the Haida community.

that derives from the Haida Nation's ancestral title to all of Haida Gwaii, Richardson's "cutting edge" against the Canadian settler economy. Rather than a solely contemporary environmental crisis, then, Richardson reframes the defense of Gwaii Haanas as one dimension of Haida rights and responsibilities that are understood to extend since the time immemorial of the ancestral Haida world. And as agents of this restoration of Haida responsibilities, the CHN naturally takes on the character of representing Haida people as such, and, indeed, of defining what constitutes Haida responsibilities in the first instance. By this logic, the recognition from Haida citizens that the CHN requires is rendered as being always already given, and all that is left is for the settler governments to recognize the CHN as the rightful Haida Nation.

Of course, Richardson's comments are retrospective, and themselves represent another moment of the reiteration of CHN's authorization. They would not be able to serve this function if the CHN's assertion of "the Haida nation as nation" via the blockade at Athlii Gwaii had not, at least in part, succeeded, and this both with Haida themselves and, eventually, with the settler governments of Canada. Which returns us the mud and rain of Windy Beach, where the blockaders had moved their camp by mid-November, and the blockade on the Lyell Island road, the "line" at Athlii Gwaii. By this point the Haida blockade had become a significant legal issue, and a court injunction had been obtained by Western Forest Products ordering the removal of the protestors. "The island," Richardson recalled to Gill, was "crawling with RCMP" (129), and the threat of arrest for the blockaders was very real. In this fraught context, then, the next now iconic moment of the Athlii Gwaii blockade, the arrival of a small group of Haida elders by helicopter to join the blockade. Speaking to a camera recording the events of the blockade, one of these elders, Ethel Jones, framed the line at Athlii Gwaii as an essential act of protection:

> This is our land and, you know, we definitely aren't afraid of going to jail. Maybe that'll open the government's eyes. Look at this little old lady sitting in jail. For what? For protecting their land? We've slept long enough (quoted in Gill 2010:130).

The other elders echoed her sentiments. Their arrival was a powerful moment for the assembled blockaders; indeed, according to Gill it "consecrated their protest" (130).

Gill's invocation of the elders' sacrality is, I would suggest, significant. For the young leaders of the CHN like Richardson and Guujaw, the arrival of this group of elders served as anindexical icon of authorization from Haida tradition itself. Guujaw makes this explicit, telling Ian Gill that "the elders clearly represented our linkage to all our history" (131). By recognizing the CHN-led blockade as an essential Haida struggle, the elders validated the CHN's claims to be acting as the protectors, the caretakers, of Haida culture by their very presence as "representations" of all Haida history. Guujaw's logic thus frames the elders as a particular mode of authority "from without" even as it is (ironically) their very physical presence that makes that framing possible. The elders serve in his statement as durable embodiments of pastness whose role is precisely to authorize the CHN and endow it with the legitimacy of acting always on behalf of Haida tradition, Haida culture, as such.[13] (Compare with, for instance, Diane Brown's

[13] Now, one might note here, following Arendt, that these elders, who are closer to the authorizing past than the young warriors leading CHN, should in theory have themselves access to a greater degree of authority in the present than CHN's leadership. But here the fact that the Council of the Haida Nation constitutes itself as a Haida government in content rather than form is central. This is to say, it is CHN's actions, objects, and goals that connect it to Haida life and culture – namely, the assertion to and protection of Haida lands – rather than any formal similarities in CHN's organizational structure with the historical organization of traditional Haida clan governance. Which means, in turn, that the CHN has no obligation to allow Haida elders any unusual decision making power even as it relies on them as legitimating symbols of the Haida Nation's culture and history. In effect, the elders are split in two, in one sense simply Haida citizens, CHN constituents with the same influence on government as any other Haida citizen (and see chapter 4 for more on how Haida people render their expectations of their governance), and on the other living embodiments of Haidaness who confer authority but who by their very nature as icons of the Haida traditional past cannot intervene in this capacity in the political present.

reflections on the elders' arrival at Athlii Gwaii. Brown, an elder's daughter, tells Gill not that she felt that the elders brought "dignity," "validation," and "history," but, also that "they brought the future." I am not arguing here that Brown's perspective necessarily *disagrees* with Guujaw's, but, rather, that her expansion of the elders' gifts to the blockade from the past to the future suggests a quite different temporal reading of the work of Haida elders. This in turn points to the fact that the understanding of CHN stalwarts like Richardson and Guujaw were not the only ways in which the events at Athlii Gwaii were being understood by the Haida present.)

These divergent understandings did, however, not shift the larger solidarities of "the line." Quite the opposite, these were only magnified by the increasing legal opposition that the Haida faced from the RCMP, culminating in a series of arrests of Haida protesters. Crucially, the first four Haida to be arrested were the four elders who had come to join the blockade, Ethel Jones, Watson Price, Ada Yovanovich, and Adolphus Marks (Haida Laas 2010:1). More arrests followed, including that of Miles Richardson and Guujaw. Although eventually a total of seventy-two Haida are arrested over the course of the blockade, only ten were ultimately charged convicted of contempt of court and given five months jail sentences, a small group that again included Richardson, Guujaw and other young CHN leaders (1,6-7). The arrests mark the (first) climax of the blockade at Athlii Gwaii as founding narrative, demonstrating the willingness of the CHN's leadership to oppose Canadian colonial law and industry at all costs in the name of a collective Haida cause. At the same time, the shared nature of that cause was dramatically performed through the common experience of the arrests, as Haida elders and warriors, men and women were all subjected to the same legal forces. At this moment, in other words, the CHN was made visible as a political entity dedicated to the protection of the lands and waters of Haida

Gwaii and acting with the support of contemporary Haida people and Haida tradition (as represented by the elders, arrested first) all at once.

Aftermath – Paper Struggles and the Right to Manage

From this point our narrative accelerates somewhat. Though the Athlii Gwaii blockade was not immediately successful in its efforts to end logging in the South Moresby area, it brought a significant amount of Canadian public attention to the issue, something that was only magnified by the subsequent tour across Canada of the "South Moresby Caravan" (Haida Laas 2010:7). The success of the blockade, in other words, comes not so much from its efficacy *as* a blockade but from its resonance as a public performance, a staging of Haida sovereign claims which, following Danilyn Rutherford, we can see as having solicited response from multiple audiences, from Canadian state actors to American celebrities to Haida people themselves (Rutherford 2012). Indeed, its success was such that, by July, 1987, the federal government and the provincial government of British Columbia had announced an agreement to establish a national park reserve in the South Moresby area. This became 1988's South Moresby Agreement, which further mandated a $36 million dollar "community development fund" to be shared among Haida Gwaii's communities, Haida and non-Haida alike (8). The South Moresby Agreement did not, however, make any provisions for Haida Title over the South Moresby area. Indeed, as a national park, the region would fall under the jurisdiction of the Canadian federal government, meaning that, even if it was protected, Gwaii Haanas would remain out of Haida control. This was, as one might imagine, an unacceptable resolution for the CHN (Gill 2010:156-158).

Instead, Richardson argued that South Moresby needed to be managed by Haida themselves. "We didn't stand on the line on Lyell Island," he told Canadian press in early 1988,

"to have a national park shoved down our throats. Our objective – preservation – has been won. In the meantime, it's our responsibility to manage South Moresby. Anything they [referring to Parks Canada officials] do, they do with our consent. It's that simple" (Quoted in Gill 2010:156). Further negotiations were clearly required. What appears in retrospect remarkable about this, however, is the CHN had now settled into a position in which it *could* compel further negotiations with settler governments, a position in which Richardson could so readily speak for a Haida "our" which encompassed the Haida people, their rights, and the CHN as representative of those people and crusader for those rights. Which is not to say Richardson was able to compel settler recognition through public statements alone. Instead, the CHN was taking a series of actions to put pressure on Canada's governments, including refusing to allow any of the "community development fund" to be distributed until Canada acknowledged Haida Title and threatening the closure of the Gwaii Haanas area in 1989 (Haida Laas 2010:8; Gill 2010: 158). It was also undertaking a series of other environmental actions, contesting a mining proposal on the islands' north end and the growth of non-Haida owned sports fishing lodges throughout Haida Gwaii. At the same time, CHN was continuing to form itself in the mode of a Westphalian nation-state, issuing Haida passports to key figures and, in 1989, adopting an official Haida flag (Gill 2010:158).[14]

Finally, in 1993, the Gwaii Haanas Agreement was signed, and the Gwaii Haanas region was officially constituted as a heritage site under the joint management of the Council of the

[14] One cannot, of course, ignore the cunning of recognition here, the ways in which the CHN was forming itself according to a Western model of what constitutes "real" political organization in order precisely to *be* recognized by settler states as having a legitimate claim to sovereign and territorial rights. That such a process can carry devastating ambivalences and can even risk compromising the very indigenous lifeways that are being asserted as rights is at this point well established in the anthropological literature (Povinelli 2002; Nadasdy 2003). It is also, at least to a degree, beyond the scope of this essay, though I do return to the ambiguities produced by such a "state-like" approach to Haida governance further down.

Haida Nation, British Columbia, and the Canadian federal government. As I suggested in my introduction, there is a settled quality to the parties in the agreement that belies the complexity of the past decade, the ways that the Council of the Haida Nation itself was being asserted *qua* nation-state through the acts of attempting to protect the Gwaii Haanas area and asserting responsibility over it. And, indeed, the 1993 agreement could be seen to rather definitively mark the success of that project, positioning CHN as a government whose role can be understood in the same terms as those of Canada or the Province, even if those parties do not agree on which has sovereign rights to Haida Gwaii.[15] And yet, though the Gwaii Haanas Agreement may mark the stabilization of the CHN into its current form as a state-like Haida government, this does not mean that the CHN is thereby in an uncomplicated – or unproblematic - position.

Quite the opposite. As the Gwaii Haanas Agreement also makes clear, the CHN is not the only government that currently lays claim to the islands of Haida Gwaii. Moreover, the narrative I have just (re)produced makes clear that although the CHN has been a rising force in island (and provincial) politics over the past decades it has not operated, and does not now operate, from a position of strength *vis* settler governments. Instead, it operates as a "nation-within-nation," with an at best restricted jurisdiction over only certain dimensions of the governance of the islands. This is of course a familiar structure in Canada, and though the CHN *was* founded autonomously by Haida people, it nonetheless carries uncomfortable echoes of the ways in which many First Nations Bands were historically constituted under the auspices of the Indian Act as organs of limited local governance which remained fully subject to Canadian federal oversight and

[15] It is no coincidence, I think, that 2009's Kunst'aa guu – Kunst'aa ya Reconciliation Protocol between these same governments is modelled almost exactly on the Gwaii Haanas Agreement, given that it is precisely an expansion of the model of "co-management" between equally (and contradictorily) sovereign governments from the Gwaii Haanas area alone to the whole of Haida Gwaii.

regulation (cf: Miller 2000). As opposed to Rome's ostensibly "eternal" empire, then, the CHN operates in a deeply uncertain political situation, its jurisdiction contested and its citizens subject to multiple different and often conflicting governments simultaneously (see chapter 4). This is significant, particularly if we compare Arendt's account of foundation with Walter Benjamin's, as given in his "Critique of Violence." There, Benjamin emphasizes the "lawmaking" and "law-preserving" functions that violence plays in the founding and maintenance of the state (Benjamin 1986:283–284). If the founding authority of polities always emerges from violence and is maintained through violence (or at least, the capacity for violence), then the traditional reiteration of authority might be seen to play a dual function, reinscribing the authority of the state even as it conceal the means of violence that in fact make that authority possible and durable. The protests at Athlii Gwaii, in one sense, are a moment of lawmaking violence, in so far as they represent a sustained disruption of the rule of the colonial state. And yet, the CHN did not thereby wrest the means of violence from colonial control. Instead, it remains in a certain sense "in the margins" of the Canadian state (cf: Das and Poole 2004)– which at least officially retains both lawmaking and law-preserving force - even as it attempts to reiterate its authority to act as a state-like Haida government.

This means that there is a precarious quality to CHN's continuing governance and an ambiguous quality to Athlii Gwaii as a moment of foundation. And it is precisely this precarity, I would suggest, that makes the deployment of an Arendtian mode of authority so crucial for CHN. Recall that, for Arendt, unlike Benjamin, authority does not compel through coercion or persuasion, but rather through the social force of tradition itself. This is why she sees both the totalitarian *and* democratic governments of the 20th century as having lost access to the very essence of authority. But a government like CHN, operating as a "nation-within-nation" in the

context of colonial occupation, lacks access to the means of coercion in the first instance, rebellious actions aside.[16] So too, in a context as fragmentary as the political landscape of Haida Gwaii, in which Haida citizens are members not only of the CHN, but also of their particular Bands and clans, not to mention citizens of Canada, persuasion becomes a fraught possibility, one that cannot be relied on as a consistent force of compulsion. The manifestation of an Arendtian authority then becomes one of the only ways in which a political entity such as CHN *can* consistently compel. Moreover, in taking up this authority, the CHN in turn gains access to a particular and potent mode of legitimization, a way of demonstrating to Canada and other international nation-states that CHN's authority stems from a deeper history and a mode profound commitment to the land and its people than any settler government is capable of performing. So too, it gains the capacity to invoke at least the specter of lawmaking violence, a reminder that, if necessary, the Haida people *qua* CHN *will* oppose Canadian legal force for the good of the islands. It happened before, so it can (or will) happen again. Such authority, in short, carries the potential to stabilize the precarious nature of CHN's governance.

The irony is that the effort to alleviate this political precarity relies in turn on another form of precariousness, that of the ecological. It is the very fact that the environment of Haida Gwaii is so at risk that enables narratives in which the protection of the islands' land and sea scapes can become the paramount political and cultural issues on Haida Gwaii. Remember Guujaw's assertion that the destruction of Haida lands would also mean the destruction of Haida

[16] And even here, it is worth nothing that it can certainly be argued that the ultimate success of the Athlii Gwaii blockade hinged as much on popular Canadian support and the discovery of improprieties in the provincial government (Haida Laas 2010:7) as it did on the actions of Haida people themselves, significant (and resonantly symbolic) as they were. That this runs somewhat counter to the heroic narrative of the CHN standing against Canadian power and triumphing is, in fact, part of the point, as the very existence of that narrative in distinction to other readings of the events at Athlii Gwaii highlights the extent to which that narrative is invested in the production of an authority-generating foundation for the CHN as Haida government.

culture as such. This formulation allows the CHN to materialize an authority that acts to protect Haidaness with the sanction of "all Haida history," of tradition itself. So far, so Arendt, but what is critical here is that the lynchpin of this temporal structure is the protection of the lands against *possible* destruction; that is, against a nightmarish future that must be actively prevented from occurring. What gives the past to the CHN as a source of authority, in other words, is the future, a coming together which the line at Lyell performed as founding metonymy for the CHN's entire authoritative structure. In what follows I explore how the very open quality of environmental threat on island continues to authorize the CHN as the protector and caretaker of the islands. In so doing, I suggest, the CHN draws stability precisely in a perpetual unstable future, wielding an authority that is at the same time bound by the contradictions of its production.

A Durable Precarity

Various Signposts

Driving into the town of Old Massett, one of the first things a newcomer sees is a small thicket of hand-made signs, thickly layered on a fence to the side of Raven Road. "PLEASE PUT OUR ENVIRONMENT FIRST," "Let us Live," "Oolichan oil NOT Tar Sand oil," "Stop Harper: Gateway to Hell" read a few of these signs, their text painted in bright green, red, or stark black. The "gateway to hell" referred to is the Enbridge Northern Gateway Project, a proposed pipeline that would run from northern Alberta to the coast of British Columbia transporting crude oil and bitumen. These products would then be transported by "supertanker" through the ocean past Haida Gwaii, moving in particular through the notoriously unpredictable Hecate Straight. The risk of spill is palpable, and for many on island, Haida and non-Haida alike, it presents an unacceptable risk to the ecological well-being of the islands and the northwest coast more generally. The signs were standing when I arrived for my fieldwork in Old Masset in the spring

of 2012, and as of this writing in summer, 2014, there is no indication that they will be removed any time, at least so long as the threat of the Enbridge pipeline looms over the island.

And Enbridge is just one of many such threats to the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii, threats that are keenly felt by the residents of Old Massett. The anti-Enbridge signs that dot the town fold are in this sense indexical icons of a broader critical discourse shared by many of my interlocutors regarding the environmental exploitation of the islands. Emotions run high about these issues. Indeed, one man told me that he felt that Canadian corporate and government interests wouldn't stop until "every fucking tree is cut, every mineral mined, every fish caught." For this man and for many like him on island, the concerns that fueled the blockade at Athlii Gwaii remain powerfully present, even despite the successes of Gwaii Haanas. Haida Gwaii remains, as it were, endangered. Implications here, on a larger scale, for the very notion of nature itself. This is not Haida Gwaii as "unspoiled wilderness," but as wilderness always about to be spoiled, as wilderness that might even be being spoiled through extraction processes in ways that are not yet visible to its residents (cf: Masco 2004).

So too, the CHN continues to fashion itself in response to this perpetual endangerment. Consider as illustration the text that opens the most recent revision of the CHN's constitution:

> "The Haida Nation is the rightful heir to Haida Gwaii. Our culture is born of respect; and
> intimacy with the land and sea and the air around us. Like the forests, the roots of our people are
> intertwined such that the greatest troubles cannot overcome us. We owe our existence to Haida
> Gwaii. The living generation accepts the responsibility to
> insure that our heritage is passed on to
> following generations. On these islands our ancestors lived and died
> and here too, we will make
> our homes until called away to join them in the great beyond."

In this passage, the Haida Nation (and note here again the slippage here whereby the Council of the Haida Nation becomes simply "The Haida Nation") is figured as "rightful heir" to the islands of Haida Gwaii, its rightfulness stems from the twinning of culture and ecological protection embodied in the notion of "respect." To be Haida is to understand and protect Haida lands, ergo the responsibility of the Haida nation becomes the care of these lands. And this mandate, grounded in the past of the ancestors, reframes Haida Gwaii's "land, sea, and air" as a "heritage" to be protected in the present and passed on to the next generation. CHN's "responsibility," read, authority, to protect the islands thereby emerges at a temporal crossroads, emerging from the ancestral past of Haida culture to extend into the theoretically infinite future of the "following generations." And what necessitates this ongoing jurisdiction is the implicit claim that it is *only* Haida people, as the "rightful heirs" to the island, who have the cultural competence and understanding necessary to truly protect Haida Gwaii so that Haida culture, inseparable from the islands themselves, can continue into the future.

The temporal structure is familiar here, suggesting once again that the CHN's authority operates via a consistent suturing of the deep past with the unknown future. To enact Haidaness in this sense, to show that one is indeed a "rightful heir" to the cultural landscape of Haida Gwaii, one most "insure" that landscape against the threats it faces, perpetually and into the future. The "without" of Arendtian authority thus feeds always from the future into the past, realizing itself in the present through the very act of protecting the islands of Haida Gwaii, manifested at Athlii Gwaii and now written into the CHN's own constitution as its primary mandate. In Appadurai's terms, this might seem to be future-making at its most anticipatory, articulating the past and the present together so as to authorize the CHN to protect the islands, to *take care* of the islands (cf: Appadurai 2013, see Chapter 1 *ff*). But the prediction that is at work

here is neither the calculus of financial risk and benefit that informs contemporary finance (e.g. Maurer 1999) nor the aspirational ideal future of good governance that we have seen in the previous Chapter. Rather, it is a future that is precisely "no future," a nullification of Haida existence on island. Through the CHN's care, this possible future of erasure can be perpetually deferred and Haida social reproduction ensured, even as its very nightmarish potentiality continues to ground the authority of the CHN to act as continuing caretaker of the islands of Haida Gwaii.

Precarious Care

If, as Kosek suggests and the CHN embodies, "care" - of nature and of bodies - has become a significant mode through which governmentality can operate, particularly in our contemporary era of environmental insecurity, this does not mean that "care" is always necessary the same everywhere. Rather, as I suggested in my previous chapter, the notion of "care" that is politically relevant on Haida Gwaii has its own distinctive history, one strongly (though not exclusively) informed by the Haida term *yah'guudang*, "respect." It should not be surprising to us, then, that the CHN emphasizes the term in its own documents relating to the care of the lands and seas of Haida Gwaii, particularly its 2004 Haida Land Use Vision, *Haida Gwaii Yah'guudang [Respect for this Place]*. After beginning with the passage from the CHN constitution quoted above, the Haida Land Use Vision repeatedly emphasizes the interconnections between Haida culture and the lands and seas of Haida Gwaii since time immemorial. Here an exemplary passage from the document's "forward" (a pun that itself

emphasizes CHN's future orientation through the blurring of a textual "foreword" and the notion of "looking forward"[17]):

> Our physical and spiritual relationship with the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii, our history of co-existence with all living things over many thousands of years is what makes up Haida culture. *Yah'guudang* — our respect for all living things — celebrates the ways our lives and spirits are intertwined and honors the responsibility we hold to future generations.
>
> *Haida Gwaii Yah'guudang* is about respect and responsibility, about knowing our place in the web of life, and how the fate of our culture runs parallel with the fate of the ocean, sky and forest people (Council of the Haida Nation 2004:3).

As in the CHN's constitution itself, we see clearly in this passage the authorizing temporality upon which CHN draws: the present that preserves the past for the future. Moreover, the passages figures *Yah'guudang*, respect, as the mode of relationality through which Haida people in the present (and, ergo, the CHN) can come to embody the traditions of the past.[18] Through showing respect, recognizing and attending to that history of "co-existence with all living things over many thousands of years" that "makes up Haida culture," the CHN demonstrates its Haidaness and its commitment to preserving the ecological conditions of possibility for that Haidaness, thereby "honouring the responsibility [they] hold to future generations." The Haida Land Use Vision, in turn, acts as a metonymic icon of this process. In the language of the document itself, it "reflects our understandings of how things function together and how they have changed in recent time," "conveys our concern about the damage that has occurred in recent times, and addresses the need to ensure continuity and stability for the generations to come" (5).

[17] And this even if the substitution is unintentional, something which the document does not make clear.

[18] No coincidence that the document identifies specific animal species of particular significance for (and affinity with) Haida people, including ravens, eagles, bears and salmon, all of which play major roles in Haida oral histories and stories and act as Clan crests.

In one sense, we could see the language of respect emphasized throughout the CHN's more recent documents as a shift away from the more explicit assertions of protection that marked its discourse in the 1980s. The founding moment of Athlii Gwaii, by this logic, has succeeded in stopping the worst excesses of environmental exploitation on Haida Gwaii (and bringing about the transformation of the CHN into a stable nation-state like government), and the task has turned from the response to an immediate crisis to the ongoing respectful management and healing of the islands' land and seascapes. At the same time, however, I think that the repeated emphasis on future generations in these documents belies the neatness of this shift. What is implicit in both the CHN's constitution and the Haida Land Use Vision is the idea that, without particular forms of ecological action on the part of Haida governance, future generations of Haida will not have access to the co-existence with land and sea that "makes up Haida culture." At risk, in other words, is the capacity of future generations of Haida precisely to be Haida. Guujaw's warning that Haida people could become "just like everybody else" if the islands' environment is destroyed is very much extant here. By this logic, even if all the current environmental threats on Haida Gwaii were ended, the future of the Haida Nation would remain precarious, contingent on the establishment and maintenance of respectful relationships between humans, non-humans and the land and seascape. The shift to a more expansive language of respect from that of protection in the immediate, then, does not in fact signal even a potential end to the islands' endangerment *qua* its status as Haida homeland. Rather, this shift marks precarity's perpetual nature, its constant reassertion as the grounds upon which the CHN can manifest itself authoritatively as "legitimate heir" to the islands through its acts of protection, of respect, and of care.

Which in turn gives us insight into the figure of care which I have been exploring in this section of the dissertation. As I noted in my previous chapter, Hamilton's philological inquiry into "care" and "security" begins from the Latin *cura*, which itself carries multiple meanings. Central to our purposes here is the fact that, among these meanings, care can signify both "to pay attention to" and to "have anxiety about." The object of care, we might then say, is an anxious one, its openness to threat the very thing that solicits care's attention. By contrast, security, which Hamilton notes originated in Latin as *cura's* negation (*se-cura)*, is defined by closure, the absence of anxiety or of the need for attention (Hamilton 2013:10–11, see Chapter 4:9 for a more detailed discussion).[19] This makes care especially appealing as a mode of political accountability, as it allows for an aspirational future in which political leaders are imagined as always acting responsively. It also, however, makes care a fraught figure when it is taken up as a political technology, as it relies upon an uncertainty, an instability, in order to manifest itself. The precarious future it solicits holds tremendous value as a mode of generating authority out of the near-impossible political entanglements of Native governance under settler colonialism. It allows these governments to make the promise that they will protect and care for their people and their lands in the face of perpetual settler incursion and violence, and it enables these claims to come in turn from an authority far more profound than any that can be asserted by colonial nation-states. However, it leaves these same Nations-within-nations perpetually at risk, their authority contingent on endangerment via external threat. This is perhaps an inevitable condition under settler colonialism, but it poses serious questions for the work of imagining an indigenous political future that is not over-determined by colonial forces.

Conclusion- States of Precarity

[19] Which for Hamilton, we might add, renders "true" security analogous to death.

It is worth querying, as we near the end of this chapter, the extent to which the twinning of precarity and authority which I have exploring apply beyond the CHN itself. In one sense, of course, the constriction of possibilities for indigenous governance due to colonial domination, marginalization, and their concomitant cunnings of recognition are shared across many contemporary Aboriginal and Native American throughout the settler colonial world. But even beyond this, I would suggest, following Wendy Brown (among many other scholars) that the use of an external, future oriented threat to justify government policy or even to generate political legitimacy in the present has become common throughout nation-states and nation-state like governments. The sheer preponderance of state-built walls along borders gives simultaneous testimony, as Brown argues, to the insecurity of the state and its performative attempts to overcome that insecurity through ever more dramatic security measures (Brown 2010). And here the impossible closure of security that Hamilton points to, its promise to free us from all care that, in its contemporary manifestations in NSA wire-taps, anti-immigration fervor and the summary imprisonment or execution of suspected terrorists threatens to make life itself impossible (Hamilton 2013). That the threat to Haida Gwaii is conceived of primarily ecologically does not diminish the fact that it is nonetheless conceived of as an external, non-Haida threat against which Haida governance must work to protect. So too, is a threat which, paradoxically, the government ever be fully "defeated" since such a defeat would effectively erase the grounds for the government's own authority.[20] In this sense I think it very fair to argue that the situation I have been describing is a token of a far more general type.

[20] And this not even getting into the ways in which the actions of settle colonial agents in Canadian history render them overtly hostile invaders, ones whose threats to Native "ways of life" were at least arguably far more real than those currently imagined by contemporary states in regards to their terrorist others.

So too, perhaps, the turn to "care" itself is a consequence of this ongoing insecurity. Indeed, Andrea Muehlebach has suggested that it is increasingly the case that neoliberal forms of governance rely precisely on the ways in which citizens "take care" of each other to compensate for diminutions of state programs of welfare and social security (Muehlebach 2012). If that is the case, then we might see the CHN's assertion of its right and responsibility to take care of Haida Gwaii as itself a neoliberal downloading of environmental responsibilities onto indigenous subjects (and a further reification of their status as "ecological Indians") in the guise of a new recognition of Haida rights. Certainly, this possibility exists.

And yet, I would also assert that this does not obviate the significance of "care" on Haida Gwaii as a ways in which the past and future are sutured together. Without reliable access to force or persuasion as its means of compulsion, the CHN must turn instead to a mode of compulsion that looks very Arendtian indeed, in which the compelling force of the past is manifested in the present as ward against a perpetually unstable, uncertain, precarious future. This is not to argue that the CHN or other indigenous governments like it represent Rome's second coming or an answer to Arendt's bold assertion that authority had vanished from the modern world. Rather, it is to suggest that contemporary indigenous governments are developing forms of political organization and political imagination that are neither over-determined by Western thought nor free of its traces, forms that reiterate indigenous and western historical political structures in new and perhaps constructive configurations. So too, and more broadly, that Haida future-making can respond to the conditions of the settler colonial without escaping them, offering possibilities beyond the erasure of Haida people or the islands of Haida Gwaii, even as that nightmare non-future can be brought into relation with the temporal, political and social work of Haida governments and Haida actors. At the least, these configurations pose

important questions for political futures, Haida, indigenous, and settler alike. We now turn to some of these by way of conclusion for this dissertation.

Conclusion: "What's next? Just guess."

Signs of the Future

One of the more recent additions to the socio-landscape of Old Massett, which I noticed on a return visit in 2014, was a series of blue signs that had appeared in many of the lawns on reserve and a good few uptown. The sign was a good two feet high and emblazoned with capitalized text: UNITED AGAINST ENBRIDGE. Below the text was a picture of a salmon. The salmon and the first word, "UNITED," were in stark, attention-grabbing white, while the other text was in black. The signs, I later discovered, were distributed for five dollars each by the "Friends of Wild Salmon," a coalition of northern British Columbia residents – including both First Nations and non-First Nations members – working together to oppose the Enbridge Gateway Pipeline Project.[1] Perhaps appropriately, then, I noticed the sign on the lawns of both Haida and non-Haida, in Old Massett, (New) Masset, and out by Towtown.

The signs may have been new, but their message is one that should have become familiar to us at this point: The people of Haida Gwaii oppose "Enbridge;" that is, The Enbridge Northern Gateway Pipelines Project. The project, first proposed in the mid-2000s, seeks to construct two pipelines to transport crude oil and condensate from northern Alberta to Kitimat on the coast of British Columbia.[2] The oil would then be transported via "super-tanker" from the coast, through the Hecate Straight that passes between the west coast and the islands of Haida Gwaii before being exported to other nations (particularly China). Enbridge has received heavy support for the project from Canada's current Conservative government, headed by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, and in 2013 the Enbridge Joint-Review Panel – despite the words of hippies and Haida

[1] See http://friendsofwildsalmon.ca/about.
[2] http://gatewaypanel.review-examen.gc.ca/clf-nsi/bts/prjct-eng.html, accessed November 13, 2012.

alike, alongside fierce opposition from all over the northwest coast - approved the pipelines, albeit with 209 required conditions.[3] As a partnership between Canadian federal and corporate interests, the Enbridge Pipelines Project promises a future horizon of economic prosperity, one that unequivocally justifies any environmental risk in the present.

On Haida Gwaii, Enbridge presages a rather different future, one in which the unpredictable waters of the Hecade Straight all but guarantee a tanker spill. Such a spill would devastate the waters and lands of the islands and the neighbouring coastline of British Columbia, destroying the fish and poisoning the plants that currently draw on ocean waters and the animals that feed thereon. Neither eagles nor ravens could survive, living as they do on a diet that consists primarily of marine life, a fact which all but guarantees the disappearance of Eagles and Ravens, the Haida people whose lifeways as such are so fundamentally tied to the islands of Haida Gwaii. Haida Gwaii could no longer be home. A song recorded in protest again Enbridge by Aboriginal artist Kinnie Starr and animated as a music video by Haidawood, a team of Haida and non-Haida stop-motion artists and animators, makes this threat explicit, asking in its opening lines "Who will save these waters, save them for our great granddaughters, save them for our great grand-daughter's sons, […] save them before all is dead and gone?"[4]

This nightmare future, this future that is no future, is one that looms large over the whole of this dissertation. It is familiar because it is a reiteration of the horror of ecological cataclysm that the CHN formed itself in opposition against, that the "hippies" risk metonymically bringing about by taking from the lands and waters without respect. But it is also familiar because in a broader sense it is the future that settler colonialism attempted to give to Native peoples; indeed,

[3] E.g., http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/northern-gateway-pipeline-recommended-for-federal-approval-with-conditions-1.2470465
[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UsDC5cNR9kc

to render as their already given destiny. This is the future of indigenous erasure, of ultimate disappearance, of a closed temporality which can only end in "all dead and gone." As I have also hopefully shown in each of my chapters, however, the future of "no future" is never taken as inevitable or already determined by Haida people. The work of future-making instead always acts to ward off the nightmare future of Haida erasure, always puts in its place instead multiple possible futures in which Haida people continue. Take the blue signs on the lawns of the Masset(t)s, Old and New, implicitly answering Kinnie Starr's question with the bold declaration that the islands (will) stand "UNITED" against Enbridge. But the social significances of these futures are never encompassed solely by the ways in which they respond to the threat of nightmare futures. As we saw in Chapter 3, for instance, the production of a future of Haida and non-Haida unity is considerably more complicated than the declaration of shared solidarity, speaking back to a particular history of Haida and settler relations and fantasy schemas, looking forward towards finding productive ways in which non-Haida can be integrated into Haida systems of sociality and responsibility. To speak of a future united against Enbridge is thus necessarily to speak of many other things, just as it is the case when speaking of a future of Haida return, a future of care-full leadership, or a future of traditional authority. Larger social worlds unfold out of the constitution of particular futures.

This is why, more than anything, I want to make clear in the final, concluding chapter of this dissertation that the political (if not the existential) significance of Haida future-making does not lie simply in the specific ways in which individual futures respond to particular dilemmas of the settler colonial present. Rather, what is most crucial about future-making as a way of thinking out from within the temporal brackets of settler colonialism's deferred erasure is simply the fact of future-making itself. What matters the most is the capacity to say, as Haida

rapper Ja$e ElNino does in a guest appearance in Starr's song, "Now expect the best from the northwest/ What's next? Just guess." ElNino asserts the openness of the future, challenging his listeners to even attempt to predict the field of possibilities still to come. This does not mean, though, that this openness is unmoored. Quite the opposite, ElNino asks us to "expect the best of the northwest," in response to the threat of Enbridge and, I think, more generally. In this spirit, in what follows I highlight the significance of location to indigenous futurity, exploring how Old Massett, its neighbouring communities along Masset Inlet, and the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii act as locations around which the very openness of Haida futures can be articulated. My discussion will be largely synthetic, reading together my previous chapters to attempt to arrive at a few conclusions for this dissertation at a whole. I begin with a discussion of Haida Gwaii, once again, as "home," asking what it means to consider the islands as a Haida homeland (and one that requires "care" as such) in the light of the futures I have sketched out. I then draw on this to pose a few suggestions for the political anthropology of indigenous peoples and its abiding contemporary concern with sovereign rights and territoriality. Finally, I conclude by drawing out the multiple meanings of my titular phrase, "unsettling futures," in the context of Haida future-making.

Homeland

Haida Gwaii is in at least some sense at the center of each of the futures I have discussed in this dissertation. It is the home to which Haida are expected (and expect) to return, the "cornucopia" of off-the-grid fantasy, the ongoing historical space of complex social and material relations that these fantasies elide, the perpetually at risk ecological landscape which demands (and authorizes) the CHN's care and respect. And, as we have seen, these various futures for the islands are not isolated from one another. Quite the opposite, futures proliferate in response to

each other. The potential for non-Haida homing necessitates strategic forms of future-oriented social integration to bring these new arrivals into respectful relations with the Haida world, the nightmare non-future of ecological collapse is warded off by the attempt to constitute care-full futures under Haida control. What all these Haida futures have in common – at least as they relate to the islands - is that they work to preserve Haida Gwaii, and the community of Old Massett in particular, as spaces in which Haida futures remain possible.

This fact, as I have already begun to suggest in Chapter 2, might help us to resolve some of James Clifford's dilemmas in relation to indigenous mobility. As I pointed towards then, the notion that "place" is significant to indigenous peoples – politically, socially, affectively, culturally – has become one of the essential components of how "indigeneity" is understood as a global phenomenon and a strategic identity from which rights claims can be advanced. Take Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their *distinctive spiritual relationship* with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard (Assembly 2007:10, emphasis mine).

But what precisely does it mean to have a "distinctive, spiritual relationship" to a place, and who determines what might constitute that relationship? Here one of the perils of Povinelli's "cunning of recognition," as indigenous rights to territory become conflated with - and evaluated against - essentialized settler notions of Native ecological spirituality and/or emplacedness (cf: Raibmon 2005; Nadasdy 2003). If indigeneity thereby takes on the significance of being "rooted" in a particular place, of having certain identifiably "distinctive" cultural relationships to that place that others might lack, then the fact of indigenous mobility would indeed pose a profound

dilemma for the category of indigeneity on the one hand and the capacity to make claims to territorial rights *qua* one's indigeneity on the other.

But there is a remarkable temporal shallowness to all this. To give a representative example, the Australian state criteria for what constitutes "cultural rights to territory" that Povinelli interrogates function solely in the past and the present, mandating that Aboriginal people show continuity of occupation and of the cultural practices associated with "Aboriginal occupation" in the mind of the court in order to be recognized as possessing a rightful claim to their home territories (Povinelli 2002). Erased in this is the possibility that a territory could be the site of departure and return, that it could have a future horizon that is flexible, subject to transformation alongside the transformations of the people(s) who call it home, without thereby necessarily losing its integrity as a rightful space of indigenous occupation. Such a possibility is not controversial for my Haida interlocutors. Rather, it has the status of an already-given certainty, community common sense - though there is without doubt much social work that goes into the production of that certainty.

What makes indigenous mobility fraught, then, might have rather more to do with the constitution of settler polities than it does with the actual practices of indigenous peoples. Consider the various ways in which we have already seen colonial authorities attempt to control Haida movement, from the forced expulsions of 19th century Victoria to the removal of Haida children from the islands for residential schools less than a century later. Consider too the manufacture of the reserves themselves, the fixing of two Haida "Bands" with their own federally determined territories, beyond which Haida people could claim no rights over land, waters, or resources (cf: Harris 2002). This is a logic of containment, of isolation. In leaving their assigned spaces, Native peoples were assumed by colonial authorities to be leaving the space of

their Nativeness behind, assimilating into settler society on its terms. Indeed, this was the motivating logic of the residential schools program, which took as its premise the idea that "Indians" could always "backslide" into "savage customs" as long as they remained in their homes and with their families. Aboriginal children thus had to be brought somewhere else to learn how to join "civilized," that is, white Christian, society (Miller 1996). Reserves could thus be rendered as the last bastions of a "weird and waning race," to quote Scott, their inhabitants temporally foreclosed and spatially fixed.

The notion that indigenous people could move without ceasing to be (or ceasing to fight for their rights to self-determination and Title to their lands) unsettles this narrative, just as does the intertwined possibility of indigenous futurity. The relationship to Haida Gwaii that we've seen sketched out by the Haida futures explored in this dissertation does not preclude the possibility of "distinctive spiritual relationships" between Haida and their home territories. Quite the opposite, the ineffable quality of homing alone suggests that many of my interlocutors feel a connection to their home that goes beyond the kinds of practices that are only possible on the islands, their beauty or their history. Indeed, when considered as home, when considered as a site that requires care, there is little doubt that Haida Gwaii can encompass a wide range of phenomenological, affective, social, and cultural ways of relating to its lands and waters by Haida people (and their neighbours, at times for good, at times for ill). But it is not these relations as such that encompass the totality of Haida Gwaii's significance. Rather, what is of greatest concern to my interlocutors is the continuing future possibility that relations like that *could be* formed, that people *could continue* to be called home to Haida Gwaii once they've fully explored the world off-island, that the qualities that precisely *make* Haida Gwaii home *could* be

preserved. This is what it means, I think, to "take care" of Haida Gwaii, to allow it to continue as a homeland for uncounted future generations.

Though they certainly emphasize the need for Haida Gwaii to be maintained as a location for Haida futurity, this does not mean that the futures we have seen expend all the possible ways in which such future forms of Haida social, material, ecological, and relational life could be formed. Recall Ja$e ElNino's challenge of a future so open that its possible contents can only be guessed at. What Haida future-making demonstrates is that there are a set of potentialities which are worth protecting so that Haida people can continue to access them, to come home to them, even as continuing forms of mobility and political processes can also shape and reshape Haida social and cultural life on and off the islands. Homeland is not a regimented place where Haida people *must* always live in order to be authentically Haida. Rather, it is a location where they should always be able to, in their own (necessarily multiple, often contested, sometimes even contradictory) terms.

Sovereignty

At the same time, there is an inescapably political dimension to the attempt to render Haida Gwaii as the homeland of a still open Haida future. The assertion of the (located) openness of the future does not necessarily make it so. As I noted in the first part of this dissertation, the flow of Haida departures and returns unfold in the broader context of the settler, capitalist state; indeed, they are made necessary in part by the current absence of economic opportunity on island, just as the arrival of potentially threatening strangers is a result of their privileged position in the very capitalist economy they seek to escape. Constituting futures in which Haida people have the freedom to engage with that economy (and settler society more generally) as they see fit while retaining the capacity to come home (complicated as that process might be) also reiterates

the inescapability of some form of engagement with that socio-economy. Likewise, the notion of Haida Gwaii as Haida homeland cannot be separated from current Haida struggles to assert their rights to the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii, the resources found therein, and their sovereign capacity to govern themselves and the islands in the ways they find appropriate. This is, recall, the very crux of the CHN's own commitment to the assurance of futurity, as it is only by positioning itself as the rightful, sovereign government of the Haida Nation and its homeland of Haida Gwaii that it can adequately care for the islands and protect them from external threat. And the continuing advance of the Enbridge project despite fierce opposition from CHN, the Old Massett Village Council, their Haida constituents, and the non-Haida actors with whom they are "united against Enbridge" (and this alongside protest all over the northwest coast) gives the nightmare futures of environmental collapse – pushed through by corporate interests and Canadian politicians - a frightening immanence. The assertion of the openness of the future is made, in short, in (and against) a context in which closures remain endemic.

And yet, something has changed in this landscape from the initial erasures of Native futurity we drew out in the first chapter. In the narratives of colonial actors like Duncan Campbell Scott, it was absolutely clear that "Indians" were disappearing because their social worlds were being superseded by more "civilized" ways of living and being, ones that these Native subjects would also, inevitably, in the end, adopt (or failing that, perish outright). There *was* a future. It was simply a settler one. But the nightmare futures of that my Haida interlocutors ward against in their own future-making reach beyond Haida life alone. Environmental collapse, most dramatically, threatens the sustainability of all life; toxins in the land and the waters threaten human lives regardless of their relative indigeneity, race, or gender (e.g. Choy 2011; Crate 2011). Put another way, the impetus for non-Haida (and non-First Nations subjects more

generally) to be "united against Enbridge" with their indigenous neighbours comes in no small part because an oil spill also profoundly threatens the lives and livelihoods of non-Aboriginal coastal residents, a fact which Masa Takei, among others, made clear in Chapter 3. Nor is the anxiety that young people might abandon their small town to pursue economic and educational advantage in an urban context limited to reserve communities. Instead, the compulsions of capitalist economic life compel such migrations throughout the globe. The nightmare futures that Haida people constitute alternative futures to ward against are not just future of indigenous erasure under settler colonialism. They are erasures of settler society itself.

There is thus an extraordinary political claim embedded in Haida future-making, a claim which gains its power precisely *because* Haida future-making as we have seen it does not (perhaps cannot) *escape* from the larger field of settler-colonial determination. Instead, in Haida future-making we find the implicit assertion that Haida people can make futures that address the dilemmas of Haida *and* settler life alike, ones that can at least "navigate," to borrow Appadurai's phrasing, towards possible futures that do not end in absolute erasure. If Povinelli and Byrd are correct and settler liberal governance makes itself possible and legitimate through a perpetual deferral of the problems of the present, then part of the power of Haida future-making is to expose the threatening non-futures that might emerge out of this bracketed present, to expose as lie the liberal promise of a good life always yet to come and to attempt to constitute alternatives.

It is no coincidence that we find this in the midst of a struggle over sovereignty. And this not just in the sense of the Council of the Haida Nation's ongoing assertion of its sovereign right to govern the lands and waters of Haida Gwaii on behalf of all Haida people, as we saw in Chapter 5. Rather, as Joanne Barker has argued, over the course of the latter half of the twentieth century sovereignty has emerged as a:

> particularly valued term within indigenous scholarship and social movements and through the media of cultural production. It [is] a term around which analyses of indigenous histories and cultures were organized and whereby indigenous activists articulate their agendas for social change (Barker 2005:18).

Through the assertion of sovereignty, indigenous political leaders, activists and scholars refute "the dominant notion that indigenous people [are] merely one among many 'minority groups' under the administration of state social service and welfare programs." Instead, "sovereignty defines indigenous people with concrete rights to self-government, territorial integrity, and cultural autonomy under international law" (18). The trouble is, of course, that indigenous claims to sovereignty are always made within the context of colonial nation-states, ones whose own legitimacy is put at considerably risk both by the prospect of self-determining indigenous Nations (re)-emerging within their boundaries and the troubling of their own historical narratives of sovereign rights (cf: Comaroff and Comaroff 2003b). (One of these narratives, which reinterpreted indigenous lands as *terra nullius* and thus open to occupation, we've encountered already in Chapter 3). Thus, while sovereignty might indeed "define" indigenous peoples with concrete rights to territorial Title and self-determination, in theory equal under international law to the states who also lay claim to their territories, that definition does not in and of itself make possible the *practice* of this sovereignty. In this regard settler states such as Canada have shifted in their response to First Peoples' sovereignty claims from outright rejection to a set of policies of selective recognition,[5] but even the latter still positions Native nations as being subject to the authority and oversight (if not the structural forms) of the state.

[5] As I've noted in passing in Chapter 1 and again above, recognition itself embeds settler colonial forms of power and authority, as Povinelli and Paul Nadasdy, among others, have argued. Nadasdy, for instance, shows how in the Kluane First Nation in Canada's Yukon territory the demands of recognition mean that Kluane people must establish forms of government that are, precisely, "recognizable" by Canadian and international government actors.

This means, as we have seen in Chapter 5, that indigenous governments such as the Council of the Haida Nation are in a precarious position, attempting to constitute their own sovereign authority without access to many of the conventional means of sovereignty in Western political thought – e.g., the monopoly on legitimate violence (Weber 1946), decisive authority to make and enact law (Schmitt 2005), or exclusive territorial control (Brown 2010; cf: Hobbes 1994). Alongside this precarity is the equally anxious question of whether or not sovereignty is even an appropriate analytical to center indigenous rights around precisely because it is historically a Western concept, one that had been drawn on to dispossess indigenous peoples over the course of settler colonial history (Barker 2005:18–19). (Indeed, the very next essay in Barker's edited volume, by Mohawk scholar Taiake Alfred, categorically rejects sovereignty as an inappropriate tool for indigenous political assertions for these reasons and, also, because it draws attention away from developing and furthering "genuinely" Aboriginal political modes of thought (Alfred 2005; cf: Alfred 2009).

The fact that sovereignty remains such a preeminent concept in the struggle for indigenous rights even though it is both epistemologically problematic and politically constrained has meant that there has been a recent push in both anthropology and indigenous studies to "widen" the definition of sovereignty, so that it might encompass multiple forms of indigenous social, political and legal practice outside of the conventional purview of "sovereign power" (e.g. Cattelino 2008; Richland 2011; Simpson 2000; Simpson 2014). Or, as Joanne Barker puts it:

> There is no fixed meaning for what *sovereignty* is – what it means by definition, what it implies in public debate, or how it has been conceptualized in international, nation, or indigenous law. Sovereignty – and its related histories, perspectives, and identities – is embedded within the specific social relations in which it is invoked and given meaning. How and when it emerges and functions are determined by the

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Ironically, this alienates Kluane actors from the very rights and practices over which they assert their sovereignty (Nadasdy 2003; cf: Povinelli 2002; Povinelli 2001).

> "located" political agendas and cultural perspectives of those who rearticulate it into public debate or political document to do a specific work of opposition, invitation, or accommodation. It is no more possible to stabilize what *sovereignty* means and how it matters to those who invoke it than it is to forget the historical and cultural embeddedness of indigenous peoples' multiple and contradictory political perspectives and agendas for empowerment, decolonization, and social justice (Barker 2005:21, emphasis original).

The opening up of sovereignty as flexible, multiple, and subject to all manner of diverse re-articulations carries particular weight (and, perhaps, ambiguity) since, as a historical concept in Western political theory, sovereignty was overwhelmingly concerned with closure. As Wendy Brown argues in her Walled States, Waning Sovereignty, the classic vision of sovereign power rests in the capacity to divide the inside from the outside, to make borders around a people – a "nation" – and separate that people from those outside it. Thus Schmitt's "friend-enemy" distinction, for instance, or even John Locke's consistent preoccupation with fences as a way of marking the existence of territory (Brown 2010; cf: Schmitt 1996; Locke 1988). The historical conditions of indigenous sovereignty claims in the context of settler colonialism make such absolute closures impossible for indigenous peoples.

We might add, though, that their persistent presence also challenges the closure of the settler nation-state. Indeed, this is part of Brown's point. The very fact that we see ever more spectacular performances of sovereign power on the part of contemporary nation-states – e.g., the titular "walls" that are being constructed along the borders of an increasing number of states - is a sign of the very insecurity of their political authority (Brown 2010).[6] The conditions of settler colonial sovereignty, in other words, may be rather more "open," and thus closer to those of indigenous "nation-within-nations," then they may at first appear. If this means, in turn, that

[6] Alongside the forms of indigenous activism we are concerned with here, Brown suggests that state authority is also undercut by transnational economic and political institutions (the IMF, the U.N., etc.) and by the permeability of borders in practice, among other sites.

the future of settler political life is becoming as uncertain as the future for indigenous life has always been since the advent of settlement, then this means only what we have already begun to see: the dilemmas that Haida people confront in their future-making practices are also the dilemmas facing settler society. Take Chapter 4, in which the absence of any "one" definitive governing entity compels the constitution of an aspirational framework of accountability which could, were it realized, render navigable Haida relations to the many governments that claim their loyalties. As I hinted at there, such dilemmas are not restricted to the Haida sociopolitical world; rather, they may in fact be endemic to contemporary democratic societies and the multiple forms of governance (licit and otherwise) that emerge therein.

In suggesting that there are Haida ways of refiguring a shared Haida-settler set of contemporary problematics, we might think of Haida future-making as simultaneously an instantiation of the multiple, flexible and always contingently located practices of sovereignty to which Barker points and a different way of thinking about indigenous political potentiality. In the former sense, Haida future-making is without doubt concerned with carving out spaces in which Haida existence can continue, expand, and change without losing the capacity to reproduce itself as, precisely, Haida existence. Thus the processes of homecoming we explored in Chapter 2, or Chapter 5's explicitly political attempts to establish control over the islands for future generations. If the absence of indigenous sovereignty is the absence of the capacity of an indigenous people to (self)-determine their own futures, then the constitution of Haida futures can be seen exactly as sovereign work, whether in the overt sense of the Council of the Haida Nation's assertions or the somewhat more implicit mode of Alice Stevens' proposed mass adoptions. Significant here, though, is the fact that these acts of future-making carry meanings beyond their status as "responses" to the social and political dilemmas of contemporary Haida

life. Thus Alice Stevens' adoptions bring "hippie" children into the framework of Haida kinship relations, in one sense neutralizing their potential threat, but also constituting a complex new network of social relations between Haida and non-Haida whose potential significances go well beyond the protection of Haida territory and resources; thus the Council of the Haida Nation emerges as a "state-like" governing entity through its authorizing promise to "take care" of the islands, but in so doing takes on a series of new roles in Haida political life whose full consequences remain to be seen. If it is a sovereign action to envision an opening of possible futures for Haida people, then this very openness might also exceed the boundaries of sovereignty as a problematic for indigenous people even as it responds to them.

Which is also, perhaps, why Haida futures seem so consistently to sketch out social, ecological, and political fields that encompass non-Haida; more, that are futures *for* Canada as well as for the Haida people living within the nation-state's borders. Or, at least, futures that have the capacity to be so. What would it mean to figure an indigenous sovereignty that speaks beyond itself, one that promises to invert the order of settler domination through reconfiguring the shared futures of indigenous and settler peoples? This would not be a sovereignty premised on territorial closure, or even absolute political autonomy. It would, however, decisively overturn any settler colonial anticipations of the inevitable erasure of Native peoples. Quite the opposite, it would position indigenous practices of anticipation, aspiration, certainty, and anxiety at the forefront of contemporary modes of political imagination.

Unsettling Futures

A question remains, however. Could such a refiguring of the temporal and political horizon of settler and indigenous relationships remain possible even if the futures that indigenous people work to constitute remain unrealized in the settler colonial present? Or, put another way,

we must always be careful not to conflate a capacity *to* form new futures for settler nation-states with the actual materializations of these futures. The Haida futures that I have discussed, even as they promise possible ways of navigating – of restructuring, even – the settler-Haida present, remain firmly bound by the colonial constraints of this present. But perhaps the stakes here have never been about overthrowing the Canadian colonial order outright. Rather, what I hope this dissertation has shown is that Haida future-making has the capacity to *unsettle* the settler colonial present, to challenge its received categories and demonstrate how, slowly, gradually, Haida people are reconfiguring its terms through the work of producing the future. Certainly, the sheer fact of Haida futurity should put to the lie any further notion that Haida people exist only to replicate their past or live only in the deferral of their eventual disappearance. The future is alive and well in Old Massett, although this does not meant that it is not also a site of profound anxieties.

In working to ward off those anxieties through the juxtaposition of nightmare futures against their more desirable alternatives, then, Haida people unsettle the epistemological foundations of the forms of settler colonialism and liberalism against which Byrd and Povinelli write. At the same time (if you'll pardon the pun), I think we can see the social work that future-making does iteratively, as a gradual reshaping of the actual conditions of Canadian society. Here I borrow Judith Butler's suggestion, following Foucault, that the regulatory norms of society function only through their consistent and unstable reiteration (and materialization) in everyday social life.[7] From this perspective, the ways in which Haida people work within and even reiterate the constraints and demands of Canadian settler mainstream society can also

[7] Thus gender, and even bodily sex, are not absolute pronouncements by an overpowering authority, but rather never fully secure categories striated by fields of power and knowledge that must, accordingly, be maintained through social performance (e.g. Butler 1999; Butler 1993; cf: Foucault 1977)

slowly and strategically *shift* those very constraints and demands, materializing a Haida-Canadian future that might in fact be quite different from the present even as it does not ever fully "escape" from its dilemmas. Perhaps the most unsettling potential of all here lies simply in the ways in which Haida people incorporate the conditions of the settler colonial present as being paths towards Haida futures. Not vanished, or vanquished. Ongoing.

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