

TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION: THE CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE  
OF EULACHON *THALEICHTHYS PACIFICUS* IN THE NORTH-CENTRAL COAST  
REGION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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## **Abstract**

Aboriginal people of the Pacific Northwest have extraordinary affinities to fisheries resources. Balanced relationships with their environments facilitated comprehensive understanding of the cycles of renewal and resource abundance to prosper amidst cyclic variability and harsh climates. Traditional Aboriginal law and social institutions were the sentinel guardians that authorized territorial jurisdiction and resource use. The accumulation of Aboriginal Ecological Knowledge (AEK) ensured continuity of sustainable use and effective resource husbandry to increase wealth. Large surplus of products were driving factors for regional trade and exchange further contributing to wealth generation.

Examining the use of eulachon (*Thaleichthys pacificus*), in the north-central portion of its range illustrates the linkages between resource use, customary law, and territorial authority. Eulachon are used to produce “Grease” (oil rendered from the fish) in this region only from the Unuk River in the north to the Klinaklini River at the southern terminus. Four coastal Aboriginal groups (Tlingit, Tsimshian, Kwakwaka’wakw, and Nuxalk) produce Grease and are located in or near transportation corridors. An elaborate system of territorial authority was validated through the feasting system, also known as potlatches. Those territorial owners that were effective resource managers achieved higher prestige, and maintained authority by demonstration of resource products’ *surplus*.

Contemporary fisheries management regulation has severely restricted Aboriginal access to limited harvests only, despite those same resources having been in Aboriginal use for thousands of years. Several factors have contributed to profoundly altering Aboriginal practices, their historic traditions, and the spaces on which they depended. These include but

are not limited to colonization and its assimilation policies, and myriad restrictive legislation over many decades.

The geographic scope of the highest degrees of social complexity exactly matches the eulachon Grease producing region. The wealth and prosperity that existed in this region for thousands of years was due to the integral *fit* of these social institutions with their unique ecological landscape. Removing this *fit* has caused damage to the wealth and prosperity of Aboriginal people and also risks the collateral loss of the applying Aboriginal Ecological Knowledge in the stewardship of the Pacific Northwest.

## Preface

This dissertation is original, unpublished work by the author, T. Ryan with the following exceptions:

Figure 1 – Not original work of the author; borrowed for illustration purposes with permission from: Round River Conservation Studies, The Nature Conservancy, and Nature Conservancy Canada. 2003. A Conservation Area Design For The Coastal Forest and Mountains of Southeast Alaska and British Columbia – November, 2003.

Figure 2 – original work of the author, unpublished.

Figure 3 – Author T. Ryan adapted from Hirth, K. G. 1978. Interregional Trade and the Formation of Prehistoric Gateway Communities. *American Antiquity*, 43(1):35-45.

Figure 4 – Not original work of the author; borrowed for illustration purposes from: Carlson, R. L. (ed.). 1983. *Indian art traditions of the Northwest Coast*. Burnaby, BC: Archaeology Press, Simon Fraser University.

Figure 5 – original work, published by: T. Ryan. 2013. Summary Comparison of Governance Models That Consider Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge. In E. Simmons (ed.), *Indigenous Earth: Praxis and Transformations*. Penticton, BC: Theytus Books.

The interviews with Aboriginal people for this research were conducted under the policy of the Office of Research Ethics UBC, Behavioural Research Ethics Board certification number: TRyan-2002.

‘*Smhayetsk d’waiyu, Na walp Xpe Hanaax d’wil tsogu*. My name is *Smhayetsk*, I am from the House of *Xpe Hanaax*. I belong to the Gitlan tribe of the Tsimshian Nation by birth. My hope is to bring this heritage to the following analyses while being mindful of my personal cultural obligations to Aboriginal people.

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I would like to acknowledge my ancestors, and those of other Aboriginal people that I write about, and hope that I have captured the aspirations that could lead to better understanding and a more favorable approach to addressing the issues that have caused so much pain.

## **Dedication**

Dedicated to my mother, *Bilhaam ne'ex* Loa Ryan.

# **Chapter 1: An introduction to the navigation of Aboriginal territorial dispossession and the consequences of colonial dilemmas**

## **Introduction**

“... no laws can be certain that are not founded on the eternal and immutable principles of right and wrong ; that false theories and false logic leads to absurdities, which being perceived, lead to endless exceptions and to numerous contradictions, and that from the whole results that very uncertainty which is so much wished to be avoided" Du Ponceau (1824: xvi).

The iconic Pacific salmon (*Oncorhynchus* sp.) and its relationships to Aboriginal people often epitomize the Pacific Northwest coast of North America (Drucker 1939; Harris 2001, 2008; Lichatowich 1999; Matson and Coupland 1995; Montgomery 2003; Newell, 1993; and others). The way of life for Aboriginal people in their pursuit of salmon, and other aquatic and terrestrial species, has changed in ways still incomprehensible to the Aboriginal cultural legacy that evolved in the coastal rainforest and high desert landscapes where salmon spawn. The Aboriginal people of the Pacific Northwest were vulnerable to forces acting upon them long before intrusions into their territories by European or Russian colonizers. Explorers, merchants and others were visiting guests for more than a century<sup>1</sup>.

Colonialism, above all else, devoured the Pacific Northwest through declarations made in foreign places, and elicited assistance through clergy and academe to subdue conflict. Colonialism assumed control over Aboriginal people, trade, lands, and resources. Although Aboriginal people have consistently objected to this manifestation, the conflicts remain unresolved. In the Pacific Northwest, the iconic salmon exemplifies the magnitude of conflict. Aboriginal people have consistently conveyed concerns for the treatment of and

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<sup>1</sup> This research is conducted from an emic perspective of the author, ‘Smhayetsk Teresa Ryan, a member of the Gitlan Tribe of the Tsimshian Nation, House of Xpe Hanaax, Ganhada clan.

Aboriginal access to salmon (and other resources), but contemporary resource management has evolved to exclude Aboriginal people. The actual harvesting of fish resources has continued although at an ever-decreasing rate for a variety of reasons. The exclusion has occurred from a variety of actions including direct removal, prohibition, regulation, other users increased access, and also from more subtle indirect prohibitions such as trade barriers, increasing costs, reduction in processing capacity, and market interference. Many aspects of direct removal and prohibition, along with increased access to other users, are bound in imposed regulation while some aspects are derived from other forms of legislation such as the *Indian Act*.

The governance of resource use has changed through time, including access to resources in traditional Aboriginal territories, and in conflict with the expectations of traditional Aboriginal use. The complexities of resource governance and myriad of user conflicts, including activities with risk of environmental impact to natural resources, have made it more difficult for Aboriginal people to articulate the profound human interdependence on healthy ecosystems. The Aboriginal resource management systems have a variety of mechanisms to govern resource uses guided by powerful incentives as articulated and demonstrated through social institutions. How these mechanisms operate is not well understood in contemporary discourse. An ecological incentives-based rationale for effective stewardship of natural resource continuity appears to elude the imposed resource management. The Aboriginal governance of resource use may provide critical mechanisms to reduce risk while also increasing certainty for Aboriginal expectations of access to resources.

The removal of Aboriginal access to resources forms the core argument of this research because removal of access has unfortunate collateral losses, particularly economic

stability for Aboriginal people, but also the loss of stewardship incentives to maintain or increase natural productivities. The objectives of this research are to analyze the dismantling of Aboriginal access to natural resources that intrinsically forms an element of their cultural legacy and is intimately entwined with their economic prosperity. The flourishing of Pacific Northwest Aboriginal groups may be found in the linkages of social organization to territorial authority for access to natural resources, the production of commodities for distribution, and the extent of commerce networks in addition to the longevity for their existence. If any human groups have prospered for a time period longer than a few centuries, such as found those in the Pacific Northwest, it may be useful to explore the mechanisms of stewardship and maintenance of natural resources and habitats, sustaining abundances, and the integral linkage of humans and knowledge to a unique 'place' ecosystem.

Salmon is one of many aquatic and terrestrial resources that are part of what comprises the Pacific Northwest Coast. A wide variety of aquatic resources occur within the region in a rich tapestry of high biological diversity used by several Aboriginal groups. At the present time the productivity of highly profiled resources (e.g., salmon, herring *Clupea pallasii*, sturgeon *Acipenseridae*, etc.) and some with less profile (e.g., eulachon, smelt *Osmeridae*; abalone *Haliotis kamoharui*; etc.) is precipitously low. The manner that resources are presently 'managed' does not appear to effect favorable change in productivity.

Removal of Aboriginal access to territories, lands, and resources has created perpetual conflicts at the interface of Aboriginal and Canadian relationships. At the face of specific conflict it appears as if problems should be resolved as prescribed in statutory law and regulation. The imposed laws however are points of conflict with traditional Aboriginal law. The contemporary conflicts that proceed into court for resolution exemplify how the

reflection of circumstance is interpreted through the lens of historic records, ethnographies, and research results. Characterizations of Pacific Northwest Aboriginal people have been documented since the 19<sup>th</sup> century (17<sup>th</sup> century in other locations) however these capture only fragmentary moments of people under enormous pressures altering the trajectory of their cosmology onto an unforeseen plane with chaotic dimensions. For Aboriginal people, these past records may not accurately reflect their particular views.

Historic records of explorers and merchants document encounters with Aboriginal people and are described in journals, diaries, and reports to a variety of remote offices. Some of the documents describe certain attributes, report situations, and observations of Aboriginal people interpreted with appurtenances and values of the author's own society. Missionaries and clergy also recorded periodic or daily journal entries and some rigorously provided reports back to "Old World" offices or responding to colonial queries. Clearly there would have been situations indecipherable to a culturally-untrained eye, and if the right questions were not asked, the appropriate context may have been missed. Some situations were horrific but these instances are tame in comparison to antagonist colonial/settler annihilations of entire villages.

The ethnology of the region consists of the earliest records in a fledging field of the study of man. As the philosophic debates of the medieval period were cooling questions started arising about the development of the human condition and society. In their view there was no better place to start looking for answers on the origins of societies, cultures and 'civilized' man than observing Aboriginal people in the 'new world' colonies. It may not be clear, in contemporary discourse, how those philosophic views seeped into colonial discourse influencing the conduct of affairs with Aboriginal people.

Early records from historians, anthropologists, ethnographers, and other scholars paid little attention to the social cohesion within the groups and the relationship of people to their lands and resources. The divergence of theoretical arguments during the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century between social evolution and cultural anthropology influenced how scholars pursued investigations. Most reported on observations of physical characteristics, language, artistic expression, food items, religious beliefs, marriage and warfare. Some attempted characterization of hereditary processes but their template was based on biological lineage of parent to offspring, the transmission system from their familiarity. Social reproduction mechanisms are only recently being explored in more depth. It is these mechanisms that define identity (cf. Nielsen 2001), cultural continuity (cf. Roth 2008), and authority to territorial areas and resources.

The Aboriginal production of surplus products from these iconic natural resources is also absent from the historic characterizations of the Pacific Northwest. The high natural productivity of resources such as salmon is well known but Aboriginal relationships to productivity have been considered in terms of subsistence consumption instead of surplus production. Some scholarly descriptions of economy are fleeting fragments of social exchange and often construed in cycles of generalized reciprocity (Godlier 1999; Levi-Strauss 1966; Mauss 1990; Trosper 2009). The Aboriginal people of the Pacific Northwest consider wealth and prestige as measured on an ability to demonstrate key criterion of successful resource management as articulated through their social institutions. Wealth by any metric is generated from some origin of nothing. The social organization found in the Pacific Northwest ethnographic region is an accommodation to a distribution of wealth but not the distribution itself. Successful demonstrations of hierarchal positioning provide

continuity to the power of lineages to control production and trade. More powerful than control is the highly esteemed prestige, the highest reward for which chattel wealth could be sacrificed to obtain. The chattels come from a variety of sources, any of which are manufactured, purchased, acquired, or in receipt of obligation. Those lineages that control territorial areas for access to natural resource production have the greatest advantage to obtain surplus chattels, and the highest level of incentives to retain control of those areas. The Aboriginal economy consists of extensive commerce and distribution of the *production surplus* from natural resources products. The successful production inevitably led to population expansion and subsequently the need for continued order of human societies in the Pacific Northwest. How wealth is generated and how it flows through the Aboriginal economy is a vital key to understanding social organization. Social institutions are intimately entwined with territorial access to resources and surplus production. The continuity of social reproduction maintains lineage participants in the social institutions that orchestrate the power of law.

The longevity of these social institutions for more than ten thousand years indicates surplus production is the driving factor for economic resilience in the Pacific Northwest. One product known as “Grease” is regarded with higher commodity and cultural value than any other within this region. Grease is obtained from eulachon *Thaleichthys pacificus*. The small smelt-like fish is used to produce a variety of products throughout its range however only in the North-central coast of its range is it used to produce Grease along with other fresh, smoked and dried products. Grease is a product of rendering the oil from the little fish deriving its Latin name “oily fish of the Pacific” for that quality. It is also used as a candle with a strip of cedar inserted throughout its length and transforming the fish into a candle.

The use of eulachon provides a mechanism to demonstrate how social organization resonates throughout Aboriginal resource management in relation to wealth generation. Eulachon has been treated differently in contemporary resource management and does not have the same magnitude of issues found in high profile conflicts such as salmon or other fisheries management. Eulachon do suffer from severely reduced abundances nearly throughout its range (Moody 2008) from Northern California to the Aleutian Islands encompassing the entire Northwest coast. Grease is not made from the historically larger river systems that host the largest populations, Columbia, Fraser, and Skeena Rivers, although eulachon from some tributaries to the Skeena River are used to produce Grease. The eulachon are not used for Grease either north of the Unuk River (AK) or south of Knight Inlet (Klinaklini and Franklin Rivers, BC).

The geographic range of Grease production identically matches the region that has been observed to contain unique social complexity within the anthropologically categorized Northwest coast complex (Ames 1994; Kroeber 1939; Maschner 1991). The Aboriginal groups in this region may not have referred to their social organization and institutions as “complex” as Hawthorn notes, “...the culture area is something artificially created by the anthropologist” (Hawthorn 1965: xv). The environment of this region is recognized as one of high biological diversity, and as Maschner notes, “...the northern Northwest Coast environment may have been one of the richest landscapes ever encountered” (Maschner 1991: 926). The complexity of this area’s Aboriginal societies and their relationships of Aboriginal territory occupation and resource management are intertwined in an elaborate procession of lineage expressed and validated through the feast or “potlatch” system (Barnett 1938; Boas 1897; Mardsen 2007; Pidocke 1960, 1965; Roth 2008; Trospen 2009). Ames

(1994) suggests, “The relationships among households, production, regional interaction, and elite formation are more complex than previously thought” (Ames 1994: 211). Although anthropology has endeavored to understand these relationships, the premise for studying the constituent components (e.g., unit of production, production, regional interaction, and status, etc.) is flawed.

A complex social environment and a complex natural environment that are intertwined form a collective system of interaction with humans as part of the natural world. The tendency for anthropology, and other discourse, to separate humans from environments has brought forth untold mischief in understanding systems complexity. The challenge is not insurmountable however if the ‘baggage’ of social complexity is ‘unpacked’ to explore new perspectives.

The changes to territorial authority that have resulted are from some actions with direct intention and some with incremental steps to remove Aboriginal ownership in resource extraction, influenced by colonial aspirations at the earliest stages including the interpretation of ethnographic and historic records. By the time Hudson’s Bay Company was granted license for the colonies of Vancouver’s Island and New Caledonia, a litany of Indian<sup>2</sup> policies had already been derived from the other side of the “frontier line” as colonization advanced westward.

A new perspective on Northwest coast Aboriginal cultures and their use of resources is presented by examining the economic and cultural significance of eulachon. It may

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<sup>2</sup> The terms used to refer to people of various cultural groups may be one of the greatest manipulations of any language lexicon, semantic or morphemic attempt to refer to what the original inhabitants of any land call themselves in their languages, people. The literature used in this research has the usual variety of forms – Aboriginal, Indian, or Native – and are used interchangeably due to the material sources. The names that original groups use themselves are also used and these too have evolved through time in translation to more correct appellation. See Charles C. Mann (2005) Appendix A, *Loaded Words*.

demonstrate how Pacific Northwest Aboriginal people rely upon the wealth of territorial areas and natural resource production, how resources were managed through social reproduction, and how wealth was accumulated creating prosperous communities and healthy Aboriginal populations. Several anthropology scholars have described attributes of the Pacific Northwest Coast complex<sup>3</sup>. Many more scholars have studied individual groups or areas within the Northwest Coast Complex. Some have attempted to explore exchange systems although limited in extent. Few, if any, have elucidated the connective characteristics of social reproduction with the management of territorial areas and access to resources used for production of surplus products distributed throughout the Pacific Northwest economy.

### **Model selection process**

Selection of an appropriate framework for this research has been a challenge due to the two conflicting domains that have collided over a period of more than a century, the Aboriginal domain and colonialism, in a nutshell. Aboriginal resource management issues are complex and conflicts with state management (or other resource users) are often difficult to resolve. In addition, the two domains are antagonistic against one another with the Aboriginal domain neatly combining social institutions as an integral component for regulation of resource use compared to the colonial domain that developed multiple facets of regulatory frameworks to justify acquisition to the same resources. The dialectal viewpoint is nuanced by interpretations of the sciences of anthropology and economics, and the discipline

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<sup>3</sup> Boas 1888a, 1889, 1890, 1891; 1916; Carlson, C. 1979; Carlson, R. 1979, 1983; Donald 2003; Drucker 1939, 1955, 1965; Emmons 1914; Hale 1846; Isaac 1988; Kroeber 1939; MacDonald and Inglis 1976; Matson 1992; Matson and Coupland 1995; Mitchell and Donald 1988; Ravenhill 1938; and Swanton and Dixon 1914.

of law as they have engaged a navigation of the unique Aboriginal cultural legacy of the Pacific Northwest Coast.

The first proposed method approach for this research project was to evaluate the eulachon resource through a biological assessment that constrained consideration of regulatory authority, particularly from the perspective of the Aboriginal domain. A second proposed approach was to conduct an economic analysis using “classical” production metrics but other science elements seemed to be excluded. One more approach considered was comparison between Aboriginal legal traditions and Canadian common law but others have already made progress there (Borrows 2002; Daly 2005; Harris, D. 2001, 2008; Kyle 1996; Newell 1993; Sterritt, Marsden, Galois, Grant and Overstall 1998). The eventual choice for a model had to consider social institutions and their linkage to natural resource use. Folke, Pritchard, Berkes, Colding and Svedin (2007) describe the problem of “fit” between ecosystems and social institutions for the challenges of sustainable development. Folke et al (2007) suggest ecological, economic and socio-cultural issues have to be addressed in all three dimensions and the way in which these dimensions interplay and depend upon each other. Their approach sought “to endogenize the role of social institutions in large-scale biophysical systems, by looking at human systems as subsystems of the ecosphere” (Folke et al 2007:31). Their original 1997 paper posed several questions that are in essence similar to this research. For example they asked, “How does the scale (temporal, spatial, functional) of an institution relate to ecosystem being managed, and does it affect the effectiveness and robustness of the institution?” (Folke et al 2007:31). They contend that “few have analyzed the interactions between social systems and key structuring processes in ecosystems” (Folke et al 2007:31). Much of their focus is towards changing contemporary resource management

to engender the connection of humans within natural systems. They note "in ecological systems, time matters" (Folke et al 2007:33). They also note, "The life-spans and life histories of economically important plants and animals set the rhythms for many institutions designed to regulate the harvest and use the biotic resources" (Folke et al 2007:33).

The challenges of restoring degraded ecosystems to attributes of functional resiliency at minimum, and coordinate mechanisms of resource use that are more responsive to dynamic conditions, are summarized by Folke et al (2007: 55) in the context of research challenges for the problem of fit between ecosystems and institutions. The concept of "fit" emerged from an increasing awareness of the interplay between ecologic, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions of challenges to sustainable development (Folke et al 2007: 30). The interplay to these dimensions is complex, and human agency may be the only common attribute to link all three. Folke et al suggest, "Needed are institutions that are in tune with the functions of ecosystems and the natural resources and ecological services that they generate at multiple scales. ... A major challenge concerning the problem of fit is to build institutions that monitor ecosystem change and that generate, accumulate, and transfer ecological knowledge and understanding. A new concept of management must provide for actions that *nurture* rather than constrain variability, and that allow disturbance to enter at scales that do not disrupt ecosystem performance and resilience" (emphasis added; Folke et al 2007: 55). The ancient concepts of Aboriginal management may demonstrate these types of actions that nurture variability and are responsive to disturbances by the actions of the human actors as part of the system. A separation of humans from ecosystems is antithetical to the Aboriginal legacy but these linkages and the fit of their connectivity is obscured by several complications.

One way to consider the fit between ecological systems and social institutions is to view the spatial scale of the landscape and locate attributes of the social institutions upon it, physically or metaphorically. The social institutions may prescribe use that has diagrammatic features to match the attributes of ecosystems in the land- or seascape. The social institutions may have shape constructively similar to the ecosystem. An example of clarifying a property right provides some questions to frame the institutional fit (Folke et al 2007: 56). What is the rubric for the performance of the ecosystem-social institution fit to demonstrate sustainability? The question assumes two things, first, the ecosystem is delineated or known, and second, social institutions are present with some relative association. To measure the 'fit' also assumes it has some shape or feature that can be measured or observed. A different view of how Aboriginal social institutions are structured and their function may help to unravel the complexity of fit. The longevity of Pacific Northwest cultural continuity over 10,000 years in the same place must be a strong indication of sustainability and resiliency.

The Pacific Northwest coastal-forest ecosystems have been delineated in reference to biogeoclimatic zones (Round River Conservation Studies, The Nature Conservancy of Canada and The Nature Conservancy – Alaska 2003). A map produced as part of a project to identify conservation targets for terrestrial ecology is included below, as Figure 1. Map 2 in their project identically covers the region of eulachon Grease production. The cultural groups may expand beyond the region depicted in the map but the purpose of using this map frames the context of a known ecological system. The preferred production of Grease does match the ecologically defined region. The question is- does the ecological region of use for eulachon *Thaleichthys pacificus* for the purposes of making Grease find congruence with social institutions?

The North-central Pacific Northwest coast is characterized by steep coastal mountains incised by deep fjords, estuarine inlets, river deltas and insular islands. The amount of lowlands space is much less in the north compared to the south. The flanks of Stikine, Skeena and Bella Coola Rivers are more severely constricted by steep topography than the Fraser and Columbia Rivers in their lower reaches. The amount of space accessible for comfortable living conditions is more limited in the more northerly region.

The Aboriginal institutions that persisted for 10,000 years experienced colonial interruption to their social continuity before ecological crises fully manifested. The period of time from the introduction of what would inevitably manifest in unforeseen changes up to the present situation of highly profiled ecological crises contains an array of historical actions. A combination of multiple trajectories for these changes is manifested through a litany of discourse. The contextual depth of these trajectories requires immersion into many fields to portray what may be considered a more comprehensive depiction of the Aboriginal domain. For this reason, the volume of information is enormous to explicate the historical actions and associated nuances that have dispossessed Aboriginal groups of their territories and resources resulting in the removal of the ecological-social institutions fit.

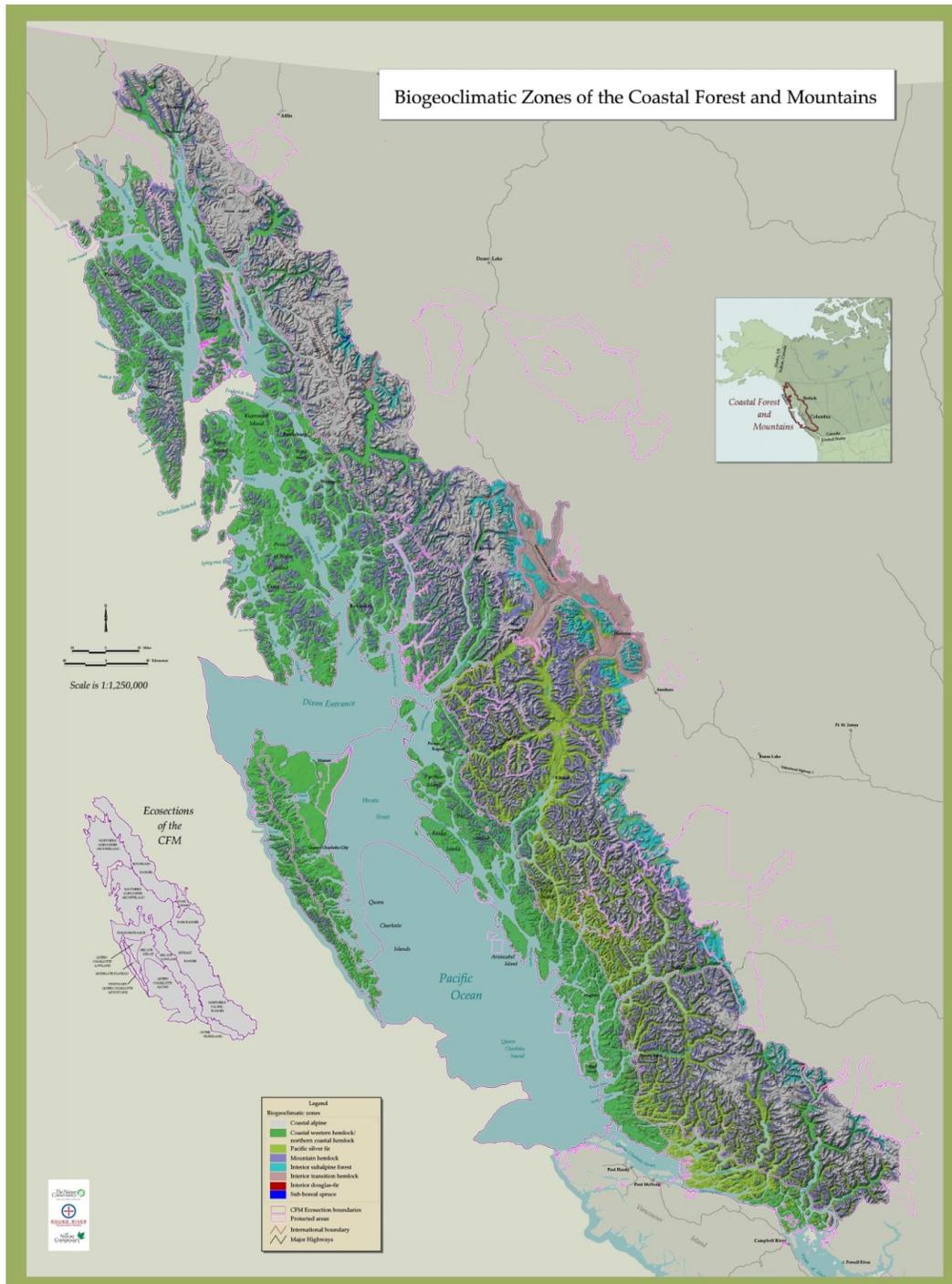


Figure 1. The map produced in the draft "A Conservation Area Design for the Coastal Forest and Mountains Of Southeast Alaska and British Columbia" by a consortium of the Round River Conservation Studies, The Nature Conservancy of Alaska, and Nature Conservancy of Canada (2003; permission). It coincidentally matches the region where preferred "Grease" is produced from eulachon *Thaleichthys pacificus*.

## **Literature review**

The colonial frontier culminated with the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company and their establishing 22 forts in the Pacific Northwest punctuating an ancient landscape. Several authors have written about the period known as history – the time considered after contact, and the interactions with Aboriginal populations. The purposes for the colonial frontier to advance out of the reformation and revolution of Europe were mostly for the pursuit of lands, trade and profit (Bancroft 1886, 1887; Bolt 1999; Davenport 1917; Galois (Colnett) 2003; Johnston 1912; Stagg 1981; and Todd 1880). It may be impossible to trace a specific line of 'cause' by not having the ability to retrospectively review all players that comprised the entirety of transformations. The purpose for exploring history is to identify key events effused with the theoretical, sometimes philosophical, constructs of colonization as it crept across the North American continent. Records of the colonial period include administration, missionary endeavor, scientific journals, and government reports with emphasis for retrieving statistics: Parliamentary Select Committee (1837), McDonnell Dawson (1881), Van Zandt (1966), United States Senate (1840), the Church Missionary Intelligencer (1856, 1858), International Boundary Commission (1906), James White (1915), Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada in 1889 (1890), Department of Marine and Fisheries (1893), and Dominion British Columbia Fisheries Commission (Prince 1908). Sources from historians that have reviewed some effects of contact include Moeller (1966), Oliver (2007), C. Harris (1997-98), D. Harris (2001, 2008), Newell (1993), and Fisher (1976). Other sources of history are also derived from other fields such as anthropology, economics, law, and resource management (see below).

The lucrative fur trade between the Pacific Northwest Coast and various merchants occurred for over a century. Aboriginal groups maintained their territorial jurisdictions during that time and until colonial states extended pretensions regarding boundaries. The Aboriginal lands were subsumed in these pretensions and thrust both cultural and economic domains into conflict. These conflicts emerged with an intensity that is still pervasive across the continent and within the relationships that have evolved. The growth of the new republic, common wealth, and nation state societies is taught in public schools as history but without the experiences from an Aboriginal perspective. As Chief Philip Joe (1993: 5) recalled the first encounter for the Squamish with George Vancouver, "...our mutual histories since 1792 have been inexorably entwined, although recalled from different perspectives."

The interest in history for this research is focused on the perceptions of Aboriginal people by the colonial states and how these perceptions evolved. The colonial perceptions were based in philosophical views that were entrenched in the European mindset born from the medieval struggles (Galois 2003). The treaties between the European powers in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries chronicled by Davenport (1917) depict the magnitude of conflict among themselves in the assertion of theologian power. These treaties however did not arrest the conflicts among them, and as expeditions were declared and mariners sent out in pursuit of exploration, the conflicts were carried abroad. Several wars have been waged over pretensions of land occupancy. Remnants of these episodes may be found in the declarations of national languages that now in North America are English, French, and Spanish. The conduct of war between the powers of monarchs is not material to this research but rather the effect of their subjects in pursuit of those pretensions.

The pursuit of lands and trade in the new colonies held promise for expressions of those freedoms from oppression of monarchical rule. Loyalists staged an orderly progression of advance tempered by the seemingly mollified Treaty arrangements between the colonizing powers and possibly unaware of dissident factions (Stagg 1981). It almost appears as though these dissident ‘subjects’ may have wavered between loyalty and separation depending on their need to rely on power of force for an immediate purpose. Stagg (1981) describes a chronology of events from eastern North America that depict how the colonial state of affairs was driven by the pursuit of securing advantage to trade, lands, and mobilizing Indians for the war between colonial powers, or establishing colonial populations to justify occupation. Although at first only a few hardy entrepreneurs grasped the opportunities, and monopolized their control through trade boards and correspondence to the colonial state to secure their interest, they were enough in number to attempt an interminable denial to the inhabitants of these new frontiers of their legitimate ownership (Stagg 1981).

The effects of these encounters on the original inhabitants are chronicled in the reports of Indian Agents, missionaries, and colonial administrators such as Langevin (1868), Macdonald (1886), Morton (1973), Parker (1870a, 1870b), Ross (1870), Spragge (1865), the Church Missionary Intelligencer (1856, 1858, 1871) and the Colonial Intelligencer or Aborigines Friend (1850-51). Some concerns for the welfare of Aboriginal people were expressed by a few English Parliamentarians and a Committee was established, first to consider specific issues, and then changed based on its progression. Some of these committee members formed the Aborigines Protection Society, and subsequently members from this iteration led the way into scientific inquiry through the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). The British government offices appear to have relied upon

the consolidation of knowledge through the BAAS, including the participation of some members of Parliament.

Several authors have added to the historicity of the Pacific Northwest and specifically in relation to Aboriginal and colonial relations: Bracken (1997); Fisher (1976, 1992); Knight (1996); McLaren, Buck, and Wright (eds., 2005); Moeller (1966); Newell (1993); Nielsen (2001); Oliver (2007), and others mentioned in other sections below.

The field of inquiry regarding the study of ‘man’ advanced among scholars of the middle 19<sup>th</sup> century through a section of “ethnology” in the BAAS. It was not a new field of inquiry but the questions were becoming more refined, and an opportunity to expand pursuit of the greatest questions ever posed regarding humanity – the origins of civilization, the origins of culture, and how societies develop – could be explored in more concentrated effort. The Report for the First and Second Meetings of the BAAS provides an essay by Prichard (1833) on the progress of ethnography by reviewing studies starting in 1555 of the history of mankind based on philological and physiological methods. Between the years 1838 and 1842 a U.S. Exploring Expedition included the philologist Horatio Hale (Hale 1846) and includes characterizations of tribes in the Pacific Northwest region.

The Anthropological Institute developed *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (N&Q) and submitted it to the BAAS (Garson and Read 1899) for the purpose of providing to travelers a standardized format for recording certain features, characters and traits of Aboriginal people encountered throughout the world. Some scholars were reporting their investigation results through the BAAS ethnology section and interest in the field was rapidly expanding. The need for understanding Aboriginal people was also rapidly expanding as colonial encounters were increasing. The authors that provide insight to the character of this

field of inquiry and its expansion, particularly for North America are: Aborigines Protection Society (1850-51), BAAS (1885); Burrow (1963), Boas (1924), Garson and Read (1899), Goldman (1959), Lane-Fox and Pitt-Rivers (1899), and D. Wilson (1862).

As the colonial frontier advanced across North America local agents solicited the assistance of missionary societies to record and document characteristics and traits of the Aboriginal people. The N&Q offered a standardized template for compiling information particularly for people that were trained in vocations other than sciences (Garson and Read 1899). The Pacific Northwest coast Aboriginal people offered anthropologists an opportunity to engage study of populations perceived as the least affected by colonialism. The BAAS held a meeting in Montréal in 1884 and launched a Committee for the purposes of investigating North-western Tribes of the Dominion of Canada (BAAS 1885). The appointed committee provided a succession of 12 reports of their inquiries (BAAS 1885 to 1898). The interest of Dr. Franz Boas had already been drawn to the Aboriginal cultures of the Pacific Northwest, and the BAAS Committee found a worthy match by obtaining his services to pursue the investigations listed in their “Circular of Inquiry.” The Government of Canada provided support for these investigations (BAAS 1889).

The contributions of the work of Boas to anthropology are monumental (BAAS 1889, 1890, 1891, 1895, 1896, 1898; Boas 1887, 1888a, 1888b, 1890, 1891, 1894, 1895, 1900, 1920, 1924, 1932, 1938, etc.). Boas continued to pursue questions resulting from his Northwest coast work by joining the Jesup North Expedition to circumnavigate the northern Pacific Ocean. The resulting records of his work continue to provide subject matter for research in anthropology and influence scholars in a variety of disciplines. These archival records also have value for the Aboriginal people Boas studied although some interpretation

has been and continues to be contested. The ethnographic period during the late 1800s to early 1900s is often referred to as “salvage ethnography” for the corpus of materials drawn from a time of intense social change on cultures perceived as diminishing. The appearance of ethnographers in coastal towns for the purpose of recording physical/cultural attributes may have itself been perplexing against the simultaneous mechanistic prohibitions instituted by missionaries, Indian agents, and colonial administrators.

Other anthropologists were also engaged in early study of the Pacific Northwest (Dawson 1886, 1888; Drucker 1939, 1955; Gunther 1956; Hale 1890; H. F. Hunt 1918; Barnett 1938; MacLeod 1925; Sapir 1915, 1916, 1924; Daniel Wilson 1862). The emerging methodology was influenced by scholars studying aspects of cultural attributes in other regions of the world (Benedict 1934, Cushing 1882; Malinowski 1932; Mead 1934; Morice 1892; Powell 1877, 1887; Sapir 1916, 1924). Related fields of inquiry also contributed to the diaspora of the anthropological pursuits, notably sociology or social elements (Killian 1959; Lévi-Strauss 1966; Merton 1937; McIsaac and Brün 1999; Spencer 1872; Sapir 1924; Service 1975; Whiteley 1966). Anthropologists that have contributed to the literature on the Pacific Northwest coast region as a collective include Boxberger (1990), Duff (1997), Kehoe (1992), Miller (1989), Moss (1992), Hunt (1918), Ravenhill (1938), Suttles (1951, 1960), Suttles and Ames (1997), Donald (2003), Boas (1891, 1898), Ames (1981, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1998), and Ackerman, Hamilton and Stuckenrath (1979).

The anthropological interest in the cultures of the Pacific Northwest region again accelerated during the mid 1900s. Academic study of “pre-history” engaged the works of past anthropologists and archaeologists in hermeneutic pursuit of describing definite characterizations of dispersion, diffusion, and delineation of traits within and between

Aboriginal groups. Some of these scholars have been mentioned above and additional scholars with focus on the Pacific Northwest Coast are Ackerman et al (1979), Ames (1981, 1991, 1994, 1995), Barnett (1938), Codere (1956, 1957), Drucker (1939, 1955), Duff (1964), Homer (1938), Nash (1983), Rubel and Rosman (1983), and Suttles (1960).

The Pacific Northwest presented “exceptions” to the development of social anthropological theory in regard to the progression of “primitive” society, particularly in relation to structural elements of cultural society, but also in habits, practices and behaviors. The BAAS committee (1884-1890) convened to investigate Northwest tribes would facilitate change in the theoretical constructions of anthropology. Social and cultural organization has caught the attention of many scholars mentioned above with some exploring social complexity in more detail. These scholars include Ames (1981, 1994, 1995), Arnold (1992), Boon and Schneider (1974), Coupland (1985), Cumming and Collier (2005), Donald (1985), Drucker (1939, 1955, 1965), Ferguson (1992), Fitzhugh (2003), Fried (1967), Garfield (1951), Lee (1992), Marlowe (2005), Martindale (2003), Maschner (1991), Matson (1985), Mitchell (1985), Murdoch (1965), Nash (1983), Sapir (1915), Wallace and Atkins (1960), Roth (2001), Rubel and Rossman (1983), Ruby and Brown (1993), Ruyle (1973), and Sahllins (2009).

Some of the questions arising in anthropology related to interpretations of pre-historic cultures or societies were thought to be answered through archaeology investigation. The Pacific Northwest region proved to have several challenges to early archaeological study including climate conditions, topography, geology, and site locations. Harlan Smith, as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition conducted a reconnaissance of the Pacific Northwest looking for specific archaeological features (Smith 1899). The contributions of Smith (1899,

1900, 1924, 1925, and 1927) provide another perspective on the Pacific Northwest and some early consideration on degrees of cultural similarity in the region. The authors of archaeology investigation of the Pacific Northwest for this research include MacDonald and Inglis (1976), C. Carlson (1979), R. Carlson (1979) and Matson and Coupland (1995) for the regional context of their work.

Pacific Northwest ethnographies for specific Aboriginal groups are attributed to many of the scholars mentioned above with some additions to the literature collection and grouped by the following associations: Tlingit, Tsimshian, Haida, Kwak'wakawakw, Heiltsuk, and Nuxalk. The practices and customs of feasting (also referred to as "potlatch") among these groups has been approached by some of the scholars above but in more detail by the following: Barbeau (1950), Barnett (1938), Boas (1889, 1916, 1924), Codere (1956), G. M. Dawson (1887, 1888), Emmons (1914), Fleischer (1981), Godlier (1999), Grummet (1975), Masco (1995), Mauss (1990), Morgan (1989), Piddocke (1959, 1965), Sahlins (1963, 1972) and Thom (2004).

Anthropologists have documented activities and lifestyles that include eulachon (Barbeau, no date; Kuhnlein, Chan, Thompson, and Nakai 1982). Stacey (1995) compiles the ethnography records for eulachon and historic fisheries statistics for BC. Some ethnographic records contain mention of the eulachon for its use as a food source. Some articles describe use of eulachon by specific groups of people (Boas 1909; Birchwater 1993; Brown 1868; Drake and Wilson 1991; Lopatin 1945; Mills 1982). In 1881, 5,000 Tsimshians converged on the (lower) Nass to fish for eulachon (Hart and McHugh 1944).

The selection of anthropological materials for this research is premised on locating the constructs of perceptions regarding Aboriginal people, development of relative

theoretical conceptions, and how those theories or conceptions are transmitted through intellectual discourse. Attention is drawn to the use of some contested terminology, such as “hunter-gatherer,” “subsistence,” or “forager,” used to treat Aboriginal people and how those terms may constitute additional oppressive mechanisms in states with colonial origin. The anthropologists themselves have awareness of this dilemma in their field as is found in anthropological publications both from investigative research, from conference proceedings and the evolution of anthropology professional associations’ objectives. Since these issues are continuing, choosing an endpoint was necessary to frame the analysis of contested terminology from an Aboriginal perspective. The context of ‘contested’ refers to the way in which key terminology has been used to reduce understanding of Aboriginal people (i.e., forager, hunter-gatherer), their social organization (i.e., egalitarian, hierarchal), and relationships to economy (i.e., subsistence). Some anthropology conferences have been titled with some of these contested terms and some have resulted in publications that demonstrate the arguments of contested conceptual constructs in anthropology, specifically “Man the Hunter” (Lee and Devore 1966), “Hunter-gatherer” (Leacock and Lee 1982, conference 1978) and Conference(s) on Hunter-gatherer Studies. Some scholars have published articles specifically regarding these philosophical and conceptual dilemmas (Bashkow 2004; Bunzl 2004; Ferguson 1992; Foley 1988; Ingold 1988; Lee 1988, 1992; Maud 2000; Morrison and Wilson 1986; Murdock 1965; Myers 1988; Pálsson 1988; Poncelet 2002; Roth 2001; Solway and Lee 1990). The ambiguity of conceptions and theoretical constructs resulting in some terminology has consequences for Aboriginal relationships with the manner that government and society treats them (Kew 1993-94).

The economy of the Pacific Northwest Aboriginal groups has been depicted collectively and in general from a historic progression of the sciences (i.e., anthropology, sociology, economy) in ethnographies. Some of the scholars mentioned above have described observations of economic characteristics both in historic and pre-historic patterns. One of the specialized fields of inquiry that has evolved in anthropology is Economic Anthropology and is summarized by LeClair and Schneider (1968) in their Preface of *Economic Anthropology: Readings in Theory and Analysis*. The term 'economy' is a potentially loaded word due to the evolutionary use of its intended context. The divisions in economic theory were suggested by Clark (1899) to follow natural (equilibria) juxtapositions between production, distribution, and exchange based on sociological evolution. The theories from some political economists such as Smith, Marx, (and others) and to some extent Locke, were shaped into an orthodox of capitalism that did not seem to align with perceptions of Aboriginal economy (Godlier 1977). Gregory (1982) challenges the orthodoxy using an analytical framework to examine the 'gift economy' of Papua New Guinea. The concept of 'the gift' is also examined in detail chronologically by Lévi-Strauss (1966), Mauss (1990) and Godlier (1999). The type of commodities being exchanged, quantities, and sources is described by Carlson (1994), Croes (1992), Croes and Hackenberger (1988), Huelsbeck (1988), and others mentioned above for prehistoric British Columbia.

Some scholars describe the economic changes after contact (many are captured in the sections above for history and anthropology). An attempt was made by Suttles (1951) to unravel the introduction and diffusion of the potato use among the Coast Salish. An anthropological approach to Aboriginal economy is often approached by delineating some unit of production and more often than not, typified by a nuclear family household

consumption unit. A comparison is made, for instance by J. F. Martin (1973) of members in a Havasupai community who control consumption units have incentives for organizing labor versus those members without control of consumption units. Clarity is needed to distinguish production from consumption to better understand the mechanisms and magnitude of economic functions. It appears that anthropology has rather consistently conveyed economy in terms of minimal consumption (i.e., subsistence) and often focus on one main 'subsistence' item. The economic returns of Queets coastal fishing activity by household unit is explored by Barsh (1982). Ames (1994) notes, "Documenting the history of salmon's non-subsistence roles is a major cultural-historical problem. The focus on salmon production has tended to inhibit consideration of other elements of the mode of production in the coast's social and economic history" (Ames 1991: 211).

Archaeology investigations have revealed possibilities of exploring new analytical methods to reconsider prior conceptions of economic functions, particularly in regard to trade. A more detailed approach is presented through Pacific Northwest archaeology investigations by Isaac (1988), Croes (1992), Coupland, Coutlon and Case (2003), and Earle (1994). Specific case studies of investigating Pacific Northwest exchange systems through archaeological research are conducted by R. Carlson (1994), and Croes and Hackenberger (1988), and Croes (1992). Huelsbeck (1988) presents an analysis for surplus commodities that exceed subsistence quantities.

Contemporary law is another evolving discipline of human societies that require predictable order. Human societies have shaped their unique constructs and ethical regimes, which constitute their moral imperative (Beardsley 1936). What is ethically and morally just in one society may be similar to another society however their ontological origins may be

distanced by internal and external factors influencing the behavior patterns within each society in addition to geographic space and differing perceptions of time. Law as a science also has its origins in the deliberation of philosophical thought and propositions that started long before the monarchs of Europe were fighting amongst themselves to wrest power from one another. The most familiar forms of law are common and statutory. Several court cases depict individual and collective Aboriginal legal conflicts, and these, along with relevant statutory law have constituted what is colloquially known as ‘Aboriginal Law’ but is not the same as law determined by Aboriginal societies.

The “court” record is voluminous on Aboriginal issues related to conflicts of jurisdiction, particularly in fisheries issues. Doug Harris (2001) describes the history and relationships of colonialism and Aboriginal fisheries, and (2008) the establishment of reserves and the Natives pursuit of fisheries. Newell (1993) provides a history of commercial fisheries in BC and the subsequent marginalization of Natives out of it. Burrows book *Recovering Canada: The Resurgence of Indigenous Law* (2002) reveals existing Aboriginal legal structures in comparison to Canadian perspectives.

The legal instruments for North America that developed in tandem with colonization include the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*, Treaty of Utrecht, and the Charter of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Notwithstanding development of instruments in the colonial U.S. that also influenced the Dominion of Canada, key instruments in addition to those mentioned include the Treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia (International Boundary Commission 1906; J. White 1915), U.S. Senate Public Documents (1839), Treaty of Point No Point (1855; Gates 1955), *Fisheries Act* (1871), and confederation of British Columbia. Oregon Territory

presented some unusual challenges in the demarcation of international jurisdiction (Bancroft 1886; Beardsley 1936; Hale 1846; A. M. Dawson 1881).

The enactment of the *Fisheries Act* was the precursor to changing Aboriginal resource management to Dominion control. The changes in fisheries management are described by D. Harris (2001, 2008), Kyle (1991), and Newell (1993). Harris (2001, 2008) presents the direct effects of the colonial regime in carving out the smallest land-space imaginable to access Aboriginal fishing sites designated as reserves and the colonial impact to fishing activity through the constructs of Dominion and Provincial regulation. Kyle (1991) describes the legal control of Aboriginal fisheries and the way in which Aboriginal fishing rights have been defined by the government and the courts up to 1991. Newell (1993) describes the invention of colonial state regulation of fisheries and its progression of dispossessing Aboriginal fishing through five historical periods. Fishing technology specific to prehistoric salmon fishing is described by Berringer (1982) as found in ethnographies throughout the Pacific Northwest.

The legal foundations in Aboriginal societies are critical components for understanding the social institutions that orchestrate resource management although perhaps overlooked by scholars. Anthropology, ethnology and some historical records contribute to developing an understanding of the Aboriginal resource management regime for eulachon and other fisheries resources however many observations must be interpreted to explicate context. Resource management is typically the area of human interaction with environments that is generally expected to perform in a sustainable manner relative to the availability of resources. Sustainability is the desired endowment of resource use; it has been rather elusive, however, to contemporary resource management. Finding the pathway to link social systems

with ecological systems is embraced as an appropriate mechanism to reduce irreversible harm to fragile ecological functions. The constituent parts of the linkage must first be identified and these parts are considered by reviewing Berkes, Kislalioglu, Folke and Gadgil (1998) for their mini-review of basic ecological units with ecosystem-like concepts. Berkes et al (1998) explore the compatibility of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) views on ecosystems with the science of ecology. Berkes et al (1998) contend the spiritual dimensions of Aboriginal knowledge fail to attract the support of ecology scientists. Pierotti and Wildcat (2000) contend the spiritually oriented TEK converges with science approaches although differs in relation to place-based orientations and holistic inclusion in time and space of all organisms. The Aboriginal perception of the place for human relations with nature is described by Salmón (2000) for the kincentric ritual land management practices of the Rarámuri in the northern Sierra Madre Occidental. Salmón (2000) provides a cultural model of 'kincentric' ecology.

Exploring the cultural relationships with ecosystems according to how key species are used in an Aboriginal context can provide linkages with conservation of ecosystem values these key species provide. Garibaldi and Turner (2004) explore cultural keystone species use by proposing an index to identify cultural influence across temporal, spatial and social scales. The Aboriginal use of key species in ecosystems may have a variety of uses and vary from group to group within a region. These Aboriginal groups may have common or shared characteristics of use. Turner (2003) describes the ethnobotany of seaweed (*Porphyra abbottae* and related species; Rhodophyta: Bangiales) among the Aboriginal groups of the Northwest coast providing an example of how resource use and language terminology can indicate exchange of information (and resource products). A variety of techniques and

technology are used by Aboriginal groups for harvest and management of resources. A focus on the variety of fisheries technology and strategies used for salmon harvest is found in Berringer (1982) and Newell (1993). Berringer (1982) describes the characteristics of the technology used based on the salmon species and geomorphology of harvest locations. Landgon (1977) also describes fish harvest technology used by Tlingit and Kaigani (Haida) in prehistoric time and the transformation of technology to the present (or recent past) accompanied with different regulation.

How knowledge is used regarding the resources and their ecosystems is a key factor in Berringer (1982), Newell (1993), and Langdon (1977). Knowledge of the resource also contributes to ritualized management practices for salmon in California as presented by Swezey and Heizer (1977). Ritual practices can also include taboos as useful resource management tools. Social institutions that practice taboos are described by Colding and Folke (2001) as a subset of ‘informal’ institutions. Colding and Folke (2001) provide a distinction between informal and formal institutions in their exploration of resource and habitat taboos (RHT) that aligns with perceptions of Aboriginal societies (e.g., decentralized authority) in colonized states (e.g., centralized authority). Colding and Folke (2001) identify six categories of taboos and related functions in their review of literature from 1974 to 1998 and suggest informal institutions are operationally “invisible” to nature conservationists.

Finally, the risk of losing effective ecological-social linkages becomes more apparent in view of the modified Aboriginal access to resources effaced against the imposed regime by manifesting an “informal” economy. The attributes of social capital, social cohesion, and the “informal” economy pertaining to the Nuxalk is presented by Burke (2010). The transformation from the prehistoric conditions to contemporary deprivation in commercial

fisheries has produced what Burke (2010) refers to as “less visible and unaccounted losses for the Nuxalk” and provides conceptualization for collateral losses. Another recent perception is the characterization of some of these losses as “invisible losses” described by Turner, Gregory, Brooks, Failing, and Satterfield (2008). Some of their “invisible losses” are highly visible to the Aboriginal people experiencing the continuing imposition, which they may agree, however their work also contributes to developing the collateral losses this transformation has caused to the resources, people, and ecosystems.

The literature reveals what these transformations are and how they have emerged by evaluating the perceptions, misconceptions and theoretical constructs that have manifested through history and delineated the Aboriginal-Canadian relationships.

## **Methodology**

History is more than simply a chronological record of events from the past. Historiography provides an avenue for reviewing how those records are compiled. This research is neither a chronological record nor an evaluation of the records. Instead, it focuses upon locating the intellectual transitions of colonial discourse between early European (and Russian) encounters with Aboriginal people in the northwest and how that period of contact progressed to dispossession of Aboriginal territorial jurisdiction. It examines social change across the North American landscape, and in particular the Northwest Coast as documented by explorers and colonial agents, and the people that came to the continent with aspirations of a ‘new world.’ Of particular interest are records of colonial encounters demonstrating the indelible mark of colonialism on the cosmogony of North America (and similarly, other colonial enterprises) starting from the east and advancing to the west.

Records of the Hudson's Bay Company license were retrieved and reviewed generating questions for this research on the derivation of colonial authority. A search for records of colonial encounters was conducted starting in the Northwest region. The University of Victoria maintains *Colonial Despatches*, a digital archive consisting of records from correspondence conducted during the period 1846 to 1871 and accessible online. These records are indexed by the categories: People, Places, First Nations Groups, and Vessels and were used to locate specific entries for trade and exchange, development of governance, and to verify dates, places, and people in colonial encounter events specific to British Columbia.

Several archival collections were accessed electronically on the internet to find records specific to the Pacific Northwest coast colonial encounters in relation to the Aboriginal groups. These archival collections include (not in any particular order): Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University Collections Online; American Museum of Natural History; University of Washington American Indians of the Pacific Northwest; The Project Gutenberg; Library and Archives Canada; British Columbia Archives; Bibliotheque nationale de France, Gallica Bibliotheque Numerique; Sealaska Heritage Institute Collections; Archives of Manitoba, Culture, Heritage, Tourism and Sport; Hudson's Bay Company Archives; Internet Archive; Northwest Digital Archives; Canadiana, Exploration: the Fur Trade and Hudson's Bay Company; Boston Public Library; British Columbia Legislative Library; Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada; Our Roots – Nos Racines; and The University of British Columbia Library. Publications from early colonial historians such as Bancroft (1886, 1887) and Du Ponceau (1824) provided references to specific documents that were subsequently retrieved although some were difficult (e.g., the 1837 British Parliamentary Committee Report) due to search string and

document title differences. The rapid accessibility facilitated by the internet allowed retrieval of a large volume of records. Since the Pacific Northwest region is the area of interest for this research, the last segment of the colonial frontier, historic colonial documents were parsed for relevance specifically to issues of Aboriginal cultural and economic significance.

The interest in anthropological materials for this research were guided primarily by four objectives: 1) exploring the early development of anthropology including perceptions, methods, and target subject selection; 2) identifying key events among anthropologists to develop or deliberate the progression of theory; 3) reviewing regional characterizations of the Pacific Northwest coast, specifically those that consider economy or its elements; and 4) retrieving ethnographies of specific groups within specific Northwest coast cultural complex.

The records retrieved to consider early development of anthropology were sourced from the BAAS annual meeting reports and transactions of their science sections, reports of the BAAS committees, periodic reports of the Aborigines Friends Society, and reports of the Church Missionary Society. The evolution of anthropology is sourced from these records as well plus the work of early ethnologists and anthropologists up to the recent past.

Methodologically speaking, looking at their initial basis of investigation helps to specify ethnography's relationship to colonialism. Did the perceptions of the early genesis of anthropology as a discipline of science during the mid to late 1800s feed into the evolution of colonial government policy that eventually became law as mechanisms to deal with the perennial question of 'what to do with the native races?' Tracing this role, as employed here, involved an examination of key events, defined here as found in the discipline's annual meetings and conferences such as the historic BAAS 1884 meeting in Montréal. Other key meeting events include "Man the Hunter" conference in 1966 and followed by two similar

conferences in 1968 and 1978. These conferences resulted in anthropologists deliberating the very meaning of concepts, theories, and potential implications of their research results on the people they study.

The local ethnographies were retrieved for locating content on social institutions with their relationships to resource management, and to extract economic data and Aboriginal knowledge. Doing so made it possible to profile differences and similarities among the different language speaking groups for their complementarities in relation to eulachon.

The methods used for developing a perspective of the Aboriginal economy include a hermeneutic review of historical records, ethnographies, and economic anthropology through the lens of archaeology. Historical records of the BAAS, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, and literature sources were surveyed for consideration of economic functions, value, and exchange.

The purpose for review of anthropology/archaeology specifically for economic consideration was premised on three objectives: 1) to extract information on tribal relationships within the region based on trade and exchange; 2) identify exchange ratios between natural resources products, and if possible, changes in value; and 3) seek observations of resource management activities.

The source of Aboriginal knowledge regarding eulachon was explored through interviews of eulachon resource users. More specifically, the resource users that continue to harvest eulachon mainly for the purposes of producing Grease. The region of Grease production contains key centers of production in the Knights Inlet, Kingcome Inlet, Nass/Skeena Rivers, Kemano/Kitlope Rivers and Bella Coola River. Other researchers were in the process of similar research in the Bella Coola system at the time so it was not included

in the interviews for this research. Another scholar Megan Moody has since completed an additional study of the Bella Coola system (Moody 2008). The international border along northern British Columbia and Alaska changes the manner that regulations are implemented for Aboriginal use of eulachon so north of the border was also excluded from the interview process.

Interviews were conducted during scheduled sessions with individuals located near their home areas of Prince Rupert, Alert Bay and Kitimat. Anonymity is maintained for all interviewees and designated through assignment of an arbitrary number. A standardized questionnaire was developed to frame discussions and track subject matter through the interview process. The sessions were structured in an open-ended concept to facilitate the interviewee's divergence on relative concepts, history, and experiences that may contain information not elicited by a specific question. Such a process is more relevant to an Aboriginal legacy that may include narration of stories or more complex history.

The standardized questionnaire was used as a template to elicit key elements of eulachon harvest (e.g., timing, volume, protocol), methods of harvest, processing and distribution of products, and resource management.

### **Research Summary**

The challenges posed by changes in resource management and the losses experienced by both the ecological and social institutions have materialized over a very long period of time. Navigating the interface of jurisdiction conflicts requires understanding how these conflicts have manifested through colonial collisions and the perpetuation of chronic misinterpretation.

The volume of literature presents a kaleidoscope of information from which to characterize perceptions, conceptualizations, and theoretical constructs that have acted simultaneously to obscure critical dimensions of Aboriginal authority over their territories, and specifically in regard to resource management. Scholars continue to study Pacific Northwest Aboriginal societies with more recent work starting to probe the Aboriginal meaning and cognitive domain of ecological-social linkages however these recent works are constrained by terminology that has developed from the colonial manifest.

The research methodology employs an interdisciplinary approach with multiple objectives. Material is derived from several sources to inform the analysis of dismantling Aboriginal access to territories and resources. The interviews with Aboriginal people supplement the material by showing continued use of the eulachon resource based on the cultural traditions of the groups involved in the production of Grease.

## **Chapter 2: Tracing the imperial steps trodden across an ancient landscape in pursuit of lands, trade, wealth and power**

“It is little more than three and a half centuries since the men of the Old and New World met face to face. For unknown ages before that America had been a world within herself, with nations, languages, arts, and civilization all her own” (Wilson, D. 1862: 457).

### **Introduction**

The intended transformation of the Aboriginal legacy was something that started long before the first landed Hudson’s Bay Company post was established in the Pacific Northwest. Conflicts between powers of the monarchs in Europe transcended colonial pursuits in newly “discovered” lands. This chapter starts by tracing the history of change in Europe that led to emigration of Crown subjects based on their aspirations of wealth generation and freedom from suppression to a land with seemingly endless opportunities. The first section takes us back to those transformations that encouraged individual pursuit of wealth generation. The next section depicts the reliance of Crown authority on religious order, imposition of sanctions and how these were combined in their effect to manifest the colonial frontier in North America. The following section profiles the entrepreneurial pursuit of wealth and the conflicts of royal powers to control that wealth. What emerges in the following section is the primary force underlying the invasion of North America, the pursuit of lands and trade. While all of this was transpiring, the Pacific Northwest coast remained known only to those Aboriginal people that occupied it. How it became exposed to the rest of the world is presented in the Pacific Northwest Arrival section, followed by a section on the conflicts of colonial powers over a vast region they called “Oregon Territory.” The colonial encounters at this point in history begin to manifest change for the Aboriginal people in ways

unimagined. While this is occurring, the British Parliament convenes a committee to consider the effects of colonization on Aboriginal people and results in a report that provides an outline for developing more compassionate approaches to colonial pursuits, including solicitation of assistance from religious clergy, and learning more about the characteristics of the Aboriginal people.

### **The law of the land as the constraints of power to seek new wealth**

The apparent simplicity with which a ‘monarchy’ is now perceived seems to defy how monarchs came to power through several millennia of conflict among tribes. “There was a time long after the first written memorials of history when the peoples whom we call French and English were unknown among the races of mankind. Writers agree that at one time Gaul and Britain were inhabited by tribes of a common origin” (Fleming 1890b: XXIII). The Britains may be considered the last emigrant Celtic tribe to the island of England. “Another tribe of Celtic origin, named the tribe of Brythan, sailing from the districts of Gaul contained between the Loire, the Seine, and the sea, landed on our island after the Logrians, and occupied the country between the northern Logrians and the aboriginal highlanders” (Hozier 1876: 3). The Logrians arrived on the island of the Cambrians (Cimbri) after the Cimbri, being expelled from Gaul, had “pushed inhabitants into the mountainous districts of Wales” (Hozier 1876: 3).

After Julius Caesar “had brought under the dominion of the Roman Republic the wild tribes of Gaul,” (Hozier 1876: 5) he pursued exploration of the lands with high cliffs seen from the northern coast across the water. “But the accounts of the civilized Romans of barbarous Britain were collected apparently much in the same manner as modern anecdotes of savage travel. According to them, at this time the Britons were divided into numerous

tribes, of which about forty-five are enumerated in the Commentaries of the Roman general” (Hozier 1876: 5). The ambitions of Julius Caesar after his conquest of Gaul was to invade Britain: “Julius Caesar, who four years previously had taken possession of the province of Gaul, then comprising the north of Italy (Gallia Cisalpina) with part of Illyrium and the south of France (Gallia Transalpina), resolved in the year 55 B.C. to invade Britain” (Hozier 1876: 15). The “main object was to increase his revenue” (Hozier 1876: 16). The invasion had its plights of disaster along the shorelines as storms damaged the Gallic fleets (Hozier 1876: 23, 27). The Britains fought Romans in chariots and horsemen with bursts of attack from the forest led by Cassivelaunus. “The natives had placed themselves under the supreme command of Cassivelaunus, the king of the Trinobantes, a tribe that lived on the north of the Thames” (Hozier 1876: 26). Julius Caesar demanded tribute from the conquered Britains but none was paid as they managed to live in relative independence from the Roman Empire.

The allies of Cassivelaunus however abandoned him after his loss to the Romans. “The authority of Cassivelaunus over his own tribe had been gained by violence and fraud: his rival was a refugee in the Roman camp” (Hozier 1876: 29). His successor Canobelin is thought to have introduced currency, possibly during the trade with Roman merchants from Gaul.

“During this period of independence, which lasted nearly a century, Roman merchants and traders from Gaul visited the island, and great progress was made in civilization by its people. A currency, the sure sign of the advancement of civilization due to commerce, is believed to have been instituted in his dominions by Canobelin, the successor of Cassivelaunus. He, while Augustus was Emperor of Rome, acquired supreme power over nearly the whole of southern and central Britain. Northward of his territories, the kingdom of the Iceni opened from sea to sea, from Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk to the western coast of Wales. The Mersay and Humber separated the Iceni from the Brigantes, who formed the third great federation, and occupied the land from sea to sea, up to the mountains of Caledonia” (Hozier 1876: 31).

This relative independence would last nearly a century until “the fifth of the Roman emperors, Claudius, in A.D. 43 was induced by British refugees to renew the enterprise of the first Caesar” (Hozier 1876: 33). Claudius obliged and Rome secured the southern island with the fall of Kent and Trinobantes along with obtaining dependent allegiance of the Regni (Sussex) for the increase in chieftain Cogidunas’ territory (Hozier 1876: 34). The position of dependent ally to Roman rule leveraged increased power in territorial authority. The Iceni continued to contest Roman power however were subdued and Cogidunas benefited with addition to his territorial domain. The mountain region of the north was the remaining theatre to eventually fall from Caractacus. “While the war with Caractacus was still being carried on on the frontiers of Wales, the Romans were consolidating their power in the south and south-east of Britain. Camelodunem, which became almost the head-quarters of the Roman power, was rebuilt by a large number of discharged legionaries, who there received grants of land” (sic; Hozier 1876: 36). Settlers received grants of land on condition of military service, the origin of the Roman Feudal system of land ownership (Hozier 1876: 46). The battles over power of the island, the people and commerce raged for several years until the Roman Empire collapsed. The Romans had introduced into Britain “the germs of a representative government, municipal self-government, and the rudiments of Roman Law, as well as the improvement of vegetables, and modes of agriculture and horticulture previously unknown. Under the Roman rule the Christian religion became the established religion of Britain” (Hozier 1876: 47) although it would not fully manifest until the seventh century. “In 596 Augustine landed in the Isle of Thanet, and in the course of a century all England was converted to Christianity” (Hozer 1876: 53). The sovereignty of the island was “left [to] the

leaders of its various parties to quarrel among themselves and to subdue each other as best they could” (Hozier 1876: 45).

After the Romans had left Britain, the Teutons or Germans espied the island terrain, after having conquered the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks who had overrun the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. “The Teutonic invaders consisted chiefly of the tribes of Saxons, Angles, and Jutes,” (Hozier 1876: 49) existing in isolation from the influences of Rome and observed a Pagan religion (Hozier 1876: 48). These tribes “still worshipped Wodin, Thor, and Freia, still believed in Nastrond and Valhalla, and held exactly the same creed as they held in the deep forests of Germany before they sailed to England” (Hozier 1876: 52). These people believed their kings were descended from a deity Wodin. The kings were chosen, not necessarily hereditary, and their powers checked by the Witan (possibly wise advisory).

“In every hundred and every shire there were smaller courts and larger tribunals for the judgment of criminals, the assessment of damages, and the consideration of legislation. Yet high birth, as in modern Germany, was held in great esteem ; the free people were divided into the Ceorls and the Eorls, or “simple” and “gentle,” while the Thaners seem to have been such Eorls as formed the landed aristocracy or were employed in the court of the king. These men were all free, although the Ceorl was transferred with the land, was forced to live as the client of an Eorl, and follow him to battle when required” (Hozier 1876: 52).

This new invasion of England was at first incremental with incursion against the Picts and Scots (northerly mountainous Celt stronghold) until the Britons were forced to defend the island against Germanic domination. These incursions of tribes against tribes resulted in the seven English kingdoms: Kent (Jutes); Sussex; Wessex; East Anglia (Angles); Essex; Northumbria and Mercia. These kingdoms occupied areas on the landscapes with boundaries of other kingdoms. As Hozier (1876: 50) notes, the term ‘Saxon Heptarchy’ is a misnomer as these boundaries waxed and waned through time and bordered along the Welsh, devoutly

Christian worshippers with no intention of “preaching to their oppressors the tidings of peace and goodwill to all men” (Hozier 18876: 52). “The Welsh race was regarded as prostrate and unfit for any purpose but slavery, and a Virginian planter would as soon have dreamt of embracing the religion of Dahomey in deference to the solicitations of a hand on a cotton plantation, as would an English Eorl of listening to the most glorious truths of Christianity, if asserted by a member of the despised race” (Hozier 1876: 52). The Welsh were the first to experience incursions from Gaul to the island with their retreat into the highlands. Although there is much more detail to the history of England, including additional incursions by the Danes, the stage for extra-territorial pursuits is often remiss in those tumultuous circumstances that provides the political contours of asserted power. “The tribes of the interior of the island led a pastoral life ; their hovels, made of reeds and wood, or in some cases but holes in the ground covered with these materials, were huddled together in clearing of the forests which spread abundantly over the country ; in the immediate neighbourhood of these so-called towns (similar in reality to the pahs of New Zealand), which were defended from surprise and attack by barriers among the trees, their cattle were folded and their little cultivation carried on” (Hozier 1876: 5). Their wealth was mostly estimated by their numbers of cattle (Hozier 1876: 28).

The Roman rule over Britain was a superficial edifice that transformed territorial rule of mountains to sea in kingdoms delineated by power asserted in populace elected heads bearing a crown or title. Shifts in power aligned with submission to the Roman sovereign and were rewarded with grants of land. Ownership of land, especially in fief however was encumbered with obligations to uphold allegiance to the sovereign. The same type of mechanism was deployed by the former Teutonic people with their use of “Eorl” and the role

of “Ceorl” that transferred with the land in subservient allegiance. These titular aristocracies separated themselves from the subjugated, each the subject of their conquered domain. The latest incursions pressing each antecedent subjugated power farther to the rank of slavery in acquiescence for the aristocracy. What results is a consolidation of power and the objects of which were to secure wealth, prosperity and perhaps most importantly, freedom. Historians may argue over interpretations of power shifts among people and those who ruled over them based on their own laws of the land. What we can see is that “land ownership” has a variety of influences related to territorial possession.

The social changes that would emerge as “Europe” manifested in the aftermath of the Roman Empire collapse but remained in turmoil through the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Hozier 1876). The colonial pursuit of ‘new lands’ intensified the contests between those ‘rulers’ asserting power. The history of the colonial era has its beginning in Europe long before the reformation period when principles of land ownership constrained individual propriety and economic productivity. The property ownership concepts were challenged by English Barons and Lords when King John sought to impose tariffs and rents on their feudal properties. The 1215 Magna Carta set in motion a dynamic change in power relations likely initiating the genesis of the British Parliament. A 1297 British Statute enacted by Parliament memorialized “freemen” of the Magna Carta and provided the legal doctrine to challenge King Charles I. The antiquity of the doctrine has lost much of its relevance through the evolution of representative forms of government however it is the basis for the British Constitution and of several British colonies. One of the phrases still considered relevant is this: “No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way

destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land” (Magna Carta 1215).

The pinnacle of the reformation was the split of the Empire of England away from the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. The rule of the sovereign monarch prior to the revolution in 1688 was by their prerogative with the aid of ministers (Todd 1880: 2). The revolution of 1688 resulted in “three leading maxims of the British Constitution ...the personal irresponsibility of the king ; the responsibility of his ministers for all acts of the Crown ; and the inquisitorial power and ultimate control of Parliament” (Todd 1880: 3).

The British Constitution evolved over time from its foundation in the *Law of the Land* (de Vattel 1797; Magna Carta 1215). The defining feature of the British Constitution based on the Law of the Land lent itself to the U.S. Constitution: “This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land” (U.S. Constitution, Article VI).

The land of North and South America was entirely unknown to the rest of the world until the 15<sup>th</sup> century. After Marco Polo’s return to Venice with news of the riches found in Cathay, Zipangu and the rest of Asia, Europeans travelled through Turcomania, Armenia, Persia, Upper India, Cashmere and across the mountains of Tibet. Travellers encountered “countries inhabited by warlike races, given to hostility and plunder” (Fleming 1890: 89). The journey was long and dangerous but the rewards of enterprise and commerce stimulated overland trade routes “from Genoa, Florence and Venice, to the great marts of eastern Asia” (Fleming 1890: 89). Another route by sea was contemplated separately by Columbus, and John Cabot and his son Sebastian by sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. The first of the

Europeans to sight the Pacific Ocean was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa on September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1513. He was followed later by Ferdinand Magellan. It was Sir Francis Drake who first navigated the Pacific shores of North America as far as north latitude 48°N in the hope of finding a shorter route home. In 1579 Drake named the portion of the Northwest coast “New Albion” that would later become “Oregon Territory” (Fleming 1890: 94). Several attempts were made during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by various European powers to seek expedient passage to Asia through the waterways of the Americas but were dismal failures (Fleming 1890: 91-93). The Hudson’s Bay Company was incorporated in 1670 and pursued exploration for the passage sending two ships in 1718 with both meeting a perilous fate. The rescue vessel sent after them returned without locating either vessel however “[t]he officer in charge, Mr. John Scroggs, upon his return, reported confidently that a passage to the Pacific could be found” (Fleming 1890: 93). Serious doubt was cast on the existence of the passage after overland journeys across North America coupled with the results of Vancouver’s 1792-1794 exploration voyages. The possibility of a Polar passage continued to employ mariners for another half century (Fleming 1890: 97). While these mariners and explorers were engaged in their pursuit, other Europeans sought opportunities in the newly “discovered” lands of the Americas.

The colonization of North American eastern seaboard during the 17<sup>th</sup> century is characterized by a “diversity of British commercial pursuits... with widely disparate forms of political organization which evolved among the separate colonies” (Stagg 1981: 10). The general administration of each colony was controlled by those with personal and public fortunes deeply involved in colonial defense, Indian policy and private commercial initiative. The British Parliament tried to reconcile greater control of mercantile traffic through the Acts

of Trade and Navigation legislation and later through the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations but without functional effect. The “Board of Trade” became “little more than a pressure group seeking to influence the choice of American officials and the formulation of colonial policy” (Stagg 1981: 11).

Other academics were narrating treatises based on their philosophical view of the larger masses of people and its transformative change that would influence policy and law in the developing ‘new world’. Those most influential were perhaps Adam Smith in his 1776 *Wealth of Nations* and John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Government*. Arneil (1996) argued that Locke’s assertion on property was written to justify dispossession of Aboriginal lands. Locke may have been the first to use the term “subsistence” in relation to perceived needs of the Aboriginal people, within the context of the public audience he had attracted.

### **A thorny crown: Early Canadian encounter and colonialism**

The history of religion in the Americas can be a sensitive topic, and as an institution has had pronounced effects across North America, and other areas, both bad and good. The role religious order played in the colonial period however is less known or by chance faded into distant memory. The manifestation of state power through the manipulation of religious edicts played out in Europe among the monarchs as they jockeyed for control of lands and trade and subsequently spilled into colonial enterprises.

The colonial relationships of French and Indians were fostered by the French “...control and encouragement of religious instruction” (Stagg 1981: 5). The first French settlement included two Catholic priests that “combined the theological and temporal objectives of the state” (Stagg 1981: 5). The “Jesuit and Sulpitian neophytes from seminaries throughout France competed for assignments to the New World” (Stagg 1981: 5). The result

was that “Indians traded with and defended those whom they respected and trusted most. The personal friendships and alliances which the French Priests established among the Indians aided France’s commercial and territorial objectives in the New World. Religious and trade monopolies were irrevocably linked together” (Stagg 1981: 6). The duration of friendly relations however were vulnerable to the fragile loyalties played by Crown against Crown, or colony against colony, as demonstrated by a Mohawk: “We don’t know what you Christians French and English together intend, we are so hemm’d in by both, that we have hardly a hunting place left ... we are so Perplexed, between both, that we hardly know what to say or think” (Stagg 1981: 79).

While the French included Priests in their North American frontier endeavor, very few instances of missions are mentioned in the colonial history regarding British ministries until nearly the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These endeavors were facilitated by British engagement but differently than the French had employed their Priests. The effects of the reformation in Europe may have been so acute to cause some Christian faith practices to languish nearly to extinction. The Church of England and its rise in the reformation period had an antecedent effect on other Christian denominations. The Church Missionary Intelligencer (1856) portrays a lull in spiritual Christianity in England following “the Act of Uniformity, and the consequent ejection of 2000 conscientious ministers, impoverished the establishment, and prepared the way for a dull and listless period...” (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856: 1). The succession of England’s rulers had marked effects in the manner of religious sanction resulting in a loss of national religious vitality. The clergy still preached but with less characteristic zeal until scholars painfully acknowledged the need to revive evangelizing instruments. The promise of revival, it turns out, was “rising gradually on the

darkness of the scene, shed abroad its illuminating influences” (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856:1). Some religious men were noticed for their skills in preaching and teaching abroad to “enlighten the colonists and Indians of Georgia, as well as the thoughtless and ignorant of their own land” (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856:2).

“The Spirit of God, having rekindled the flame of vital godliness at home, and elicited spiritual action out of a dead formality, moved the hearts of Christians to unfeigned compassion for the millions lost in the wilds of heathenism. The great duty of communicating the gospel to the unevangelized had been acknowledged, some ninety years previously, in the incorporation, under William the Third’s auspices, of a Society for the propagation of the gospel among infidels, and settling schools in our plantations, &c. It had been still further recommended to the notice of British Christians by the self-denying efforts of the Moravian Missionaries ; and now the new Missionary organizations rose into existence” (sic; Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856:2).

The Church Missionary Society suggested that without a procedural society the “Missionary action of the national church would have remained as it had been throughout the eighteenth century, in a feeble and unsatisfactory condition, without any extension of its sympathies beyond the limits of our own colonial possessions” (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856:3). The scope of the evangelical mission pursuit was global, with emphasis on the continents of Asia, Africa and America (Church Missionary Society 1856).

The mission effort was also viewed as necessary for their own countrymen:

“... while awakened consciences and tender hearts have in this way been moved to care for the heathen in their distant darkness, gradually there has been created a sense of responsibility towards also, even hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, who, although living everywhere around us, were scarcely in less need of our pity than the miserable tribes of savage lands” (Church Missionary Society 1856: 4).

The missionary effort rekindled the vitality of Christianity after its own period of darkness: “It were hard perhaps, in some respects, to say which have been most benefited, the heathen through us, or we through them” (sic; Church Missionary Society 1856: 4). It was also considered by practitioners as necessary to advance civilization. The African

Missionaries were directed to "... "Branch out ;" and the first Missions were extra-colonial" (Church Missionary Society 1856: 7) with the hope to convert an interior tribe "...in its own fatherland, and with an acknowledged position amongst the surrounding nations, on whom its influence might be brought to bear" (Church Missionary Society 1856: 7).

"Civilization has gone forward as the action of the gospel has prepared the way ; and nations like the Sandwich Islanders [present Hawaii] and New Zealanders have put off their licentious and sanguinary habits. The profession of Christianity introduced into nations and tribes has transmitted itself from father to child ; and children's children are now receiving instruction in the schools where their fathers were taught" (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856: 7).

The first Christian Mission in Canada was in Rupert's Land in the Red River area in 1832. Their intent was to transform the superstitious dread and unsettled habits "...to induce them to build houses, and, by the cultivation of the ground, furnish themselves with more permanent supplies than the casual results of venery, was the first step needful to be attempted" (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1856: 50). The first Christian Mission in the British possessions of the Pacific Northwest was proposed at Fort Simpson in 1856 on the north coast between 48° and 55° N latitude extending from the Pacific Ocean coast to the Rocky Mountains (Church Missionary Society 1856: 167).

The organized proliferation of religion was not new to colonial effort and in fact, through history had been intimately tied to the state. The Romanized Christianity in Britain was perhaps displaced by the arrival of the Teutonic Saxons, Angles, and Jutes and the changes they had brought with them. The philosopher and theologian Augustine landed at the Isle of Thanet in 596 (Hozier 1876: 53).

"Thus, in less than a century after Augustine bore the first invitation to Christianity in Kent, the whole of Britain, except perhaps the small colony of Jutes who dwelt in the Isle of Wight and the county of Southampton, embraced Christianity. From among the converts of England arose a Church which, for learning and devotion, not only commanded the admiration of Christendom, but which sent

forth missionaries to preach the gospel of eternal life in foreign lands, and especially in our fatherland, the northern portions of Germany. Wilfrith, who converted the South Saxons, preached also to the Frisians, and many other English missionaries undauntedly carried the news of salvation among the benighted Pagans of Germany” (Hozier 1876: 54).

The monarchs and their religious orders acted in concert regarding exploration outside of their home domains. As arguments between monarchs contested authority to pretensions their Church leaders were called upon to validate declarations, for example:

“The Spanish Pope, Alexander VI., decided the controversy in favor of Castile, assigning to that crown the exclusive right to acquire territory, to trade in, or even to approach the lands lying west of the meridian situated one hundred leagues west of any of the Azores or Cape Verde Islands. Exception was however made of any lands actually possessed by any other Christian prince beyond this meridian before Christmas, 1492” (Davenport 1917: 1).

Exploration and trade in the southern middle Atlantic sea was contentious between Spain and Portugal and generally conflicts were not resolved by such decisions or treaties. Several papal bulls and treatises had direct effect on the maritime powers of Europe in their quest for trade and new territories (Davenport 1917: 1). The Pope had powers to excommunicate and interdict that were called upon by monarchs to validate their positions. The power of these relations governed over the perceptions of others, particularly in their view of their authority over the non-believers:

“Moreover, as spiritual fathers of all the peoples of the earth, the popes had long undertaken to regulate the relations – including commercial relations between Christians and unbelievers. The Lateran Council of 1179 prohibited the sale to the Saracens of arms, iron, wood to be used in construction, and anything else useful for warfare. Certain later popes prohibited all commerce with the infidels. These prohibitions were, however, tempered by papal licenses to trade, which were on occasion granted to monarchs, communities, or individuals, or by the absolutions sometimes purchased by returning merchants. In order the more readily to obtain these favors, the applicant sometimes pointed out to the Pope how commerce tended to the spread of the Christian faith” (Davenport 1917: 11).

Davenport (1917) notes the bull issued by Nicolas V. Jordão, *Bullarium* sanctioned enslaving of the non-believers. Davenport also notes interest in two bulls regarding the conquest and colonizing of the Canary Islands that address slavery indicate the predecessor “Eugenius IV., the immediate predecessor of Nicholas V., not only wished to protect from slavery and annoyance those aborigines who had embraced the faith, but also expressed a fear that dread of captivity would deter others from conversion” (Davenport (1917: 17, footnote 27).

The newly ‘discovered lands’ became vested in Portugal after the Infante Henry died in 1460 but King Alfonso V was more interested in annex of Castile and left exploration to private enterprise (Davenport 1917: 33). A War of Succession ensued at Castile and extended “into the Canary Islands, where the Portuguese aided the natives against the Castilians ; and it gave the Castilians the chance to engage vigorously in trade with Guinea – a country which, in spite of the bull *Romanus pontifex*, they continued to claim” (Davenport 1917: 33). A peace was negotiated between Queen Isabella and her aunt, the Infanta Beatrice of Portugal by two treaties at Alcaçovas. The first treaty was for dynastic matters and “the second, a treaty of perpetual peace, incorporated and ratified the treaty of peace concluded on October 30, 1431, between John I. of Portugal and John II. Of Castile, and also included a number of additional articles” (Davenport 1917: 34). The treaty ratified on September 8, 1479 was used as the instrument that “the Catholic sovereigns ordered Columbus not to go to La Mina ; and that, in 1493, the King of Portugal claimed the lands discovered by Columbus on his own” (Davenport 1917: 35).

Religion had a strong role in manifestation of monarch declarations to order periods of fasting for the conservation of local meat supplies and this required substitutions of fish

(Johnston 1912). Mariner vessels ventured farther into the Atlantic in pursuit of fisheries to supply this growing need:

“But about this period, when Europe was going through that dismal era, the Dark Age which followed the downfall of the Roman Empire of the west, various impulses were already directing the attention of European adventurers to the Western Ocean, the Atlantic. One cause was the increased hold of Roman and Greek Christianity over the peoples of Europe. These Churches imposed fasts either for single days or for continuous periods. When people fasted it meant that they were chiefly denied any form of meat, and therefore must eat fish if they were not content with oil, bread, or vegetables. So that there was an enormous and increasing demand for fish, not only amongst those fortunate people who lived by the seashore, and could get it fresh whenever they liked, but among those who lived at a distance inland, and were still required to fast when the Church so directed. Of course in many parts of Europe they could get freshwater fish from the rivers or lakes. But the supply was not equal to the demand; and fish sent up from the seacoast soon went bad, so that the plan of salting and curing fish was adopted. The Norsemen found it a paying business to fish industriously in the seas round Iceland, Norway, Scotland, and Ireland, salt and cure the fish, and then carry it to more southern countries, where they *exchanged it against wine, oil, clothing materials, and other goods*. This led to the Venetians (who had absorbed so much of the carrying trade of the Mediterranean) sending their ships through the Straits of Gibraltar into the northern seas and trading with the Baltic for amber and salt fish” (emphasis added; Johnston 1912: np, Chapter 1).

Seasonal fishing excursions to North America were sponsored by mercantile and financial enterprises of Western Europe (Stagg 1981: 1). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Spain and Portugal began asserting control in trans-continental trade (Stagg 1981: 2). Unrest between the monarchs and papal authority and also between followers and Catholicism generated a reformation period that transformed the social organization of Europe. Between 1530 and 1553 Europe was preoccupied with the reformation (Johnston 1912: footnote 9). Frustrated by monarchical rule the reformation also brought forth revolutionary change in the control of lands and trade that stimulated merchant’s pursuit of increased traffic. The British and French increased their interest in North America by the close of the sixteenth century with Crown-sponsored voyages (Fleming 1890: 90-92; Stagg 1981: 2).

“Gradually, these early British and French Crown-sponsored voyages to North America took on new importance: sovereignty over large tracts of unexplored lands was claimed on such bases as alleged symbolic acts of possession and first discovery. New World adventurers began planting flags, burying plaques and erecting crosses to assert or confirm to their respective sovereigns, largely undefined and militarily indefensible rights to North American soil. It was at this point, when European powers began giving substance to what had previously been only a vague arrogation of rights over North American lands, that the long history of Indian-European relations really began” (Stagg 1981: 2).

### **Royal protection of private fortunes**

A ‘new’ wealth in Europe came out of this paradigm shift as systems of commerce were developed in England, France and Spain (Davenport 1917; Du Ponceau 1824; Morton 1973; Stagg 1981). As the monarchs set about to facilitate exploration for a northwest passage, mariners were plying more distant waterways in pursuit of fish. The *nouveau riche* wanted more expedient access to fish and also to luxury items – teas, spices, silks and gold. One of these vessels entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence and unexpectedly gazed upon Aboriginal people clad in luxurious fur (Dunn 1844: 2; Morton 1973: 22). This was perhaps the pivotal moment that transformed the continent of North America, the discovery of a source of fur. The general population of Europe up to this time was relatively non-interested in the Americas with exception of a few mariner explorers and entrepreneurs. Pretensions were advanced by monarchs for ‘colonies’ and old rivalries found new ground for contention:

“The treaty which France made with Spain in 1626, and English interference with the French trade with Spain, were among the most important causes of the war between England and France which broke out in 1627. During this war the English, operating in the St. Lawrence River, captured the first fleet sent out by the trading Company of New France, and devastated some French settlements. They also seized some posts occupied by the French in the region of Acadia, but did not capture Quebec until after peace had been proclaimed between England and France in 1629 (Doc. 34: *Treaty between Great Britain and France signed at Susa and London, April 14/24, 1629. Ratification by the King of France, July 4, 1629. [Ratification by the King of Great Britain, June 11, 1629]*).

In the following year, when England made peace with Spain, under circumstances of domestic dissention that made it impossible for her to compel large concessions, the article respecting trade with the Indies was left in practically the same ambiguous form as in the previous Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1604. An article, which stipulated the return of prizes made south of the Equator, marked a departure from the ancient principle that, between Spain and other nations, might made right beyond the line (Doc. 35: *Treaty of peace and commerce between Spain and Great Britain, concluded at Madrid, November 5/15, 1630. Ratification by the King of Spain, December 17, 1630. [Ratification by the King of England, same date.]*).

The seizure of the fort of Quebec, together with a quantity of furs and merchandise, effected after the conclusion of the Franco-English peace, led to protracted negotiations between the English and French. These finally bore fruit in the treaty of 1632 (Doc. 36), which provided for the restitution to France of all places occupied by the English in "New France, Acadia, and Canada". Subsequently, a long and bitter quarrel between two lieutenant-governors of Acadia threatened seriously to involve the English of Massachusetts Bay. But the danger was averted by the conclusion of a treaty between D'Aulnay of Acadia and the magistrates of Massachusetts (Doc. 39, stipulating peace and mutual liberty of trade." *Agreement concluded between the Governor of Massachusetts and the Commissioner of the Governor of Acadia, at Boston, October 8, 1644. Ratification by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, September 2, 1645. [Ratification by D'Aulnay, September 28, 1646.]*" (Document titles added; Davenport 1917: 6).

The Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts was drawn into the foray between the lieutenants however had more interest in maintaining trade than settling their dispute. The Treaty of St. Germaine caused an upheaval for the English trading house at Machias in 1633 taken by Lt. La Tour, and the fortified trading post at Penobscot (Pentagoet) in 1635 taken by Lt. D'Aulnay, both from orders by Commandeur De Razilly. The latter post originally was French but taken in 1628, and again taken by Plymouth colonists in 1630 (Davenport 1917: 347). The Governor Winthrop refused to intervene in the colonists' pursuit to recover the post to avoid potential interference by England in the management of relations with adjacent French and Dutch settlements:

"But although Winthrop would not openly attack D'Aulnay, now settled at Penobscot, he regarded him as a dangerous neighbor and was inclined to favor La Tour, with whom the Boston merchants traded. After the death of De Razilly in 1635,

strife had broken out between his two lieutenants. La Tour, whose tenure of land and office in Acadia antedated D'Aulnay's, maintained that the latter had dispossessed him ; moreover *they were rivals in the fur trade*. In vain did the King of France try to end the contention by dividing Acadia between them, giving D'Aulnay jurisdiction over the coast of the Etchemins from the St. John River toward the Virginias" (emphasis added; Davenport 1917: 347).

The French had devised national direct administration and financial support of affairs in North America for protecting French territories and trade. The coordinated French effort "eased the responsibility of both colonial and Indian for protecting French territories and trade" (Stagg 1981: 4). The French colonial populations were clusters here and there that could not be construed as a "frontier line" of settlement:

"The absence of anything that could be construed as a "frontier line" of settlement permitted the French to escape almost entirely what came to be a major source of conflict between British colonials and their Indian allies: the occupation and use of land for purposes other than hunting and trapping. Turning large areas of frontier landscape into settled plantations would not only have bred friction between Frenchmen and Indians, but it would have been detrimental to the maintenance and growth of the fur trade upon which the economy of New France depended so heavily" (Stagg 1981: 7).

The British objectives for North America were applied entirely different "with the relatively haphazard and largely private sponsored expansion... left predominantly to the efforts and organization of non-governmental bodies. ...Britain chose not to exercise close state control" (Stagg 1981: 9). The entrepreneurs of Britain and their settlers abroad found profits

"for the British manufacturer, for the British merchants who sold on credit, for ship owners of overseas companies, for North American seaboard merchants, for tidewater planters interested in land speculation, for settlers who established themselves along colonial frontiers, for American-sponsored inland trading companies and partnerships dealing with Indian traders, for those traders who travelled to Indian villages, and lastly, for Indian middlemen who sought out the far-western tribes, bringing them the products of the woollen mills of Leeds and Manchester and the forges and fabricating plants of Birmingham and Sheffield" (sic; Stagg 1981: 9).

The British created “widely disparate forms of political organization [in its separate colonies by issue of] Letters patent, commissions, charters and imperial Parliament legislation [that] led to a complex and diverse set of rules and regulations for the local governing of British possession in North America” (Stagg 1981: 10). The British entrepreneurial colonists resisted any attempt by the British government to legislate uniform political control.

“The Acts of Trade and Navigation, although referred to in almost every royal commission issued to newly appointed colonial governors after 1697, were largely ignored. In many instances they made liars of the king’s governors who, out of ignorance or sympathy to a more open system of colonial trade, falsely reported colonial compliance with regulations” (Stagg 1981: 11).

This created instability in the colonies and unpredictable military defense and compromised relationships with Indians:

"It might be argued that unrestricted private initiative and diversity in colonial political organization, as opposed public capital support and uniform state control, were the cornerstones of British success in North America. However, the British approach did have its costs, but not the least of which was in colonial relations with the Indians" (Stagg 1981:12)

The French had a more cohesive national system of management (Stagg 1981: 10) in building their mercantile empire (Stagg 1981: 6). It provided “flexibility to negotiate in concert with French-allied tribes and the capability to respond to changing conditions. Monopolistic prices of exchange, established each year for the skin and fur trade, guaranteed the Indian trapper or trader at least a basic price upon which he could depend, if not always a fair return for his labour” (Stagg 1981: 4). It was by no means an infallible system as evidenced by the Choctaw revolt in 1746 against the French as a result of “French shortcomings in the fur and skin trade” (Jacobs 1953: 314).

The British had no cohesive administrative management over colonial affairs. Britain attempted only once in 1670 to regularize treatment of Indians in North America:

“For as most of our Colonies do border upon the Indians, and peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are in our name to command all the Governors that they [should] at no time, give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us...do by all ways seek fairly to oblige them and ... employ some persons, to learn the language of them, and ... carefully protect and defend them from adversaries ... more especially take care that none of our own subjects, nor any of their servants do in any way harm them. And if any shall dare offer any violence to them in persons, goods or possessions, the said Governors do severely punish the said injuries, agreeably to right and justice” (as presented in Stagg 1981: 14).

The protection of Indians was needed but was overshadowed by colonial interpretation of protecting entrepreneurial regulation of the fur trade. Commissions and boards for the purposes of some regulation were created in the colonies consisting mostly of entrepreneurs in the fur trade (Stagg 1981: 15-16). The sole proprietor over the colony of Pennsylvania promised a new approach however “By 1714, Pennsylvania’s Indian relations were placed under the stewardship of one James Logan, a former Secretary of the Province, who soon developed a far-flung network of fur traders and had his personal wealth quintuple during his first six years as Indian Commissioner” (Stagg 1981: 16). His successors also profited from protecting trade interests.

### **Lands and trade in chaos**

The period of ‘contact’ is varied in time across the continent from east to west between European encounters with Aboriginal people and the changes that were wrought inevitably as a result of these encounters. The management of Indian Affairs, that is, the relationships of colonists/settlers with Aboriginal people, was chaotic at best. North American Natives had three things attractive to new colonies, enormous amounts of land, resource items for trade – furs, various foods, timber, and tobacco – many of these items

from the lands, and warriors to populate an army. Both “lands” and “trade” invariably involved the original inhabitants across the continent. The British Lords Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantations, known as the Lords of Trade or Board of Trade, administered to colonial affairs regarding trade and facilitating the legal instruments needed for conveyances. The competition for governance of trade prompted colonizers/settlers to manifest their authority through local ‘trade boards’ or local Governors and assemblies of colonies (Stagg 1981).

The malcontent expressed by Aboriginal people throughout the colonial period was disregarded because their territorial land ownership principles were perceived, conveniently, by the colonizers as different. According to Mauss, “The difficulty in determining social groups is explained by the non-existence of the nation in primitive societies. The nation only exists in part of modern Europe, and even here sociology shows that the degree of internal unification is relative” (Allen (Mauss) 2007: 20). In addition there was such diversity among the Aboriginal groups from place to place that it became convenient to dispel any standardized notion of Aboriginal ownership or single nation-state leadership. The historical records indicate moments in time that Aboriginal people were able to convey their ownership with the same equivalency in their expressions, ‘these lands are ours’ and ‘our lands are not for sale’ (Stagg 1981). Even as early as 1534 Cartier observed the consternation expressed by the Huron-Iroquois to his placement of a cross in their soil at the entrance to Gaspé Bay:

“But when they saw Cartier erect a great cross on the land at the entrance to Gaspé Bay (a cross bearing a shield with the arms of France and the letters "Vive le Roi de France"), they were ill at ease. It is certain that not one word could be understood in language between the two parties, for there were as yet no interpreters; but the Amerindians were probably shrewd enough to perceive that Cartier was making some claim on the land, and they explained by signs that they considered all this country belonged to themselves” (Johnston 1912: Chapter II, np).

Governor Clinton of the province of New York convened a conference in 1751. The Mohawk spokesman Hendrick conveyed at that conference, “The Six Nations demanded more tangible support from New York for the security of their homes and an immediate stop to the fraudulent taking of Iroquois lands by surveyors and settlers. The main source of complaint was apparently the unilateral extension of patents by colonials over lands not officially surrendered or sold by the Mohawks” (Stagg 1981: 81).

The early period of contact included promises of ‘protections’ for Indian lands often based on loyalties to respective Crowns to populate either an army to fight other Crown interests or to populate a colony (Stagg 1981). The early organization of British colonial government was ad hoc and precarious depending upon the political desire at the time it might have been relied upon.

Various colonial government officers and agents periodically reported their experiences back to the European state(s) that eventually transformed the philosophical view of occupied lands to *terra nullius*, unoccupied lands, and set in motion the complete disregard for the Aboriginal inhabitants (Slattery 1983). The result was a procession of arrogant displacement to ‘open up lands for settlement’ with entrepreneurial settlers mostly from England and France leading local governance. The areas claimed by the English and French were pressing conflict on the ground and in Europe. A Treaty of Peace, good correspondence & neutrality in America was signed in 1686 to convey the end of hostilities between the monarchs. In article III declaration is made one to the other that “...neither Shall they give any Assistance of Supplies of Men or Victuals to the barbarous or wild *Indians*, with whom the most Christian King Shall have a War” (Treaty of Peace, good correspondence & neutrality in America between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince James

II, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland ... and the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Lewis XIV, the Most Christian King concluded the 6/16<sup>th</sup> day of Novemb. 1686: (5) 315). It had no effect.

“Theoretically, the treaty of neutrality of 1686 and the agreement of the following year remained, like other treaties, in force after the Revolution, and should have prevented the spread of the war to America. Yet there seems to have been no serious thought of thus limiting hostilities, and they soon extended from Hudson Bay to the West Indies.

Preparations for contesting by arms the possession of Hudson Bay began promptly. A few days after Great Britain declared war, the Hudson’s Bay Company memorialized the king for commissions and letters of marque against the French; and for commissioning the company’s governor to form offensive and defensive alliances with the Indians” (Davenport 1917: 351)

Hostilities erupted between these factions causing enormous costs to the English and French that led to contemplation of abandoning the colonial efforts entirely (Stagg 1981: 41). By this time however settlements were becoming entrenched as an emerging society. The effects of colonization and settlement were devastating (Aborigines Protection Society 1850-51; Parliamentary Select Committee 1837). The frequency and intensity of war increased in North America and indeed the southern colonies became united in their complete sever from British rule (i.e., U.S.). The Dominion of Canada remained British, and the progression that started on the eastern coast continued to advance west.

### **Colonial arrival in the Pacific Northwest after a century of maritime fur trading**

At the time of the Royal Proclamation 1763, the Northwest coast was completely unknown to the British. The region was considered an appendage of the British Crown after Vancouver’s 1792-94 visit “but on which, regarded as of little value, was left in the hands of fur-trading Companies, until the discussion of the Oregon question brought it into notice” (Church Missionary Society 1858: 241). As colonial settlement expanded from east to west the northwest as a region moved along the margins of the advance to locations further north

and west and actually created multiple north-west regions (Morton 1973). The use of the term “Northwest” was applied by the French from their Ohio Valley occupation referring to the “Northwest Indians” or Nord-ouest with the plural form Nord-ouessieux shortened to *Sioux* (Mallery 1878: 352 footnote). It is a corruption of the Ottawa’s name *Nadowessiwag*, plural of *Nadowessi* derived from *Nadowe* or *Nottoway* “the Algonquin term used for the Huron-Iroquois, but also applied to a certain species of snakes” (Jacker 1876: 716 footnote 1). Further evidence of the consistency for Anishinaabe use is provided by Kah-Ge-Gah-Bowh (George Copway) who refers to Mohawks from the Bay of Quinty as *Nah-doo-ways* (Aborigines Protection Society 1850-51:94). *Nadouesiouek* or *Natowesiw* as pronounced by the Crees referred to the sedentary eastern group of *Dacota* (means ‘leagued’ or allied). The early French applied *Nadouesiouek* to the eastern Dacotas “and *Pouanak* (Properly *Bwan*, plural *Bwanag*, the Ojibwa term for the whole tribe)” to the western Dacotas until it was learned both were of the same group, *Dacota* (present *Dakota*; Jacker 1876: 716). However the western group may have been the *Hohe Nakota*. The term “Cree” is an abbreviation for the term ‘Kristaneux’ (various versions) from another French corruption for the Ojibwe (Anishinaabe) name *Kenistoag* (Morton 1973: 13), or Kinistino. These were some of the Aboriginal groups in the region then known as the Northwest Territory that eventually was claimed by the U.S., hemmed in by the Great Lakes to the north and Spain’s ceded-by-France Colony of Louisiana to the west. Great Britain and France waged war against each other for illegitimate North American possessions over a geography which they knew very little. The theatre from 1754 – 1763 was the provocation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 that in turn provoked a revolution against Great Britain creating the United States. The extent of the North-Western Territory, purchased by the Dominion of Canada from the British

(present Northwest Territories, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba) was not resolved for a long period of time and became embroiled in conflict over geo-political boundaries (Moffat 2000) causing it to shrink in size (Morton 1973). Boundaries were difficult to conceive for a topography that was completely unknown. The Pacific Northwest emerged after mariners haphazardly sailed into it along the margins of the eastern Pacific Ocean.

It took more than a century to circumnavigate North America (Bancroft 1886; Fleming 1890: 90-94). In the pursuit of a navigable passage to Asia through North America, “The imagination of navigators, as it were, was allowed to run riot ; if the actual exploration were limited, in number and extent, theorizing went on, and several curious fictions were propagated, some of which have been placed on record” (Fleming 1890: 94). The maps of the continent indicate complete unawareness of North American topography until after the mid-eighteenth century (Fleming 1890:94) however search for the elusive passage continued into the nineteenth century (Fleming 1890: 96-99). The maps produced by Crown (French and British) geographers clearly indicate pretensions were advanced for lands for which they had no knowledge or awareness (see De L’Isle and Jeffrey maps as presented in Fleming 1890: 95-96 and Meares map as presented in Bancroft 1887: 7). Carver’s Map of 1778, another inaccurate account, actually labeled a substantial portion of the continent as “Parts Unknown” north of 50°N, and those labels and contours south of this latitude, fictitious (Bancroft 1886: 133). Earlier Dutch, Spanish and Japanese geographers also produced erroneous records (cf. Bancroft 1886: 100-136).

The Pacific Northwest coast was the last area of the continent to experience the effects of European intrusion. The period of contact on the Northwest Coast started with early mariner explorers and traders from Russia and Europe progressing to gold miners from

the North American continent and also eastern Asia. On the edges of the eastern Pacific Ocean, this region beckoned mariner explorers and fur traders as visiting guests for over a century, starting with Russians in 1741, followed by Spanish in 1774, and English in 1785 (Gibson 1992). The Spanish reached 58° N latitude August 22, 1775 (US Senate 1840) but its pretensions north of the 42<sup>nd</sup> parallel were an enigma shunned by the U.S. and Britain.

The Russian traders were periodically active from 1741 to 1767 before giving up due to the hostilities encountered. The Russian Government did not pursue further exploration until 1766 although individual Russians were compelled to seek furs from the Aleutian Islands (U.S. Senate 1840: 64). The Russians did not advance any pretense until 1799 (US Senate 1840). Bering and Chirikof first sighted the Alaskan coast in 1741 followed by investment of full authority in the Russian American Company in 1799 for the purposes of exploiting the fur harvest in Alaska. The first Russian settlement was established on Kodiak Island in 1784 with others following after 1786 and fortified “to impress upon the natives the power and greatness of Russia” (International Boundary Commission 1918: 205). The exodus of Russian American Fur Company outposts was, at some locations, more than personnel abandoning a post. The Aleuts on Oukamack Island who formerly worked for the Russian American Fur Company were stripped of everything upon the company’s departure (Colyer 1870: 543).

Fur traders from Boston plied the coastal waters of the Oregon Territory to Russian America for many years before U.S. and British pretensions were advanced for the coast. The European pretensions were the same as they had intended through the exploration of the St. Lawrence and Hudson’s Bay - to seek expedient passage to China and India for the purposes of trade through an elusive passage. Captain Vancouver was commissioned to map the coast

in 1792. The voyages of Captain Vancouver in 1792 – 1794 were exploratory in nature with opportunistic token trade exchanges. Vancouver's reports of the region invited merchants and potential entrepreneurs to enter into coast trading expeditions up and down the coast (McDonnell Dawson 1881: 122; Bancroft 1886). British trading vessels plied the coast waters for the first three 'seasons' before the American maritime traders started in the region in 1788 (Fisher 1992).

“In 1792 the maritime fur trade really began to burgeon. In that season there were twenty-one vessels engaged in the trade, nearly double the number of the previous year, and more than half of them were British. But in the following year the American outnumbered the English, and this trend was to continue until by 1801 the trade was dominated by American vessels, most of them out of Boston. The peak years of the maritime fur trade were from 1792 to about 1812. By 1825 the Hudson's Bay company was becoming active on the northwest coast and the maritime fur trade had virtually ceased to exist as a separate entity” (Fisher 1977: 66).

The Pacific Northwest maritime fur trade was fully engaged for over 40 years prior to the Hudson's Bay Company exclusive license for Vancouver's Island and New Caledonia that was a formality on the one hand, and a perceived pretension on the other.

“Among the American ships which traded along the north-west coast, in 1792, was the Columbia, Captain Gray, of Boston” (Dunn 1844: 299). Gray named the Columbia River on his map that he shared with Vancouver before his short ascent up the same river (Dunn 1844: 300). The local Aboriginal names for the “Big River” are by the Interior Salish (Sinixt) language as *Swah'netk'qhu*, by the Sahaptin language in its middle course as *Nch'i-Wana* (Hunn 1990: 3), and by the coastal Chinook Tribe as *Wimahl*. Many other Aboriginal people and languages are connected to the Big River and its tributaries extending into areas now known as Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and British Columbia.

The British intended to maintain their pretension to “New Albion” as discovered by Sir Francis Drake. Captain Cook was dispatched to New Albion “...to revive and fortify

these claims, Cook was instructed, “with the consent of the natives, to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain” (as presented US Senate 1840: 79). It is clear that consent was not obtained.

“The ownership of this region, always ignoring the rights of the natives, was at first somewhat vague; it was disputed by the several European powers, France, Spain, England, and after the first two had retired from the field England and the United States held a bloodless quarrel over it” (Bancroft 1886: v). Attempts to resolve the boundaries of Oregon Territory were conducted in 1818, 1827 and finally resolved in 1846 (Commager 1927:18; Merk 1932; U.S. Senate 1840). British interests on the Pacific coast may have been at risk if it had not been for Simon Fraser’s travels down a river from Prince George to its mouth, named after him, the Fraser River (Fleming 1890: 108), known to the Indians as *Tacoutche* (Fleming 1890: 105; possibly from Secwempe given MacKenzie’s location). Fraser obtained a canoe at Spuzzum (possibly from Nlaka’pamux) and continued his journey to the coast and found “The Indians on the coast were exceedingly troublesome, and Fraser was obliged to hasten his departure” (Fleming 1890: 107).

The extent of Oregon Territory was not clear but was delineated by British pretension in the north by a convention with Russia in 1825 preventing British from occupying “...no place on the coasts or islands north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes” (U.S. Senate 1840: 3). The southern portion was delineated by the 1819 Florida Treaty between the U.S. and Spain where “the 42d parallel of latitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, was fixed as the northern limit of the Spanish Territory and the southern limit of that of the United States in western America” (U.S. Senate 1840: 2). The U.S. considered the Oregon Territory to consist of “the whole of America west of the Rocky Mountains, from the 42d parallel of latitude to

that of 54 degrees 40 minutes” (Greenhow 1844: 20). The US Senate (1840) described the Oregon Territory,

“...as comprehending the territory drained by the Columbia river, together with the seacoasts of that territory, lies within the following natural boundaries : on the east, the Rocky Mountains, extending about nine hundred miles, from the 54<sup>th</sup> parallel to the 41<sup>st</sup> ; on the south, the Snowy Mountains, in their whole length about seven hundred miles, from the Rocky Mountain to Cape Mendocino, on the Pacific, near the 40<sup>th</sup> degree of latitude ; on the west, the Pacific Ocean, from Cape Mendocino, about five hundred miles due north, to Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 48<sup>th</sup> degree of latitude ; and on the north the Strait of Fuca, from Cape Flattery, about one hundred and twenty miles eastward, and thence by a line running northeast, along the summit of the highlands separating the waters of the Columbia from those of Frazer’s River, to the Rocky Mountains, which it would reach about the 54<sup>th</sup> degree of latitude” (sic; US Senate 1840: 12).

The control of trade is vested through the power of regulatory authority. On the Northwest coast the maritime trade entered into an already regulated environment controlled by the authority of tribal chiefs (Fisher 1992: 10). “The first Europeans to arrive on the coast noticed how Indian traders made efforts to prevent other Indians from trading with them. ... It is evident that these explorers had not arrived in a commercial desert and that definite trading patterns already existed” (Fisher 1992: 11).

The Pacific Northwest fur traders entered into a domain controlled by Aboriginal territorial authority of ancient origin. “Because the Indians had considerable control over both the trade and the power relationship between themselves and the Europeans, they experienced little cultural disruption during the period of the maritime fur trade” (Fisher 1992: 17). The relationships among these nations had long established interactions that clearly defined the depots of transactions. It was an aspect of the Aboriginal economy that already existed among the nations themselves. The benefits of increased wealth of the reigning chiefs blended fluidly with their already established prestige.

“During the maritime fur trading period the Indians of the northwest coast were not, like some pre-Marxist proletariat, the passive objects of exploitation. Rather they were part of a mutually beneficial trading relationship. The overwhelming impression that emerges from the journals is that the Indians were intelligent and energetic traders, quite capable of driving a hard bargain. The confidence that the Indians showed in their trading with the Europeans was indicative of the power relationship between the two races. By making a concerted effort the Indians could have destroyed any of the vessels that came to their villages. Far from being the victims of “an unequal trade with a primitive people” the Indians met the maritime fur trade and moulded it to serve their own ends” (Fisher 1992: 23).

The trading activity was controlled by Aboriginal groups located on corridor watersheds: Stikine (Colyer 1870; US Senate Report 1840), Skeena (Dawson 1888; Fisher 1992; Marsden and Galois 1995), Bella Coola (McIlwraith 1948), and Columbia (Hale 1846: 215). Any corridor that left the coast directed towards an overland route was controlled by specific groups for this purpose. The Hudson’s Bay Company determined to locate forts at *centers of commerce established by the natives*. The Hudson’s Bay Company established 22 forts west of the Rocky Mountains for the purposes of the fur trade. Furs were obtained by hunters and trappers of the Hudson’s Bay Company “but chiefly by trade with the Indians, who take the animals” (Greenhow 1844: 33). The principal headquarters for the company at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River (present Vancouver, WA) consisted of at least 700 people “of whom more than half are Indians of the country” (Greenhow 1844: 34). Oregon Territory was dissected by the Columbia River and punctuated by Hudson’s Bay Company outposts creating a *mélange* of British possessions (Greenhow 1844: 20).

Fort Simpson was established in the north to intercept the interior trade coming down the Skeena (although they incorrectly anticipated at first the Nass – Marsden and Galois 1995), Fort McLoughlin for Milbanke Sound (abandoned in 1844), Fort Langley for the Fraser River and an attempt in establishing one at the Stikine River but opposed by the Russians and the Tlingit Chief Shakes (Fisher 1992: 30-32; Thornton 2008). “Trading with

the interior Indians was a traditional aspect of the Tlingit way of life, and so they had a highly developed sense of jurisdiction over trading trails and the right to trade with certain groups” (Fisher 1992: 32).

The monopolistic control of trade by chiefs such as Shakes on the Stikine River, and the one established by Legaic (Legeex) on the Skeena River, and on the lower coast by Maquinna at Yoquot, and Wikininnish at Clayoquot, was the result of the power of their authority over their territorial areas. The *Chinook* controlled the Columbia River in the same manner (Hale 1846). Entrepreneurial initiative was contributory to their success and the fur trade was the epitome of how the Pacific Northwest Coast entire trade economy functioned prior to the arrival of foreign vessel merchants. The power of chiefs was not simply claimed but rather based on specific relationships declared and validated through social institutions to build incontrovertible authority (cf. Marsden and Galois 1995 for the Tsimshian).

“European traders were also adapting to the patterns of northwest coast Indian society by conducting most of their trading with Indian leaders rather than the general population. Some of the trading was done with individual families, but the people did not possess such an abundance of furs as their leaders. Those chiefs who had the good fortune to be in the right place at the right time were able to exercise great control over the trade, and their wealth and, consequently, their prestige were greatly increased” (Fisher 1977:74).

By moving the maritime trade to land in establishing forts, the fur trading companies intended to cut out these middle-men. “The company traders knew that to secure the trade in the interior competition on the coast had to be destroyed and that the failure to do so left the interior Indians with the possibility of acquiring higher prices from the coastal Indians” (Fisher 1992: 33).

These landed outposts created a different environment with “home guards” establishing residence around the fort for the control of trade and related opportunities

(Fisher 1992: 29; Foster 1977: 51). “Fort Simpson is the great commercial rendezvous of the surrounding nations, who assemble from all directions in September, to hold a fair, dispose of their goods, visit friends, fight enemies, feast, and dance. Thus continue trade and merry-making for several weeks” (Bancroft 1875: 167). The Hudson’s Bay Company was not successful in removing the power of the middle-man-controlled flow of furs and in fact facilitated concentration of Aboriginal control by constructing the forts.

The other posts Hudson’s Bay Company had established throughout Oregon Territory included Fort Nisqually in Puget’s Sound, Fort Colville, Fort Okanagan, Fort Walla-Walla, and Fort Vancouver (and others). An arrangement was made between the U.S. and Great Britain in 1818 that secured joint use of the Oregon territory for purposes of “navigation, trade, and settlement, to the citizens or subjects of both; the Government of each being at liberty to abrogate the arrangement, after giving due notice of twelve months” (U.S. Senate 1840: 3). The Hudson’s Bay Company referred to this region as their Columbia Department and prior “to 1821 the business of the Columbia department was very limited; but it has since been very greatly increased at much expense, and, I am sorry to add, at a considerable sacrifice of life among the Company’s officers and servants, owing to the fierce, treacherous and blood-thirsty character of its population, and the dangers of the navigation; it now comprehends 22 trading establishments, besides several migratory, hunting and trading expeditions, and six armed vessels on the north-west coast” (Letter from Geo. Simpson, Esq., to *J. H. Pelly*, Esq.; London 1 February 1837). The British portion of the Oregon territory became known as the British portion of the Columbia because of the Hudson’s Bay Company posts, ultimately lending this reference to the present name of the Canadian Province of British Columbia.

Hudson's Bay Company interests, the only landed enterprise after 1838, were in the pursuit of fur, maintaining monopolistic control, and saving the lands from settlement to protect these interests. The attempted control would appear to succeed for about seven years until eight Americans settled in Puget Sound after leaving the nearest settlement in the Willamette region (Commager 1927: 20). "A thin trickle of settlers began to arrive over the long Oregon Trail in 1842" (Morison 1927: 14). The region was not occupied by colonial settlements until after 1843 when large groups of emigrants from the U.S. entered the Columbia River region (Greenhow 1844: 7).

### **Unsettled Oregon Territory issues**

"It has now been fourteen years since a Parliamentary Committee, with the late Sir T. F. Buxton for its Chairman, instituted a searching and protracted inquiry into the state of the aboriginal tribes connected with the British dominions, or more or less brought under the influence of our countrymen through the operation of their widely extended commerce" (Aborigines' Protection Society 1850-1851: 211).

The Aboriginal economy expanded from trade with early explorers, fur traders, trading posts, missionaries, churches, and settlers primarily because it was the only economy source to immediately obtain goods. The Church Missionary Society (1856: 167) noted in regard to the Pacific Northwest Aboriginal population with a mean estimate of 60,000 at the time, "... during the last forty years a most lucrative trade has been carried on with them by our fellow-countrymen." Hudson's Bay Company had a difficult time penetrating the local fur markets and initially had no control over fur market value. This would change as Hudson's Bay Company established posts and forged relationships with fur suppliers or employed their own supply (U.S. Senate 1840). For a brief period of time, nearly a quarter of a century (1834-1858), Hudson's Bay Company held a theoretical monopoly against other

British subjects to trade on the Pacific coast until their exclusive license was not renewed in 1858.

“But we do hereby declare, that nothing in this our Grant contained shall be deemed or construed to authorize the said Governor and Company, or their successors, or any persons in their employ, to claim or exercise any trade with the Indians on the North-west coast of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains, to the prejudice or exclusion of any of the subjects of any foreign states, who, under or by force of any convention for the time being between us and such foreign states respectively, may be entitled to and shall be engaged in the said trade: Provided nevertheless, and we do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to prevent the establishment by us, our heirs or successors, within the territories aforesaid, or any of them, of any colony or colonies, province or provinces, or for annexing any part of the aforesaid territories to any existing colony or colonies to us, in right of our Imperial Crown, belonging, or for constituting any such form of civil government as to us may seem meet, within any such colony or colonies, province or provinces:

...

It being nevertheless hereby declared, that no British subjects other than and except the said Governor and Company, and their successors, and the persons authorized to carry on exclusive trade by them, shall trade with the Indians during the period of this our Grant within the limits aforesaid, or within that part thereof which shall not be comprised within any such colony or province as aforesaid. Given at our Court at Buckingham Palace, 30th day of May 1838” (Hope 1842: 11).

The intent for monopolistic control was drawn in the license and it was implemented against British merchant competition however the ‘home guard’ Aboriginal control of supply and price constrained the company from realizing the value that was anticipated. By the time Hudson’s Bay Company established price controls the fur-bearing animals were depleted.

The communication between Aboriginal nations was maintained as it had always been through arrangements of mutual cooperation or hostile encounters, engaging trade, or simple conversation. These relationships could leverage higher prices and did so from Fort Simpson in the north to Fort Langley in the south (Fisher 1992: 28-29). “When more than one vessel was at anchor, the Indians would move from one to another comparing prices and bargaining to force them upward; and, as one trader observed, it was easy to increase one’s

price but always impossible to reduce it” (Fisher 1992: 8). This leveraging also was applied to the quality of trade goods (Fisher 1992: 29).

Competition did exist between British and Russian enterprises in the north, particularly as the sea-otter supply declined. Fisher (1992) notes a higher price paid for sea-otter pelts to keep them “from falling into the hands of the Russians” (Fisher 1992: 29). A mutual covenant was identified and a treaty signed. In the “Treaty Between Great Britain and Russia, Signed at St. Petersburg, February 28/16, 1825” in article 1,

“It is agreed that the respective subjects of the High Contracting Parties shall not be troubled or molested, in any part of the Ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coast as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following Articles” (King, McArthur, Tittmann, and Barnard 1906: 202).

“VII. It is also understood, that, for the space of ten years from the signature of the present Convention, the vessels of the two Powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent, without any hindrance whatever, all the inland seas, the gulfs, havens, and creeks on the coast mentioned in Article III for the purposes of fishing and of trading with the natives” (King, McArthur, Tittmann, and Barnard 1906: 204).

“IX. The above-mentioned liberty of *commerce* shall not apply to the trade in spirituous liquors, and fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder, or other warlike stores; the High Contracting Parties reciprocally engaging not to permit the above-mentioned articles to be sold or delivered, in any manner whatever, to the natives of the country” (King, McArthur, Tittmann, and Barnard 1906: 204; emphasis added).

The treaty also may have solidified British pretension at the upper latitude in addition to its attempt to control commerce (US Senate 1840). The treaty is formal acknowledgement of the commerce that existed with Aboriginal people. No other occupants were established on the northern Northwest Coast other than the Aboriginal populations.

The claims of France, United States and Russia were extinguished whether through defeat of French nationals in King George’s War (1744-1748) or through Treaty regarding

boundary definitions with the U.S. (Van Zandt 1966) or Russia (International Boundary Commission 1918). Prior to the U.S. Declaration of Independence in 1776, the country of Great Britain also claimed colonies in the lower portion of North America as well as those in Canada. All other foreign claims (e.g., Spain, Portugal, Netherlands) to lower North America had been forfeited by various means including treaty (Van Zandt 1966). A Treaty of 1818 was signed by Great Britain and the United States that drew the dividing line at the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel to the Stony [Rocky] Mountains. The same treaty stipulated in Article III,

“It is agreed, that any Country that may be claimed by either Party on the North West Coast of America, Westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with it's Harbours, Bays, and Creeks, and the Navigation of all Rivers within the same, be free and open, for the term of ten Years from the date of the Signature of the present Convention, to the Vessels, Citizens, and Subjects of the Two Powers: it being well understood, that this Agreement is not to be construed to the Prejudice of any Claim, which either of the Two High Contracting Parties may have to any part of the said Country, nor shall it be taken to affect the Claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said Country; the only Object of The High Contracting Parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences amongst Themselves” (Convention of Commerce between His Majesty and the United States of America. Signed at London, 20th October, 1818).

The convention is generally interpreted as ‘joint occupancy’ of the region known as ‘Oregon territory’ however it declares that “any Country ... be free and open” without prejudice to “any Claim” of either Great Britain or the United States. It was signed the same year that Hudson’s Bay Company absorbed the Northwest Company and also received their exclusive trade license for Vancouver’s Island and New Caledonia. The convention contains no mechanism for enforcement and may have prompted King George to memorialize an Act of Great Britain to extend judicial authority for regulating the fur trade:

“Be it therefore enacted by the King’s most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act, it shall be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, to make Grants or give His Royal Licence, under the Hand and Seal of One of His

Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to any Body Corporate, or Company, or Person or Persons, of or for the exclusive Privilege of Trading with the *Indians* in all such Parts of *North America* as shall be specified in any such Grants or Licences respectively, not being Part of the Lands or Territories heretofore granted to the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of *England* trading to *Hudson's Bay*, and not being Part of any of His Majesty's Provinces in *North America* ; or of any Lands or Territories belonging to the United States of *America*”

...

IV. And whereas by a Convention entered into between His Majesty and the United States of *America*, it was stipulated and agreed, that any Country on the North-west Coast of *America*, to the Westward of the *Stony Mountains*, should be free and open to the citizens and Subjects of the Two Powers, for the Term of Ten Years from the Date of the Signature of that Convention ; ...

...

VI. And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, the Courts of Judicature now existing, or which may be hereafter established in the Province of *Upper Canada*, shall have the same Civil Jurisdiction, Power, and Authority, as well in the Cognizance of Suits, as in the issuing Process, mesne and final, and in all other Respects whatsoever, within the said *Indian Territories*, and other Parts of *America* not within the Limits of either of the Provinces of *Lower* or *Upper Canada*, or of any Civil Government of the United States, as the said Courts have or are invested with within the Limits of the said Provinces of *Lower* or *Upper Canada* respectively ; and that all and every Contract, Agreement, Debt, Liability, and Demand whatsoever made, entered into, incurred, or arising within the said *Indian Territories* and other Parts of *America*, ... : Provided always, that all such Suits and Actions relating to Lands, or to any Claims in respect of Land, not being within the Province of *Upper Canada*, shall be decided according to the Laws of that Part of the United Kingdom called *England*, and shall not be subject to or affected by any Local Acts, Statues, or Laws of the Legislature of *Upper Canada*.

...

XIII. And be it further enacted, That all Judgments given in any Civil Suit shall be subject to Appeal to His Majesty in Council, in like Manner as in other Cases in His Majesty's Province of *Upper Canada*, and also in any Case in which the Right or Title to any Land shall be in question” (An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction with certain Parts of *North America* [2d July 1821] ).

The Act of King George IV recognized the “free and open” intent of the Convention of 1818 but clearly placed the burden of questions for “Rights and Title to any Land” squarely on the Crown. Article VI of the Act clarifies the “Suits and Actions relating to Lands, or to any Claims in respect of Land, not being within the Province of *Upper Canada* ... shall be decided according to the Laws of ... *England*” and potentially compromises any

actions taken by Upper or Lower Canada, or the Dominion, in regard to lands outside of Upper Canada. The borders of Great Britain's pretensions were not at that time defined. The 'Treaty Between Great Britain and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg on February 28/16, 1825' may have been the last British treaty defining Canada's borders (International Boundary Commission 1918). The territories purchased by the U.S. included: Louisiana purchased from France in 1803; Gadsden purchase from Mexico in 1853; and Florida purchased from Spain in 1810. Texas was annexed in 1846 and a Mexican cession was made in 1848. The title to Oregon Territory was established in 1846 apparently as an American declaration (Van Zandt 1966: 2).

An agreement with Russia in 1839 for Hudson's Bay Company to supply Russian outposts changed the nature of the trading from American vessels (Fisher 1992: 33). The Hudson's Bay company was not the only supplier in the region as "Some forts even had to rely on the Indians for their very sustenance" (Fisher 1992: 34). The changed relationships of the Americans in the maritime trade however may have reinvigorated pretensions to Oregon Territory. The Hudson's Bay Company though may have been ambivalent about pretensions. "The Company cared nothing for the value of the country, cared little whether England should fight for it. Their interest lay in preserving it as a hunting ground" (Bancroft 1881: 121; as presented in Commager 1927: 25). While contemplating renewal of their first exclusive trade license expiring in 1838, the Hudson's Bay Company "sought extended privileges. In addition to a license of exclusive trade, they asked title to the land for purposes of colonization, urging their services in excluding settlers of other nations as a reason why they should have the management of settlers of their own nation" (Bancroft 1887: 205). The license granted to Hudson's Bay Company in 1821 stipulates,

“...it should be lawful for his said Majesty, his heirs or successors, to make Grants or give his or their Royal License, under the hand and seal of one of his or their Principal Secretaries of State, to any body corporate or company, or person or persons, of or for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all such parts of North America as should be specified in any such Grants or Licenses respectively, not being part of the lands and territories theretofore granted to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading to Hudson’s Bay, and not being part of any of our Provinces in North America, or of any lands or territories belonging to the United States of America” (Hope 1842: 9).

The exclusive license to trade was applied to “lands and territories *not* being part of any of our Provinces in North America” which at that time comprised Upper and Lower Canada. Even though Hudson’s Bay Company offered gratuitous financial arrangements to secure renewal of their Vancouver’s Island/New Caledonia exclusive trade license, the British government decided only on the island: “It was at once decided by the government that if a grant were made at all, it should be confined to Vancouver Island” (Bancroft 1887: 209).

“It was not at this time deemed advisable by the government to include the Mainland in this colonization scheme. There was work enough to do for the present upon the Island, and until a secure footing should be established here, it was folly attempting more difficult tasks. Upon the Island the natives could be easily controlled; upon the adjacent coasts colonists would be at their mercy. When all goes well with the savage, he is independent and arrogant. With a plentiful supply of fish for food, with fire-arms and occasional copious supplies of spirituous liquors, the natives of the Mainland would prove very difficult of management by colonists” (Bancroft 1887: 217).

The ‘joint use’ arrangements of Oregon Territory had no effect on the operations of the Hudson’s Bay Company as long as they were not interfered in their exclusive trade advantage. The Pacific Northwest pretensions between Britain and the U.S. were not concluded until 1846 (British and American Joint Commission on the Hudson’s Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies Claim 1865). A lengthy period of confusion persisted for nearly a quarter of a century regarding Oregon Territory.

The Hudson's Bay Company held their establishments until the Treaty of 1846 between the U.S. and Great Britain, and in 1860 abandoned all posts in Oregon and Washington territories (Fleming 1890: 103). "[T]he Government of Canada purchased the territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company" between 1867 and 1871 (Fleming 1890: 126). The determination of an exact boundary between the British Dominion and the U.S. was delegated to an International Boundary Commission (Fleming 1890: 129; International Boundary Commission 1910) that would take several years of survey and negotiation to resolve.

The U.S. arranged and signed treaties with tribes in the Washington Territory along the outer coast and Puget Sound, Hood Canal and Juan de Fuca areas in 1854-1855. The 'Stevens Treaties' provided a commitment to establish agriculture and industrial schools for the tribes and forced tribes to agree not to trade at Vancouver's Island, or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States (Articles 10-14 Treaty of- Medicine Creek, Olympia, Point Elliot, Point No Point, Neah Bay), among other things.

The license granted to Hudson's Bay Company for Vancouver's Island included exclusive trade privileges that perpetuated the continuity of Indian trade and the manner of production for those commercial items. By the time Hudson's Bay Company lost their exclusive license in 1858, other interests in lands and trade had developed in the Pacific Northwest. The discovery of gold caused an influx of settlement in the British colony of New Caledonia (or British portion of the former Oregon Territory) in 1858, followed by a second influx in 1860 (Fleming 1890: 122). The *British North America Act* came into force in 1867 forming a confederation of British provinces east of Lake Superior. Provisions were made for adding British Columbia as a province in the Dominion and entered in 1871 (Fleming 1890:

126). The early settlers of British Columbia however expressed desire for annexation to the U.S. (Colyer 1870:533; McDonell Dawson 1881: 48, footnote). This desire may have been related to contesting the Hudson's Bay Company license for exclusive trade privileges, or regulation of land acquisition.

The *British North America Act* of 1867 transferred British responsibility over Indian Affairs to Canada. It was a culmination of activity for such devolution. After reporting the "Home Government" [Imperial] expenditures for various pensions and a "ration allowance commuted by a money payment, to certain Lower Canada Indians," The Province of Canada reported on Indian Affairs, "With the exception of the retention of these two obligations, it may be considered that the connection of the British Government with the Indians of Canada, has been relinquished. And that upon the Provinces has devolved the duty of promoting the well-being of those people, and advancing their condition, by every practicable means" (Spragge 1865: 5). The transition of Provinces of Great Britain to Provinces of the Dominion presents some confusion in interpreting the application of colonial law. After British Columbia entered into Confederation the Dominion of Canada simply added British Columbia's Indian Agencies into the functions of the Department of Indian Affairs.

"The extension to British Columbia of laws, already in force for the government of Indians in the older Provinces of the Dominion, and the passage, last Session, of a stringent law to put a stop to the liquor traffic among the Indians, are notable circumstances in the year's transactions.

This was in the first report after the entrance of British Columbia into the Confederation" (Woods 1886: 169).

The Dominion retained the functions of a Province of Great Britain while changing the authority of its provinces through the *Constitution Act*. Up to this point in time, the Imperial government had made expenditures for the purchase of lands from the Indians, and in fact,

“...that the country has not yet entirely recovered from the effects of the extraordinary purchases made altogether in excess of the actual requirements for settlement, in the years especially of 1856-57 and '58. And the large amounts of overdue instalments, upon sales then made, come but slowly in, altho' circulars have been addressed to the defaulter. It may become imperative to cancel such sales with respect to which the unpaid instalments have been sometime overdue, as the non receipt of the capital, the realization of which in prospects induced the Indians to surrender their lands for sale, occasions them to complain that their interest money, divisible semi-annually, does not increase to the degree they were led to anticipate” (sic; Spragge 1865: 4).

While the Hudson's Bay Company had interest in maintaining their exclusive trade and control of the region for that purpose, they were limited by the British government to Vancouver's Island. The 'policy' of land purchases from the Indians was applied haphazardly by the Hudson's Bay Company perhaps to meet the minimum requirements of the British government. The instruments known as 'Douglas Treaties' devised by the Hudson's Bay Company at select locations to 'purchase' lands from the Indians appears to be the only attempt to formalize colonial relationships with Vancouver Island Aboriginal people. The British removed the Hudson's Bay Company as British government agency and

“Hence on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August 1858 parliament passed an act to provide for the government of British Columbia, by which name hereafter should be designated the territories between the United States frontier on the south and Simpson River, now Nass River, and the Finlay branch of Peace River on the north, and between the Rocky Mountain summit and the sea, including the Queen Charlotte and all other adjacent islands, except Vancouver Island, and investing the queen, by order in council, with power to appoint a governor, provide for the administration of justice, make laws, and establish a local legislature” (Bancroft 1886: 383).

One month later the exclusive trade license to Hudson's Bay Company was revoked (Bancroft 1886: 384). These actions mark the process of change to the Aboriginal legacy in ways unforeseen by the Aboriginal people.

## **Changes to the Aboriginal domain**

From 1859 to 1871, the prevailing Aboriginal economy started experiencing external regulatory controls. The Steven's Treaties were the first intrusions in the southern reaches drawn in 1854-1855 and ratified from 1855-1859. These would have impacted the Hudson's Bay posts throughout these areas, and along with other factors may have contributed to the withdrawal of Hudson's Bay posts by 1860. Hudson's Bay Company lost their exclusive trade privileges in the Aboriginal economy.

Other factors of social interaction began to manifest namely in the manner of controlling Aboriginal people through forced assimilation. The British colonial province of Canada passed an act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indians in 1857, the same year the first missionary arrived at Fort Simpson with others soon to follow to other nearby locations.

As Hudson's Bay Company expanded to the western frontier in Oregon territory, coastal Forts Nisqually, Vancouver, Victoria and Langley in the south and Forts Rupert and Simpson in the north, the eastern areas and the prairies were gaining traction with improved Indian relations by use of missionaries (The Church Missionary Intelligencer 1858). The Russians also experienced improved relations in Alaska with the introduction of missionaries, backed with canons and muskets (Colyer 1870; International Boundary Commission 1918). Woods (1886) notes that in about 1867 the

“City of Victoria was rising out of the primeval forest; emigrants from all lands were rushing to the new El Dorado, and among these were found the officers of the London Mission Society, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with their wide views for the preservation and education of the Indian. Schools were opened at the chief tribal centres, and very effort made to educate the young Indians by these societies, which adopted the rule that success could be gained in these objects only by inducing the young to embrace the doctrines of Christianity. To accomplish this desirable end they opened four principal schools, and the one at Metlakatlah has been so successful that annually, for some years, it has received a grant from the Dominion Government of \$500” (sic; Woods 1886: 163).

The factors of the Hudson's Bay Company are noted by Woods (1886: 165) for their sincere Christian following and as another educational agency towards the Indians. The relationships of the Hudson's Bay Company towards Indians endured for nearly two centuries prior to the license granted to it for Vancouver's Island and New Caledonia. It operated as a company, not necessarily as an extension of government unless situations warranted Crown authority. Other authors have described a variety of situations involving the fur trade (Bancroft 1886, 1887; Dunn Fisher 1976, 1977; Foster 1976; Morton 1973; Ray 1976) and Hudson's Bay Company enterprises (Fisher 1977) and not all encounters were favorable.

An appearance of compassion in general is conveyed for the relationships of Canada to the Aboriginal people and seemingly directed towards or interpreted by the U.S. as exemplified by Hallowell (1870) who states,

“In Canada the Indians have never been pushed back on the approach of the white settlers, but they were permitted to retain their cherished homes and the venerated graves of their fathers, and the tide of immigration passed steadily and peaceably by and surrounded them, while the strong arm of British law and the justice of the judicial tribunals are always ready to afford equal protection to the Indians and the whites. And in Canada, under this wise and just national legislation, we never hear of Indian massacres and Indian wars, the horror and disgrace of our own country, costing mines of treasure and rivers of blood” (Halloway 1870:119).

The nature of the interpretation also depends on the status or career position of the person reporting information. It appears some men in military positions held a disposition towards the natives that was at least condescending if not entirely prejudicial. Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Robert N. Scott reported on the “Indians Living on and Near the Boundary between British Columbia and the Russian-American Territory recently ceded to the United States” and notes just after reporting on the Tongas,

“There is no Indian bureau with attendant complications. There is no pretended recognition of the Indian’s “title” in fee simple to the lands over which he roams for fish or game. . . . Prompt punishment follows the perpetration of crime, and from time to time the presence of a gunboat serves to remind the savages along the coast of the power of their masters. Not more than two years ago the Fort Rupert Indians were severely punished for their refusing to deliver certain criminals demanded by the civil magistrate. Their village was bombarded and completely destroyed by her Britannic Majesty’s gunboat Clio” (Scott 1869: 564)

In the same Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Parker 1870a), Mr.

William S. Dodge reports,

“It seems to me if troops are needed anywhere they should be near Sitka, and perhaps near Chilkat or Youkon ; *but with two good efficient gunboats carrying out the policy of British Columbia*, punishing summarily and justly any outrage committed by the Indians, the Territory would be far better off, and the country as a whole, advanced in prosperity. These vessels, too, could serve a double purpose as well, surveying our island channels, bays, and harbors ; thus would be accomplished a two-fold object, the preserving of peace and promotion of science” (emphasis added; Dodge 1869: 589).

Chief Trader A. R. McLeod from Fort Vancouver (present Vancouver, WA) arranged an expedition to deal with an episode with the Clallam Natives and a party from Fort Langley and retrieve the daughter of a Native Chief with who he wished to maintain respect (Morton 1973: 720). McLeod intended to pursue this task “...in keeping with the Company’s traditional policy of meeting the Indians in Council and seeking a friendly but preventive issues of the matter” (Morton 1973: 721) although communications with other men on the journey were not clear. The expedition launched canoes in Puget Sound and approached a Clallum village during the night with the canoes losing communication. The first canoe to arrive at the village surrounded it “at dawn, and the Indians were shot down as they rushed out” (Morton 1973: 721). The expedition was joined by Captain McNeill of the schooner *Cadboro*. The ship anchored near a Clallum village at Dungeness and two Chiefs boarded for

Council with McLeod but left with all parties angry. McLeod “cast his moderate policy to the winds” and one Chief was killed and another wounded (Morton 1973: 721).

“With the blood of the heads of the village flowing, Captain McNeill concluded that all that could be done was to go on. The guns were leveled on the huts, the natives taking to the woods. A party landed and set the houses on fire, bringing back two little children, forsaken in the flight, and articles belonging to McKenzie found in the houses. McLeod turned his party away not without landing the two children and making it known that he would exchange the wounded Chief for McKenzie’s squaw” (Morton 1973: 721).

The next year Chief Factor Connolly of New Caledonia along with the schooner *Cadboro* fired guns upon a Clatsop village. According to Morton (1973) “These expeditions were rough justice, but after all it was the only justice the savages understood” (Morton 1973: 722). Morton suggests it was,

“the only means of securing safety for the White Men in a land of a large and ferocious population, but just as the clash in 1780-81 on the Saskatchewan and on the Assiniboine was followed by a great plague, small-pox, which by decimating the great prairie tribes brought peace to the region, so now a virulent epidemic of fever and ague did more to bring security to the White Men than could have been accomplished by a score of punitive expeditions” (Morton 1973: 722).

The incident reported by Scott (1869) described above either may not have the correct time period or it may be another similar event. The Hudson’s Bay Company had a difficult time enticing European laborers to join their ranks for small pay including board and promise of land acquisition after five years. “Many absconded in spite of their contracts, leaving the Company to provide more free passages for their successors. A change to a system of cash wages at the current rates, leaving the men to purvey for themselves, did not stem the tide of absconding servants” (Morton 1973: 757).

The California gold excitement lured men from the Hudson’s Bay Trading Company. Three sailors left one of the company’s vessels anchored at Victoria and boarded the *England* headed to Fort Rupert for coal. Notice was sent to Fort Rupert regarding the deserters who

then fled the *England* into the woods. An acting company officer Blenkinsop (eventually Indian Agent) ordered local Indians “to bring the deserters in dead or alive” (Bancroft 1887: 273). The three sailors were killed and then interred at the fort. The recently appointed colonial Governor Blanshard was intent on apprehending the murderers and “on the 22d of September 1850, about a month after the murderous affair, H. M. S. *Daedalus*, Captain Wellesly, arrived at Victoria, when the governor went on board and proceeded at once to [Fort] Rupert” (Bancroft 1887: 274). Bancroft (1887) noted in a footnote there was confusion reported about this incident however he referred to several accounts in his research (Bancroft 1887: 273). The incident described in its full portrays a heinous policy:

“Now mark the course of justice pursued by the officers of the imperial government. Instead of proceeding against the instigators of the murder, and arresting the officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company, as they should have done, they direct the full force of their vengeance against the natives. Helmcken, the newly fledged magistrate, cognizant of the whole affair, and well knowing who were the guilty persons, and what hand he himself had had in it, goes to the Newittee camp, twelve miles distant, and loudly demands the surrender of the murderers. The savages acknowledge the murder, but plead that they were only executing orders. Truer to themselves and to the right than were the white men, they refused to give up the perpetrators of the deed, but offered to give up the property paid them by the white men for the commission of the crime. This did not satisfy the European justice-dealers. Servants of the Hudson’s Bay Company had been slain by order of the officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Some one must be punished; and as they did not wish to hang themselves, they must find victims among their instruments. As the magistrate was unable to accomplish their purpose, Wellesley sent a force under Lieutenant Burton, in three boats of the *Daedalus*, against the Newittees. Finding their camp deserted, Burton destroyed the village, and made a bonfire of all the property he could find. The following summer H. M. S. *Daphne*, Captain Fanshawe, arrived. Meanwhile the Newittees had rebuilt their village, supposing the white men satisfied with the injury already inflicted. One day while holding a potlatch, and being at peace, as they believed with the white men, the *Daphne*’s boats, under Lieutenant Lacy, crept into their harbor, and announced their arrival by discharge of musketry. Men, women, and children were mercilessly cut down, persons innocent of any thought of wrong against their murderers, and their village again destroyed. Then the *Daphne* sailed away. Justice was satisfied; and Blenkinsop and the rest of them went about their work as usual” (Bancroft 1887: 274-275).

Governor Blanshard (1850) communicated to Earl Grey August 18<sup>th</sup> 1850 that three British subjects had been massacred by the Newwity Indians and the surrounding Quacolts being the most warlike tribes on the coast were three thousand in number and well armed. Blanshard also noted the magistrate Helmken had resigned. Minutes by the Colonial Office staff indicated immediate measures were needed for the protection of the colony and its vulnerability to 3,000 well-armed Natives. The Colonial Office replied immediately to Hudson's Bay Company for more information (Blanshard 1850).

The European colonization of the Pacific Northwest, including California, consisted of many hostile encounters (Bancroft 1887; Dryden 1875; Morton 1973: 721; Powers 1877; Tylor 1868; and others). In some areas these encounters were perpetrated by the settlers and in others, by military force. "On the Pacific coast the indiscretions of our military, I am informed, produced similar unfortunate results, and nearly all our troubles with the Indians there, marring our history with cruel massacres, and in some instances with the extermination of whole bands, had their origin in the presence of unwise action of our military" (Tylor 1868: 9). It appears hostile military actions in this region were conducted on land by the U.S and from water by the Crown although not exclusive. In California the hostile incursions were by land and conducted by both settlers and military action.

"In fact, the plain and painful truth is that, since the day of Miles Standish, the "code of warfare" has been broken very many times on both sides, for the simple reason that when civilized men are arrayed against uncivilized men in a struggle for life, it ceases to be civilized warfare, or any other kind, except a war of extermination. Disguise it as we may, that is what the war had practically been on both sides from the settlement of the continent to this hour" (Powers 1877: 264).

The 'military policy' did continue to transcend government and Indian relations in the manifest of the new colonial province of British Columbia. In 1884 a "Metlakatlah Commission" was convened to inquire into the disturbances and disquietudes in the province

particularly in the model Christian-Indian community of Metlakatla after conflicts between Mr. Duncan and the Church Missionary Society caused destruction of property. The Commissioners advised British Columbia to resolve a two-acre dilemma on the reserve, and

“to assert – and if necessary, by force of arms – the right of the Province to the two acres, by the survey of it as Government land ... it will be expedient that the survey should be conducted with the presence of one of Her Majesty’s vessels of war at Metlakatlah, and that the Officer in command should have specific instructions to land an armed force in the event of the survey being obstructed” (Metlakatlah Commission 1885: 136).

During the entire procession of the inquiry, the H. M. S. *Satellite* was present. The first land surveys for “Tsimpecheam” reserve designations in 1881 were protested by the Tsimshian and resulted in the arrival of the H.M.S. *Cormorant* with “a stipendiary magistrate, the chief of police at Victoria and a posse of constables” (MacDonald 1887: xi). The stipendiary magistrate tried and convicted eight “ringleaders ... sentenced [them] to various terms of imprisonment or committed for trial before a higher court, as the nature of their individual offences warranted” (MacDonald 1887: xi). MacDonald (1887) provides his opinion as to the causes of ‘misbehavior’ regarding “the survey was, it is feared, the result of evil counsel given them by those who should, from the position occupied by them towards the Indians, have been their advisers for good instead of for evil” (MacDonald 1887: xi). According to the 1884 Metlakatlah Commission, “The severance between Mr. Duncan and the Church Missionary Society has certainly given an impetus to the question of Indian Title. The severance took place in 1881, when Bishop Ridley handed Mr. Duncan a letter of dismissal” (Metlakatlah Commission 1885: 134) after 22 years of his work that had been up to this time considered laudable and praise-worthy (Arctander 1909: 240; Colyer 1870: 558). The perceptions of a peaceful ‘British policy’ are clearly false.

## **Compassionate plea to philanthropy**

Advocacy for the fair treatment of Aboriginal people was not lost entirely on the new frontier although compassion appears much less frequently than antagonistic negativism. The treatment of Indians during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is characterized in historical records of administrative relations, the transformation of a Parliamentary committee to an advocacy group, and pursuit of academic study. One of the key advocates was Sir William Johnson, appointed by Edward Braddock as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the North (Jacobs 1953: 311). At the time ‘North’ pertained to New England and Johnson was instrumental in working with the Iroquois (Jacobs 1953: 311; Stagg 1981). Johnson expressed compassion towards the Indians and maintained his convictions that peaceful co-existence with Aboriginal people required a dividing line between Indian Territory and British settlement (Stagg 1981: 214). Johnson consistently advocated for appropriate dealing with land issues. In a communiqué to R. Peters dated March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1761 Johnson states:

“The Connecticut People, or any other Settling on Lands as is said not to be fairly & openly purchased of the Indian Proprietors, is very wrong, & contrary to his Majestys Intentions, and may at this critical Juncture, when all Indians are more or less Jealous of our power & encroachments, be attended with very bad consequences, tho it may not appear in that light to Others” (sic; Johnson, Sir Wm. 1853: 44).

The impacts of colonization on Aboriginal people were becoming apparent in new colonies particularly on the continents of Africa, the Americas, Australia, and the islands of New Zealand (Aborigines Protection Society 1850-51: 286). A British Parliamentary Committee was “appointed to consider what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the Native inhabitants of Countries where British Settlements are made, and to the neighbouring Tribes, in order to secure to them the due observance of Justice and the protection of their Rights” (sic; Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 1). The Committee noted British

obligations to confer benefits [of civilization] and recognize the vulnerability of Natives to encroachments.

“The duty of introducing into our relations with uncivilized nations the righteous and the profitable laws of justice is incontrovertible, and it has been repeatedly acknowledged in the abstract, but has, we fear, been rarely brought into practice; for, as a nation, we have not hesitated to invade many of the rights which they hold most dear.

“Thus, while acts of parliament have laid down the general principles of equity, other and conflicting acts have been framed, disposing of lands without any reference to the possessors and actual occupants, and without making any reserve of the proceeds of the property of the natives for their benefit” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 2).

The Committee report referred to the instructions of Charles II to the Council of Foreign Plantations in 1670 “...peace is not to be expected without the due observance and preservation of justice to them, you are, in our name, to command all the governors, that they, at no time, give any just provocation to any of the said Indians that are at peace with us” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 2). The Committee report noted an 1834 Address to the House of Commons for the duty to protect the rights of Native inhabitants and to convey an invitation for voluntary reception of the Christian religion (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 3). However the Committee observed,

“It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exception in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

“Too often, their territory has been usurped; their property seized; their numbers diminished; their character debased; the spread of civilization impeded” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 3).

Charles II instructions referred to “said Indians that are at peace with us” implicating an alternative scenario for Aboriginal groups that may appear hostile (i.e., defending and protecting their territories). The character of religious introduction to North America, and other parts, must have been overwhelmingly perplexing. The actions of colonial settlers to

eradicate Native inhabitants were an obvious contradiction to perceived enlightenment. The Committee report provides a synopsis of heinous atrocities and acknowledges how easy it would be to provide evidence. The report suggests it is their “business to inquire on what principles we have conducted our intercourse” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 4).

“It would appear that the barbarous regions likely to be more immediately affected by the policy of Great Britain, are the south and the west of Africa, Australia, the islands in the Pacific Ocean, a very extensive district of South America at the back of our Essequibo settlement, between the rivers Orinoco and Amazon, with the immense tract which constitutes the most northerly part of the American continent, and stretches from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

...

It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil: a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country.

“If they have been found upon their own property, they have been treated as thieves and robbers. They are driven back into the interior as if they were dogs or kangaroos.”

From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 4).

The Parliamentary Committee may have directly approached or the report prompted members of the science community to devise a standardized mechanism for any travelers to document characteristics of the vanishing races.

“In England in 1839, the British Association for the Advancement of Science set up a committee to produce a set of queries “to be addressed to those who may travel or reside in parts of the globe inhabited by threatened races” (Queries... 1841:3). The committee included Thomas Hodgkin and James Prichard, both members of the Aborigines Protection Society and later leading figures in the foundation of the London Ethnological Society in 1843” (Urry 1972: 45).

The Parliamentary Committee report provides comments from Rev. J. Beecham in his experience with the Indians on the boundary of Upper Canada that previous to the

introduction to Christianity they were rapidly wasting away. The Committee noted for Newfoundland, “as in other parts of North America, it seems to have been for a length of time accounted a “meritorious act” to kill an Indian” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 4) and footnotes this statement with “Cotton Mather records, that, amongst early settlers, it was considered a “religious act to kill Indians”” (Parliamentary Select Committee 1837: 5).

The period of time for the Parliamentary Committee was 1836, two years prior to the authorization of license to the Hudson’s Bay Company for the colonies of Vancouver’s Island and New Caledonia. Members of the Committee constituted the Aborigines’ Protection Society, an advocacy organization. Its purposes included:

“The Aborigines’ Protection Society, of which the first elements consisted of those who took a part in the Parliamentary inquiry, has labored to maintain the cause of the Aborigines, by pleading with the Ministers of the Crown and with Colonial Officers, and in various ways has striven to diffuse information, and awaken sympathy amongst their countrymen both at home and abroad” (Aborigines’ Protection Society 1850-1851: 212).

By the time this committee had formed, and subsequently the Aborigines Protection Society, colonization had advanced globally for over a century and longer in some places. The state to state battles of colonial pretensions started to subside as local Aboriginal populations were fighting dispossession and colonial-settler depredations. The confrontations with Aboriginal populations had continued wherever colonization had spread although justice was blind for culpability:

“And so of all Aborigines. They were the native people of any country : people who had been bred and born on the soil, and were, after a manner of speaking, indigenous to it: the Maories to New Zealand, the Kaffirs to Kaffraria, the Red Indians to North America. ... He would, however, say generally, that the history of colonization, as practiced by nations calling themselves civilized, presented one most melancholy fact, and that was, that wheresoever the civilized man planted his foot, the native race soon disappeared ; even now, the process of extermination was going on, in spite of the efforts of the missionary and the philanthropist. This fact had given rise to the theory, that it was for ordained of Providence for the uncivilized man to disappear

before the advance of the civilized of the earth, and that it was essentially in the nature of civilization to annihilate barbarism by exterminating the barbarian. The Society for the Protection of Aborigines, which he had the honour of representing on this occasion, repudiated this heinous doctrine, and declared it to be a libel upon Providence, and the calumny upon God's beneficence. Whilst they admitted the fact, they deny the truth of the theory which assigned it to any pestiferous quality characteristic of civilization itself. They believed, on the contrary, that it was more the agents and the mode of civilization that perpetrated the mischief ; and that if the evil system at present in operation were checked, or put an end to, and a better one introduced, the result would be, not the destruction of native races, but their preservation and their redemption. It was of very little use sending Missionaries and establishing Mission Stations amongst them to preach the precepts of Christianity, so long as our conduct was in direct antagonism to those precepts. We preached to them of justice, good-will, and mercy, but we taught them injustice and oppression, and set them an example of iniquity. He spoke of colonists as well as of Government ; for although Governments might not perhaps be open to the charge of committing wanton acts of cruelty, they certainly were obnoxious to that of injustice and oppression. What, for instance, does a civilized nation do, if by chance an individual belonging to it discover a new country? Why, it takes possession of it, in virtue of the so-called right by discovery ; and this, irrespective of its being or not already occupied! To be sure, if the newly discovered country be unoccupied, the discovering nation has a perfect right to take possession of it ; but if it should be already peopled, then it can have no such right, for in asserting that right, it must do so to the detriment of the actual occupiers. 'Oh, but,' it is said, 'these people are savages : they hunt, and fish, or only partially and imperfectly till and cultivate the soil ; and since they don't, or won't, bring it into cultivation, other folks that will, have a perfect right to take possession of their land for this purpose.' Now this was a doctrine which the Aborigines' Protection Society denied. It was most unjust ; and the prosecution of a policy based upon these principles – which indeed was the foundation of all our colonizing operations – had been most fertile in causing aboriginal wars. Although these people did not cultivate the whole of their land, nor, in some instances, any portion of it, yet no one had a right to deprive them of it on that account. ... They could define their boundaries as distinctly as Doctor Lee or any other gentleman could point out theirs, and a great deal better than some ; and therefore they had as good a title to their lands, waste or not, as Doctor Lee had to Hartwell ; yet because they chose to do what they liked with their own, we disputed their right to it, and hence arose struggles to ascertain which party was the strongest" (Aborigines' Protection Society 1850-1851: 281).

The Aborigines' Protection Society interacted with the British House of Commons in some type of advocacy role when the situation arose before them. For example, regarding a New Zealand Charter of 1846 that contained clauses for confiscation of 'waste lands' of the Natives,

“...the Aborigines’ Protection Society had done its utmost to procure the revocation of that charter in the House of Commons. The natives had been, at the time of its introduction, greatly alarmed, and one of them, a Chief, came to the Governor, holding in one hand a copy of the Scriptures, and in the other a newspaper containing the new charter. He said to the Governor, ‘We hear the Queen is going to take our land, and here is the paper that says so. If the Queen does take it, we shall throw away the Book’ (meaning the Bible) ‘and take to war again. But if we are to remain Christians, and keep this Book’ (the Bible), ‘then the Queen must not take our lands, and you must throw away *this* book’ (the charter). The Governor assured him that the Queen did not intend to take their land, and the Chief went away satisfied. ... Now what was the history of our occupation of Kaffraria? Precisely similar in principle. We had been year after year encroaching upon the lands of the natives, and yet we affect surprise when they resent the injury by striving to recover possession of their lost property” (Aborigines Protection Society 1850-1851: 282).

Governors had profound impact in the manner that colonial policy was interpreted and implemented. An example of the experimental approach is found in Kaffraria. Two systems of governance were implemented in Kaffraria, the D’Urban system of martial law introduced by Governor D’Urban, and the Glenelg system,

“...after the Colonial Minister under whose auspices it had been tried. They were essentially different, the former being based upon martial law, the later upon treaty and a good understanding with the Chiefs. From the time that the Glenelg system was introduced until it was superseded by a return to the D’Urban system, that is, during a space of more than seven years, the Kaffir frontier was comparatively quiet, and depredations of cattle were becoming less and less frequent. The D’Urban system of policy, on the contrary, exasperated the natives, and had brought on the wars of 1835 and 1836, of 1846 and 1847, and the present war ; ... Lord John Russell had admitted the fact in the House only this last session ; and yet in spite of that admission, and of a knowledge of the facts on which it was based, the Colonial Minister persists in prosecuting this policy. He (the Speaker) did not say that all the previous troubles in Kaffraria had originated with the Government, though it had often aggravated disturbances; but undoubtedly the war of 1846 and 1847, and the present war, had been caused by the bad policy of Government” (Aborigines’ Protection Society 1850-1851: 283).

“In 1846, for instance, just as the war was about to close, the Governor thought proper to order a surveying-party to survey a spot of land within the Kaffir territory, on which he intended to build a fort. We had reserved to ourselves the right of erecting military posts along a certain line of frontier, called the neutral or ceded territory ; but this particular plot of land was in the Kaffir territory, and we were therefore trespassers. The Chief, this same Sandilli, whose name we now hear so frequently mentioned, warned the surveying-party off, telling them they had no right there, and that he could not give them any, for his councilors and his people did not

intend to relinquish possession of that land” (Aborigines’ Protection Society 1850-1851: 283).

“What, indeed, did the Kaffirs themselves say? ‘There are three great things in Kaffirland : the first great thing is the Chief ; the second great thing is the land ; and the third great thing is the cattle.’ Now, to take either of these is a mortal offence, and is certain, according to Kaffir usage, to bring on war : it is, in fact, a declaration of war. Yet we have laid violent hands on all these things, and we complain of Kaffir treachery, and cunning, and vengeance. We hear only one side of the tale. If the Kaffir could stand upon that platform, he would doubtless tell a very different story from that which was told in the Parliament, or even in the blue-books. He (Mr. Chamerozow) could state upon his own authority, and after a laborious investigation of all the blue-books published on this question, that he had found in them, prejudiced though they were, and one-sided as sources of information, evidence of our being in the wrong, sufficient to convince the most unconvinced mind. ...Let them not believe what newspapers and blue-books said ; no, nor all that was said on public platforms. Let them remember, that there are always two sides to a question, and bear in mind that newspapers and blue-books give only one side, and that side not the aboriginal one (sic; Aborigines’ Protection Society 1850-1851: 285).

Early settlers in North America were not interested in Aboriginal societies, and in fact, viewed Aboriginal people as obstacles to their own success. Conflicts emerged with the settlers’ encroachment on Native lands (Parker 1870a, 1870b; Parliamentary Select Committee 1837; Powers 1877; Ross 1870; Stagg 1981), just as in other colonial enterprises and continued through time as Aboriginal leaders sought to clarify the distinction of their autonomous and long established territories. The colonial establishment considered solicitation of clergy to alleviate conflicts:

“The Committee of the Aborigines’ Protection Society, in its anxiety to see its cause more effectually sustained, has turned its attention to the several Missionary Societies which, while they exist essentially for the promotion of the spiritual and religious welfare of the benighted heathen nations, like their Divine Master cannot be unmindful of the temporal wants and bodily sufferings of their disciples. It remembers with gratitude that these same Societies took a most prominent and effectual part in furnishing evidence to the Parliamentary Committee ; ...

“There are two points on which the Aborigines’ Protection Society would especially crave the powerful advocacy of the Missionary Societies.

“The first of these is, the obtaining for those Aborigines who reside in, or immediately on, the confines of British Colonies full participation in the rights of British subjects, instead of those modified and restricted privileges, which, even in the most favoured situations, have been hitherto conceded to them. These rights,

which are alike demanded by policy, as respects the tranquility and prosperity of the Colonies, and by justice to the Aborigines, would prove an incentive to every thing which is virtuous and of good report amongst the Aborigines...

“The second point is, effectual advocacy with our fellow subjects both at home and in the Colonies” (Aborigines’ Protection Society 1850-1851: 212).

The main objective of missionary pursuit in colonial enterprises was to transform the Aboriginal cultures into the image of the European-Christian mindset (Goossen 1977; Jaenen 1977). Aboriginal cultural practices became outlawed, languages were silenced, and European surnames were doled out to people that could hardly pronounce them. In the *History of British Columbia 1792-1887* Bancroft (1887) notes,

“How much better for him would it have been if the missionaries had directed their efforts toward improving the hearts and morals of the desperate and brutal border men, the knaves and vagabonds who spent their lives in informing upon and insulting the natives, and on the first slight appearance of defence or retaliation on the part of the Indian, in slaughtering him. Better a thousand times had the missionaries spent their lives in converting these men, for they needed regeneration far more than did the savage” (sic; Bancroft 1887: 47).

The Aborigines’ Protection Society had among its members one that forwarded a prospectus for the creation of the ‘Ethnology Society’ that was the precursor to the expansion of the fields now known as ‘Anthropology’ gravitating to - or emanating from methodological sciences. Ethnology at the time was struggling for its bearings as a discipline of science. Ethnologists in France were engaging in similar endeavor as the British. The French Ethnological Society issued a pamphlet, *Instruction Générale Adressée aux Voyageurs* in 1849 (Urry 1972: 45). Similar and sometimes competing branches of study were also evolving with arguments among scholars that led eventually to fields and sub-fields of related study. The arguments were based on preferences of philosophical view and the evolving paradigm of the ‘sciences’ (Goldman 1953). The Ethnological Society considered “...anthropology – a term it did not recognise - from a historical or diffusionist

point of view” ([sic]; Burrow 1963: 137). The Anthropological Society established in 1863 was an offshoot from the Ethnological Society. It was during a period of mid-Victorian time of evolving philosophy and divergent ‘science’ in what Burrow refers to as “...that intellectual transition which substituted for propositions about human nature or, in the case of the utilitarians, about human needs or wants, political and ethical theories derived from the notion of human progress or more specifically, of necessary stages in the evolution of society” (Burrow 1963: 138).

As knowledge and the sciences were evolving, interest in studying Aboriginal populations increased:

“The unsuccessful search after traces of an ante-Columbian intercourse with the New World, suffices to confirm the belief that, for unnumbered centuries throughout that ancient era, the Western Hemisphere was the exclusive heritage of nations native to the soil. Its sacred and sepulchral rites, its usages and superstitions, its arts, letters, metallurgy, sculpture, and architecture, are all peculiarly its own ; and we must now direct our attention to the physical characteristics which mark the American type of man, and endeavour to ascertain what truths may be recoverable from that source, relative to the origin, mutual influences, or essential diversities, pertaining to the civilized nations and barbarous tribes and confederacies of the continent” (Wilson 1862: 199).

The main question of the time period persisted across government and philanthropy, “What shall be done for the *amelioration* and civilization of the race?” (Parker 1870a: 3).

The ‘question’ was rather fluid depending on the context of the forum in which it was discussed. Parker’s (1870a) question provided perhaps a more eloquent version by the addition of “amelioration” to its previous iterations. Mr. Ely S. Parker was Seneca, and although he worked within the confines of contemporary jurisprudence, the addition of nuanced language to old dogmatic perceptions may have had positive influence in the manner of U.S. policy development and implementation. It is however difficult to characterize any empathy from Mr. Parker. Parker’s predecessor N. G. Taylor asked,

*“How can our Indian tribes be civilized?”* - Assuming that the government has a right, and that it is its duty to solve the Indian question definitely and decisively, it becomes necessary that it determine at once the best and speediest method of its solution, and then, armed with right, to act in the interest of both races.

If might makes right, we are the strong and they the weak ; and we would do no wrong to proceed by the cheapest and nearest route to the desired end, and could, therefore, justify ourselves in ignoring the natural as well as the conventional rights of the Indians, if they stand in the way, and, as their lawful masters, assign them their status and their tasks, or put them out of their own way and ours by extermination with the sword, starvation, or by any other method.

If, however, they have rights as well as we, then clearly it is our duty as well as sound policy to so solve the question of their future relations to us and each other, as to secure their rights and promote their highest interest, in the simplest, easiest, and most economical way possible” (Taylor, N. G. 1868: 16).

Many questions arose from the colonial experiment between Governments and the subjugation of Aboriginal people. The pursuit of philanthropy, most often in the practice of Christian instruction, sought to “civilize” the Natives and eradicate traditional practices (Atkins 1886: IV, X; Church Missionary Society 1856: 6-7; Marcy 1869: 110; Taylor, N. G. 1868: 1; and others), and the pursuit of academic inquiry, particularly to document and record customs of traditional practices, would present a most antagonist situation. Franz Boas noted this dilemma (Boas 1888: 235).

The services of the German ethnologist Franz Boas were enlisted for the purposes of the BAAS Committee although he may have been inclined to study other Aboriginal society characteristics (e.g., culture, language, and mythology; Tylor et al 1886; Boas 1898).

Governments turned to academia and the sciences in the pursuit of knowledge to address some of these questions that philologists/ethnologists/anthropologists were pursuing (Urry 1972: 49). The BAAS had published a ‘manual’ in 1874 titled *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*:

“Travellers have usually recorded only those customs of modern savages which they have chanced to observe ; and, as a rule, they have observed chiefly those which their experience of civilized institutions has led them to look for. Nor are there wanting

instances in which the information thus obtained has been lamentably distorted in order to render it in harmony with preconceived ideas ; owing to this and other causes, the imperfections of the anthropological record surpass those of other sciences, and false theories are often built upon imperfect bases of induction.

The rapid extermination of savages at the present time, and the rapidity with which they are being reduced to the standard of European manners, renders it of urgent importance to correct these sources of error as soon as possible.

It is hoped that the questions contained in the following sections, each of which is the result of special study of the subject treated, may be a means of enabling the traveler to collect information without prejudice arising from his individual bias. To this end it is particularly requested that he will endeavour to answer the questions as fully as possible, not confining himself to a detailed account of those things which exist, but also, by special inquiries directed to the subject, endeavouring to determine the non-existence of others to which attention is drawn” (sic; Lane-Fox and Pitt-Rivers 1899: viii).

The publication *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* appears to be the basis of categorical study with headings that somewhat match reports submitted over the period of approximately 30- 40 years following its debut. Some sections and headings appear to offer methods to observe and record things that can be measured directly (e.g., anthropomorphic features). Other sections and headings suggest interpretation of observations (e.g., psychology) with conceptions or misconceptions provided. For example,

“The power of forming abstract ideas seems to be extremely limited in the lowest races. ... The memory may be keen with regard to particular classes of objects or events, but in other respects almost a blank. The power of drawing a map on the neighbouring country varies immensely, and may be tested with advantage. (The Esquimaux seem to equal or surpass most Europeans on this point.) ... Any observations on the sequence of ideas in the minds of savages who have not come in contact with Europeans would be extremely valuable” (Carson and Read 1899: 53).

The above passage demonstrates preconceived ideas regarding comparison of Eurocentric concepts of man but also it highlights a contradiction by exemplifying an exception, in this case, the Esquimaux have a skill level higher than the European. These types of exceptions are found in many narratives. An irony is found in the statement alluding to “savages who have not come into contact with Europeans” and the subsequent pursuit of

the study of North-western Tribes of the Dominion because by that time (ca. 1874), the Pacific Northwest coast had already experienced more than a century of ‘contact’ while maintaining their cultural lifestyle.

The evolution of anthropology led to pursuit of understanding Aboriginal people to explain a universal human evolutionary phenomenon over a demonstrably long period of time. An accelerated expansion of study was facilitated by encounters with Aboriginal people in the “new colonies” and contemplation of social interaction with colonists/settlers. The rapid decline of Aboriginal populations from disease and hostilities instigated an urgency that further accelerated study. A definition of anthropology emerged in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* as

“the natural history of man. It is divided into two main divisions, namely, Anthropography and Ethnography. The former treats of man and the varieties of the human family from a purely animal point of view, that is, from a structural and functional aspect ; while the latter deals with him as a social and intellectual being, and includes inquiries as to his manners, customs, institutions, history, traditions, language, religion, intellectual aptitudes, industries, arts, &c.” (Carson and Mead 1899: B).

The term ‘anthropography’ fell into common disuse but not its conceptual treatment, and in fact influenced many generations of scholars to study Aboriginal humans from an animal point of view (cf. Marlowe 2005). The study of Aboriginal people accelerated in North America as anthropologists realized “the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, traversing an enormous stretch of little known country on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, has given ready access to a number of native tribes whose languages and mode of life offer a field of inquiry as yet but imperfectly worked” (BAAS, Circular of Inquiry 1884:1). The United States had established a government department and sent “qualified agents to reside among the western tribes for purposes of philological and anthropological

study” (BAAS, CI 1884:1). The government of the Dominion of Canada installed an anthropological collection at the national museum in Ottawa but apparently was not inclined to establish the study of Natives as part of the public service.

The BAAS convened an unprecedented historic meeting in Montréal in 1884. At this meeting scholars addressed the state of affairs for the colonies, how banking evolved and its current status, how economy is evaluated and what it means to society, and they also established a committee for the purpose of investigating the characteristics of the North-western tribes of Canada (BAAS 1888). A memorandum [Circular of Inquiry] was drawn at the 1884 Montréal meeting to pursue the collection of information between Lake Huron and the Pacific from nearly any person in contact with native tribes:

“At the meeting of the British Association at Montréal in 1884 the subject of Canadian anthropology came frequently under public and private discussion. The opinion was strongly expressed that an effort should be made to record as perfectly as possible the characteristics and condition of the native tribes of the Dominion before their racial peculiarities become less distinguishable through intermarriage and dispersion, and before contact with civilized men has further obliterated the remains of their original arts, customs, and beliefs” (BAAS, CI 1884:1).

A Committee of the BAAS was designated to champion the effort with ‘Suggestions for Investigation’ of categorical interest: Physical Characters; Senses and Mental Characters; Language; Arts and Knowledge; Music and Amusements; Constitution of Society; Government and Law; Religion and Magic; and Mythology. These categories are provided with context that depicts a level of unawareness at that time of Aboriginal people coincident with misperceptions, and likely modeled on the *Notes and Queries of Anthropology* described above:

“Evidence is much needed to confirm or disprove the view commonly held that children of coloured races (Indian, negro, &c), while intelligent and apt to learn up to adolescence, are then arrested in mental development, and fall behind the whites. Few points in anthropology are more practically important than this, which bears on the

whole question of education and government of the indigenes of America, living as they do side by side with a larger and more powerful population of European origin. No amount of pains would be wasted in ascertaining how far mental differences between races may be due to physical differences in brain-structure, how far the less advanced races are lower in mind-power by reason of lower education and circumstances, and how far the falling-off at maturity in their offspring brought up with whites (if it actually takes place) may be due to social causes, especially the disheartening sense of inferiority” (BAAS, CI 1884: 3).

Three years later Rev. E. F. Wilson reported his proceedings with nearly the same headings as the Circular of Inquiry and notes under his category heading ‘Intellectual Capacity’:

“As no children of this tribe have, as yet, been induced to remain even for a few consecutive weeks at school, it is impossible to report at present on this head. I have, however, succeeded in inducing two boys to return with me to our Shingwauk Home (1,500 miles distant from their reserve), and it will be very interesting to see in the course of a year what progress they make, in comparison with boys from other tribes. The Blackfeet have all the appearance of being an intelligent people” (BAAS 1887: 194).

A system of Aboriginal education was fervently pursued for the purpose of eradicating the Indian out of the child for more than a century with disastrous consequences (Stout and Kipling 2003; Troniak 2011). It was a system that evolved from an inauspicious beginning in Quebec with the Roman Catholic Church by at least November 1685 with two schools, one to train young Indians to enter the Church, and the other to train students in the useful arts (Woods 1886: 162).

“This policy, uniformly pursued in Acadia, and in the older Provinces of Canada, and throughout the regions of the far west, has been a most valuable auxiliary in instilling into the minds of the Indians, wherever they come in contact with the “Black Robes,” a respect for the usages of civilized life, and a desire, not once but many times expressed, to know more of the means by which the white man advanced with resistless step, and finally supplanted the aborigines in their own hunting grounds” (Woods 1886: 163).

It is doubtful that Indians judged white man as “advanced” but it is likely they desired to know the means of being deprived of their lands. The way the French viewed religious

interaction has a different perspective: “The priests in the Huron Mission, the “black robes” as the Indians called them, praying for the souls of their heathen flock, sought to ward off the customs and ways of the European and to keep the savages within the shelter of their own primitive social system” (Morton 1973: 35). As the education system evolved to “advance” the natives, scholarly curiosity was also rising with urgency due to the perceived disappearing way of life.

The Circular of Inquiry did succeed in soliciting attention to document, record and study the characteristics and traits of the North-western tribes. The Committee periodically reviewed reports produced from 1884 to 1898. The content of the reports tend to focus on a limited number of tribes in each report. The tenth report was anticipated as the last report however the BAAS scheduled another meeting in Canada in 1897 so the Committee continued in its work to report at that meeting (BAAS 1896). The tenth report acknowledges the Committee’s appreciation for the Association to take up the tasks of preserving records of the North-western tribes, and acknowledged “With equal generosity, the Canadian Government recognized the necessity of the work by large contribution to the funds at the disposal of the Committee” (BAAS 1895: 1).

Boas continued with his pursuit of study much more extensively on the tribes of the Northwest coast for the remainder of his career (1888-1932). Boas did not subscribe to the prevailing evolutionary theory but instead approached collection of facts on cultural change as the appropriate means to evaluate cultures (Boas 1920). His methods and results have influenced several more students, and had a decisive impact on the field of inquiry. An intellectual shift was slowly manifesting in the manner that Aboriginal people were being portrayed to the world by the study of their societies. In Ellingson’s (2000) *Myth of the Noble*

*Savage* the undulating force of biases and assumptions through time are revealed in the shifts of perceptions:

“American independence and rapid postwar expansion accelerated the processes of displacement and decimation of the eastern U.S. Indian populations, and the accompanying disruptions of their way of life, that had contributed to the general acceptance of negative stereotypes such as the polemic representations of Chastellux and Volney. Against the prevailing ideology and practice of taming the wilderness, the “savage” seemed to be in a state of inevitable decline or retreat. Indeed, the northeastern Indians, the original prototypes of the Noble Savage, could no longer be credibly represented as very “wild” at all; and, for those interested in the observation of “savagery,” interest shifted to peoples farther to the West. For the first half of the nineteenth century, the greatest excitement focused on the discovery of the nomadic buffalo-hunting peoples of the newly acquired Louisiana Purchase territories, extending from the Mississippi across the Great Plains to the Rockies.

In the decades of increasing negativity and declining ethnographic excitement after the middle of the preceding century, there was also a perceptible decline in ethnographic originality. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, we do not find the innovation, experimentation, and exploration of new representational approaches that had so variously characterized the works of writers such as Lescarbot, Lahontan, or Lafitau. But toward the middle of the nineteenth century, innovations once more began to appear in the ethnographic writings on the Indians. One such innovation was the participant-observation approach... Another was the construction of a careful and systematic ethnographic program of research based on long-term acquaintance and collaboration with the members of the group being studied, together with a sophisticated theoretical approach to anthropology. The outstanding example of this is the work of Lewis Henry Morgan (1818 – 81).

Morgan, whose *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (1851) raised ethnography to a new height of professionalism, was a lawyer-ethnographer who combined ethnographic interests with a practical commitment to providing the Iroquois with legal and political support against corporate attempts to divest them of their remaining lands. Energized by this ideological commitments, he wrote his major ethnographic study with the explicit intent of evoking a more positive public attitude to the people he depicted (fig. 8).

To encourage a kinder feeling towards the Indian, founded upon a truer knowledge of his civil and domestic institutions, and of his capabilities for future elevation, is the motive in which this work originated. ...Born to an unpropitious fate, the inheritors of many wrongs, they have been unable, of themselves, to escape from the complicated difficulties which accelerate their decline. To aggravate these adverse influences, the public estimation of the Indian, resting, as it does, upon an imperfect knowledge of his character, and tintured, as it ever has been, with the coloring of prejudice, is universally unjust.

The time has come in which it is befitting to cast away all ancient antipathies, all inherited opinions; and having taken a nearer view of their

social life, condition and wants, to study anew our duty concerning them (Morgan 1851: ix – x)” (as presented in Ellingson 2000: 117-118).

Ellingson (2000) demonstrates how Morgan’s position was influenced by the sociocultural evolutionary theory prevailing at that time and how he related the state of society progressed from a primitive state to the perceived dynamic advanced civilized state.

The perceptions of Aboriginal people were severely misplaced and pervasive in nearly every discourse related to them. Bancroft (1887) notes the mistreatment of the Indians from an example narration of someone that noted hostilities were perpetrated against the Indians (Bancroft 1887: 46). Bancroft also notes “It is a great mistake to fling all aboriginal men and women into one category and damn them as savages” (Bancroft 1887: 49). Others noted high levels of intelligence and intellectual capabilities:

“Acquisitiveness is a prominent trait in the character of these people, and may lead them to great efforts, but they do not appreciate communism” (Whipple 1870: 84);

“Due credit must, therefore, be given to the Indians for the intelligence, experience and sagacity displayed in all that belongs peculiarly to their native civilization. . . . Justice demands an intelligent and impartial study of the Indians and of the Indian question” (McLean, John 1892: 29).

Investigations were conducted between 1884 and 1897 by scholars to increase the knowledge of the Aboriginal people of the North-western region:

“While the work of the Committee has materially advanced our knowledge of the tribes of British Columbia, the field of investigation is by no means exhausted. The languages are known only in outline. More detailed information on the physical types may clear up several points that have remained obscure, and a more detailed knowledge of the ethnology of the northern tribes seems desirable. Ethnological evidence has been collected bearing upon the history of development of the culture-area under consideration; but no archaeological investigations have been carried on which would help materially in solving these problems.

For these reasons it is a matter of congratulation to know that the ethnological investigation in British Columbia will not cease with the operations inaugurated by the Committee” (BAAS 1898: 1).

From 1884 to 2010, more than one hundred years of inquiry, the volume of study has continued to expand by scholars interested in the Aboriginal people of this region and their history.

## **Conclusions**

History records pivotal moments that encounters in the ‘new world’ transformed the dimensions of cultural change for Aboriginal people. A dichotomy is prevalent in nearly the entire collision of European contact with Aboriginal people, in the conceptions the Europeans brought with them to what they may have perceived as their ‘new world’ and in nearly every encounter in colonial transformation to make that new world in their image. At the center of their pursuits is acquisition of lands and trade; lands owned and occupied by Aboriginal people and trade resulting in the products of Aboriginal industrious use of it. The Treaties between the monarchs of Europe during the 15<sup>th</sup> through 17<sup>th</sup> centuries indicate their competition for exclusive trade vacillating with periods of quiet agreement or war to press their advantage. While the monarchs were contending with their own political strife, and periodically authorizing exploration on their behalf, individuals built private fortunes in the colonies. These enterprises found conflict among them and required reconciliation, some of these conflicts emanating from the conclusion of treaties between the monarchs. Eventually conflicts would arise between the colonies and Great Britain causing war ultimately resulting in a line drawn across the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel. The issues and conflicts regarding lands and trade had not vanished, and in fact continue to this day.

The Pacific maritime fur trade started after the account of Cook’s voyage was published in 1784 with only British trading vessels venturing into the Pacific Northwest for three seasons. Captain Cook was on his third exploratory voyage in 1778 and while some

trade was engaged the results could be considered token. The fur trade was controlled by Aboriginal leaders according to protocol, supply of furs, and price demands.

The Pacific Northwest region was engaged in the coast fur trade with very little interest by foreigners in settlement along the rugged coast for nearly a century. Pretensions were advanced by European, Russian and U.S. interests culminating in a division of Oregon Territory along the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel between Britain and the U.S. while ignoring the rights of Aboriginal people. The Hudson's Bay Company had aspirations to operate their license conditions to settle Vancouver Island and keep the mainland unoccupied by settlers to retain it as a fur preserve. Their control of exclusive trade with the Indians was difficult to maintain, and short lived as settlers arrived in Puget's Sound from the Willamette valley. A British Treaty with Russia was another attempt to control trade and formalized British pretension at fifty-four forty. Part of this arrangement was to secure supply to the Russian settlements that would discourage American trading vessels. These controls likely stimulated the battle between the British and U.S. pretensions to Oregon Territory.

Advocacy for the rights and protection of Aboriginal people emerged through benevolent gestures of transforming the Aboriginal cultures through religion and education. A new interest in learning about the Aboriginal people and their unique cultures started to manifest that would expand the 'study of man' creating new scientific disciplines. The next chapter presents how this expansion progressed from its origin during the mid 1800s to the contemporary time period with its growth and success as a science facilitated by the encounters with the Pacific Northwest Coast.

## **Chapter 3: Discovering anthropology and viewing through their lens the spiral of Aboriginal social organization to protect wealth**

“For many years Northwest Coast cultures have exerted a magic appeal to layman and specialist alike. We have been swept off our feet by the potlatch, dazzled by dance and sculpture, lured into searching out the rules and meanings of mythology and art. Because there is such richness in accounts of these cultures, we have been easily distracted from examining workaday routines of daily living. Technology has been neglected” (Kew 1977: 7).

### **Introduction**

The growth of sciences took on new dimensions during the 1800s and one of those was the emerging field of anthropology. This chapter describes how the study of Aboriginal people intensified the growth of anthropology and the divergent philosophical viewpoints expressed in developing theories. The first section describes the motivation to rapidly pursue these studies and how methods were influenced by the perceptions of Aboriginal people prevailing during the late 1800s. The next section is an account of the progression of philology with its methodological practice leading the way for ethnography. These pursuits were tempered with the perceptions at the time of the evolutionary theory and Aboriginal people. The first Pacific Northwest coast ethnography is presented that depicts the generalizing character of study. The following section describes the historic meeting of the British Association of the Sciences (BAAS) held in Montréal that launched study of Pacific Northwest people into a hyper-intensity that continues to the present time. These studies have contributed to development of theoretical constructs and generalized terminology that may be viewed by Aboriginal people as antagonistic or even insulting. Examples are provided within conferences and meetings of anthropologists that depict differences of opinion among the scholars while engaging discussion about theories and terminology. The next two sections

each depict how some interpretations have evolved that may not correspond with Aboriginal epistemological or ontological frameworks. This has significant bearing on how Aboriginal paradigms are interpreted, particularly in the struggle for recognition of Aboriginal rights, title, territories and resource use. The next sections provide descriptions of social organization and the relationships to territories and resource use with emphasis on the eulachon Grease producing region. The feasting (or 'potlatch') system is described in relation to its agency role in economic prosperity.

### **Rationale for urgency in the study of Aboriginal cultures**

The term history is “given different meanings in different contexts” (Duff 1997: 13) and “pre-history” is dependent on the determination of the period of history. According to Duff, historians refer to history as “an account of the past based on information from written documents” and prehistory is “an account of what happened there before it began to be mentioned in written records” (Duff 1997: 14). The period of prehistory on the Northwest Coast is also referred to as “pre-contact” ending with the demarcation of written records during the mid 1770s. Duff (1997: 14) states, ““Ethnohistory” describes native life in early historic times; “Ethnography” is the description of native cultures based on observation and native testimony, and “ethnology” is the study and interpretation of ethnography.” The historic period of British Columbia provides information for general and detailed accounts of Aboriginal life but not fully comprehensive of all Aboriginal life. “The information for the prehistoric period is not only less complete, it is of a different character” (Duff 1997: 14).

The fields of anthropology and ethnology were like apical buds in the 1800s, joining in 1871 under Anthropological Institute (Goldman 1959; Burrow 1963). The study of Aboriginal people intensified with urgency during the late 1800s and was strongly influenced

by the methods and perceptions of the era. Attention is drawn to some of these methods and perceptions as they may have been influenced prior to the progression of Pacific Northwest Coast ethnology. The prevailing sentiments towards Aboriginal people are expressed in subtle often contradictory statements and direct observations. For example, in Rev. McDonnell Dawson's account of the 'Food of the Natives' he states "Improvident, as savages generally are, we find that they exercise wonderful foresight in treasuring up supplies of salmon" (McDonnell Dawson 1881: 84). A prejudice against Aboriginal people was pervasive in a variety of social interactions as noted by McKenney (1869):

"I allude to those who, in the face of all law and reckless of consequences, persist in the sale of whisky to Indians. This class of offenders have been pursued with an unrelenting hand, and though the securing of conviction is extremely difficult by reason of the popular prejudice against the Indians themselves in general, and against Indian testimony in particular, yet I have made it a rule to subject these men, for every offense that has come to my knowledge, to the trouble of defense" (McKenney 1869: 124).

One of the compelling motivations to pursue the study of Aboriginal people was due to the dire prediction of extinction for the rapidly depopulated Aboriginal societies. Wilson (1862) states, "The mortal destiny of the whole American group is already perceived to be running out, like the sand in Time's hour-glass" (Wilson 1862: 330). The devastating effect of disease epidemics is known to have occurred although the magnitude of the devastation is vigorously debated because it requires knowing the baseline population that existed prior to the epidemic effects (i.e., "pre-contact," or "aboriginal times;" Dobyns 1966). Another aspect of reduced numbers was perceived as an effect of colonization (Aborigines Protection Society 1850-51: 281; Parliamentary Select Committee 1837).

"The Aborigines are now so greatly reduced in numbers, that it will hardly be thought worth while to take into account their habits, character or disposition as regards new settlers. As the actual occupants of the land, however, they are deserving of attention; and as their position and rights will be scrupulously respected under the

new order which is designed to promote their prosperity and happiness, no less than the well being, in days to come of the many millions, besides, it may not be a useless task to give an idea in this chapter, of their character and present state” (McDonell Dawson 1881: 44).

The ethnology of the Pacific Northwest Coast Aboriginal people consists of complex mosaics of ethnohistory, ethnography (characterizations and observations), and records of various observers of what was perceived of as “different” and to some extent unique to what was known academically at that time (Burrow 1963). The disposition of the “old world” society towards Aboriginal people on the Pacific Northwest Coast had evolved over a period of nearly a century, or longer, before the first ‘visitors’ were encountered. Contributing factors to a negative disposition included conflicts over territorial occupation, access to resources, antagonist encounters, and in general, negative – or erroneous reports transmitted to people on the European continent and eventually to the eastern North American continent. The later contact period for the Pacific Northwest Coast facilitated a perception of “pristine” cultures:

“The Province of British Columbia offers probably the best field of ethnological research now to be found in North America. This distinction is due to two circumstances, each of much importance. The one is the fact that the tribes of this Province have thus far suffered less displacement and change from foreign influences than those of any other region. They still for the most part occupy their original seats, and they retain to a large extent their primitive customs and beliefs. The other circumstance, and one of special scientific interest, is the great number of linguistic stocks, or families of languages, which are found in the Province” (Hale 1889: 1).

Aboriginal people continued to flourish within their cultural domain and became acquainted with new influences. Some of these influences purposely intended to change the Aboriginal cultures. For the Northwest Coast acculturative forces were significant with the introduction of missionaries for the purposes of “civilizing’ the populations although this activity was initially conducted from principle locations on Vancouver Island, and at Fort

Simpson (Colyer 1870: 553) and 'Nast Bay' ([Nass?]; Colyer 1970: 558). The missionary locations on Vancouver Island were at Nanaimo and an 'uncharted island' (Colyer 1870: 559-560) likely Fort Rupert or Alert Bay. The Church Missionary Society designated this mission region as the North Pacific at the outset that would later change. These missionaries were the first to live among these tribes and record cultural characteristics, habits, and customs. Their records would contribute to ethnology effused with their moral imperatives underlying the objectives for transforming Aboriginal people to an acculturated condition.

The structural content of the ethnographic records reflect the evolving development of the disciplines of ethnology and anthropology. The selection of subject content in the earliest records was influenced by the conceptions prevailing during the formative years of the disciplines as science. For this reason, the ethnology of the Pacific Northwest coast is fragmented, partly due to any or all of these elements: prevailing sentiment and bias, contemporaneous views of the patrons of science, cultural differences between the observer and the observed group, and limited periods of inquiry. Most ethnographies, especially the earliest, focus on listing observable characteristics determined from a paradigm of considering what was different than what was known from a European or 'old world' familiarity. Categorization, simplification and general observations were pervasive, mostly to compare and contrast this knowledge against the old world (Burrow 1963; Wilson, D. 1862), but also to seek evidence for the universal origin of humans.

### **Philology hiatus and rebirth**

The pursuit of philological studies took a hiatus from a 1555 publication of *Mithridates* by Conrad Gessner to *The Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater 130 years later (Prichard 1833: 530). Philology was considered as a necessary subject in itself but

particularly “to elucidate the history and affinity of nations or of different races of men ; and that any conclusions which may be drawn by such writers from other sources, - as, for example, from anatomical and physical inquiries pursued separately, - will be liable to error, if reference is not occasionally made to the results from philology” (Prichard 1833: 534). Philology resumed during the exploration of the sea by ‘Magalhaens’ as initiated by his companion Pigafetta who,

“...bethought himself of acquiring the means of rendering intelligible and of comparing with each other the various dialects of the new races of men, whose existence this voyage was destined to make known. ... He began the practice of collecting vocabularies which might furnish specimens of the idioms spoken in distant islands of the ocean. His example had been followed by succeeding navigators, and has led by degrees to results of great interest” (Prichard 1833: 530).

The methods of early study on Aboriginal societies consisted of recording the characterizations and observations of language (i.e., philology) by documenting vocabularies, and recording the physical measurements of people encountered. The objectives for study were mainly based on the pursuit of the history of mankind, not an interest in the different societies. Prichard (1833) provides a summary on the progress of knowledge regarding ethnology for the purposes,

“to consider and estimate the means of information respecting the history of mankind which are furnished by two different methods of inquiry, *viz.* by philological and physical investigations ; the former including those researches into the structure and affinity of languages which have been undertaken with a view to elucidate the relations of tribes and races to each other ; the latter, the attempts which have been made to classify nations by their mutual resemblances in figure, complexion, and other physical peculiarities” (Prichard 1833: 530).

The methodological pursuit of philology and its accompanying theoretical foundation persisted for over a century by scholars. Some of the early characterizations included brief synopses of customs to accompany presentation of vocabularies (BAAS 1889; Hale 1846). The early records of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were generally compiled through an empirical approach

of collecting facts. The approach was intended to remove ambiguity through the scientific method however the interpretation of these facts was subjective and the assumptions vague or not tested in the fledgling science.

“The tendency of philological inquiry, as directed to the peculiar grammatical structure and extreme glossarial diversities of the American languages, was at first to isolate them entirely, and to exaggerate their special phenomena into widely prevalent linguistic features, common to the New World and utterly unknown elsewhere. In this the philologist only pursued the same course as the physiologist, the attention of each being naturally attracted chiefly by what was dissimilar to all that had been observed elsewhere. . . . Increasing knowledge of his languages tends rather to diminish the proofs of that radical difference from all other forms of human speech which was at first too hastily assumed” (Wilson, Daniel 1862: 437).

The acceleration in the pursuit of anthropologic research through philology may have generated the pervasive use of generalizations for the intent of scientific comparisons however research results continually challenged the ability of scholars to use universal or generic terminology. Other factors affecting philology interpretation were the influences of other changes affecting Aboriginal people such as modified language use (as a result of acculturative forces), translation issues, and validation techniques for correct symbols regarding phonetic sounds.

From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the volume of ethnographies increased, the intellectual endeavor of ethnological enquiry started to mature however with pain of nurturing objectivity. Ethnology at the time was still in development as a field of science: “In all the [departments?] of ethnology, the want of a generally recognized terminology is a serious impediment” (Wilson 1862: 478). The Wilson (1862) Appendix B is after Dr. Tschudi and lists terms used at that time intended to relate to persons of mixed ancestry from a variety of continents. Many of those terms, if any, may no longer be in use. It is a reflection of what was perceived at that time about the species of man consisting of multiple races.

“Such was the earliest knowledge acquired by the Old World of the singular type of humanity generically designated the Red Indian ; and the attention which its peculiarities excited, when thus displayed in their fresh novelty, has not yet exhausted itself, after an interval of upwards of three centuries and a half. That certain special characteristics in complexion, hair, and features, do pertain to the whole race or races of the American Continent, is not to be disputed. Ulloa [Spanish Explorer], who spent ten years in the provinces of Mexico, Colombia, and Peru, says, - “If we have seen one American, we may be said to have seen all, their colour and make are so nearly alike. ... In the sense in which the remark of Ulloa was made, relative to the living tribes now occupying the tropical regions of the continent, of which alone he spoke from personal observation, there is nothing specially to challenge ; but that which was originally the mere loose generalization of a traveler, has been quoted as though it involved an unquestionable dogma of science. Various causes, moreover, have tended to encourage the development of scientific theory in this direction ; so that, with the exception of the Esquimaux, the universality of certain physical characteristics peculiar to the tribes and nations of America, has been assumed by American ethnologists as an absolute postulate for the strictest purposes of scientific induction ; and is reaffirmed dogmatically, in the words of Ulloa: “He who has seen one tribe of Indians, has seen all” (Wilson 1862: 200).

The scientific debates in the mid 1800s centered on the origins of humans and the evolution of races. The publication of Darwin’s 1859 *Origin of Species* merely fanned the flames of the divide between the concept of multiple origins of human species and its counter concept of an evolutionary emergence from one origin (Burrow 1963: 139-142; Turnbull 2008: 205-206). The single origin theory was also consistent with the Christian model, although espoused in other intellectual endeavor through Christian Missions. The Church Missionary Society considered “The population of the world may be viewed in reference to Christian Missions, *politically, ethnologically, or religiously*” (Church Missionary Society 1865: 9; original emphasis). For the survey of the mission field the Church Missionary Society found little value in ethnology at the time due to “[t]he great number of conflicting theories and classifications of the races of mankind” (Church Missionary Society 1865: 9). Wilson describes a distinction by a scholar named Dr. Morton regarding his conclusion that

the American tribes, except those located in Polar Regions are one race and one species but in two families:

“But the distinction, when thus defined, is manifestly not an ethnological one at all, but a mere accompaniment of civilization with its wonted intellectual development. An essential difference in physical type is recognized as separating the Esquimaux, or polar tribes, from the true American autochthones, while any physical difference between the remaining two great families into which the American nations are divided is expressly denied. Such a distinction is, for ethnological purposes at least, arbitrary, indefinite, and valueless” (Wilson 1862: 206).

The pursuit of knowledge regarding different species of man was pursued by many scholars conducting physical measurements of crania. Sir Daniel Wilson lived among the tribes in America measuring crania and observing behavioral characteristics (Wilson 1862: 213). The sepulchral rites found in grave sites showed diversity among groups of tribes. These differences also manifested in languages associated to various extant groups, and Wilson (1862) notes, “the very existence of a science of ethnology results from the recognition of essential physical and moral differences characteristic of the subdivisions of the human family” (Wilson 1862: 330). The Church Missionary Society viewed some research results as compatible with Scriptural statements and considered the “mutual connexion of various races of men are threefold – their physical and mental endowments, their linguistic affinities, and their customs and traditions” (sic; Church Missionary Society 1865: 9). In addition to noting the resonant works by Dr. Prichard who had demonstrated the influence of “climate and other external causes are quite sufficient to account for the varieties now found among the human species” (Church Missionary Society 1865: 9), further confirmation of their doctrine was noted in “The identity of the oral traditions of tribes far removed from each other locally, points also strongly to the common origin of mankind” (Church Missionary Society 1865: 9).

The evolution of mankind from the Christian Missionary view was considered less relevant in contrast to the study of religious practices:

“But by far the most important aspect under which the human race is to be viewed with respect to Missionary enterprise is the question of their different existing religions. ... The earliest form of idolatry appears to have been the adoration of the heavenly bodies and the powers of nature. Symbols erected in their commemoration were soon worshipped in the place of the thing symbolized. The worship of deceased ancestors and departed heroes was added ; and a vague sense of the malignant power of evil spirits, sometimes deprecated by charms, frequently by bloody sacrifices, often by elaborate and costly ceremonials, is found in practice as the popular religious creed over almost the whole heathen world”(Church Missionary Society 1865: 10).

The dialectic was the conceptions of evolutionary emergence, whether it was the origin of humans (Gardner 2008: 261) or whether it was ritual worship with the European Christian model as the pinnacle (Gardner 2008:267). The common attribute in the pursuit of these theoretical constructs was the study of languages through philology.

The first ethnography on the North American northwest coast came not from Boas but rather Horatio Hale, Philologist attending the Wilkes Exploring Expedition 1838-1841 (Hale 1846) although others may also be referenced in Powell (1891). The expedition was extensive from Polynesia to the west coast of North America. The majority of Hale’s narrative describes Columbia Basin Plateau and Columbia River mouth coastal groups with focus on “Oregon territory” that extends northward along the Rocky Mountains. A section on “Northern Tribes” describes Newitsee on “the most northern extremity of Vancouver’s Island” (Hale 1846: 220).

The Aboriginal groups are described in general categorical summary. Hale (1846) designates a footnote on a section heading that illustrates a dichotomy pervasive in many historical and sometimes contemporary documents:

“Character\* ... \*Nothing is more common in the writings of many voyagers than such phrases as the following: - "These natives, like all savages, are cruel and

treacherous;" - "The levity and fickleness of the savage character;" - "The tendency to superstition, which is found among all uncivilized tribes;" - "The parental affections which warm the most savage heart," &c. These expressions are evidently founded on a loose idea that a certain sameness of character prevails among barbarous races, and especially that some passions and feelings are found strongly developed in all. A little consideration will show that this view must be erroneous. It is civilization which produces uniformity" (Hale 1846: 13).

Hale makes a compassionate plea for considering the use of certain categorical expressions while he still referred to Aboriginal people as “barbarous” and differentiated civilization.

The use of generalized divisions for purposes of describing Aboriginal people, particularly west of the Rocky Mountains and especially for coastal groups, tend to follow large geographical regions. Hale (1846) may have been the first to describe western regional groups: “For convenience of description, however, they may be arranged under four classes of divisions, each of which includes a number of tribes resembling one another in certain general traits:

1. *The Northwest division.* ...peninsula of Alaska, in latitude 60°, and Queen Charlotte’s Sound, in latitude 52°. This part of the country was not visited by us, and the information obtained concerning it was derived chiefly from individuals of the Hudson’s Bay Company. They described the natives as resembling the white race in some of their physical characteristics. They are fair in complexion, sometimes with ruddy cheeks; and, what is very unusual among the aborigines of America, they have thick beards, which appear early in life. In other respects, their physiognomy is Indian,-a broad face, with wide cheek-bones, the opening of the eye long and narrow, and the forehead low.

From the accounts received concerning them, they would appear to be rather ingenious people. They obtain copper from the mountains which border the coast, and make of it, pipe-bowls, gun-charges, and other similar articles. Of a very fine and hard slate they make cups, plates, pipes, little images, and various ornaments, wrought with surprising elegance and taste. Their clothing, houses, and canoes, display like ingenuity, and are well adapted to their climate and mode of life. On the other hand, they are said to be filthy in their habits, and of a cruel and treacherous disposition.

2. *The North-Oregon division.* All the tribes north of the Columbia, except those of the first section, and some of the *Wallawallas*, belong to this division, as well as three or four to the south of that river. It includes the *Tahkali-Umpqua* family (the Carriers, Qualioguas, Tlatskanies, and the Umguas), the *Taihaili-Selish* family

(Shoushwaps, Flatheads, Chikoilish, Cowelits, and Killamuks), with the *Chinooks*, the *Yakones* (or southern Killamuks) and, in part, the *Calapuyas*. The *Nootkas*, and other tribes of Vancouver's Island also belong to it... They are of moderate intelligence, coarse and dirty in their habits, indolent, deceitful, and passionate. They are rather superstitious than religious, are greatly addicted to gambling, and grossly libidinous. All these disagreeable qualities are most conspicuous in the tribes near the mouth of the Columbia, and become less marked as we advance into the interior, and towards the North. It is also the same point (the mouth of the Columbia) that the custom of compressing the head prevails to the greatest extent. The *Chinooks* are the most distinguished for their attachment to this singular usage, and from them it appears to have spread on every side, to the Chikailish on the north, the Wallawallas and Nez-percés on the east and the Killamuks and Calapuyas on the south; the degree of distortion diminishing as we recede from the center. ...

3. *The South-Oregon division.* To this belong the *Sahaptin* family [Nez-percés and Wallawallas), the *Waiilatpu* (Cayuse and Molele), the *Shoshóni* (Snakes, Bonnacks, &c.), the *Lutuami*, the *Shasties*, the *Palaiks*, and probably other tribes towards the south and east. ... To one ascending the Columbia, the contrast presented by the natives above and below the Great Falls (the Chinooks and Wallawallas) is very striking...
4. *The Californian division.* The natives of this class are chiefly distinguished by their dark color. Those of Northern or Upper California are a shade browner than the Oregon Indians, while some tribes in the peninsula are said to be nearly black. ... The experiment, which was successfully tried, of collecting them, like a herd of cattle, into large enclosures called missions, and there setting them to work, would probably never have been undertaken with the Indians of Oregon, - and, if undertaken, would assuredly have failed” (Hale 1846: 197).

Hale (1846) describes general observations of tribes within these divisions, and with a bit more description on those tribes for which a vocabulary was obtained of their language. The divisions and tribes named correspond to a very large geographical area from southeast Alaska to the Baja Peninsula and from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains (northern areas below the Peace-Athabasca basin, or former Oregon Territory), and including the area now known as Montana. The only division that appears to have some logic that has held through time is the Northwest Division, an area that he was not able to visit. Others have

since then determined subsequent divisions at least for the Pacific Northwest Coast (R. Carlson 1994; Drucker 1939, 1955, 1965; Kroeber 1939; Swanton and Dixon 1916).

Contrary to Hale's footnote comment his "General Observations" section starts with,

"The Indians west of the Rocky Mountains seem to be, on the whole, inferior to those east of that chain. In stature, strength, and activity, they are much below them. Their social organization is more imperfect. The two classes of chiefs, those who preside in time of peace, and those who direct the operations of war, - the ceremony of initiation for the young men, - the distinction of clans or totems, - and the various important festivals which exist among the eastern tribes, are unknown to those of Oregon" (Hale 1846: 199).

By the time that Hale visited Oregon Territory, the familiarity with tribes east of the Rocky Mountains had extended over a long period of time allowing ethnologists and others to learn parts of social organization (e.g., 'two classes of chiefs'). Later ethnologists provide different characterizations of the Pacific Northwest Coast after engaging direct study. The prejudicial sentiment of Hale's ideology is evident in his characterizations, and also in contradiction within the same ethnography by comparison "...between American aborigines in general, but more especially the natives of Oregon, and the Australians" (Hale 1846: 200; some of the more antagonist statements are omitted from the present dissertation due to the severity of offensive character). His general comparison regarding the 'American aborigine' states, "The Indian is proud and reserved...cautious and fierce, ... passionate and prompt to resent injury" Hale's comparison appears to be statements of sentiment. Any substantive comparison between two continents does not appear to emerge except in his opinion. In the sections describing specific language groups Hale notes for the Tahkali-Umkwa Family, "It is not known that they have any distinct ideas of a god, or of the existence of the soul" (Hale 1846: 203) and later describes a ceremony after death conducted by a

"...priest, with many gesticulations and contortions, pretends to receive in his closed hands, something, - perhaps the life of the deceased, - which he communicates to

some living person by throwing his hands towards him, and at the same time blowing upon him. This person then takes the rank of the deceased, and assumes his name in addition to his own. Of course, the priest always understands to whom this succession is properly due” (Hale 1846: 203).

Hale (1846) places the Takhali in the Northern-Oregon division although this group is located in “...the region north of Oregon Territory, termed by the English at the time as New Caledonia. It extends from latitude 52° 30’, where it borders on the country of the Shoushaps, to latitude 56°...” (sic; Hale 1846: 201). Hale (1846) also describes, “The Tahkali are divided into eleven clans, or minor tribes” (Hale 1846: 202). It is apparent there are observations of social organization although obscured by the descriptions of the priest’s physical ceremony following death. It also may not have occurred to Hale to inquire into the role of females at any age with the exception of the Tahkali (Carrier) widow. Further, the integrity of the characterizations to effectively portray information is diminished by not having conducted direct observations:

“Our information with respect to this people is derived from a gentleman connected with the Hudson’s Bay Company, who resided several years among them in charge of a fort; it will be found to agree generally with the account given by Harmon, who occupied the same situation between the years 1809 and 1819” (Hale 1846: 202).

The Seventh Annual Report of the (U.S.) Bureau of Ethnology referenced Hale (1846) in a literature review section, “The vocabularies collected by Hale, and the conclusions derived by him from study of them, added much to the previous knowledge of the languages of these tribes. His conclusions and classification were in the main accepted by Gallatin in his linguistic writings 1848” (Powell 1891: 14).

## Expanding horizons of intellectual endeavor

The interest in the field of ethnology expanded as the British Association for the Advancement of Science established a section for anthropology. President of the section, E. B. Tylor, commented,

“Our newly-constituted Section of Anthropology, now promoted from the lower rank of a Department of Biology, holds its first meeting under remarkable circumstances. Here in [North] America one of the great problems of race and civilization comes into closer view than in Europe. In England anthropologists infer from stone arrow-heads and hatchet-blades, laid up in burial-mounds or scattered over the sites of vanished villages, that Stone Age tribes once dwelt in the land ; but what they were like in feature and complexion, what languages they spoke, and what social laws and religion they lived under, are questions where speculation has but little guidance from fact. It is very different when under our feet in Montreal are found relics of a people who formerly dwelt here, Stone Age people, as their implements show, though not unskilled in barbaric arts, as is seen by the ornamentation of their earthen pots and tobacco-pipes, made familiar by the publications of Principal Dawson. As we all know, the record of Jacques Cartier, published in the sixteenth century collection of Ramusio, proves by text and drawing that here stood the famous palisaded town of Hochelaga. Its inhabitants, as his vocabulary shows, belonged to the group of tribes whose word for 5 is *wisk* – that is to say, they were of the Iroquois stock. Much as Canada has changed since then, we can still study among the settled Iroquois the type of a race lately in the Stone Age, still trace remnants and records of their peculiar social institutions, and still hear spoken their language of strange vocabulary and unfamiliar structure. Peculiar importance is given to Canadian anthropology by the presence of such local American types of man, representatives of a stage of culture long passed away in Europe” (sic; Tylor 1885: 899).

Tylor’s opening address is a synopsis of what was perceived to have been ‘known’ up to that time. Although Tylor may not have been aware of it, he laid out the divergent trajectory of cultural evolutionary theory, and differences between the prevailing notions of a perceived European superiority from ‘stone age’ man that no longer exists in Europe. He concluded his address with a solicitation to the Canadian Government “to support more thorough exploration, and collection and publication of the results, in friendly rivalry with the United States Government, which has in this way fully acknowledged the obligation of

making the colonization of new lands not only promotive of national wealth, but serviceable to science” (sic; Tylor 1885: 910).

The material substance of what was being studied in science was accelerating in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially the science of man as explained in chapter two. At the historic meeting of the BAAS in Montréal 1884, a committee was struck “for the purpose of investigating and publishing reports on the physical characters, languages, industrial and social condition of the north-western tribes of the Dominion of Canada” (BAAS 1888 (Circular of Inquiry: 2): 174). The Circular of Inquiry resulting from the 1884 BAAS meeting asked for particular attention on two points in examining languages, “Care is required to separate from the general mass of words such as have a direct natural origin, such as interjections expressing emotion, and words imitating natural sounds, as, for instance, the names of birds and beasts, derived from their notes or cries” (BAAS 1888 (Circular of Inquiry 1888: 5): 177). The second point was to record the “significance of names of places and persons, which often contain interesting traces of the past history of families and tribes” (BAAS 1888 (Circular of Inquiry: 5): 177). Hale (1885) provides the first brief report of the BAAS committee with a description of the Blackfoot tribes based on the correspondence of two ‘zealous’ missionaries. The chaotic dimensions of change to Aboriginal people are exemplified within this report. It mentions,

“...as is well known, a great change has taken place in the condition of the north-western tribes through the extermination of the buffalo. The transcontinental railways have brought into the interior great numbers of hunters, armed with the most destructive weapons, who have engaged in a constant and reckless slaughter of these animals, until it is now doubtful if any are left alive. The Blackfeet have been the greatest sufferers from this cause. The buffalo were their main dependence. The animals, which roamed the plains during the summer, were accustomed to resort to the sheltered and wooded valleys of the Blackfoot country during the winter; and thus tribes were assured a supply of food at all seasons” (Hale 1885: 699).

The Blackfeet had been situated on reserves by the time this academic investigation was conducted. The agent for the Montana Blackfoot reservation communicated in his report

“...in April 1884 he found the Indians in a deplorable condition. The supplies of food which had been sent for them had proved insufficient, and before these could be renewed many died from actual starvation. Some stripped the bark from the saplings which grew along their creeks, and ate the inner portion to stifle the sense of hunger. On the Canadian side, fortunately, the emergency was better understood. Colonel McLeod, an able and vigilant officer, was in charge of the Mounted Police at that time, and through his forethought the necessary preparations were made. In 1879 and 1880 the buffalo disappeared from that region. Arrangements were at once made for settling the Indians on Reserves, and for supplying them with food and clothing, and teaching them to erect wooden houses and cultivate their lands. Daily rations of meat and flour were served out to them” (Hale 1885: 699).

The volume of daily rations are provided by Rev. E. F. Wilson in the 1887 Third Report of the Committee,

“Now that the buffaloes are all gone, these people would be forced to starve were it not for the Government rations which they receive. Each individual receives one pound of good beef and half a pound of flour per diem. The buffalo disappeared in 1879-1880. Before that time they might be counted by thousands. Their sudden disappearance has never yet been satisfactorily accounted for. None now remain in Canada, and only very few are to be found in the United States” (Wilson, Rev. E. F. 1888: 189).

The good Reverend living among the Blackfeet was apparently not aware of the railway transport of reckless hunters and their slaughter of buffalo as Hale (1885) had recorded three years earlier. The Blackfeet prepared their buffalo meat by boiling or by roasting on spits over fire. Reverend Wilson noted under heading of Food, “The principal and almost only food of these people was formerly buffalo meat. A man would eat on an average about *eight* lbs. a day” (emphasis added; Wilson, Rev. E. F. 1888: 188).

Hale (1885: 707) suggested “The term ‘confederacy’ ... is somewhat misleading” although Hale is making a comparison “to the elaborately complicated systems common among the nations of the Iroquois” (Hale 1885: 707). Rev. E. F. Wilson learned more about

the Blackfeet by living amongst them and provided a more thorough account of the characteristics and traits than reported by Hale (1885) who relied on correspondence. “The Blackfoot Indians, as Mr. Hale mentioned in his report of 1885, consist of three tribes, united in one confederacy” (Wilson, Rev. E. F. 1888: 184). Rev. Wilson provides more thorough information in his account although it may be influenced by his perceptions as detected under the heading Religion “These people, notwithstanding that missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, and the Methodist Communion have been working among them for several years past, are still, nearly all of them, with scarcely an exception, heathen” (Wilson, Rev. E. F. 1888: 187). Some practices may certainly have appeared to Rev. Wilson as contrary to his demeanor however not all practices. The term “heathen” is pejoratively used only once and it emphasizes his aspiration to transform the practices of worship by these people to actions demonstrating Christian worship. His use of that word one time undermines the value of the ethnography that is a fairly detailed synopsis for cultural elements including origins, traditions, religion, government, food, medicine, dwellings, occupations, clothing and ornaments, and games and amusements. It also included physical measurements of one man considered by him as average, and a section on language that compares Ojibway, Cree and Blackfoot vocabulary elements plus vocabulary of Blackfoot words. Hale (1888) provided a postscript note comparing his previous report on Blackfoot tribes to Wilson’s report. In Hale’s (1885) report he described religion of the Blackfeet a bit differently than Rev. E. F. Wilson (1888):

“The religion of these tribes (applying this term to their combined mythology and worship) resembles their language. It is in the main Algonkin, but includes some beliefs and ceremonies derived from some other source. Father Lacombe’s account of their cosmogony and their deities cannot be better given than in his own clear and pithy style. In their view, as in that of the Lenape and other Algonkin nations, there were two creations : the primary, which called the world into existence, and of which

they have [but?] a vague idea ; and the secondary, which found the world an expanse of sea and sky (with it, would seem, a few animals deporting themselves therein), and left it in its present state. ‘The primitive creation,’ writes M. Lacombe, ‘is attributed to a superior divinity, whom they call the Creator (*Apistotokiw*). This divinity, however, is in some manner identified with the sun (*Natōs*). The earth itself is believed to be a divinity of some kind, for, in their invocations, if they call the sun “our father” (*Kinnon*), they call the earth “our mother” (*Kikristonnon*)’ (Hale 1885: 704).

The Blackfeet vocabulary provided by Rev. E. F. Wilson (1888) is in general keeping with the tradition as it had at that time evolved from early philology. It may not have been anticipated that the extent of the vocabularies would have been as extensive as they were eventually recorded. Horatio Hale remarks, “The old theoretical notion, that the more complex and inflected idioms have grown out of the simpler agglutinative or monosyllabic forms, must be given up as inconsistent with the results of modern researches” (Hale 1889: 3). The high diversity of Aboriginal societies west of the Rocky Mountains challenged anthropology on a variety of levels. For example, Hale remarks,

“... in our studies of communities in the earliest stage, we must look, not for sameness, but for almost endless diversity, alike in languages and in social organizations. Instead of one ‘primitive human horde’ we must think of some two or three hundred primitive societies, each beginning in a single household, and expanding gradually to a people distinct from every other, alike in speech, in character, in mythology, in form of government, and in social usages” (Hale 1889: 3).

Although Hale (1889) indicates a shift in thought from the single to diverse forms, the evolutionary theory remained the primary mode of conceptualization. Nearly a century of research progressed based on the pursuit of this conceptualization. The study of Aboriginal people has shaped the progression of anthropology by its expansion during the early colonial era of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Burrow 1963; Goldman 1953; Kew 1993-94). The colonies in India, North and South Americas, South Africa, Australia, Oceania (including Hawaii), and New Zealand presented a frontier of opportunities to expand exploration of old and new

theoretical questions (Church Missionary Society 1865:9; Gardner 2008; Turnbull 2008: 206). The early conferences and meetings of ethnology/anthropology, other sciences, and other associations contain monographs primarily focused on these colonial areas (BAAS Colonial Intelligencer 1884; Wilson 1862).

As the various methods of ethnographic research have evolved the theoretical paradigm has waxed and waned with polemic tension amongst anthropology and other scholars. Some early scholars argued “race was the true foundational principle of anthropological research” (Turnbull 2008: 205). The evolution theory of primitive cultures to contemporary societies was one of the early departure points for new fields of study. Separate disciplines of anthropology have arisen and many fields of inquiry have been added to the science such as economic-, cultural-, and social anthropology. The distinction between these fields becomes clouded with the polemic debates that have coursed through time from the earliest conceptions that have transcended the accumulation of knowledge. The notion of ‘primitive’ in relation to cultures has a dichotomous dilemma not often clarified in theoretical debates. A point in prehistoric time is not likely to ever emerge as *the* definitive moment of human social interactions that begin to coalesce as cultures although archaeology may encounter an approximate range (e.g., Cavalli-Sporza 1972: 18). The ethnographic study of extant groups of people, whether or not “contact” with people from societies external to their culture have been experienced, cannot possibly depict the conception of the primordial primitive social interactions. “As Marx and Engels continually repeated, we cannot understand or analyse the forms and direction taken in changing from one mode of production and social life to another without fully accounting for the ‘premises’ which caused such changes to develop” (sic; Godlier 1977: 5).

The dilemma is for sciences to come to grips with the reality of inappropriate extrapolation. Aboriginal groups of people that have been encountered by the European hegemony, whether it was from colonial, religious, or anthropological discourse, must have experienced circumstances and conditions, environmental or anthropocentric that significantly influenced their social responses to those situations. The term “primitive” is associated to knowledge of the evolution of human *species* however whether the origins are considered from a central or multiple origins refers to the conception of humans ‘metamorphosing’ from an animal state. Darwin’s epic 1859 publication on the *Origin of Species* did much to bring about this nefarious state of intellectual endeavor however the contemplation of time and the untested assumptions of broad applicability to human cognitive responses potentially undermine the conceptions of understanding human social interactions. The caliber of Darwin’s work for its stimulation of intellectual human endeavor has yet to be matched.

A subtle transition appears in about the late 1800s from within the science community and reference to the discipline or field of ethnology to anthropology. The BAAS continued to refer to ‘ethnology’ while scholars were being employed as Anthropologists in North America in new institutions (e.g., Smithsonian Institute Bureau of Ethnology, Ottawa Museum) and while academic institutions were forming new departments (e.g., Oxford). The methods of study and philosophical paradigms diverged among scholars and precipitated allegiances among those with common viewpoints directed to specializations of inquiry. Goldman (1953) describes the intellectual oscillations between evolutionism theory and anthropology.

The growth of anthropological study expanded rapidly due to two primary facts: 1) divergent philosophical viewpoints, and 2) mobilization of humans to other geographical areas with Aboriginal people present at those locations. The divergent philosophical argument on the origin of man and social evolution (Burrow 1963; Goldman 1959) continues to overshadow constructive understanding of the societies of Aboriginal people as anything other than different from the hegemonic other (Bunzl 2004: 436; Kew 1993-94:97). The hegemony of intellectual endeavor is evident in the transmission of terms used to depict attributes of social interaction. Some terms have thankfully fallen into disuse but others have been replaced with intended 'politically correct' synonymy that continues to placate the relationship between Aboriginal people and colonized states.

“At the time when the Committee instituted their investigations, the inhabitants of the Pacific coast of Canada were less known than those of any other part of the North American Continent, with the exception, perhaps, of the tribes of California. What little we knew was based on the brief descriptions of early travelers, or on indirect information obtained from investigators who had been working in the regions to the north and south. The only noteworthy work done in recent times was that by Dr. G. M. Dawson during his frequent geological expeditions to British Columbia. But three important problems remained to be solved ; the numerous languages of the coast were still unclassified, and the number of their dialects was not definitely known ; the physical characteristics of the tribes had never been investigated ; it was not known if they represented one homogenous type, or if several types were found in the Province. Finally, the study of the customs of the various tribes offered a number of difficult problems in regard to the origin and significance of several phenomena.

Material [advance] has been made by the efforts of the Committee in all these directions. ...

It is worth remarking that these types of language are characterized by a few very general features that they have in common, and that distinguish them from the other groups that are found in contiguous areas. ...

The investigation of the physical characteristics of the Indians of British Columbia has resulted in establishing the fact that the people are by no means homogenous. As compared to the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains and farther south, they have in common a lighter complexion and lighter hair ; but the shapes of their heads and faces differ considerably. Three types may easily be distinguished – the northern type, ... (Haida, Nisga'a, Tsimshian) ; the Kwakiutl type ; and the Thompson River type” (Boas 1898: 41).

Boas was not immune to some subjective bias in his work regarding the prevailing sentiments (Joanitis 1995: 329) however he recognized the distinctive role for the observer to record traits in as much detail as possible. At the time of Boas's initial work the priority of the time period was to observe and document physical characteristics, languages, and customs (BAAS 1886) more than it was to comprehend how the social institutions operated and for what purpose:

“Language is essentially a social product, the creation of a community of men living together and moved by the same wants and desires. It is one of the chief bonds that bind a community together, and its existence and development depend upon the community to which it belongs. ... Language is thus a characteristic of a community, and not of an individual. The neglect of this fact has introduced untold mischief not only into philology, but into ethnology as well” (Sayce 1888: 886).

Boas (1888) notes, “Our investigations are everywhere hampered by a lack of accurate knowledge, sometimes even by that of any knowledge” (Boas 1888: 57). Boas (and several other ethnologists), was interested in the origin of culture and it was particularly the Pacific Northwest Coast cultures that attracted his attention. Boas had returned home after working in the Arctic as a ‘reporter for Berlin papers’

“...with an abiding conviction that if we are ever to understand human behavior we must know as much about the eye that sees as about the object seen. And he had understood once and for all that the eye that sees is not a mere physical organ but a means of perception conditioned by the tradition in which its possessor has been reared” (Benedict 1943: 60).

His first work in pursuit of the study of culture began with the BAAS attending to the ‘Circular of Inquiry’ that resulted from the association’s unprecedented Montréal meeting in 1884. “A study of the origin of any culture must begin with that of the people, with the study of its ethnological and physical character” (Boas 1888: 47). In regard to study of Pacific Northwest Coast people Boas (1888) notes,

“Attention has been called to the favorable circumstances under which these people live, the abundance of food, and the mildness of climate which favor a steady progress of civilization ; but anthropogeographical considerations cannot be considered a sufficient basis for these studies, as their influence is only secondary in determining, to a certain extent, the direction in which the culture develops” (Boas (1888: 47).

Ravenhill (1938: 9) was compelled to draw attention to the “...ingenuity with which these early pioneers overcame the difficulties of their surroundings. ...the achievements of a people isolated for many centuries from contact with others are apt to be overlooked and depreciated.” Although Ravenhill (1938) indicates an improved awareness of technical capability, she perpetuates the biased paradigm of the time by characterizing Natives

“...still in the “Stone Age” when first brought into contact with Captain Cook, Alexander Mackenzie, and other explorers and early traders, their manual skill, artistic gifts, and other endowments are undervalued. Neither, until quite recent years, has much thought been given to the reasons why these people were three thousand years behind the standard of European culture at the close of the eighteenth century” (Ravenhill 1938:9).

Ravenhill (1938) lists some of the causes “for their backward condition” as described by Diamond Jenness relating to the physiographic formation of the continent that isolated the western coast from the ‘progressive’ Old World; remarkable intelligence, highly creative, but without mechanic instincts; and no agriculture or domesticated animals.

“Now agriculture is recognized as the basis of progressive civilization, furnishing as it does a reliable and adequate supply of food, which permits the aggregation of people into cities and encourages diversity of labour. Hence, their disadvantages were many; and much credit is due to them for the ingenuity they exercised under these adverse conditions” (Ravenhill 1938: 10).

Ravenhill (1938) introduces her topic and describes the objects that compelled her to write the monograph recognizing a

“...sense of responsibility towards backwards races has aroused in recent years the desire to make amends, when opportunity offers, for previous misunderstandings. It is now realized that the fast-diminishing numbers of primitive people is not merely the result of being called upon so rapidly to bridge the long gap in time, which suddenly

introduced them to unfamiliar foods and alcoholic drinks, exposed them to hitherto unknown infections, plunged them into new methods of trade in which advantage was taken of their inexperience, but, also, ignorant misunderstandings of deeply-rooted customs, carelessly ridiculed and violated, cut at the roots of their culture, with destructive moral and physical results" (Ravenhill 1938: 10).

Ravenhill provides a definition of culture "The culture of a people may be defined as a combination or embodiment of inherited customs and traditions which control their actions, regulate the procedures, and find expression in their emotions and arts" (Ravenhill 1938: 10).

In contrast, Sapir (1924) provided perspective on how the term "culture" is used with three applications:

1) "culture is technically used by the ethnologist and culture-historian to embody any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual. Culture so defined is coterminous with man himself, for even the lowliest savages live in a social world characterized by a complex network of traditionally conserved habits, usages, and attitudes" (Sapir 1924: 402);

2) "The second application is more widely current. It refers to a rather conventional ideal of individual refinement, built up on a certain modicum of assimilated knowledge and experience but made up chiefly of a set of typical reactions that have the sanction of a class and of a tradition of long standing" (Sapir 1924: 403); and

3) "Culture in this third sense shares with our first, technical, conception an emphasis on the spiritual possessions of the group rather than of the individual. ... We may perhaps come nearest the mark by saying that the cultural conception we are now trying to grasp aims to embrace in a single term those general attitudes, views of life, and specific manifestations of civilization that gives a particular people its distinctive place in the world. Emphasis is put not so much on what is done and believed by people as on how what is done and believed functions in the whole life of the people, on what significance it has for them" (Sapir 1924: 404).

The period of time of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century during the formation of ethnology as a field of inquiry to at least the time of Sapir in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century indicates the conceptual theory of the evolution of 'primitive' man permeated a broad array of intellectual discourse:

"For the ethnologist there are many types of culture and an infinite variety of elements of culture, but no values, in the ordinary sense of the word, attach to these. His "higher" and "lower," if he uses the terms at all, refer not to a moral scale of values but to stages, real or supposed, in a historic progression or in an evolutionary

scheme. I do not pretend to use the term “culture” in this technical sense. “Civilization” would be a convenient substitute for it, were it not by common usage limited rather to the more complex and sophisticated forms of the stream of culture” (Sapir 1924: 403).

“A mode of thinking, a distinctive type of reaction, gets itself established, in the course of a complex historical development, as typical, as normal; it serves then as a model for the working over of new elements of civilization. From numerous examples of such distinctive modes of thinking or types of reaction a basic genius is abstracted. There need be no special quarrel with this conception of the national genius so long as it is not worshiped as a reducible psychological fetic. Ethnologists fight shy of broad generalizations and hazily defined concepts. They are therefore rather timid about operating with national spirits and geniuses. The chauvinism of national apologists, which sees in the spirits of their own peoples peculiar excellences utterly denied to less blessed denizens of the globe, largely justifies this timidity of scientific students of civilization. ... To deny the genius of the people and ultimate psychological significance and to refer it to the specific historical development of that people is not, after all is said and done, to analyze it out of existence” (Sapir 1924: 406).

Sapir (1924) describes two examples based on national characteristics (e.g., French, Russian) to portray salient characteristics of the mold of each culture. The French culture is characterized by some “...qualities of clarity, lucid systematization, balance, care in choice of means, and good taste” (Sapir 1924: 407) that give characteristic evidence of its national genius. The Russian culture is portrayed with more intrinsic values of elemental humanity and aesthetic qualities in defiance of institutionalism; human beings exist primarily for themselves and secondarily for civilization.

Sapir (1924) suggests genuine culture “... is the expression of a richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent attitude toward life, an attitude which sees the significance of any one element of civilization in its relation to all others” (Sapir 1924: 410).

“The culture of the North-west coast tribes was that of a virile, highly imaginative people; its foundations were those of kinship, rank, and wealth, recognition of which permeated every detail of their lives and, in modified forms, influenced that of the Interior; and it is important to emphasize the fact that in no region of the world has less uniformity existed in details of customs. ... Variations are innumerable; hence the difficulty of preserving accuracy in detail when presenting

a compressed account of the interesting culture of these early occupants of British Columbia" (Ravenhill 1938: 10).

The corollary of 'less uniformity' is that highly diverse cultures and customs are difficult to generalize details into common categories. Ravenhill (1938) describes an overview of Native Tribes of B.C. with emphasis on artistic expressions. The cultural expressions of the Pacific Northwest Coast groups are elaborate demonstrations of wealth.

### **Contested terminology of an oppressive paradigm**

The relationship of anthropology to the people they study is fragile. Aboriginal people around the world have struggled intensely against colonizing regimes since at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Anthropology has developed from those societies of the colonizing regime that engenders distrust for the practitioners before they enter into an Aboriginal community environment. Malinowski (1932) noted, "...they ceased to be interested or alarmed, or made self-conscious by my presence, and I ceased to be a disturbing element in the tribal life which I was to study" (Malinowski 1932: 7) and that he "had to learn how to behave" (Malinowski 1932: 8) before he gained the trust and confidence of the Aboriginal people.

The impetus for anthropology to develop as a discipline of science in its early years was based on the progression of scientific methods and accumulated knowledge known at that time (Burrow 1963; Goldman 1959). It required organization of material facts to generate absolute truths or laws of indisputable attributes (Boas 1934; Allen (Mauss) 2007). The pursuit of studying Aboriginal people was influenced by conceptualizations such as the "wild denizens of the forest" or evolutionist theory based on the proposition of the European pinnacle. The Church Missionary Society's reflection of the success of the Rupert's Land Mission, replete with prejudice and misconceptions throughout, provides an example of general public perceptions:

“The Indian is such a wild-ass man as I think you could scarcely have found upon the earth in the days of Job. He subsists principally upon animal food. Yet in hundreds of miles of territory the Indian has killed all the large animals which served him for good. He is barbarous, he is ignorant, he is poor. He cannot locate or civilize himself. He cannot stay by a potato or corn-field in summer, that he may eat the fruits in winter. No, hunger drives him away.

“I have often thought that the destiny of the human family in this country more resembles that of the wild animals of the forest, than that of rational beings” (Cockran 1856: 52).

The prevailing evolutionist theory of 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropology placed human societies in a continuum from low simple (i.e., “primitive”) advancing to high complex (i.e., European-Western; Joanitis 1995: 4). The continuum was considered by some as a hierarchal sequence starting from “savagery” moving through “barbarism” to achieve European “civilization” (Stocking 1963: 784). Some anthropologists sought to argue against these notions, such as Franz Boas (Bashkow, Bunzl, Handler, Orta, and Rosenblatt 2004; Boas 1938; Burrow 1963; and Goldman 1959; and others).

The pursuit of generalizations led to standardization for the collection of facts based on functional categories that may or may not have provided thorough characterizations of groups of people (BAAS 1884, 1885; Carson and Read 1899; Urry 1972). Comparing facts collected on one group may not necessarily lead to conclusions for comparison to another group. The interpretation of facts has been too hastily applied to theoretical conceptions, and has had a pronounced impact on the groups of people being studied. Jay Miller (1997) notes regarding the Tsimshian, “By dividing the culture into topics like technology, economics, polity, kinship, religion, and language, Tsimshian integrity has been lost to scholarship, though not to the people themselves” (Miller, J. 1997: 1).

Some generalizations have led to the use of specific terms for cultural practices or other attributes of Aboriginal life styles that maintains a vacuity in intellectual discourse.

Franz Boas commented in the introduction to Benedict (1934):

“On account of the character of the material the problem of cultural life presents itself often as that of the interrelations between various aspects of culture. In some cases this study leads to a better appreciation of the intensity or lack of integration of a culture. It brings out clearly the forms of integration in various types of culture which prove that the relations between different aspects of culture follow the most diverse patterns and do not lend themselves profitably to generalizations” (Boas 1934: xvii).

The use of certain terminology in reference to Aboriginal people and activity has been laden in misnomers for specific human behavior. Many of these terms are derived from the pursuit of anthropology and ethnology studies to redefine Aboriginal ontology towards convergence of universal characterization. Some terms may be derived from the Aboriginal language sources. For example, the origin of the term “totem” is described by Tylor (1885) in his 1884 opening address for the Section of Anthropology:

“To this part of the world also belongs a word which has been more effective than any treatise in bringing the matriarchal system of society into notice. This is the term totem, introduced by Schoolcraft to describe the mother-clans of the Algonquins, named ‘Wolf,’ ‘Bear,’ &c. Unluckily the word is wrongly made. Professor Max Müller has lately called attention to the remark of the Canadian philologist Father Cuoq (N. O. Ancien Missionnaire), that the word is properly *ote*, meaning ‘family mark,’ possessive *otem*, and with the personal pronoun *nind otem*, ‘my family mark,’ *kit otem*, ‘thy family mark.’ It may be seen in Schoolcraft’s own sketch of Algonquin grammar how he erroneously made from these a word totem, and the question ought perhaps to be gone into in the Section, whether the term had best be kept up or amended, or a new term substituted. It is quite worth while to discuss the name, considering what an important question of anthropology is involved in the institutions it expresses. In this region there were found Iroquois, Algonquins, Dakotas, separate in language, and yet whose social life was regulated by the matriarchal totem structure. May it not be inferred from such a state of things, that social institutions form a deeper-lying element in man than language or even physical race-type? This is a problem which presents itself for serious discussion when the evidence can be brought more completely together” (Tylor 1885: 906).

Although Tylor questions the use of the pseudonym he actually uses it. The Circular of Inquiry that was developed from the Committee appointed to which Tylor was appointed, during the same meeting Tylor gave his address in 1884, to examine Northwestern Tribes in the Dominion of Canada included the Algonquin term with a different source: “J. Long also in 1791 gave from Canada the first European mention of the Algonkin *totem* (more properly *otem*), which has become the accepted term for the animal or plant name of a clan of real or assumed kindred who may not intermarry; for example, the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle clans of the Mohawks” (BAAS 1888 (Circular of Inquiry: 7): 179). It is clear the term “totem” was derived from an anthropological perspective. Tylor noted in his closing remarks a profound question, “May it not be inferred from such a state of things, that social institutions form a deeper-lying element in man than language or even physical race-type?”

The study of social institutions has piqued anthropological investigation but a few decades would pass before studies intensified although constrained by the pursuit of generalizing characteristics for comparisons. Sahlins (1963) compares social structure and some interactions from two islander regions, Melanesia and Polynesia, and notes “The differences are the more notable for the underlying similarities from which they emerge” (Sahlins 1963: 286). Some anthropological terms present challenge to the credibility of anthropology from an Aboriginal perspective, particularly those terms of generalized or universal character. For example ‘foraging,’ ‘hunter-gatherer,’ and ‘subsistence’ may not accurately describe food production. These terms are also used in the context of other disciplines of created or new society discourse such as law, regulations and policy. Anthropology has influenced development of governmental policies, and governments have

often relied upon anthropology to draw information to apply policies, and interpret legal arguments.

The use of the terms ‘subsistence’, ‘hunter,’ ‘fisher,’ ‘gatherer’ and ‘forager’ are derived from the pursuit of these types of generalizations. These terms continue to perpetuate the misconception of wild denizens, or savages. Each of these terms coincidentally corresponds to context or an activity related to procuring food items. The use of the term ‘subsistence’ has multiple complications. Its use in contemporary resource management is intended to restrict resource use to an absolute minimum to protect *other* resource uses. The manner it is used against Aboriginal people’s use of resources, it’s almost exclusive use (Schumann and Macinko 2006: 706), is oppressive.

Describing a group of people based on their techniques used for acquiring food may be different than terms the group of people themselves may prefer for their association to specific resources. For example, Aboriginal people in the Pacific Northwest may prefer ‘People of the Salmon’ instead of ‘hunter-gatherer-fisher.’ The manner that terms have been used has also vacillated and sometimes misapplied entirely. The Iroquois were regarded by Morgan as being in a “hunter state” although their primary source of food was obtained by agriculture and supplemented by hunting game (Ellingson 2000: 120). In 1641 as French Priests made their way around the Great Lakes area eventually encountering the Dakota, Fathers Raymbaut and Jogues found “These people cultivate the land after the fashion of our Hurons” (Jacker 1876: 715). The Dakota raised *manomin* (wild rice) and tobacco (Jacker 1876: 715).

The historic misconceptions of Aboriginal people as ‘wild denizens of the forest’ may be the epistemological origin for the persistent use of these terms. An example of how

'subsistence' typically conveys an inappropriate meaning is provided by Driver (1993)

"Subsistence encompasses the various behaviors whereby food is obtained" (Driver 1993:92). Subsistence is typically not specific to 'behavior' but rather the end objective of behaviors to obtain food or other staple required for something to barely exist. The term 'subsist' can apply to a variety of different relationships between many different things.

"Anthropologists often use subsistence and sustenance as tools for thinking about material nourishment and the ways in which it promotes and creates social environments" (Leinaweaver 2005:153). A cultural conception of how these terms are contextualized changes the perspectives on techniques used and the objective results that feed and promote social contiguity (Leinaweaver 2005). The means of techniques for obtaining food *sustenance* may involve activity such as hunting, fishing, farming, ranching, cropping, gathering, stewardship and husbandry, and/or exchange. The techniques for acquiring food are necessary for every living organism however these activities conducted by humans are cognitively planned and often in cooperation of others. A pervasive argument in anthropology is whether technology used in these techniques led to define the cultural paradigm or if economy led to define the technology (Allen (Mauss) 2003: 24). Marlowe (2005a) suggests "Human niches are defined to a large extent by technology, even among foragers" (Marlowe 2005a: 67). In Marlowe's view, "...that certain aspects of social organization follow from foraging strategies, which in turn track ecology and technology, we should be able to explain relationships between habitat variation and social organization" (Marlowe 2005a: 55). Simplified or 'nominalized' data that may or may not provide some indication of regional biological productivity tends to not account for environmental constraints, rhythms of cycles, trophic interruptions or bottlenecks, or catastrophic

punctuations of natural events such as volcanoes, wild fires, or pestilence (etc.) and human social responses.

It is unclear how fields of inquiry, specifically anthropology and the related field of archaeology have been allowed to refer to groups of humans with any order of social cohesion as “foragers.” The behavior of foraging by an animal is conducted at the expense of energy with opportunistic resource patch availability (Begon, Harper and Townsend 1996: 339). The behavior of hunting activity by a human is conducted with strategic planning, implements or tools, and with stored energy reserves. The human hunter does not rely on a raw animal kill to immediately replenish energy reserves and instead processes the kill into prepared food for later consumption, whether it is the same day or much later, and whether it is for one or more humans. The behavior of carnivorous foraging by humans likely vanished at the point in time of their successful manipulation of fire or other sources of thermal heat to prepare foods for consumption and storage. “Nevertheless it seems probable that the knowledge of fire, and its useful service on the domestic hearth, are coëval with the existence of man as a rational being” (sic; Wilson, D. 1889: 59). Knowing what point in time that occurred is the subject of intense debate within anthropology and archaeology although some agreement acknowledges a time during the Middle Pleistocene (James 1989; Stahl 1984).

Anthropology has engendered universality in its approaches to characterize unique societies of Aboriginal people. Generalizations are forged on the premise of consensus among peers of the fields of anthropology and archaeology (Bender and Morris 1982; Leacock 1982; Bird-David 1988:28). The use of generalizations by scholars presents a risk of losing credibility among the people they study and alienating a potentially more engaging relationship. For whatever reasons, the fields of inquiry have continued to seek explanation

of human history and evolution of society from *Homo sapiens erectus* to *Homo sapiens sapiens* through the interpretation of their study of Aboriginal people. Sahlins (1963: 1) states in his introduction, “From the Australian Aborigines, whose hunting and gathering existence duplicates in outline the cultural life of the later Paleolithic, to the great chiefdoms of Hawaii, where society approached the formative levels of the old Fertile Crescent civilizations, almost every general phase in the progress of primitive culture is exemplified” (Sahlins 1963: 1). The connection between hunting and gathering to cultural life is not clear, nor is it clear that Australian Aborigines consume their time with only hunting and gathering, or that Hawaiian chiefdoms and Fertile Crescent life are remotely comparable. It may be true the Fertile Crescent is the apical point of human population expansion from its origin, and the population may have expanded due to technological advances in cultivating food crops (Diamond 1997). It is not clear the humans at that time in the Fertile Crescent and radiating outward possessed any degree of ‘civility’ other than an assumption that large aggregates of humans must have devised some type of social coping mechanisms to reduce risk to safety and welfare among themselves. That crops appear in the fertile crescent alone may not be the ultimate indicator of “civilization,” nor is the aggregation of large human populations. In fact, the Fertile Crescent theory indicates that human populations spread outward from that location (Diamond 1997) perhaps in pursuit of more favorable growing conditions and water sources but there may also have been conflict over the resources, areas or social interactions.

The Paleolithic is an era in time of about 2.6 million years up to the Mesolithic from about 10,000 years ago. Lee and DeVore (1968) emphasized the evolutionary concept with an edited volume on *Man the Hunter: the first intensive survey of a single, crucial stage of human development – man’s once universal hunting way of life*. The edited volume is a

collection of contributions and discussions from a conference with the theme “Man the Hunter.” A discussion among some participants regarding Hunting versus Gathering begets the conflicting use of the term “hunter-gatherer” in the context of either activity – hunting or gathering. Struever (as in Lee and DeVore 1968) noticed the terminology may be useful for some problems however in trying to understand complexity of a particular group the terms may not apply to the “production potential of their environment vis-à-vis plants and/or animals and of the efficiency of their exploitative and maintenance technology. ... Also, we have not really defined what we mean by the hunting-gathering distinction” (Lee and DeVore 1968: 92). Binford (as in Lee and DeVore 1968: 92) considered the emphasis on splits between hunting and gathering for total subsistence diverted attention away from the dynamics of human adaptations in ecological settings. The discussion among this group of scholars proceeded through some differences in ecological zones, nutritional needs, and some environmental factors. Washburn said, “We are dealing with an animal that has relied on meat as part of his diet for at least a couple of million years, so 20 percent, or even a smaller quantity of meat, may be a very important constituent of the total diet” (Lee and DeVore 1968: 92). Notwithstanding Lee’s reference to “eclectic subsister” in the same discussion, nor the substantial length of geologic time, clearly these scholars embraced the evolution of the carnivore human to functioning extant societies with more emphasis on the ethnographic record. The discussion does not appear to refer to key elements of food preparation prior to consumption, or to the strategic and tactical elements of cognitively pursuing either ‘hunting’ or ‘gathering’ techniques that typically emerges in or emulates from unique cultural traits.

The discussion amongst these scholars depicts a microcosm of the persistent argument within anthropology on the evolutionary theory. The conference is during the

period of time that may epitomize a theoretical tangent focus on cultural-ecological models (Sassaman 2004: 228). Some items that were discussed indicate contradictions were emerging however in some cases these are subtle nuances, some were dichotomous, and others appear to counter-argue specific analyses.

Lathrap indicated, "...all of the classic stigmata of "hunting peoples," which have been brought into question at this symposium," were derived from perhaps the study of a specific group, the Ona, that "...held sharply delineated territory with absolute rights over the included economic resources" (Lee and DeVore 1968: 93). The referent 'stigmata' is appropriate because the use of these terms (e.g., hunter-gatherer, forager, subsistence) to extant groups of people *have* stigmatized their unique ethnicities and cultural paradigms. The use of "hunter-gatherer" provides no distinction between characteristics of social organization that may be much more diverse among groups and range in relative scale between simple (i.e., 'egalitarian,' 'communal') to complex (i.e., 'stratified,' 'hierarchal,' 'ranked'). Lathrap brought forth the distinction of territoriality and ownership of the Ona that indicates a difference in social organization from an 'egalitarian' or simple typology. This presents an example of a subtle nuance of difference. Lathrap's comment is an indication that some anthropologists began to recognize some dilemma in the generalized discourse.

Leacock posits the question, "Can we arrive at agreement on the major corollaries of gathering-hunting economies?" suggesting a positive response is alluded to in her introduction. An example of dichotomous argument is presented by Leacock: "As an example of debate resolved, take collective land ownership as an accepted characteristic of band-living gatherer-hunters" (Leacock 1982: 167). A distinction arises in Leacock's referent to 'band-living' that may refer to an extant subject-group in a contemporaneous 'reservation'

situation dramatically different than their prehistoric setting, which is in agreement with the general tenor of Leacock's (1982) article. Leacock's question maintains the generalized discourse by seeking some type of consensus on a characteristic that may be accepted among anthropologists but difficult or impossible to apply from an Aboriginal perspective.

The flaws of the theoretical paradigm are exemplified by the contrast of land ownership interpretations, especially in the context of post-contact intrusion that forced groups of people to respond both in a manner relative to their worldview and to the one imposed upon them. Leacock (1982) states that her research (in her perspective of egalitarian societies) indicates,

“first that hunting lands and all resources but furs were communally and not privately owned even into the present – only the furs of fur-bearing animals on lands a person was trapping were considered that person's property; and second, such regularization of individual usufruct rights to trapping grounds as existed had followed involvement in the fur trade and was not aboriginal” (Leacock 1982: 162).

Leacock suggests research such as hers and a few others contradicts early ethnographers Frank Speck and John Cooper that found privatized form of land use was Aboriginal:

“Incorrectly defining this form of land use as ‘privately owned hunting territories’, Speck and Cooper argue that lands had never been communally owned among these bands, nor among other gatherer-hunters as well. Hence, they contended, individual ownership of basic resources was not limited to hierarchical society but was found in all types of cultures” (Leacock 1982: 161).

The point is not intended to challenge the work of either Leacock, or Speck and Cooper, but rather to profile how counter-arguments presents risk of contradiction, and in this case does present a direct contradiction within the example.

“Put forth by Morgan and Engels as basic to the ‘communism in living’ (Morgan 1965) that once characterized human society, the principle of collective land ownership was challenged by anthropologists of the Boasian school and virtually discarded. Yet further research affirmed its reality which is now accepted. Similarly,

the assumption that ‘public’ decisions in gathering-hunting society were made by individual leaders or ‘chiefs’ holding formal authority has increasingly given way to the understanding that such decisions are arrived at through discussion and adjudication” (Leacock 1982: 167).

Although Leacock (1982) does not make the comparison between the Aboriginal group-subject of her work and the Pacific Northwest in relations of production, most people are aware of the life-long career of Boas subject groups of the Pacific Northwest that do have different concepts of land ownership. These types of categorical statements are reminiscent of the Anthropology Society’s pursuit of “the possibility of establishing laws – even if it never succeeded in doing so” (Burrow 1963: 145). The concepts of ‘collective ownership,’ ‘communism,’ and ‘consensus decisions’ may not be universal characteristics to Aboriginal societies. Statements such as these are vulnerable to manipulation by the colonial state to haphazardly apply to Aboriginal groups and complicate the issues of jurisdiction conflicts.

The precision of extrapolation between the archaeological and the ethnographic materials through erroneous theoretical constructs such as the ‘agricultural pinnacle’ poses a greater challenge than incorrectly identifying homogenous patterns. An element of perceived dominance pervades the evolutionist agricultural pinnacle model that tends to obfuscate the territorial relationships between different groups and the relationships of social institutions within groups. For example, one group may be more powerful against another group, whether in demographic size, territorial area, or technical weaponry or other power however the more powerful group may not subsume the less powerful group just because it could. Other advantages may exist in some type of exchange between the groups, including one recognizing the territorial occupation of the other, providing exchange of genetic material, or simply satisfying an element of trade advantage. The accuracy of extrapolating incorrect analyses across cultural groups presents more risk of inappropriate interpretation. The

confounding issue is the dramatic paradigm shift resulting from imposed social constraints. Leacock describes some comparison of post-colonial effects as described by other authors and notes,

“Around the world, then, the colonial expansion of European nations has resulted in profound transformations in gathering-hunting societies. European colonialism was not, however, the only source of such transformation. After all, the entire course of history over the past 15,000 years or more has been one of transformation from gathering-hunting to agricultural society. ... In other cases foraging people entered into long-term exchange relations with settled neighbours, such as the Paliyan and Birhor of India” ...

“Sometimes mobile foragers have a prior history of village living. During the first millennium A.D. ancestors of present-day Inuit in Alaska had much in common with other peoples of the north Pacific, the Aleuts, Ainu, and peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America who were involved in regularized exchange networks and who lived much of the time in relatively large and permanent settlements.

In sum, the reconstruction of a particular peoples’ history through careful examination of archaeological, ethnohistorical and ethnographic material is essential, before it is possible to assume that a particular socio-cultural pattern directly reflects the necessities and constraints of gathering-hunting economy in a specific ecological setting. Even very early reports on a culture cannot be taken at face value but have to be appraised with care. The very fact that written records of a gathering-hunting people are available means that the people have already become involved in some way with economic and/or political relations with a market society. Furthermore, such records are coloured by the prejudices of the particular European – or perhaps Chinese or East Indian – who wrote them, or distorted by the fact that the representatives of foraging peoples best known to some explorer, missionary, or trader were usually those who had broken with their kinfolk and attached themselves to the outsiders” (Leacock 1982: 164).

It is clear this example epitomizes the evolution theory of the ascent of human societies to the agriculture pinnacle, and that sedentary “foragers” exchange relations are considered as some type less than a market society. These comments are indicative of the ‘hegemonic other’ perspective (Handler 2000: 6).

“In closing, I wish to stress that accurate reconstruction of the history and the associated socio-economic changes in gatherer-hunter societies is of far more than theoretical interest. It is also of great importance on political and ethical grounds. The descendants of gatherer-hunters are peoples now fighting for land rights, if not for sheer survival, and for access to education which makes it possible for them to choose

their own life-style in the contemporary world. Anthropologists have a responsibility, therefore, to be correct in describing their histories. *To lump as gatherer-hunters today all peoples who were so at the time of European colonization, and to talk of recent social and ideological features of their cultures as uniformly characterizing a gathering-hunting mode, is to reify culture and freeze it in a timeless mould. In such a scheme, cultures cannot grow, but can only be whittled away through 'acculturation'.* The centuries through which erstwhile foragers have coped with the conditions of colonization are thereby negated; the peoples concerned are robbed of both their history and their culture” (emphasis added; Leacock 1982: 167).

“Colonization characteristically brought disruption and devastation to foraging peoples and it is necessary to point this out. However, for ethical and political as well as scientific reasons, it is equally necessary to note and to document the resiliency and creativity with which different peoples moved to survive in, cope with, and take what advantage they could of new situations in which they found themselves. In most cases, after initial disruption, peoples reorganized their economic lives in connection with trade and/or seasonal or temporary labour, accepted a modicum of formal leadership to deal with the ‘outside’, incorporated a measure of Christian belief and ritual into their traditional religious practices, and reinterpreted their definitions of male-female roles and relations, as they welded past and present in an ongoing way of life. They evolved new cultural forms which, although much changed from aboriginal times, continued to be distinctively theirs. In the name of ‘modernization’ and ‘development’, these cultures are now being threatened as capitalist relations are fully imposed even in the most remote hinterlands of the world” (Leacock 1982:168).

It may be impossible to reconstruct the history and the associated socio-economic changes of Aboriginal societies through the lens of the colonial regime that caused the changes. The history of Aboriginal societies from an Aboriginal perspective has completely different constructs. Likewise, the characteristics of socio-economic life have perhaps been analyzed with inappropriate units of measure. Leacock refers to the “descendants of gatherer-hunters” that is itself reification. The colonial regime has created the “fight” by changing the Aboriginal domain, including the intent to “educate” Aboriginal people according to the perceived European-pinnacle model. The interest in education for its value to expand intellectual horizons creating contributory members to society was already an integral component of Pacific Northwest (and other areas) cultures social reproduction. Further, early missionary encounters demonstrated the ability for Pacific Northwest societies to embrace

new educational opportunities by their request for schools in home communities (Church Missionary Society 1871: 43). The education opportunities that were made available and the methods used were based on the stereotype profile of the Indian by the European-pinnacle model that eventually culminated in the residential school system. The lay missionary William Duncan took a different approach by immersing himself in the culture and language of the Tsimshian to introduce a different education pathway.

“The Indians are preparing now to leave for their spring fishing and grease making, which constitutes by far the most laborious and profitable undertaking in the year to them, that is as a people. ... I had determined not to commence school again until this important season has set in, and then to go on with the few who are left here. I want to prove no hindrance to their procuring food as has been their custom” (Church Missionary Society 1871: 42).

A significant problem arises in how ethnography records are used to interpret the Aboriginal paradigm particularly in the context of “a practice, custom or tradition integral to the distinctive culture ... which have continuity with the practices, customs and traditions that existed prior to contact with European society” (R. v. Van der Peet). The imposed conditions of social change had one ultimate objective, universally, to acquire lands and pursuit of resources in those lands. The misperceptions of Aboriginal people facilitated convenient rationale for universal displacement to meet the ultimate objective. The rationale has been reinforced by the results of inquiry that tend to support the erroneously conceived theoretical constructions to keep Aboriginal people subjugated in support of the ultimate objective.

Some terminology appears to be used interchangeably that compounds the conflicts of using universal terminology. Myers (1988) reviews the category "hunter-gatherer" and how it is used in contemporary work “rooted in varied responses to the evolutionary/ecological paradigm that constitute it” (Myers 1988: 261). Myers (1988)

“characterize[s] four broad theoretical orientations as (a) optimal foraging theory (or socio-ecology); (b) historicist (or ethnohistorical) approaches; (c) comparative sociology in the Marxist and structuralist tradition; and (d) humanistic approaches” (Myers 1988: 261). Bettinger (1987) examines contributions to archaeological research derived from “... two limited theories that have dominated hunter-gatherer archaeology over the last decade: (a) middle-range theory ... and (b) microeconomic (or optimal foraging) theory” (Bettinger 1987: 122). These two approaches exemplify the variety of application for ‘optimal foraging theory’ that could be construed as two different scales with socio-ecology applied to broad or macro-level and internal detail applied to microeconomic scales. The use of optimal foraging theory itself in attempt to conceptualize Aboriginal economy continues to perpetuate the hegemonic other against the anima-savage misconception.

“When we seek to show that they are freer, less violent, more egalitarian, or less territorial than ourselves, we distort their reality, defining it largely in terms immediately meaningful to our own debates. Such constructions may also affect them politically. ... One of the particular concerns with the critique of the territorial imperative model is that the depiction of hunter-gatherers as not defending exclusive rights can and has been used against them in their contemporary political struggles” (Myers 1988:264).

“It should be pointed out that ethnohistorical studies, based on documents fashioned by outsiders, can themselves offer a skewed history of how hunter-gatherers respond to their social and physical environment. Such studies may ignore or lack evidence of the internal structures of cultural values of the part-societies they seek to understand” (Myers 1988:265).

“We understand such things by attending not only to the *material* relations as we define them but also to the local cultures meanings” (Myers 1988: 265).

Myers (1988) recognizes the risk of historical analysis to read its own meaning into records of human action and the time difference between adaptive or ecological time and ethnographic time. Myers asks the question,

"Do relations of commodity exchange inevitably turn formerly communal Indians or Aborigines into accumulators? And if they do so eventually, what does this tell us of the motivation of participants? Even Leacock's historicizing of Algonquian hunting territory systems as the emergence of private property may be questioned on such counts. In discussing the anthropological debates on the impact of the fur trade, Feit (51) adduces the cultural meaning of such territory systems to argue that they do not constitute a form of private property in the Western capitalist sense" (Myers 1988:265).

The danger of presupposing Aboriginal societies are comprised of "communal" or "egalitarian" or some type of "sharing-as-a-distributive" system is its profound contradiction to the very existence of anthropological inquiry. These generic euphemisms of equivalency imply that humans may have radiated outward quite blithely from the Fertile Crescent (or any other origin) and there would be no need for subsequent complexity of *any* civilization to emerge. On the contrary, the ancient civilizations did emerge with remarkable complexity (cf. Wilkinson 1847).

"Many of those laws or customs which are wise and beneficial to society in one part of the world, are deemed superfluous, and even injurious, in another ; and the same system, which by some is looked upon as indispensable for their welfare and happiness, would be rejected by others, as incompatible with the feelings of an independent spirit" (Wilkinson 1847: v).

The variety of Aboriginal territorial system forms likely did not arise with anticipation of comparing property conceptions against an imposed colonial regime but rather in response to social conditions and adaptations to other geographically proximal groups. Territorial protection does require investment of defensive strategies and includes establishing some type of equitable arrangements such as trade and exchange, trade-offs, and negotiation or warfare. The 'western capitalist sense' requires specific asset investment but this cannot occur without legal instruments for its conveyance. The willingness to invest resources for protecting territorial assets is ostensibly a measure of authority, power and wealth. The act of acquisition of assets without voluntary surrender by an occupant or group

is simply hostile. If the territorial authority does not consider some type of ownership then the investment of assets for protection presents a volatile high risk scenario. Is the argument located in the conceptions of material 'property,' or is it located in the oppositions of 'private' versus 'public' character of perceived use? Garret Hardin's (1967) portrayal of the 'commons' has added complexity to the disposition of resources either existing in a natural state of some type of 'pool' or transformed into some type of material product (i.e., chattel, property). An incorrect perception of what may be perceived by observers of some event consisting of many Aboriginal people at a location pursuing the same objective ends (e.g., eulachon harvest) could actually consist of territorial delineation with the periphery of specific activity but undetected by those external to the cultural customs and practices. For example, areas where large fish abundances occur in the Pacific Northwest tend to draw people from outside of the local area for a period of time. Some of these congregated visitors may have arranged access to harvest opportunities through social mechanisms but access points, allowable time and volume are constrained to site-specific opportunities that may not be apparent to observers. Myers (1988) suggests, "Perhaps the task of understanding the "hunter-gatherer" social form without imposing our judgments on it can never be achieved."

An irony is implicit Myers' observation that anthropologists have generalized about groups of people, with cognitive ability and social interactions (i.e., 'social form') as personified anima (i.e., 'hunter-gatherer'). The use of certain typology for social forms is itself a "judgment" that assumes some relative authority to make generalizations. The 'judgments' made by anthropologists have permeated their relationships with the people they study as well as transcend discourse in relation to those people. For example, as late as 1973, Halpin (1973) notes, "As Levi Strauss has argued, the so-called primitive artist, and those

who commission and use his art, are more cerebral than many have thought” (Halpin 1973: 5). Halpin contextualizes the iconographic masks of the Tsimshian as “an intellectual or cognitive process by means of which man explores his world and renders it meaningful and intelligible” (Halpin 1973: 5). Halpin took on the task of demonstrating the operational aspects of *The Savage Mind*.

Along with the contested terminology derived from misconceptions are also some situations of incorrect characterizations of cultural constructs, social reproduction, and economic exchange in relation to territorial ownership. More recent scholars have recognized discrepancies in past interpretation of ethnographic records. New examinations of these records through pursuit of additional research have revealed an increased depth of oral narrative origin and its relation to territorial authority (Marsden 2000/2001; Martindale 2003, 2006; McDonald and Joseph, 2000; Roth 2002, 2008). The ethnographic records that contain errors are not entirely devoid of functional value as long as interpretations of erroneous facts are not construed in absolute terms, particularly when used against the Aboriginal cultural paradigm in favor of continued oppression.

Contemporary arguments relate to what is referred to as ‘revisionism’ and ‘post-structuralism’ that seem to generate posturing (Lee 1992; Solway and Lee 1990). Solway and Lee (1990) argue about revisionism with emphasis on interpreting change in the Kalahari San history with external influence. The foundation for these types of arguments is based on the interpretation of ethnographic records and the theoretical foundations on which both the records and the interpretations have manifested through time.

Some believe “Although few hunter-gathers or foragers exist today, they are well documented in the ethnographic record” (Marlowe 2005a: 54). Marlowe (2005a) may have

been responding to the critiques of both Otterbein (2005) and Costopoulos (2005) of Marlowe's (2004) "Marital Residence among foragers" article that suggests "Because residence would have had profound consequences, it is important to consider what patterns might have existed at various stages of human evolution. To reconstruct the past, it makes sense to begin with a cross-cultural view of ethnographically described foragers" (Marlowe 2004: 277). The sources for Marlowe (2004) data were the World Cultures CD (2001), "which contains all the variables coded in the *Ethnographic Atlas* (EA), and the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (SCCS)" (Marlowe 2004: 278). Costopoulos (2005) argued that trends can be expected given the structure of the data and are not necessarily "the result of evolutionary or social rules" (Costopoulos 2005: 457). Marlowe's reply to Costopoulos noted "The SCCS is assailed often and for a variety of reasons. However, until a satisfactory phylogeny based on language or genes or some combination of the two is used to improve on the SCCS, for which many variables have been coded, it remains the best data set to use for summarizing cultural variation worldwide" (Marlowe 2005c). Marlowe (2004) notes in a footnote,

"4. North America is overrepresented among foragers (83% in the *EA*, 50% in the SCCS) because there were many foragers there when ethnographies were first written, while the Circum-Mediterranean region is completely absent because foragers had disappeared there before ethnographies were first written. This regional skew cannot be corrected and might still be a problem using phylogenetic comparative methods" (Marlowe 2004:278).

The number and location of groups purported to represent the Pacific Northwest Coast cultures appears indefensible, particularly with respect to the volume of relative ethnographies. The SCCS is categorized, with 'subsistence' as category number one that indicates considerable bias is inevitable based on its architecture. Marlowe (2004) provided this definition: "I define "foragers" as those with <10% direct dependence on agriculture,

<10% direct dependence on animal husbandry, trade accounting for less than 50% of the diet and less than any single source, and no horse-mounted hunters. All other societies were considered nonforagers” (Marlowe 2004: 278). Otterbein (2005) considers Marlowe’s (2004) use of the term forager,

“I think that it is misleading to call all the societies in his sample “foragers,” since foraging suggests gathering rather than hunting. Many of Marlowe’s “foragers” hunt. I prefer to call the peoples in his sample “hunter/gatherers.” Depending on the context, fishing can be like hunting (if marine mammals are sought) or gathering (if dead fish are collected after a pool has been poisoned). Many of the peoples in the sample that have high fishing scores hunt marine animals, among them the Copper Eskimo, the Haida, and Bellacoola” (Otterbein 2005: 125).

Otterbein indicates the three Pacific Northwest groups in the SCCS. The categorical arrangements appear overly simplified likely for the specific reason to harmonize or normalize data. It is not clear how a social mechanism such as choice of residence patterns after marriage is related to economic activities unless the societies are identical, which they are not. Marlowe (2005b) replied to Otterbein (2005) suggesting

“While Otterbein’s hypothesis about why hunting and fishing virilocality is not borne out by male subsistence contribution, it led me to discover the anadromous-fishing effect. When the anadromous-fishing complex foragers are excluded, foragers are even less virilocal measured by my preferred variable (early and later years of marriage) than I had concluded. Only 8 societies (30%) are virilocal, while 7 (26%) are uxorilocal and 12 (44%) are multilocal. I thank Otterbein for stimulating this discovery” (Marlowe 2005b: 127).

The addition of “complex” to “foragers” may refer to the social complexity of groups in the region containing anadromous fish resources which contradicts the anima-forager, rightly so. Marlowe (2005b) was,

“perplexed, however, by his reflection of the term “forager’s,” which I used for those societies that practice little or no animal or plant domestication (Kelly 1995). “Hunter-gatherers” is an equally appropriate term so long as no one thinks that it excludes fishers. Otterbein says that foraging suggests gathering as opposed to hunting. If true, we need to change that impression, since optimal “foraging” theory

applies to foraging for leaves, fruit, nectar, insects, fish, or mammals” (Marlowe 2005b: 126).

Very few societies actually practice animal and plant domestication but many use those few animals and plants that were domesticated long ago (Diamond 1997). The use of domesticates fits the agriculture pinnacle while overlooking the stewardship of natural resources precluded the need for developing domesticates in the first place. The stewardship of tending to wild plants to increase their productivity does not fit within the conceptualization of agriculture model. The prevalence of agriculture superiority is reflected in Marlowe (2004), or at least to him, demarcates a prior time period before sedentism and territorial defense (Marlowe 2004: 279, 281). Marlowe (2005a) expands on his analysis contending that insights to Pleistocene foragers could be gained by examining ethnographic foragers. “Contact with agriculturalists poses a greater challenge. When more powerful societies that practice horticulture, pastoralism, or intensive agriculture (all referred to here as agriculturalists) come in contact with foragers, they can rapidly alter forager subsistence and culture” (Marlowe 2005a: 54). Marlowe (2005a) recognizes the Mbuti engage in exchange with their Bantu neighbors, and the Hadza maintain trade with some agropastoralists suggesting “All we can do is perhaps give extra weight to those with less contact” (Marlowe 2005a: 54). Marlowe points out “The greatest obstacle to using foragers as analogs of our ancient ancestors is that virtually all foragers in the ethnographic record have complex technology compared to premodern hominins” (Marlowe 2005a:54) and further, “It is mainly the effects of increased productivity associated with technology that we need to subtract from ethnographic foragers when extrapolating to much earlier times” (Marlowe 2005a:54). Marlowe (2005a) suggests that foragers are “the most useful exemplars of humans in the present” to compare “with other species with respect to traits like diet, group size, home

range, mating system, or mortality rates, we need to measure these traits in foragers, not agricultural populations, if we are to understand the relevant selective forces that shaped modern humans” (Marlowe 2005a: 54). By his own method, all ‘foragers’ in the ethnographic record will be subtracted.

Marlowe (2005a) considered the high primary biomass (e.g., 35kg/m<sup>2</sup>) areas consisting of ‘complex foragers’ with “seasonally abundant anadromous fish, which promotes storage and investment in time-consuming technologies, such as weirs and smoke houses, with delayed returns” were not necessary for modeling earlier periods. The Northwest Coast presented another anomaly although the number of Northwest Coast groups is limited in the SCCS database used by Marlowe. “Through the 1970s, unusually populous, stationary, and stratified hunter-gatherer societies, such as those of the Northwest Coast of North America, were regarded as ethnographic anomalies” (Sassaman 2004: 228). The key factors for anthropology interpretation appear to be sedentism and defense although other Aboriginal societies studied by anthropologists before the Northwest Coast was encountered could be described as possessing sedentary and defensive strategies (e.g., Huron, Iroquois, etc.). Boxberger (1990) notes for the Pacific Northwest Coast, “This area has served as a testing ground for theories about human behavior and has long been an area that anthropologists have pointed to as exhibiting “exceptions” to generalities concerning human behavior” (Boxberger 1990: 387). Theoretical constructions of the evolutionist approach had fully developed by the time anthropology engaged in study of the Northwest Coast. The fact that Franz Boas was not an advocate for the theory but instead was interested in the material facts that influenced cultural paradigms provided a directional shift in the manner that Aboriginal people were studied but still maintained misconceptions of subsistence as the

economic base instead of transactions of commerce, control of trade, and territorial authority that perpetuated the flow of goods and services (or if one should choose, commodities).

### **Cosmology and misinterpretations**

Although anthropology was immersed in theoretical constructs by the time colonization had encountered the Pacific Northwest, several interpretations of Aboriginal people were already emerging from earlier encounters in other regions. These interpretations were predisposed to the prevailing perceptions of the time period. A couple of interesting observations emerge from Prichard (1833) with one specific to the perceptions towards Aboriginal people:

“Accordingly, by some writers it has been confidently assumed that these tribes of men, like the bread-fruit and coco-nut trees by which they are fed, are the indigenous produce of the coralline or volcanic soil on which they exist. This notion might have been strenuously maintained, if researches into the structure and affinity of languages had not furnished its refutation, and displayed, in the idioms of these insular tribes, sufficient evidence of their mutual relationship and of the derivation of the whole stock of people from a common centre” (Prichard 1833: 530).

Prichard (1833) provides an interesting history of philology and its link to global explorations. The first interesting observation is the reference to “tribes of men” and not something else. It may or may not have been appropriate to discount the origin of tribes of men from the soil on which they exist although language barriers likely presented difficulty to effectively convey concepts of origin, cosmology relevance or simple conversation on such things as rows of vegetables growing in the soil based on the schedules of the sun. “The native tribes found in remote groups of islands in the great Southern Ocean, looked upon themselves as the offspring of the sun and moon, or of the soil” (Prichard 1833: 530). In a pragmatic comparison, the Blackfeet call the sun their father and the earth (soil) their mother (Hale 1885). A possible analogy to consider is the reliance on the plants grown in the soil

and raised by the light of the sun (i.e., agriculture). The distance between what was believed to be civilized man based on agriculture, relying on the soil and the sun, was not as far removed from these Native conceptions as was manifested through interpretation. The people in the European paradigm however became somewhat disenfranchised from their source of sustenance from the soil of the earth and schedules of the sun and moon except for those that actually grow the produce and rely on healthy pastures. Complacency towards the environment developed from the reliance on market-ready products that replaced belief systems based on cyclic repetition with increasing modes of convenience. The European-agriculture-pinnacle society appears to have removed cultural reverence to the soil (earth) or other resources that nourish the body. This is a pronounced disconnection of the ecological-social institution linkages advocated for sustainability principles.

The relationships of Aboriginal people to their belief systems presented challenges for cross-cultural awareness and understanding how local groups perceived their worldview. It was more convenient to create a dependency to gain access to Aboriginal lands and resources than it was to legitimately sort through the intricacies of territorial ownership. A state of dependency is a powerfully coercive manipulation for submission. The rationale for manifesting a state of dependency is malleable to conform to any variety of pursuits, including development of ideology to support theoretical constructions. A convergence of multiple rationales, or even a tangential intersect of rationale tends to fuel one or the other. Conflict arises when the rationale is inadequately supported by intellectual confidence or superficial manifestation to achieve desired ends.

Comprehensive epistemological constructs is complicated by reliance upon interpretation by others instead of immersion in a different cultural setting. In the context of

the volume of early ethnographies, very few scholars had become immersed within the cultural paradigm they sought to understand. Printed versions of oral traditions may present limited interpretations of cultural content. The collections of monographs may be components, pieces, or small bits of cultural content without connectivity to the nuances of contextual application through time. Using an example of a Maori bird hunt, Godelier (1999) reduces a complex of ritual rites, associated spirituality, and physical actions to two ideas that illustrate his difficulty of interpreting the meaning of the Māori worldview. Godelier (1999) described *mauri* however left it out of the results of his analysis entirely:

“Two ideas associated in the example of the forest, the priests and the fowlers. The first is that the forest is the source of life and its abundance. Ultimately it is the forest that presents hunters with game. The second idea is that the game taken by the hunters still belongs to the forest and to the priests who own both the sacred object and the charm that goes with it and which enables them to persuade the forest to be generous with men” (Godlier 1999: 52).

In the example provided by Godelier he recognizes “...three categories of actor: the forest, a supernatural entity, the source of life and plentiful game; the priests, who possess the stone *mauri* and the spells for invoking the spirit of the forest and are the mediators between forest and hunters; the fowlers themselves, who, after the rites performed by the priests have gone into the forest, killed a great number of birds and are about share them” (Godlier 1999: 52).

The forest as the source of life and its abundance is an appropriate deduction by Godelier, but his second idea confuses the acts and objects in the spiritual relationship with Māori and their forest. The second idea is encumbered with the act of deducing and the absence of actual experience. Godlier (1999: 49-56) is interpreting a text by Best that may or may not reflect a relative depiction of Māori philosophy however contains the same general dichotomy of intangible (acts) versus tangible (objects) analysis leading to an incorrect

simplified deduction. The mysticism encountered by these two authors is represented by their use of such terms as “charm,” “spells,” “supernatural,” and incorrect positioning for the conceptual meaning expressed in *hau* and *mauri* by trying to locate these physically by using those quasi-metaphoric terms. Godelier (1999) uses Best to illuminate text by Marshall Sahlins who is critiquing Marcel Mauss who transcribed Tamati Ranaipiri’s text translated by Bruce Biggs that leads Godelier to erroneously deduce his second idea completely devoid of *mauri*. Instead, Godelier (1999) has transposed the intricate spiritual life-force pervasive in Māori philosophy and reduced the passage of Ranaipiri by locating the game-birds only to the physical forest in a reciprocal exchange. Offerings are made to the *hau* of the forest and the *tohunga* eat the offering because they are a conduit to the forest *hau* and facilitators of the cyclic-spiral continuity of *mauri*. “These birds are the property of, or belong to, the *mauri*, the *tohunga*, and the forest: that is to say, they are an equivalent for that important item, the *mauri*” (Ranaipiri as presented in Godelier 1999: 51). Godelier (1999: 54) disagrees with Sahlins interpretation of something more than reciprocity and instead demonstrates exchanges of an object from A to B, from B to C, and so on, and compares it with the logic “illustrated by the circulation of the *vaygu’a*, the armshells and necklaces which circulate in the *kula* between the populations of the islands off the northeast coast of New Guinea” (Godelier 1999: 54). If tangible (or intangible) items ‘circulate’ in this manner, then A should be the final recipient of the exchange. In the Trobriand Islands it takes about two to ten years for this to occur with a truly circular motion of objects in an island archipelago (Malinowski 1932: 94). The material items of the *kula* are specific with armshells going in one direction and necklaces in the other. If A gives to B then B conducts a reciprocal act of gifting to A but not with the same material item and in fact is obligated to provide the object from the

opposite direction, nor does it have to occur at the particular moment of A gifting to B. It is the *act* of gifting that strengthens the relationship of peace for the authority to conduct transactions of economic exchange that occur outside of the *kula* in what is known as *gimwali* (Malinowski 1932). Godlier (1999) explains Mauss' interpretation of the object wanting to return to its original owner when in fact the object always retains the essence of the owner through act of giving it (Godlier 1999: 55). Mauss (1990) notes,

“Malinowski gives no translation of *kula*, which doubtless means ‘circle’. Indeed it is as if all these tribes, these expeditions across the sea, these precious things and objects for use, these types of food and festivals, these services rendered of all kinds, ritual and sexual, these men and women, - were caught up in a circle, following around this circle a regular movement in time and space” (Mauss 1990: 22).

It appears the *kula* may be the formal agency to conduct the commercial transactions “to exchange cargoes. The nobles themselves carry on trade” (Mauss 1990: 22). It appears Malinowski defined the *kula* in a way the Trobriand Islanders define it by understanding its symbolic significance through the conduct of relationships and actions between different tribal groups. The *kula* is a symbolic manifestation of engaging mutual advantage to trade in items produced by each respective group typically hostile with one another for the most part. Malinowski (1932: 1) describes,

“[t]he Papuo-Melanesians ... [as] daring sailors, industrious manufacturers, and keen traders. The manufacturing centres of important articles, such as pottery, stone implements, canoes, fine baskets, values ornaments, are localized in several places, according to the skill of the inhabitants, their inherited tribal traditions and special facilities offered by the district ; thence they are traded over wide areas, sometimes travelling more than hundreds of miles” (Malinowski 1932: 1).

For Mauss to expect a simplified construct of the *kula* in the form of a definition epitomizes the expectations of seeking generalizations in universal applications. The act of generosity, A giving to B, is projected into the future as a symbolic gesture for surety of maintaining good relationships with people foremost in trade relations, but also in the relationships with the

forest, *tohunga*, *taonga*, and spirits for the Māori, magic for the Trobriand Islanders, or the return of high abundance in the Pacific Northwest. The expectation of material forms for reciprocal acts misses the value of the social signification of the generosity to prevent hostility.

### **Iterative misunderstanding**

The examples of Godlier and Mauss described above depict the challenges of interpreting the Aboriginal legacy in a manner that resonates with the subject people. Malinowski (1932) became a participant in the social setting he studied. The Trobriand Islanders may have a greater affinity for appreciating Malinowski's interpretation because he was accepted as part of their world for a period of time. If Mauss determined that Malinowski failed to provide a simple 'definition' it might be strenuously objected by the Trobriand Islanders (and others) that he did in fact define the *kula* in terms amenable to their world view (Malinowski 1932: 81-84). Malinowski (1932) provides some introspective guidance for ethnographers in describing how he studied the people in the Trobriand Islands (Malinowski 1932: 8-15).

“The integration of all the details observed, the achievement of a sociological synthesis of all the various, relevant symptoms, is the task of the Ethnographer. First of all, he has to find out that certain activities, which at first sight might appear incoherent and not correlated, have a meaning. He then has to find out what is constant and relevant in these activities, and what accidental and inessential, that is, to find out the laws and rules of all the transactions” (Malinowski 1932: 84).

The conduct of social transactions is pervasive in Aboriginal societies, whether it is internal or external to the group they typically form the most elemental foundation of the social interactions. Early ethnographic observations are vulnerable to misinterpreting these transactions, the social interactions, and the core foundation upon which these are established in customs of daily life centered on specific cosmogony. The vulnerability is manifested in

many ways but foremost is the interpreted interplay of social relationships to economic function.

How these social relationships are transmitted, or reproduced, becomes obscure when some analyses attempt to link products obtained through economic activity to social divisions without fully separating the actions. In a comparison of the Mbuti and Ik, Turnbull (1968) describes the social divisions within villages based on specific behavior of agriculture activity or hunting, “The divisions and subdivisions do not necessarily follow any lines of kinship, nor are they permanent. The groups may not even last the maximum duration of any one village site, namely, two years” (Turnbull 1968: 133). The behavior of hunting and agriculture clearly have prominence in these societies but there are other features of their social organization that distinguish each group differently from others. For example, “Both the Ik and Mbuti, as hunter-gatherers, work within their respective environments rather than attempting to alter them” (Turnbull 1968: 132) although the Ik practice agriculture (Turnbull 1968: 133). Further, “Because neither is under the rigid control a truly marginal *economy* might impose, each is able to maintain a fluid band composition, a loose form of social structure, and to utilize flux as a highly effective social mechanism” (emphasis added; Turnbull 1968: 132) although the Mbuti engage in trade (Turnbull 1968: 133).

“By flux I mean the constant changeover of personnel between local groups and the frequent shifts of campsites through the seasons. This *apparent instability* is, in fact, the very mechanism that gives these societies their cohesion. Both the Mbuti and Ik are composed of many constantly shifting elements forming established patterns. Flux is expressed as recurrent fission and fusion which affects the composition of local bands” (emphasis added; Turnbull 1968: 132)

Turnbull further states the Mbuti association with Sudanic neighbors “...has existed for at least several hundred years” (Turnbull 1968: 132) that actually implies some type of stability. The two-year cycle of movement might indicate a marginal *environment* however

the stability of their social cohesion through flux of fission and fusion in tandem with reciprocating elements of their use of environments might appear as their adaptive strategy for successful continuation. “The divisions and subdivisions [within each village] do not necessarily follow any lines of kinship nor are they permanent” Turnbull 1968: 133) stands in stark contrast to Aboriginal groups in the Pacific Northwest Coast that have social divisions and subdivisions that do follow rules associated to concepts of kinship with many that may be considered infinitely permanent. It was not the intent for Turnbull (1968) to make this contrast but it is useful for highlighting the challenges of anthropology in its pursuit of universal generalizations.

The term “kinship” is often used in a generalized manner in anthropology to describe a variety of consanguine, affine, or other relationships between people within social groups but may not resonate from the cultural perspective of that group (Wallace and Atkins 1960: 58). For example, the English term “cousin” implies a relation of ego’s mother/father sibling’s child in general however an Aboriginal perspective may refer to this cousin-position as ego’s sibling (Arctander 1909: 301). The appropriate interpretation for differentiating the position in translation is situated within the aboriginal culture rather than through external interpretation (Boon 1974; Wallace and Atkins 1960). Substituting the position with a generalized notation of kinship (e.g., primitive, relative product; Wallace and Atkins 1960) may present risk of missing a nuance or definitive association of social reproduction mechanisms.

### **Power of women**

The kinship role of ‘mother’ in matrilineal social reproduction systems provides an axis upon which social organization is structured. The role of women among the Northwest

Coast Aboriginal people is not reported frequently. Some instances of observations are noted in historic records and appear to warrant additional investigation. The paucity of information on the role of women may also be an artifact of prevailing perceptions towards women in general at that time. In Hale's (1890) generalized state of knowledge regarding Aboriginal societies he notes, "In some, women are honoured and have great influence and privileges; in others, they are despised and ill-treated" (Hale 1890: 4).

Lay missionary William Duncan (1858) described what he perceived as superstition in the manner that Tsimshian "...ascribe nearly all of their bodily afflictions, and most deaths, to the secret working of malevolent persons" (Duncan 1858: 251). He estimated distrust among the Tsimshian for any person to administer medical attention based on what he heard,

"...that several white persons—some of whom are American Missionaries—have been murdered for attempting this kindness, all because their medicine did not prevent death. There has not been a case of that sort among the Indians here yet; but I see that the same superstitions which have led other Indians to commit murder are deeply rooted here, so that it behoves one to be cautious. I have already given medicine and advice to some, which the Lord has been pleased to bless; so that they are beginning to gain confidence, and appreciate my coming among them. My efforts in this way have as yet been nearly all confined to the Fort people; but as the Indian women in here are generally the most influential in the tribe to which they belong, in gaining their confidence a great blow is struck at the prejudices of the people outside" (sic; Duncan 1858: 251).

Duncan entered a region on the north-central coast that had not experienced any missionary influence until his arrival. Notwithstanding Duncan's fear was likely not unwarranted, the communication conduit regarding events in other areas, such as 'American Missionaries,' indicates an exchange of information across North America did occur and likely influenced perceptions. He notes the "Indian women in here are generally the most influential" and further demonstrates their power by noting, "The women are the main

depositories of law, and the chief persons in council; but a woman's rank among women—that is—so far as her word, opinion, and advice are concerned, is according to the size of her wooden lip” (Duncan 1858: 275). The size of a woman's labret is an indication of her rank in the stratified society.

The Tlingit women were observed to leverage considerable control of affairs (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991). A Tlingit woman with a large labret was observed in Behm Canal by Vancouver's party during an attack: “One large canoe was steered by a redoubtable old woman with an enormous labret, who seems to have directed not only the crew but the young chief in the bow” (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 97). In trade relations a man had to gain the approval of his wife for any transaction: “In exchange and sale, the husband depended upon his wife's judgment, and she had an equal voice. Indeed, if a sale had been consummated in her absence, she might repudiate the transaction and demand the money back” (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 56). Another traveler in 1877 observed, “Their authority in all matters is unquestioned. No bargain is made, no expedition set on foot, without first consulting the women. Their veto is never disregarded” (as presented in de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 56).

The role of women in the north-central coast appears to leverage considerable authority and may be undervalued due to the paucity of documentation. These examples presented above are in regard to two fundamental aspects of societies, trade and warfare, indicating the role of women is significant in social functions and warrants further investigation. Colding and Folke (2001) note many resource and habitat related taboos are also associated to women. How the power of women has been missed requires looking at an intimate view of social organization, how it functions, and the relationships within social reproduction.

## **Social organization**

Anthropology has created their own dilemma by using generalizations and misinterpreting cultural associations, and in some cases iteratively misinterpreting work among them that constrains discourse regarding the societies they seek to understand. The following section provides clarification for social organization and how social reproduction manifests to maintain cultural continuity and territorial authority. Social organization may be the most critical element for the success of Aboriginal groups and the longevity of their persistence through time. Malinowski (1932) noted for the Trobriand Islanders, “All departments of tribal life, religion, magic, economics are interwoven, but the social organization of the tribe lies at the foundation of everything else” (Malinowski 1932: 69). The nuances and subtle characteristics that create social cohesion are as integral to the function of social institutions as are the structural elements of social organization. “This ornamentation did not arise from mere love of ostentation, but owed its origin to the peculiar social organization and semi-religious worship of ancestry that controlled every action of the people and manifested itself in the display of the crest and the respect paid to it” (Emmons 1914: 59). The relationships of the people to their environments are connected through their social institutions that are constructed on their specific social organization.

The Pacific Northwest Coast region’s social organization relies on the continuity of authority to control access to trade and the relative resource products. The continuity of authority is vested in the transmission of social hierarchy through social reproduction. It is a continual cycle of birth, alignment and death renewed through the socially determined success or failure of incumbent lineage title-holders. The social organization is nested in layers consisting of the larger social institutions that govern territorial jurisdiction. The social

institutions generally referred to as “tribes” or collectively “nations” function over large geographic spheres to protect the entirety of the cultural paradigm, authority over access to resources and areas, and most especially, protection of valuable corridors for trade distribution networks.

The nested-layers are found within tribal nation organization. The north-central Pacific Northwest coast Aboriginal societies consist of a variety of different numbers of layers. The term “chief” is often confusing when used to refer to “titleholders” found in these many layers. This confusion can confound understanding how the legal system worked. The head titleholder in a tribe and/or “house-group” is the equivalent of “chief” but with designated terms specific to each language group. For example, the Gitlan, Tsimshian has a *Sm’oygit* “head chief” and the 17 lineage house-groups (*walp*, or *waab*) each have a lineage *Sm’oygit* “head chief” comprising 18 *Sm’gigyet* “head chiefs” (Garfield 1939) all ranked, plus the royal and noble consanguine and affine relations that may also be called chiefs. The term “house-group” refers to those members of the matriline of descent ‘contained’ in the lineage constituting the House. The 17 Gitlan matri-lineages have individual names for each House, for example, House of *Xpe Hanaax*.

In the Grease producing region the transmission of lineage prerogatives, including territorial ownership, in all cases has association to maternal lineage. The Tlingit, Tsimshian and Haida are strictly matrilineal in the transmission of a person’s lineage (Boas 1887, 1888, 1889; de Laguna [Emmons] 1991; Garfield 1939; Roth 2002a, 2007). The Kwakwaka’wakw men follow their maternal line until marriage but transmission of lineage authority follows paternal transmission to son (Boas 1895). The Nuxalk determined a blend of heritage (Boas 1889; McIlwraith 1948: 126) influenced by their neighbors from both north and south. “The

rights were inherited according to local rules of inheritance (by the sister's son among Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, and Xaisla; by son elsewhere in the area), so that it came about that in every Northwest Coast society economic wealth was in the hands of the direct descendants of a single line" (Drucker 1939: 59). The transmission of lineage is the core foundation to social organization. "They have given up all their old customs except those referring to their social organization" (Boas 1889: 11).

The intricate details of social reproduction are more numerous in the Grease producing region compared to other groups within the whole Pacific Northwest complex. This is often referred to as 'social complexity' to encompass a depiction of horizontal and vertical dimensions in a social system (Fitzhugh 2003: 2). Social reproduction and economy have a distinctive relationship often expressed at feast events however this relationship has been misconstrued as comprising the entire economy (Hale 1890: 5). "Much of the Northwest Coast exchange was facilitated by, but did not actually occur within, feasts" (Daly 2005: 60). Garfield (1939:193) notes, "While trading between distant villages or tribes provided an occasion for feasts, entertainment and gift giving, most trading was informal." Feast activity has many purposes including festive celebrations between neighboring villages and within villages. Trade relationships were established between villages that may have been punctuated with feasting activity but feasts may not have been conducted at every encounter of trade activity. Garfield (1939) was correct in that "most trading was informal." The feast events to demonstrate transmission of lineage are formal affairs with protocol, etiquette, obligations, performances of historical events, and recitation of relationships, and require significant logistical planning. Garfield's (1939) survey of social organization is conducted at one Tsimshian community out of seven designated by the Indian Agents some

50 years earlier. These 'communities' were expected to 'become civilized' beacons for the imposed social order while simultaneously removing the tribal authority over lands. Congregating Aboriginal people onto small "reserves" of their former territorial domain was intended to facilitate equivocal treatment of each of them to the surrender of their rights without awareness. The effect of equivocal treatment is described best by Drucker (1939) who suggested "In short, there were no classes of statuses in Northwest Coast society. ... To insist upon the use of the term "class system" for the Northwest Coast society means that we must say that each individual was in a class by himself" (Drucker 1939: 58). Codere (1956, 1957) presents more detail regarding Kwakiutl stratification. In fact, social complexity has been addressed by several scholars in attempt to qualify equivalencies among the groups that share similar characteristics of social activities such as feasting events. The intricate details within the Pacific Northwest as a whole are as heterogeneous as the landscape features of each area. Fitzhugh (2003) observes the Kodiak Alutiiq feasting has similar parallels with neighboring Tlingit with apparent differences in details of lineage systems (Fitzhugh 2003: 71-74). Piddoke (1960) briefly describes differences in the Bella Coola *minmint* social unit and the Upper Georgia Strait Coast Salish extended family structures. A significant difference in lineage transmission is enclosed between these regions (inclusive) Southeast Alaska and the northern Vancouver Island and adjacent mainland also corresponding to the Grease producing region. Other Aboriginal societies in the Northwest complex contain social ranking and feasting systems nearly wherever salmon are found to occur. Evidence of social ranking is found in the Middle Period 1500 B.C. to A.D. 500. McDonald and Inglis (1976) indicate the cultural pattern changes are quantitative and reflect elaboration in the social and

economic organization. During the first 50 years after contact (ca. 1780 to 1830) the Aboriginal way of life remained relatively unchanged from the prehistoric pattern.

"The development of sophisticated art styles - as seen in the archaeological evidence - coincides on the Northwest coast with the first evidence of social ranking and, possibly, with the earliest forms of the *potlatch*. Historically the potlatch was a social mechanism which, by a ritualized system of public exchange, reinforced the person's or household's claims to economic territory, origin stories, dances, etc. It was the primary institution which bound the society together. It culminated in the elaborate community displays witnessed - and often misinterpreted - by the European visitors to the Northwest coast" (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 70).

Aboriginal groups within the Grease producing region have similar characteristics in their systems for land ownership, resource uses, and relations among other groups of people regarding territorial use (Ames 1994, 1998; Arnold 2004; Boas 1889, 1905; Carlson 1983; Drucker 1939, 1965; Garfield 1951; Johnsen 1986, 2001; Marsden 2000; Miller and Eastman 1985; Roth 2008). These systems were populated in an elaborate social reproduction continuum facilitated by feasting events. Each of the societies is comprised of a hierarchy with several stratified *and* ranked classes including nobility, elite, "Chiefs", royalty, commoners, and slaves (Garfield 1939). Within the echelon of the elites are other supporting contingencies consisting of the 'secret societies' that play a fundamental role in the reinforcement of authority through the use of supernatural powers. Power is vested in a supra-order of prestige and status.

The social characteristics associated to these highly complex societies are grounded in their own laws unique to each group and undeniably respected amongst one another (Stewart 1977). The transmission of rights, privileges and prerogatives to territorial areas are based on social structures defined by specific lineage in a continuum of past, present, and future generations linked to a common ancestor. In some of these groups lineage may have either paternal or maternal association or some combination of parental/ancestral role to the

individual at birth and flowing through life changing events to death (i.e., rites of passages such as puberty, marriage, training/assuming specific roles, etc.).

“There is clear evidence that the name held by the head chief now in any one tribe has not always been the same. In the vicissitudes of history the chieftainship has shifted from lineage to lineage and from house to house; even middle class men have risen to prominence as head chiefs and middle class names have become chiefly titles. In the Ginax-angi-’k tribe, for example, the head chief was once Ale-’m-laxha’; at another time Txa-qaxs and later Se-ks, which became Wi-se-ks or Great Se-ks, the present chief’s name. Ale-’m-laxha’ is now a sub-chief’s name; Tsa-qaxs is a young man’s name in the chief’s lineage and Se-ks is a boy’s name. In the Gitsi’s tribe Txa-qaxs is a man’s name belonging to a middle class house” Garfield (1939: 184).

Garfield (1939) contains some misinterpretation, some of it resulting from informants, although Garfield presents the function of lineage transmission. Garfield’s 1939 work was focused on the people situated at Port Simpson (Garfield 1939:173). The chiefs of the nine tribes Garfield (1939) describes as resident at Port Simpson happened to be there when the Indian Agent toured the province to establish reserves. It has not been determined by Tsimshian law as any type of paramount seat. Further, Garfield describes “The lineage is the functioning unit, since the members often live together in one dwelling, or in one village” (Garfield 1939: 174). The lineage has always been the functional unit however “one dwelling or in one village” is a corruption brought forth by the congregating of people onto reserves under the *Indian Act*. “Houses belong to the man who erected the framework. They are always inhabited by members of one gens” (Boas 1889: 36). Boas does not indicate that all members are at that location. For example, the *walp* is led by the *Smoygit* of one crest-clan house-group tribe but he must marry a different crest-clan. Those children will follow their matrilineal descent crest-clan. The use of the terms ‘gentes,’ ‘gens,’ ‘septs’ and clan has caused confusion in understanding how the Tsimshian lineage systems function (Halpin 1973).

The Gitksan neighbors of the Tsimshian, speaking the same Smalgyax language, have the same social organization as Tsimshian. The social “unit” is described by Daly (2005):

“The actual social unit, however, is always both more extensive, and more exclusionary, than House group membership might suggest. In terms of the “social imaginary” of these peoples, the core of the family economy is composed of those who, in precolonial times, lived together under the common roof of a split cedar “big house.” These were members, spouses, and young children; aged parents; and other clanfolk. Hence the local term, “House group.” One worked, shared produce and wealth, cooperated and competed on an intimate everyday basis with people in, and associated with one’s House. This de facto residential and work group *overlapped* with, but did not include, the whole membership of the matrilineal, proprietary House group. It also included many, mainly female, affines, while half of any House group – its married women members – lived under the roofs of others, usually of the father’s or spouse’s House group. The House was, and remains, a ritual, ceremonial, jural, and political entity, but family relations crossed, and continue to cross, the thresholds of many Houses. In other words, transactions between a set of individual actors often activate the crosscutting interests of several tenure-holding bodies of kin and extend spatially through a local watershed” (emphasis added; Daly 2005: 157).

Garfield’s (1939) description of the name Txa-qaxs provides an indication of a lineage member appearing in the Gitsi’s tribe, possibly by marriage, separate from the Ginax-angi’k tribe where the lineage arose. These types of lateral movements of people between villages, keeping the connection to their origin, link the villages to facilitate relationship continuity.

“More knowledgeable people have something of a bird’s eye view, as it were, of the many interconnections between different houses in different villages. The names themselves are mnemonics of these interconnections, and for a name to occur in a particular house in a particular village evokes, for a knowledgeable person, a whole history” (Roth 2008: 34).

It is a mechanism, one of many, to encourage cohesion and discourage hostility. The manner that “big” lineage names are used constitutes another cycle of rebirth for that name (Roth 2008:32). The use of a big chiefs name as a little boy’s name is a rebirth of that name placed on a lineage descendant to encourage elevating its status once again. With the appropriate behavior, etiquette, and protocol, the individual may succeed in elevating the

status of the name to its former prestige. The name holder must demonstrate responsibility to the obligations conferred by holding the name to ensure the continuity of the lineage. The name holder is born into the lineage, groomed for specific roles, and conferred the social position by successful demonstration of meeting criteria for effective leadership. This is an opportunity to develop entrepreneurial prowess as well. Instead of maternal line to son, the transmission for male members in a matrilineal system moves laterally from mother's brother to mother's son and then to his sister's son, and his sister's son, etc. Adjustments are made for those situations when sister has only daughters. This transmission has the shape of a spiral instead of the primogeniture direct descent vertical mechanisms. The transmission to female members moves directly from mother to eldest daughter with some lateral movement within the matri-line for other daughters (e.g., maternal grandmother to granddaughter, maternal aunt to niece, depending on the status and rank of titles. It is a life-long procession from birth to death with the *walp* aligning the position before and after these events. The *walp* is the "house-group" and not equivalent to "house-hold" or domicile structure. It is a metaphorical 'box' or container. A *walp* as a box contains the onomastic structures within it and is layered, much like a box within a box, within a box, etc. The most prestigious cloak-blanket, Raven's Tale, worn by the highest ranking chiefs, contains a consistent design that depicts a box within a box within a box (etc.) until the last box is found to contain the sun from which Raven stole the light. These boxes could be considered a mirror image of the social organization of the Tsimshian. Many vertical and horizontal rows of boxes are an indication of the many lineages, side by side. This is an example of what may be interpreted as an 'intangible' characteristic by someone outside the cultural group but very real within it, the *walp* structure, depicted in tangible form. Symbolism creates the tangible expression of

culture. Thom and Bain (2004) interpret cultural symbolism as intangible property that is antithetical to purposes of protecting the integrity of symbolic meaning. Thom and Bain (2004) acknowledge the Aboriginal perspectives may be contrary to their interpretation because they did not engage Aboriginal people in their project.

The onomastic structures are maintained and transmitted in a manner that carries the continuity of the culture, from its ancient origins in the past, through the responsible obligations of the present and to carry it into the future (Roth 2008; Thornton 2008). These three things, the past, present and future, exist at all times simultaneously in the onomastic structures and its transmission. Oppositions are established within the motion of these structures to keep balance and order. For example, the opposite side of a *walp* (also referred to as 'waab' or 'house-group;' matrilineage), typically the paternally related *walp*, arranged by marriages, attends to details of transmission (Seguin-Anderson 1986: 557; Roth 2008). Oppositions take many forms and some may be considered 'reciprocal' although mirrored reflection may be a more appropriate analogy. Roth (2002) recognizes that "Tsimshian social reproduction is located not in the social mechanisms such as reciprocity, but in a symbolic order. Reciprocity is more precarious than determinate" (Roth 2002a: 124). The Tlingit rely upon the opposite moiety to cooperate with details of mortuary rites (Roth 2002a: 129). "The important functions of the clan have altogether to do with its opposites" (Emmons and De Laguna 1991: 24). The enduring aspect of social reproduction is the motion of its movement through generations to bind relationships for predictable coherence of opposite obligations. Hostile oppositions can be quelled through arrangements such as marriage.

The rationale for such complex social order and the continual reproduction of it is to protect the inalienable wealth. "Most importantly, the obligation to one's own lineage

ancestors to retain and preserve those goods that ought never to be exchanged – the hereditary prerogatives and their representations, including crests, regalia, territory, and names” (Roth 2002a: 124). The Aboriginal social institutions forge controls for things such as trade relations.

## **Spiral**

The social structures found in this region are based on the linkages between continuous lineages of birth, life and death of individuals from a common ancestor. Ames suggests cultural changes during the period 5,500-270 years before present (BP) included “Increasing social complexity in the form of vertical hierarchies and horizontal differentiation” (Ames 1991: 936). What constitutes “complexity” within anthropological characterizations of social organization is confused with their use of different terminology and perhaps the inadequacy of two-dimensional simplification. Ames (1991) reference to “vertical hierarchies and horizontal differentiation” is the classic two-dimensional perspective. Boas (1889: 488) describes the Tsimshian “towns,” “villages,” “exogamic groups,” with some of this confusion. Boas (1889: 488) refers to “*tslap*” as a “tribe” and suggests “*qal-tslap*” is “perhaps where the tribe is located” to refer to “town” and then notes, “The prefix *qal-* designates here primarily the houses as opposed to the people living in them, although the compound term is also used quite often to designate the people themselves: *kle’rEltga wi-qal-tsla’pga* (“there was a town”)” (Boas 1889: 488). The people are the house-groups, or contained in a lineage, that comprise the *ts’ap* providing some resemblance to horizontal differentiation in social organization with multiple lineages and tribes. Boas (1889) may not have observed the distinction between the metaphorical “house” or “box” pertaining to lineage house-group as distinct from a description of domicile

structure where always at least two lineages are present through the marriage of “exogamic groups” and descendants follow the matrilineage. The social interaction of these lineages is governed by obligations of opposites to the married lineages. The axis direction of hereditary lineage and its linkage to social structures has at least two directions for female and male. The matrilineal descent to daughter is direct. The matrilineal descent to son is not a vertical transmission but lateral. A matrilineal mother’s son will inherit transmission from her brother or his uncle. A patrilineal mother’s son will inherit from his father (or uncle) so the location of lateral movement occurs at transmission. The combination of descent for female and male, from the matriline to maternal daughter and son, or patriline maternal daughter and son, presents direct and lateral elements that form a helical spiral with each successive generation (Figure 2). These are the primary linkages that bind individuals in relationships of social interaction.

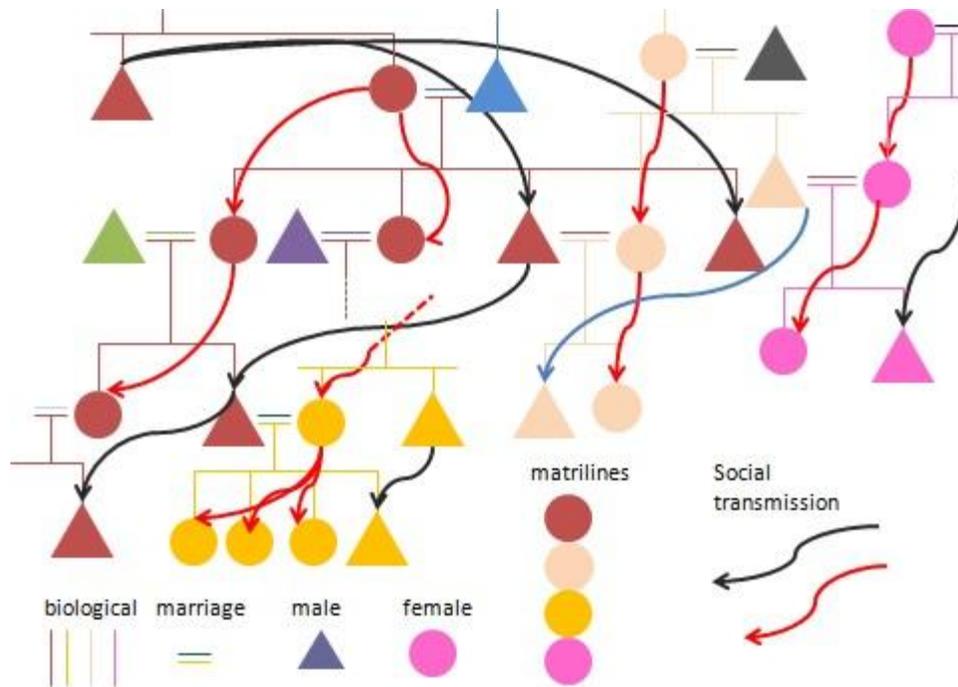


Figure 2. An example of the transmission of social reproduction for matrilineal Tsimshian over biological generations. The arrows depict the helical transmission from mother to daughter and from brother to sister's son. These social reproduction transmission lines form a helical spiral through generations of time.

The relations that are considered 'extended' by scholars may conflict with Aboriginal perspectives (Wallace and Atkins 1960). "Types of grouping of the English kin-types may be usefully classified, of course, to yield the various typologies of kinship terminology, such as Crow, Eskimo, Sudanese. But a term may not mean to its users that collection of kin-types which the English-speaking ethnologist finds it convenient to regard as its meaning" (Wallace and Atkins 1960: 59). In some instances individuals may be considered reincarnated from previous generations (Garfield 1939; Roth 2007, 2008; Seguin-Anderson 1986: 574; Thornton 2008; Trosper 2009).

The hereditary lineage consists of people with a series of life-long responsibilities that are carried through to death. Prior to contact the most common method for transmission of this authority through lineages, other than after succession following death, was through arranged marriages (Garfield 1939; Halpin 1973, 1984; Marsden 2000; Roth 2008; Seguin

1985; and others). A shift in the aligned-marriage method of transfer occurred after contact that instead aligned “arranged births” in the matrilineal systems within some of the groups (Halpin 1973, 1984; Roth 2008) although likely manifested during pre-contact as well since marriages were arranged specifically for lineage succession.

The resiliency of communities to prosper in this region known for harsh climates, variability, and diverse assemblage of species (often difficult to obtain), is determined by the ability of the people to interact in a predictable manner. The rules of lineage transmission determine the roles of the people in the community, with each other and also their responsibilities to the community as a whole. One of the most difficult aspects to understand about these societies has been attempts to define an ‘edge’ of the ‘community’ as a boundary in space that separates one from another.

The social connections from one person to the next, one community to another are determined by an arc of a helical spiral of lineage relation and role responsibility that has no beginning and no end. Daly (2005:272) in comparison of non-aboriginal society’s “...transformation of nature’s energy into human energy... to an Aboriginal view that considers “... this relationship as a dynamic gift exchange between two relatively equal actors involved in a spiral of death and rebirth, of taking life, making peace, consuming, and giving birth to new life and energy.”

Social relations are a natural extension by birth, an act of sexual division accomplished only by woman. More hands working to provide sustenance, not merely subsistence, provide a healthier the quality of life. Making sure the healthier quality of life continues means that social reproduction of the mechanisms that bind the social organization continue to endure. As social reproduction expands with linkages between tribes cultural

traits evolve through diffusion. Social relationships are mechanisms for the formation of alliances to territorial areas, engaging trade relationships, increasing efficiency with shared knowledge for resource production, and on the Pacific Northwest coast, create surplus production. These arrangements of social organization form the core purpose for conducting a feast where transactions conducted publicly are legitimated through its construct.

### **Feasting the prerogatives**

“Theories of the potlatch have seen it as an elaborate game, as a banking system with doubling interest payments, and as a historical extravagance fueled by fur trade goods, but no one answer can explain this complex event” (Miller 1998?)

The social organization that contributed to resource production surplus was facilitated by the agency of the feast system<sup>4</sup>. It provided the institutional framework to conduct ‘business’ of the continuity of the spiral linkages. It is the place in Aboriginal cosmogony that coalesces the spiral of the ancient past, the present, and the future that establishes the prestige economy. The feast system has been one of the most difficult elements of these societies to characterize. “As with every other complex institution, its various aspects and interrelationships have invited treatment from several different angles and points of reference. The result has been confusion in the minds of most students who have tried to reconcile the different emphases one with another and each with its cultural context” (Barnett 1938: 349). Early European observers often misinterpreted these events (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 70). Emmons (de Laguna 1992: 59) commented that “In fact, the whole social

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<sup>4</sup> The term “feast” is used because none of the groups in the north-central coast use the term “potlatch” that appears to have evolved after colonial intersections (cf. Bracken 1997). It has become a colloquial usage but the heart of the meaning is more closely associated to feast. Other terms are used from the Aboriginal languages to refer to these types of events (cf. Halpin 1973: 117-118 for some Tsimshian terms with Halpin’s dubious interpretation).

structure was built upon the winter [festivities and ceremonies], for which the work of the rest of the year had provided.” The feasting system is an agency for social reproduction.

“Connected with this system is that of the ‘potlatch,’ or gift-festival, a custom to which has been greatly misunderstood by strangers, who have regarded it as a mere parade of wasteful and ostentatious profusion. It is in reality something, totally different. The potlatch is a method most ingeniously devised for displaying merit, acquiring influence, and at the same time laying up a provision for the future. Among these Indians, as among all communities in which genuine civilisation has made some progress, the qualities most highly esteemed in a citizen are thrift, forethought, and liberality. The thrift is evinced by the collection of the property which is distributed at the gift-feast ; the liberality is, of course, shown in its distribution ; and the forethought is displayed in selecting as the special objects of this liberality those who are most likely to be able to return it” (Hale 1890: 5).

The feast system in Pacific Northwest coast region is often viewed as the mechanism for wealth-distribution (Isaac 1988; Johnsen 2004; Langdon and Worl 1981). Hale (1890) noted the frequent misinterpretations by strangers, and that the ‘potlatch’ was a method for demonstrating status although he may not have understood the purpose for such demonstration. The system has a very specific role for legally binding recognition of social organization and attendant obligations (Adams 1973; Beynon 2000; Cranmer Webster 1991; Donald 1997; Drucker 1939; Drucker and Heizer 1967; Halpin 1984; MacDonald, J. 1990; MacLeod 1925; Marsden 2002; Pidocke 1965; Roth 2002, 2008; Seguin 1985). It is a legal framework that locates wealth and the hierarchal lineage responsible for protecting that wealth through social reproduction, continuity of stewardship, and productivity of resources based on territorial authority. “While not strictly part of the economy in our modern sense of capital generation and distribution, it does legitimate the economy” (Daly 2005: xxvi). Daly’s (2005) perspective is nuanced against the forager-hunter-gather-fisher modality of anthropology. The feast system does legitimate the operational aspects of economy by conferring validation of territorial ownership, demonstration of successful resource

management and effective trade relationships, and the continuity of knowledge generation.

Trade relationships are established between specific groups. Boas (1889) provides an example of the high value of such trade relationships:

“It is a privilege of the Gyispaqlâots to trade with the Gytksa’n; and they kept up this privilege successful even against the Hudson Bay Company until the latter purchased it from them in 1886. The Gyt’endâ chiefs are relatives of those of the Gyispaqlâ’ots. They share their privileges, and bear the same names, the one Lēgī’eq excepted” (Boas 1889: 35).

It is no small coincidence that trade relationships were coveted by Hudson’s Bay Company and indeed, as shown in chapter two, the pursuit of lands and trade was at the center of colonial endeavor. The feasting system is a formality of otherwise potentially hostile controls for the very same trade relationships. These trade relationships, coveted by colonial pursuits, encapsulated in international agreements, and used as oppression against Aboriginal people to this day, are regulating mechanisms of the Aboriginal economy. “The oral histories and the archeological remains suggest that warfare existed between the groups, meaning that those who were able to generate a social surplus from their resources would be able to defend themselves better than other groups” (Trosper 2009: 13). The key to generating social surplus is the result of successful feasting of the lineage prerogatives to territorial owned resources. “A surplus in excess of need then, as later, was requisite for achieving social distinction” (Barnett 1938: 352). It was the social surplus that motivated actions to demonstrate prestige, not necessarily the surplus of resource products by themselves. The two are interconnected in a continuity of cosmological domain perpetuated through the social institutions of feasting that support the social organization.

Carlson (1983) suggests the wealth and status system arose in response to food surpluses. The relationship of social surplus and resource products surpluses is symbiotic,

and this is the focal demonstration of feast events. The feast events are the culmination of several layers of institutions and actions portrayed within a unique cosmogony of belief and intellectual domains linked to sea and landscapes. It may be convenient to claim the ecological-social institution linkages have been demonstrated by characterization of the social organization, its spiral of continuity and demonstration at feast events but there is more to this story. The demonstration in power of authority over territorial jurisdiction is the goal of feast cycles. Not every lineage conducts feast events in every year but the hierarchy validated in the social organization keeps track of ‘turns’ to feast. The knowledge of feast cycles is not necessary to explore for the purposes of these analyses but provide further indication of the depth of ‘complexity’ in this region. What is referred to by anthropology/ethnology as “social complexity” should instead be considered in terms of “system complexity” but the constituent parts and interacting relationships need further clarification as presented in these analyses. The unique systems complexity of the north-central coast of BC Aboriginal cultures has several purposes including facilitated direction of specific tasks for resource management activity, harvesting and processing natural resources, and products distribution. Authority for the direction of tasks is vested in the hereditary lineage that own and control territories, and in their roles and responsibilities for territorial occupation and use. Authority is validated through feasts events and recognized by neighboring nations, tribes, houses, clans, and individuals (Ames 1981, 1994, 1995; Boas 1889; Cranmer Webster 1991; Daly 2005; Dawson 1888; Drucker 1939, 1965; Garfield 1939, 1951; Halpin 1973, 1984; Johnsen 1986, 2001; Marsden 2000, 2002; Martindale 2003; Mills 1994; Moss 1993; Pidocke 1965; Roth 2002, 2008; Seguin, 1985; Trospen 2002,

2009; Weinstein 1994). People fill these roles in the hereditary lineage through cycles of birth and death, with social positioning based on a spiral mechanism of transmission.

“Chiefs and their close relations often claimed title to a wide range of productive resource locations. Chiefly power was manifest in the ability to control the labor of kin and non-kin in the production of surpluses. Surpluses and trade valuables formed the basis of social competition between rival elites and challengers, as demonstrated in the elaborate competitive potlatch feasts well documented in ethnographies of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (e.g., de Laguna, 1988” (Fitzhugh 2003: 4).

These resource locations are owned and declaration of this ownership is a significant covenant within a feast system. The term ‘claimed’ is a manifestation of the imposed European system. The basis of social competition, where it occurs, is not simply surplus products but rather establishing superiority based on the social supra-order of prestige and status. The competitive feast to clarify questions of legitimate succession requires much more interaction with groups outside of the lineage-unit, a much more lengthy and detailed endeavor.

The north-central region feast season, typically one or two winter months, in the past occurred after the major trade excursions across mountain passes. These lengthy journeys occurred only after the processing of resource products surplus had concluded in the fall, or nearly complete. The result is large volumes of resource products remain in the town stored for consumption including feasts and large volumes were packed across the mountains, and/or transported by canoe to other destinations. It is illogical to think Chiefs pursued harvest activities strictly for feast purposes all the time but it is an ever present incentive to produce more, and occasionally harvest is conducted for very specific events. The Kwakwaka’wakw groups have a certain feast, *Tlina-gila* (Grease feast) that requires dedicated eulachon Grease production for the event in addition to all the other necessary

preparations and acquisitions. Further, the feasting season consisted of many events but it is uncommon for the same lineage unit to feast in every year in general. It takes significant planning and orchestrated arrangements to conduct a formal feast event for a successful conclusion. “The prestige of the local lineage and the maintenance of its economic and political power were dependent on the success of events, including distribution of sufficient wealth to *demonstrate* control over territories” (emphasis added; Seguin-Anderson 1986: 562). Much of the critical activity regarding feasts occurs prior to the event, and in some cases can take years to conclude. The actual event itself may, in some cases, depend upon the successful completion of specific arrangements for the event. “The potlatch does not, however, then occur at once, as much preliminary talk, ceremony, and feasting are in order, and the Nim’-kish must entertain their visitors – first one and then another volunteering feasts and diversions” (Dawson 1888: 18). Conducting feasts are significantly risky affairs (Trospen 2009). “Risk is always present in potlatching” (Roth 2008: 10).

The feasting system is pervasive as an institution in the Pacific Northwest coast region. It is a key mechanism that functions within the Aboriginal social paradigm with linkages to their resource management. The control of natural resource areas that consist of high abundances are those same areas where the most stringent application of lineage ownership is expressed, for good reason. “Those who developed good relations with the salmon, meaning that their salmon runs were large, would have more surplus than others” (Trospen 2009: 13). The salmon rivers throughout the Northwest vary in size and productivity, some with very large abundances (e.g., Columbia River, Fraser River, Skeena River, Stikine River; typically fifth order streams or higher), other rivers with varying levels of abundances (e.g., fifth order and lower; some fifth order streams consist of higher

variability; arbitrary choice for exemplification), and still others that typically do not produce all 6 species of salmon (*Oncorhynchus* sp.). Those groups with more surplus products may have developed good relations with salmon from large runs, or alternatively good relations with multiple site locations to rotate use for potentially smaller runs. The productive results of high abundance years were an indication of the Chief's ability to control the supernatural forces that determined the size of the returning adult salmon, or perhaps more cogently, demonstrate his knowledge of the cyclic variability.

Changes in the social activity in some cases had a direct impact on the available labor pool to produce resource products and goods. The feasting system may have accelerated in response to increased deaths from disease and the social adjustments needed for accommodating that change. An increase in feasting activity may also have increased declarations of territorial authority against the encroachments of colonial settlers. The purposes of feasts have remained consistent to the institution. The incorporation of manufactured goods was immediate as soon as they were "introduced" into the Pacific Northwest. These items posed no obstacle whatsoever in the continuity of the purposes of the events.

"The distribution of the payments to those of us who witnessed this demonstration of family prerogatives came late in the evening. ... Some of these items may have been purchased at white markets, but in this context they were undeniably Kwakiutl. For a while I watched objectively, mentally noting what was similar to nineteenth century gifts, what was a manifestation of cultural innovation, what had been purchased in local markets, and what had taken weeks and months to create or prepare. Such speculations lasted a very short time, for soon my attempted scholarly detachment fell away, replaced by awe of this generous and noble family whose prestige was firmly embedded in my consciousness" (Jonaitis 1991: 69).

Some ethnographic and historic records indicate interpretations of the feast institution as a celebration with distribution of "gifts" that has incorrectly perpetuated into

contemporary scholars renditions of anthropological and other investigation. The incorrect interpretations are also applied to archaeology and subsequently derive a misinterpreted pre-historic context. Very few early accounts indicate a more appropriate contextualization, for example: "The goods distributed consist almost entirely of treasure items. They have an arbitrary value unrelated for the most part to physical human needs. ... the kinds and quantities of food proper to such feasts *preclude* them from the category of subsistence economy" (emphasis added; Barnett 1938: 351).

The *Indian Act* was amended in 1885 to prohibit the 'potlatch' (and *tamawanas* dancing) until this amendment was repealed in 1951. It was an ambiguous attempt to control the Aboriginal economy although the perceptions of the economy were based on chattels interpreted as 'subsistence' needs, and control was justified with the biased rationale pertaining to customs that were far from understood (Bracken 1997: 33-40). The 'potlatch' was viewed by early colonials as interference in the Canadian government's assimilation project (Bracken 1997: 47). The ban was another element of forced assimilation from the period of 1885 to 1951. During this time feasting did continue, and sometimes in clandestine obscurity from the watchful eyes of the colonizing agent or their clergy.

### **Generous payments**

"Nothing is more erroneous than the notion of barter. All the speculation by Adam Smith rests on a mistake by Cook concerning Polynesians who climbed aboard ship and offered the Europeans an exchange, not of objects, but of gifts. The notion of barter was born in the 18th and 19th centuries from our utilitarianism" (Allen (Mauss) 2007: 101).

The function of the feast system has been confused with activity that occurs at specific feast events. More focus has been directed to those attributes of payment that appear as "gifts", ceremonial, and symbolic cultural expression rather than the appropriate functional

role of the event, the prior related activity, and posterior validation (Garfield 1939; Roth 2008; Seguin-Anderson 1986). Public validation transcends the act of individuals receiving payments at such events, viewed by external observers as “gifting,” as the material and symbolic gesture acknowledging the ritual continuity, authenticity, and legitimacy of lineage transmission. The variety of purpose for feast events can also determine whether the material and symbolic gesture is “payment” for services such as memorial services command, or “pay-out” such as dividend shares of prestige. Successful titleholders are those that can demonstrate their wealth through the expression of generosity towards their inalienable wealth of lands, natural resources, and people.

The rules of social engagement are bound by reciprocal generosity that has only one direction, to give. It is not laden with “gift” or expectation of material substance. It is the act of giving, the generous disposition of offering, that underlies social interaction and individual action. The reciprocity is returned by rewards of favorable conditions, bounty, good health, and life. The act of giving and the actual reciprocation may not be in the same linear sequence. The altruistic act of giving never requires anticipation of return but in a continuous form, never ends. The function of giving, as it has been observed by people outside of Aboriginal cultures, appears to be a sequence of gifting. The translations of Aboriginal languages to English (or French, other) of the act of giving has slipped into the notional “gift” phenomena including the rewards of reciprocation. The act of giving is different than the act of taking without having first given. The actual reciprocation may be received as a gift although the direction it has been given from is incongruent or tangential to the direction of previous giving. Viewed in this way, the acts of generosity may be described as a spiral in continuous motion. It is also similar to the notion of ‘paying it forward’ as colloquially used

in contemporary times. Misunderstanding the contextual depth of *giving* in the Pacific Northwest coastal area has led to many interpretations of social interactions and individual behavior, particularly in regard to the feasting institutions.

Mauss tried to describe what he termed "...a kind of unequal distribution economy in [his] work on the gift. But that work deals with the religious and moral value of the transmitted objects, while what we are concerned with here is the whole set of gift systems, the whole set of potlatch systems" (Allen (Mauss) 2007: 102). A different perspective on 'gift' exchanges may help to unravel the gift-dilemma created in the perception of economic function.

The feast "gifting" in these complex Aboriginal societies is actually payment (Johnsen 2004) for security of rights, tenure and access. "In the first place, the goods are bestowed upon the assembled persons in their capacity as witnesses to the ceremony and the claims [declarations] advanced. ... therefore, it may be said to be a payment for services rendered" (Barnett 1938: 352). The Chief and hosting lineage may have acquired those very same items used as payments from others that were required to pay tribute to use specific areas or conduct specific activities. The composition of items used as feast 'payments' generally are products from resource harvesting and processing, surplus commodities of trade external to the events, and other items obtained specifically to demonstrate wealth (Seguin-Anderson 1986; Roth 2007). During the period of 'contact' most of these items were consistent with surplus production of natural resource use from a "prehistoric" continuum. An evolution of content has naturally occurred with the introduction of new material items however in tandem with continued practice of using products from natural resources. Another factor in the evolution of content is the persistently diminishing access to natural

resources and territorial areas to obtain the products required for feast activity. The surplus products demonstrate wealth but what that wealth is has been obscured by various interpretations.

The act of bestowing material chattels from one person to another has been interpreted with speculation since the first instance it was observed. These interpretations have also metamorphosed into some other or many other configurations such as depicting some type of economic order, comprising the economy, or leveraging future debt. The gesture within the act of bestowal is a projection of generosity in opposition of its antithesis acts of hostility. A fragile tension between generosity and hostility is ever present in the constant reconciling of formidable relationships. The success of exchanges determines the capability of these relationships to endure by conferring obligation in the recipient. What is being exchanged is obligation to specific relationships with the material object as a demonstration of symbolic significance. The obligation is reciprocated, as Malinowski (1937) demonstrates with the *kula* exchange. Malinowski (1937) was the first to observe these types of ‘gift’ exchanges, and their separation from the economic function of other transactions. The relationship of obligation transactions can be further demonstrated in the work of Malinowski (1937). The Trobriand Islanders refined the reciprocal obligation quite finitely between the directions of the opposite and exact article to complete the ‘gift’ exchange in order to predicate the subsequent trading relationship.

“The main principle underlying the regulations of actual exchange is that the Kula consists in the bestowing of a ceremonial gift, which has to be repaid by an equivalent counter-gift after a lapse of time, be it a few hours or even minutes, though sometimes as much as a year or more may elapse between payments” (Malinowski 1932: 95). A period of

time between the exchanges could be accommodated with interim items serving as placeholders until the transaction is concluded properly.

“On every island and in every village, a more or less limited number of men take part in the Kula that is to say, receive the goods, hold them for a short time, and then pass them on. Therefore every man who is in the Kula, periodically though not regularly, receives one or several *mwali* (arm-shells), or a *soulava* (necklace of red shell discs), and then has to hand it on to one of his partners, from whom he receives the opposite commodity in exchange. Thus no man ever keeps any of the articles for any length of time in his possession. Every movement of the Kula articles, every detail of the transactions is fixed and regulated by a set of traditional rules and conventions, and some acts of the Kula are accompanied by an elaborate magical ritual and public ceremonies. One transaction does not finish the Kula relationship, the rule being "once in the Kula, always in the Kula," and a partnership between two men is a permanent and lifelong affair” (Malinowski 1932: 81).

The act of exchange for the *mwali* to move from left to right and the *soulava* from right to left may actually produce a symbolic gesture of peace in the result that the arms are crossed. “The overseas partner is, on the other hand, a host, patron and ally in a land of danger and insecurity” (Malinowski 1932: 92). Violence and hostility were part of the Trobriand Islands history between territorial groups (Malinowski 1932). Many parallels can be drawn between the Trobriand Islanders and Pacific Northwest coast for social organization, territoriality, and commerce however the *kula* presents a cogent comparison for the nature of ‘gifting’ distinct from but related to other trade transactions. Although Malinowski (1932) was immersed in the cultural context of the group, he still managed to contrast his world against theirs: “Yet it must be remembered that what appears to us an extensive, complicated, and yet well ordered institution is the outcome of ever so many doings and pursuits, carried on by savages, who have no laws or aims or charters definitely laid down” (Malinowski 1932: 83). Contrary to this statement, Malinowski (1932) not only observed the laws but he also participated in social activity governed by law. Malinowski (1932) does note the authority of tribal law:

“The Kula is not a surreptitious and precarious form of exchange. It is, quite on the contrary, rooted in myth, backed by traditional law, and surrounded with magical rites. All its main transactions are public and ceremonial, and carried out according to definite rules. It is not done on the spur of the moment, but happens periodically, at dates settled in advance, and it is carried on along definite trade routes, which must lead to fixed trysting places” (Malinowski 1932: 85).

“We may speak of the sociological weight of tradition, that is of the degree to which the behaviour of a community is affected by the traditional commands of tribal law and customs” (Malinowski 1932: 115).

Obligations in the social activity and organization are described by Malinowski (1932). One of the key items he presented but not elaborated on details was the “system of apportionment of the harvest, of which the sociology is rather complex and would require a preliminary account of the Trobriand kinship system and kinship ideas, it may be said that about three quarters of a man’s crops go partly as tribute to the chief, partly as his due to his sister’s (or mother’s) husband and family” (Malinowski 1932: 61). Social obligations are critical to functions within society and may often have a symbolic gesture to punctuate the occurrence of interaction. The *kula* is a highly symbolic and deeply ritualized sphere of social interaction for the benefit of all the people involved to maintain peaceful relationships for the purposes of symbiotic trade.

The generosity of a ‘gift’ has significance in symbolic representation by the ‘gifter’ but also in the act of receiving. “Belcher also noticed that the Indians “receive presents – as a due, not as a gift; and consequently no return is made for civility” (as presented in de Laguna 1972: 179). de Laguna contends that Belcher was mistaken and contends “it is characteristic of gift-giving between the natives themselves, when such “gifts” are really part of a complex and established system of reciprocities which everyone can take for granted” (de Laguna 1972: 179). de Laguna was partially correct in recognizing a complex and established system but makes a common mistake with “reciprocities”, misplaces the location of the expression

of this system in “everyone”, and appears to describe a normative in “take for granted” instead of expressing the obligation of recipients. Belcher was not mistaken when he noticed the presentation of some object or objective to another person “as a due” because the recipient acknowledges some obligation by default of receipt. An important characteristic of these transactions in the Pacific Northwest is a protocol of etiquette required at a feast event, namely, it is untoward for a guest to hold out their hands to receive something unless it is clear something is being offered directly to them.

The purposes of “gift” or payment exchange occur in at least three modes: spontaneously, moderated through customary act, or coordinated with extensive formal orchestration. Spontaneous ‘gifting’ is consistent with kind acts of generosity, or the favorable disposition of amicable personality. Examples of ‘gift’ exchange moderated through customary acts were observed by early traders in the Pacific Northwest to demarcate trade relationships: “At times they would receive as presents items, such as beads and trinkets, that they would not accept in trade. Often when Indians accepted these baubles they were as an additional gift to facilitate trade and not as a part of the actual trading transaction” (Fisher 1992: 7).

“The journals show that a considerable amount of Indian ceremonial accompanied trading. One observer noted that it was a constant custom to begin and terminate commercial transactions with strangers with singing. Although traders often found such ceremonies irritating and time-consuming, they had to be patiently accepted before the exchange of goods began. However fixed European notions of the nature of trade might be, traders also had to accede to the custom of gift exchange with Indian leaders. This ritual was observed in spite of the feeling on the part of some captains that furs exchanged as presents were sure to prove the dearest” (Fisher 1992: 10).

The feasting payments fall under the mode of extensive formal orchestration. These items in general are disposable material goods for the purpose of public demonstration of that

wealth that is *not* given away. It is an inventory of goods replenished from the source of wealth. In addition, the items themselves do not obligate the recipient for direct reciprocal material exchange but rather represents the gesture of generosity that must be repaid. The host is demonstrating wealth that flows through the hands of lineage and that lineage's connection to ownership of territorial areas and their efficient use of it. A host can distribute all of the products derived from the use of natural resources that were cached specifically for the purpose of the feast knowing the inventory will be replenished through continued stewardship and use of the true wealth of the lands. The material goods are not the unit of measure for wealth but rather a demonstration of that wealth in territorial occupation and resource stewardship owned by the lineage. The success of the feast event itself may be gauged by the level of generosity in the volume of material goods but the real value of those goods is the connection of the event to the lineage (Jonaitis 1995). Observers have confused the level of generosity with value of material goods as a measure of wealth while missing the connected territorial ownership as the true wealth. The distribution of an inventory of material goods seemed incongruent within a newly emerging settler society's perception of accumulating material goods.

### **Homogenous features**

Each of the aboriginal groups in the Pacific Northwest has their own distinct style, customs and mannerisms of feasting activity. The similarities among these groups are the functions of the institution itself in the validation of social relationships and legitimating authority. The actual events of feasting generally occurs during the same time frame, winter, the time that the animal populations of high abundance have migrated elsewhere or are cloaked in the vestiges of northern winter conditions. These feasting events are rich in

ceremonial display and symbolic representation to recount history, authority, relationships, and prosperity. The act of storytelling and dancing breathes life into the ancestors so they may know the people have continued in their journey of providing for others and caring for the land. These stories belong to the lineage that contains people identified by their common ancestor.

Homogenous features of feasting systems are found in their purpose as a catalyst for social reproduction and perhaps more importantly as a demonstration of power, wealth, and authority. Other homogenous features may include the nature of celebration events, timing within winter seasons, food items served for consumption at the event, and payments to witnesses. The feast system is the axis upon which revolves the social reproduction of lineages with territorial ownership and resources stewardship responsibilities. The feast events are demonstrations of ecological-social institutions linkages.

The various cultural groups in the Pacific Northwest each have their unique etiquette and protocol for conducting feasts. These differences may be considered as heterogeneous features. For example, display of feast payments may be handled differently in the procession of the event. The Tsimshian profile includes highly public demonstrations of “give-aways” laid out in advance of the event for all to see during the business (Seguin-Anderson 1986). The feast sponsors of Kwakwaka’wakw may store these away until business has concluded, then retrieve them for public display prior to distributing by the host lineage (Jonaitis 1995).

Each of the coastal groups has their unique rules for conducting feasts events with similarities and differences evident from group to group. The groups located adjacent to coastal groups sometimes referred to as ‘up-river’ that also partake in feast activity may demonstrate differences from their coastal neighbors in sometimes subtle and sometimes

profound ways. One of the most evident features is the number of subgroups, such as tribes or house-groups within tribes are less in number than their coastal counterparts. The Tlingit, Tsimshian, Kwakwaka'wakw and Nuuchahnulth coastal nations each have at least 14 tribes but the way people are organized within tribes by other social units varies. The number of 'social units' has a direct bearing on the manner and conduct of feasting activities.

The elaborate cultural symbolism is a manifest of history, identification, and declaration of sole territorial ownership and occupation. The history may include such things as the origin of a lineage, significant events that affected residence, the fusion and fission of relationships, and the enduring connection to places in the landscape, among many other things. Identification in this sense is for the phenomena of what others can detect through symbolic expression that may or may not relate directly to identity so much as it relates to authority. Painted house fronts, 'totem' poles and house posts, talking sticks, painted and carved designs on numerous material objects (e.g., masks, head-dresses, hats, bowls, spoons, paddles, canoes, blankets, etc.) constitute a record that is displayed by owners and observed by others venturing into the area. The symbolism is a written language that requires a fluency of cultural immersion. An example of how the interpretation of meaning is misunderstood is captured by Halpin (1973):

“Tsimshian crests formed a classification system of the type defined by Lévi Strauss (1966) as totemic, that is, an ethno-logical construct used to classify social groups. The terms in a totemic classification, as in other taxonomic systems of non-literate peoples, are primarily drawn from nature, the distinctions between plant and animal species being used to represent differences between human groups” (Halpin 1973: 2).

The newcomers to the land are fascinated by these symbolic representations and material culture objects. Some anthropologists have attempted to decipher the meaning of symbolic representation from a two-dimensional perspective instead of the fluidity of the

symbolic cultural continuity. The connection of aboriginal people to place, their association of the individual to a corporate structure, combinations of corporate structures in the community, of the community to other communities, and to their prosperity both in their local areas and in regions is far more complex than the anthropological metaphors and interpretations relating to specific symbols as simply iconographic. Halpin (1973) makes inferences regarding three separate Smalgyax (Tsimshian language) speaking groups in search of similar iconographic meaning based on lists of features derived from ethnographies. Halpin (1973) interprets homogenous features as she deciphers the meaning of “crest” use among the Nisga’a, Tsimshian, and Gitksan in the relationship of art to these societies. That certain features appear in all three groups indicates connections that may have been intentional social linkages integral to territorial areas and resource use. These linkages indicate ‘partial system’ nesting within the ‘total system’ suggested for “the development of complex systems theory as applied to integrated social-ecological systems” (Folke et al 2007: 59). Typically these social linkages have been referred to as “overlaps” in territorial area use in the most recent past. Halpin (1973) states that,

“Potlatches were the ritual context in which crests were validated and displayed, with attendant distribution of wealth to guest-witnesses. Potlatches permitted, in effect, communal participation in and authorization of the construction of the metaphorical structure and ensured its fit or congruity with the social structure. The potlatch can thus be interpreted, following Leach (1965), as a ritual celebration of Tsimshian social organization” (Halpin 1973: 4).

This perspective is one that has permeated incorrect characterization for the agency of the feasting system. Although Halpin (1973) provides a useful characterization of crest images, and a dearth of review for ethnology, the result of her work omits key aspects of the context for maintaining social structure. Recognizing that payments were transacted instead of a “distribution of wealth,” and that recipients acknowledge obligations, should change the

way that feasts are considered. Feast events may be attended by many people but participatory roles are inconsistent with the commonly held view of “communal” that is actually a derivation of an imposed assimilation experiment. The agency of the feast system has significantly more responsibility to maintain the contiguity of the fit between ecological and social institutions than Halpin (1973) suggests as “construction of the metaphorical structure” and “its fit or congruity with the social structure.” The crest system Halpin (1973) studies may have metaphorical configurations however due to the weighted baggage of incorrect interpretation of the Pacific Northwest societies, also alluded to by Halpin (1973: 12), these configurations in their role of social contiguity is obscured. Halpin (1973) notes, “Rather than attempting to account for the changing power of the chief by reference to economic or other factors, I will discuss the way in which the transition is mirrored in ritual and in the metaphors, both material and non-material, with which the Tsimshian expressed the role and functions of the chief” (Halpin 1973: 52). The mirror reflection is vacuous without the appropriate characterization of the economy and the power of authority over territorial jurisdiction.

## **Conclusions**

The genesis of Pacific Northwest coast anthropology is located during a transition of philosophical thought regarding the study of man during the mid to late 1800s. This was also during a time of upheaval for the groups of human societies these early academics studied. It is nearly impossible to locate early articles written about Aboriginal people that were at that time not dealing with issues associated to colonization. This chapter has demonstrated the ideology prevailing at that colonial interface of precepts and concepts of Aboriginal people bearing the unsolicited notion of “primitive” and only in relation to the assumed European

superiority. The evolutionism paradigm of anthropology posited that all human ‘races’ evolved from the state of brown-skinned savagery, pass through barbarism and advance to the destined ‘superior’ civilized-state. Their questions that emerged nearly remain unanswered primarily because the academic exercise has proceeded decade after decade maintaining a notion that Aboriginal people are something different than an ‘industrial’ human (e.g., foragers, hunter-gatherers). Conferences are convened where academics argue salient points, publish results of ethnology and empirical surveys, yet the Aboriginal perspective remains silent after more than century. It may be true that anthropology can influence public policy and political will however this is not new, that is what has occurred since Aboriginal people and their lands had been “discovered” either by colonizing powers or anthropology. The Aboriginal stories were told and that meant something, more than the caricature portrayed by an academic pen because on the Pacific Northwest Coast, and likely elsewhere, telling the ‘true history’ is a declaration of authority. Comparing the ethnographies beside the historical documents of the early explorers and colonizing agents portrays that precepts and concepts of anthropology and ethnology at that time fed into the declarations of the colonizing agents, who thought Aboriginal people were not likely to survive. These declarations made their way into the formulation of statutory law. Other vectors of change, primarily missionaries, also employed to eradicate the ‘un-civilized’ behaviors of the Aboriginal people and make them civilized, contributed to the growth of ethnographic records.

The literature on the Pacific Northwest Coast anthropology and ethnology is extensive. Scholars in these disciplines present results of early investigations primarily focused on specific topics of interest however their perspective is portrayed with comments

seemingly directed to their peers in the development of fields of inquiry rather than the topic. A paradigm shift is apparent during the midpoint of the 20<sup>th</sup> century although the arguments manifested from contentious issues remain unresolved (Leacock and Lee 1989; Lee 1992). Contentious issues may have arisen from the earliest stages of the development of ethnology and anthropology. Early scholars were influenced by their perceptions generated from contemporaneous societal views, whether good or bad. What was considered knowledge during the 18<sup>th</sup> century was not too dissimilar from belief systems. The content of what was studied was based on the emerging evolution of philosophical thought on the development of knowledge in the realm of science. The manner of study was based on categorizations of characteristics that at that time were thought to portray differences from the European mindset of what constituted Aboriginal people. It appears the categorical terms are derived from pursuit of searching for universal characteristics, traits, or behaviors to unravel the perceived ascent of man through time, adapting to circumstances, adjusting to population growth, and evolving social customs. These derivations have produced contested terminology that further obscures the colonial relationships to Aboriginal people. Understanding the relationships of people to the land and resources, to their social institutions, and the mechanisms of their social reproduction seems to be far more intuitive to understanding the societies that have evolved in relation to their geographic place. Reliance on a theoretical paradigm that evolved to find common generalities to apply universally misses the opportunity to embrace the plurality of the variety of societies. The full characterization of independent social institutions, an objective only recently starting to emerge, may provide more thorough substance for comparison between societies, but the framework currently used has not provided the predictability necessary for theoretical

construction. At times the early Pacific Northwest ethnology studies were conducted in haste or with limited resources amenable only to limited categories of investigation. On the other hand, the volume of material is enormously beneficial to the refinement of ethnology and anthropology to mature as disciplines of science, as well as providing historical reference for Aboriginal people. More recently anthropological associations appear to be engaging an advocacy role for Aboriginal people possibly indicating a paradigm shift in the way Aboriginal societies are better understood. This shift would not have occurred without the authority of the Aboriginal voice narrating new perspectives.

The ethnographic records contain elements of social organization within social institutions but may have missed specific purposes related to territorial authority, resource management, and maintaining extensive commerce networks. The transmission of social organization is elaborated in systems of kinship in a spiral of continuity linking the past, present and future generations. Within these elaborate systems of social organization are linkages interwoven between groups in the form of marriages and trade alliances that reinforces the social cohesion creating vast networks.

The feast system is the mechanism to maintain the continuity of social reproduction and the linkages between resource users and their lands. The feast system authorizes the resource users as well as preserving the historic legacy of the lineage ownership of the territory and transmission of authority and rights to successive generations of people that fill lineage roles. Through birth and death people come and go passing from one cycle of life to another, but the lineage ownership of the territory remains inalienable. This ownership is title. The use of the territory may be exclusionary, proprietary, 'licensed' by tribute, or through a negotiated settlement of some element of peace. How the entirety of the territory is

defined depends on the cultural constructs within each of these societies. The nation level is determined by periphery of other groups that recognize territoriality of the constituent groups just as the tribal level is also determined by the periphery of other tribal groups and their relationships. Other structures within tribal groups, such as Tsimshian *walp* (or *waab*), Kwakwaka'wakw *numaym*, or Tlingit [*at.óow* (owned things) and *shagóon* (heritage or destiny)]; refine the resolution of ownership scale from entire watersheds to berry patch sections.

The ethical dimensions of Pacific Northwest Aboriginal social institutions embrace generosity as reciprocally mediated obligations such as evidenced in the feast payments for legal recitation of authority. Other obligations are demonstrated in the roles of opposites within social organization. The feast system as an agency of social organization facilitates the demonstration of these obligations. This chapter has explored better perspectives of social organization, social reproduction through the agency of the feast system, and clarified the relationship obligations conferred in the exchange of chattels. The remaining part of the story is to examine how the authority within these complex systems is derived from the economic incentives of natural resource use, including stewardship. The next chapter provides the remaining component to define the ecological-social institution linkages in the Aboriginal legacy of the Pacific Northwest by evaluating territorial partitioning and how social organization interacts across the sea and landscapes, including the location of trade networks. The control of these networks emerges in strategic locations of transportation corridors. Both the social organization and transportation corridors can be depicted as 'dendritic networks' that physically correspond to the topography of the landscape across dendritic watershed complexes.

## Chapter 4: Finding congruent spirals between social organization and ecology to demonstrate economy through extensive values of Grease

Wer will was Lebendig's erkennen und beschreiben, Sucht erst den Geist heraus zu treiben, Dann had er die Teile in seiner Hand, Fehlt leider nur das geistige Band<sup>5</sup> (Goethe as presented in Boas 1934: xvi).

### Introduction

The feast system facilitated the *authority* of control for goods and services that permeated the economy. Exclusive trading relationships were also validated through feast events that may have included other neighboring tribes and nations as well as intra-tribal groups (de Laguna 1991; Galois and Marsden 1995; Thornton 2008). The authority to conduct transactions in the commerce that contributed to the Aboriginal economy relied upon access to territorial areas, resource products surplus production, and continuity of socially accepted characterization of resource use and stewardship. The feast system provided the agency to demonstrate the success of these economic functions.

What this chapter seeks to demonstrate is the extent to which the social institutions and practices reiterated in the feasting complex had everything to do with territorial partitioning and jurisdiction to protect the inalienable wealth of lands and resources ownership. The first section will clarify how features of social organization can be diagrammed across the landscape providing an indication of the division of labor in these stratified societies. The directed labor and technology used to harvest eulachon exemplifies the intricacy of rules for resource production. The next section describes the rationale for trade and the extensive distances these exchanges occurred in both time and space.

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<sup>5</sup> Translation: Who wants to do what life's identify and describe, seeks only to drive out the Spirit, then the parts he had in his hand, missing only the spiritual bond.

Archaeology has provided important evidence in the longevity of trade with items far removed in distance from their origin over vast interlinking trade networks. The following section profiles the locations of key trade corridors known as “Grease Trails” used to transport a variety of surplus products as summarized in the section Aboriginal Commerce. The next section describes the volume of Grease trade and while non-aboriginal people may not have preference for its use, maritime traders and Fort Simpson acquired large volumes. The following section considers the value of currency and how these values have been observed by others against the evolving monetary inventions. A comparative price value of Grease over time is presented.

The next three sections profile the high value of Aboriginal ecological knowledge (AEK) systems in the context of providing its substance and some locations of it found in language terms, belief systems, and Aboriginal people. Beliefs systems are pervasive in the construct of rules that govern resource stewardship and use. Some examples of beliefs systems are presented. The best evidence for continued use of this ancient knowledge is presented in results of interviews held with eulachon resource users. The next section summarizes the knowledge of eulachon from the scientific perspective with some items contrasted to AEK. The last section describes how these two knowledge systems, science and AEK, differ in their ecological-social connectivity and how the Aboriginal legacy has linkages necessary to demonstrate fit between ecosystems and social institutions.

### **Territorial partitioning of lands and labor**

The social institutions in the Pacific Northwest function to maintain linkages to territorial authority and subsequently to resource management (Garfield 1939; Daly 2005; Marsden 2007; Roth 2007). The ethnographies of individual Aboriginal groups contain

elements of social reproduction necessary to characterize social institutions, their relationship to other groups, and criteria needed to explicate the economic flows of surplus production. The details and functions of these social institutions and their relationship to territorial jurisdiction may not have been recorded or in the alternative, misinterpreted by those interested in cultural expressions, or the standardized categories of inquiry.

“Several recent papers and monographs have dealt with the evolution of Northwest Coast society to its famous ethnographic form. Among these the major emphasis has been upon the development of the subsistence and economic systems of the coast (Borden 1975; Fladmark 1975). Such developments are not alone sufficient to explain the evolution of social ranking on the coast. The essential changes were social, and it is to these changes that we must now turn, for while archaeological work on the coast continues to emphasize subsistence and local differences in the resource base, questions about societal evolution should neither be postponed nor abandoned” (Ames 1981: 790).

The Pacific Northwest Coast social organization is not based on minimal use of resources for ‘subsistence’ (or ‘foraging,’ e.g., Marlowe 2005) but rather relationships of power to control advantages of trade and exchange. The success of commerce must include having resource products for trade with an advantage garnered from products with the highest value. Further, a group of people can exist in isolation and provide for daily food requirements amongst themselves likely with ‘trade-offs’ between group members to capitalize on efficiency depending on the consistent availability of resources. “It was long held that hunter-gatherers simply could not produce enough food to create the surpluses required to enable the development of social complexity. In a significant intellectual shift, it is now recognized that intensification of food production can lead to social complexity, regardless of economy” (Ames 2005: 68). The use of the term subsistence in anthropology appears to be confused with the use of the term “economy” often interchangeably. The challenge is for anthropology to come to terms with economy in a manner that resonates with

particular groups of Aboriginal people. The Pacific Northwest Coast groups do not require daily pursuit of food requirements since the natural resources of exceptionally high abundances are generally not available on a daily basis but rather during punctuated rhythms of cycles (i.e., anadromous and marine fish). The periodic acquisition of food must accommodate a daily sustenance need augmented by pursuit of local resources determined by their availability. The heterogeneous mosaic of resources availability accommodates trade in the acquisition of food products locally scarce in another area.

The Aboriginal regulation of trade is a critical force in the Pacific Northwest for generating prosperity, wealth, and prestige. Actions of exchange in an Aboriginal trade system have been treated as “barter” as a mechanism to substantiate the minimalist negativism against Aboriginal people throughout the contested colonial encounter. Trade constituted a major component of the Aboriginal economy, and in some cases exceeded activities such as hunting: “...the Chimsyans [Tsimshian], as a race, scarcely hunt at all. They do more in trading up the channels with other Indians” (Church Missionary Society 1858: 274).

The conceptualization of Aboriginal trade as a commercial market was not contemplated by the early colonial endeavor as separate from colonial pursuits. As explained in chapter two, the colonial powers wrestled with each other over their control of Aboriginal trade for their profit. Their control shifted from control of profits to control of products. As Aboriginal lands and trade was thrust into chaos, scholars emerged with differing conceptions of markets, commercial value, and regulation. Very few scholars have correctly characterized the control expressed by Aboriginal people. An exception is provided by Fisher (1992) who recognized the fur traders encountered an impenetrable market. The more

common version of Aboriginal trade is presented as some type of local family ‘cottage’ industry. For example, Weinstein (2000) states,

“...the Aboriginal model was not geared towards a full-fledged market economy, and it depended on a kinship-based customary legal system. There are still important lessons that can be taken from this model, however, including the scale of the management unit, the commitment to local resources, and the development of complex accountability institutions” (Weinstein 2000:399).

Weinstein indicates the “Aboriginal model” may be an alternative to ‘western traditions’ of a private property approach to resource management although does not expand the “kinship-based customary legal system” of the Northwest Coast complex as has been elaborated in chapter three. Aboriginal people were governed by their legal system that defined territorial access of natural resources and trade. Social reproduction is based on ‘kinship’ of successive generations however the positions of social lineage status and rank are relative to the customary system that is linked to the legal institutions. People come and go through regular life cycles while the positions remain agents of continuity to the legal and cultural complex. The Aboriginal legal system *does* regulate a full-fledged market economy. The operational aspects of the Aboriginal economy may be clarified by examining the basis of trade, the volume of resource products, the distance of product distribution and influence on value, and how knowledge was accumulated to support extensive trade networks. An important factor for understanding Aboriginal trade is demonstrated by the location of key trade corridors. One conceptualization is for the use of dendritic networks to depict the Pacific Northwest gateway communities in regional trade similar to Hirth (1978).

The Aboriginal territories contain highly productive resources often located in geographically distant areas and subject to natural variability. “This ecosystem, often characterized as “rich” or “abundant,” is actually spatially uneven and subject to variable

productivity, punctuated by intervals of both predictable and unpredictable resource shortfall” (Fitzhugh 2003: 68). Some may view the ubiquitous use of salmon as a common homogenous trait throughout the entirety of the northwest region however six different species of salmon (including steelhead *Oncorhynchus mykiss*) present heterogeneous use of the salmon resources, resource products, and timing of harvest activity based on their return migrations (Berringer 1982). Contrary to perceptions of homogenous presence of such things as salmon and other resources in the coastal region, it is more accurately characterized as a heterogeneous mosaic of natural resources occurrences.

The use of these diverse resources is governed by territorial ownership and stewardship layered over the mosaic of heterogeneous landscapes. The social organization as described in the previous chapter is linked with this mosaic landscape. An example of how social organization is matched to territorial areas is provided by Sterritt et al (1998: 188). Sterritt et al (1998) describe a map used by the Nisga’a Tribal Council of the upper portion of the Nass River that depicts the use of House-groups in specific watershed drainages. Notwithstanding the map was used to show spurious anomalies interfering with Gitksan and Gitanyow territory, it does provide an indication of how social organization is located within a landscape.

The harvest and stewardship of natural resources are connected by the obligations of the resource user to the territorial authority. Harvesting of resources is constrained by the determination of the titleholder who would demand the payment of tribute for permitted particular uses. Harvesters of resources complied with rules for use of appropriate technology, timing, amounts harvested and providing tribute payment for the opportunity

where warranted (Lillard (Collison) 1981; Cornwall and Planta 1888; Daly 2005). This is exemplified by eulachon fishing:

“For centuries the eulachon fishing on the tidal waters of the river has attracted the tribes from all quarters. From the interior, hundreds of miles distant by trail, the Indians thronged, carrying their effects on sleighs drawn by their dogs or by themselves (as they generally started early in the year while the snow was deep) in time to reach the river in time for the fish, which usually arrive about the middle of March. They brought with them also furs, the proceeds of their hunting expeditions, with which they pay the tribes resident in the river for the right to fish, and for the use of their nets and for shelter in their fishing lodges during the season” (Lillard (Collison) 1981: 38).

The mechanisms of social institutions are the facilitating engines that drive surplus production based on the conduct of appropriate ethical behavior to *give generously* to the ecological services. Taking care of the resources for their continual productivity is likely the most highly valued incentive for ensuring success of future harvests. These linkages of social systems to ecosystems are a significant pillar in the economic foundation of the Pacific Northwest region. The ecological-social institution linkages are found in relationships that form a type of diagram, similar to what Malinowski (1932) observed with the *kula*, along with his recognition of anthropology’s misconceptions:

“The general definition of the Kula will serve as a sort of plan or diagram in our further concrete and detailed descriptions. And this is the more necessary as the Kula is concerned with the exchange of wealth and utilities, and therefore it is an economic institution, and there is no other aspect of primitive life where our knowledge is more scanty and our understanding more superficial than in Economics. Hence misconception is rampant, and it is necessary to clear the ground when approaching any economic subject” (Malinowski 1932: 84).

Malinowski (1932) observed the motions and locations of the *kula* exchanges and its symbolic gesture to establish trading relationships. The social systems are linked by these formal trade relationships, and these form the conduit for trade product exchange and subsequently constitute a regulated market; without trade relations or regulation there is no

market. Hence, the “gift” is symbolically an act of contract for the trade relationship.

Malinowski (1932) demonstrates the contract for the relationship established by the *kula* and the trade conducted under its cover:

“The ceremonial exchange of the two articles is the main, the fundamental aspect of the Kula. But associated with it, and done under its cover, we find a great number of secondary activities and features. Thus, side by side with the ritual exchange of armshells and necklaces, the natives carry on ordinary trade, bartering from one island to another a great number of utilities, often unprocurable in the district to which they are imported, and indispensable there” (Malinowski 1932: 83).

The social dimensions of resource product use as described by scholars tend to describe the manner of harvest, the people doing certain activities and the quantified results of their labors. Very few scholars of Pacific Northwest coast studies have characterized the social interactions of the people involved in resource management. One of the few exceptions is Daly (2005) who describes the social structure of the Gitsxan/Witsuwit'en and their participatory roles in resource harvesting. Daly's observations are consistent with the paradigm of anthropology on the one hand, and constrained by the same paradigm on the other hand. These constraints include the descriptors that continue to marginalize Aboriginal people particularly in regard to resource use. For example, Daly (2005) asserts “...governments will have to stop treating them as creatures of the forest and regard them as *real* human societies” (Daly 2005: 236; original emphasis) although spends considerable time in describing “foraging” behavior in the first half of his book. The irony is that Aboriginal people are intimately connected with their forests but the attitudes of the colonial regime towards animals are entirely wrong for these landscapes, or Aboriginal people, to endure. Daly (2005) provides detailed actions of Aboriginal resource management and the purposes behind many of these actions to protect resource areas, increase productivity, and ensure continuity of successful resource use for the future. These activities require the actions

of people across the landscape. “The division of labour is essentially social” (Mauss 2007: 101). Understanding how the lineage groups provide the agency across a landscape could be displayed to facilitate improving the knowledge of how the social-ecological linkages work.

Hirth (1978) uses the concept of dendritic networks to describe ‘gateway community’ networks for regional trade relations in the Central Mexican Highlands and the emergence of stratified societies. “An increase in long distance trade occurs, however, with the appearance of incipient chiefdom societies, thus suggesting that trade is an important factor in the process of social stratification” (Hirth 1978: 35). In Fried’s (1967) review of ranking demography, he suggested,

“Fairly constant population increase coupled with limitations of subsistence technology and immediately exploitable land resources tend to produce, in turn, a pattern of physical expansion, frequently in the development of satellite communities. Actually, the term “satellite” is less than appropriate. . . . Where relations are maintained, the ranking system of the offshoot village usually articulates with that of the parent village, a situation reinforced by using kinship categories and terminology” (Fried 1967: 113).

Hirth’s (1978) dendritic network aligns with Fried’s satellite analogy in the context of lineage cleavage. Hirth (1978) considers social stratification based on his view of “incipient chiefdoms” as a result of expanding trade over longer distance, consistent with the evolution theory of anthropology. How these Pacific Northwest social institutions are connected to heterogeneous mosaic landscapes will be demonstrated by examining the critical purpose for protecting territories, maintaining and generating wealth.

The lineage systems of the Pacific Northwest could be viewed in the context of dendritic networks. The lineage systems function in social organization and its reproduction was explained in chapter three. The dendritic network concept applied to the Pacific

Northwest may provide an improved palette with which to describe how constituent parts of societies are interconnected through the dendritic network and its overlay on the landscape.

The example illustration in Figure 3 could depict a tribe with multiple lineage-groups and in this case three however tribes could have many more than three lineage groups; it could also depict one lineage-group with sibling relations, or a nation group with multiple tribes. The dendritic form provides a visual image of the operational relations within social organization but may not capture all relationships. For example, the “nodes” may have linkages such as arranged marriages to facilitate a variety of relationships including trade. The spiral configuration of social reproduction presented in chapter three could also demonstrate the way “nodes” of other elements of social organization and institutions are portrayed. Cognitive maps of territorial use areas are nurtured through social reproduction of the social organization (Roth 2008; Thornton 2008). The boxes are used in this adaptation to refer to the ‘containing’ structures found within these complex societies (de Laguna 1991; Roth 2008; Sequin-Anderson 1986; Thornton 2008). The dendritic form also has functional representation for the use of resource areas. The way that Hirth (1978) uses the diagram is the corridor (i.e., main box) is accessible to communities constituting the dendritic branches, or in Freid’s (1967) terminology, satellites. The term ‘dendritic’ is often used to depict a branching structure like a tree (Greek *dendron*). Some types of streams are classified as dendritic for the way their tributaries appear to branch throughout a watershed basin. A concept of stream order is based on the way stream tributaries join other tributaries and flow into increasingly larger systems. A number is assigned to each segment after they merge into one another at junctions flowing to a terminal river mouth. The river systems in the North-central coast are large systems with many tributaries. The way that salmon populations are

identified is based on their dedicated stream use and in the north-central coast, for example, there are more than 130 Chinook salmon streams (Riddell 2004:12). Eualchon occur in at least 14 of these streams (Hay and McCarter 2000) along with some other species of salmon but not the same in every tributary. The way these river systems are interconnected facilitate territorial use from the largest system to the smallest of tributaries where lineage prerogatives are clearly defined upon the landscape. The physical landscape is connected through the flow of water and social organization reflects this connection with lineage owned territories.

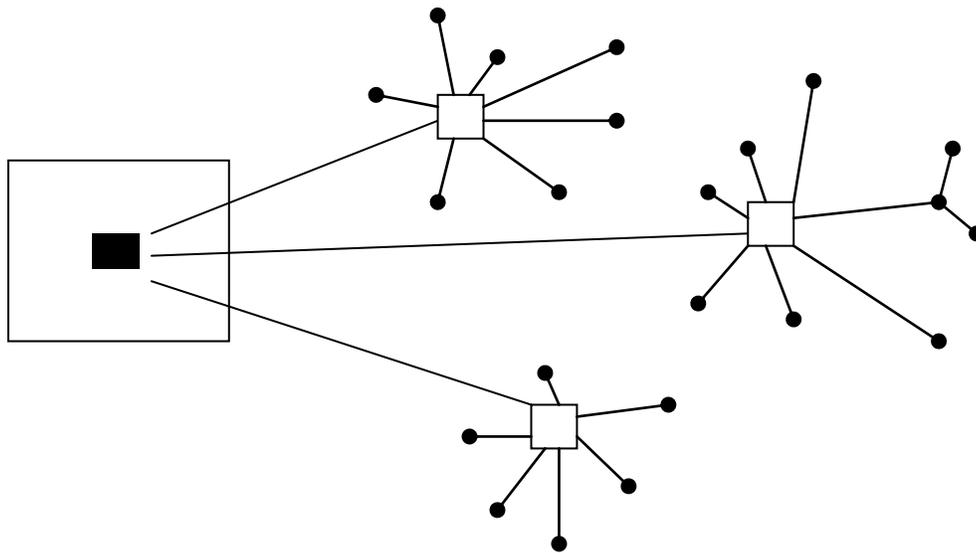


Figure 3. The dendritic network adapted from Hirth (1978) to depict social organization based on lineage structures. The dendritic network also corresponds to Pacific Northwest Coast regional trade corridors or gateway communities. The dendritic network corresponds to watersheds and their tributaries.

Hirth (1978) notes “In areas such as the Central Mexican highlands, the juxtaposition of a number of distinct ecological zones stimulated symbiosis that provided a strong economic basis for later state level society” (as presented in Hirth 1978: 35). The relationship of social organization of the Pacific Northwest coast can be mapped to the topography of the physical landscape at watershed levels. This provides a dynamic level of symbiosis of the

social systems to their landscape. It also provides a discrete characterization of describing ecological-social institution linkages.

The history of a lineage from its ancestral origin is the basis for the lineage identification and reinforced through feasts. A lineage with territorial jurisdiction to resource areas contains multiple generations that have common ancestral origin and may branch adding another dimension of rank stratification. Social stratification and rank status are pervasive through inherited lineage systems in the Pacific Northwest and these are authenticated during feasts. Most scholarly discussion on the subject of stratification attempts to distinguish differences in 'class' and often generalizes nobles, commoners, and slaves (Carlson 1983; Drucker 1955, 1965; Matson and Coupland 1995). In this region of the Pacific Northwest coast the complexity of these societies is directly associated to the function of the economy by the location of territorial ownership.

Site specific harvesting according to territorial ownership is typical throughout the Pacific Northwest (Berringer 1982). The type of fish harvesting in some place may have a variety of regulations for certain harvests at certain times but still retain site specificity for the territorial owners. In the north and central coast, sites for harvesting are controlled by the same tribes that control the entire watershed while site specific activity is conducted and governed by specific lineage authority. The eulachon fish harvesting sites on the Nass River attracted people from several regions but harvesting was controlled by specific rules of authority.

“The Haida, in whose islands no olachen runs occur, came to the Nass to trade with Tsimshian and with the Niska farther upstream, who also reaped a rich harvest of the fish. They brought huge canoes wrought from the finest red cedar, elaborately carved boxes, flaky white dried halibut, and their famous chewing tobacco to trade. Tlingit too came in numbers, as ready to fight as to trade, for they were usually on bad terms with Tsimshian, but wanted the grease. Even Sanyakwan Tlingit, in whose

Unuk River olachen ran, admitted that Nass grease was of superior flavor to their own. The Tlingit also brought a variety of trade goods, the most prized being the copper plaques that their northernmost divisions obtained from the Copper River natives. Later, the Coast Tsimshian took grease inland to trade with their Gitksan relatives for furs, dressed deer and moose skins, and porcupine-quill embroidery, which the Gitksan had obtained from the Carrier” (Drucker 1965: 117).

The distance traveled by canoe for the Haida and the Tlingit to the mouth of the Nass River is over 200km. The logistics for transporting trade products and providing comfort for travelers would be extensive, as well as preparing for potential hostilities. The trading events are the culmination of resource products production transported to the arterials of commerce from their home locations. Those regions are also governed by territorial lineage owned resource use and stewardship. Some similarities may be observed among the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida (and two other Grease producers Nuxalk and Kwakwaka’wakw) but differences in social structures, social reproduction, and cultural institutions (among other things) indicates that describing any one of them is not likely to result in effective application to the other.

“In the history of anthropological attempts to characterize and understand hunting and gathering societies, complex hunter-gathers are something of an anomaly. Most hunter-gathers in the past 100 years lived in ecologically marginal regions where agriculture potential was low” (Fitzhugh 2003: 4). The last 100 years is clearly the result of colonization that forced Aboriginal people to the margins of productive lands.

“The North Pacific Rim groups defy the stereotypic image of hunter-gatherers that emerged in the late 1960s (from studies of the more egalitarian hunter-gatherers just mentioned). Their lifestyles raise the following questions: How could societies of the North Pacific Rim develop such political and social complexity? How do their circumstances compare with the egalitarian societies of Africa, Australia, South America, and the Arctic? Why would people sacrifice the benefits of small-scale egalitarian life-styles, especially those who stood to lose the most autonomy in the process?” (Fitzhugh 2003: 5).

The 'egalitarian' societies Fitzhugh mentioned are !Kung, Ju/huasi, Mbuti, Hadza, Ache, and Inuit who most or all live in extremely harsh environments. The way 'egalitarian' is used in discourse may not resonate with the people the term has been applied, especially since their cosmogony has experienced violent interruptions. It seems inappropriate to use an 'egalitarian' concept for comparison to complex societies. Fitzhugh (2003) recognizes the North Pacific Rim as a region of considerable importance forming "a nearly continuous circuit of ethnographically documented populations characterized by high densities, relatively complex social structures, and elaborate trade-based political economies" (Fitzhugh 2003: 4). Fitzhugh (2003) suggests "It is perhaps no accident that the most socio-politically complex foraging societies frequently developed on highly productive coastal margins that were often associated with major near-shore upwelling systems" (as presented in Fitzhugh 2003: 5). The development of social stratification within unique complex societies is likely impossible to detect without considering functions that social stratification can accommodate. Arnold, J. (1995) discusses marginalization within Aboriginal societies through tyrannical 'aggrandizive' actions that, in her view, stimulated inequality leading to stratification. The behavior of individuals however is still based on a social function of some purpose to protect something or exclude others. The unique feature of the north-central coast region that differentiates it from others in the Northwest Coast is the production of Grease. Eulachon Grease is the pinnacle product in an extensive commerce economy extending from this region throughout the Pacific Northwest Coast. It was not the only item with commercial value. The heterogeneous landscape from home locations contains a vast suite of ecological services for which continual stewardship was intentional to provide surplus products for trade.

## Basis of trade

“The varying aspect of the three North-Wests and the Farthest West explains much in the story of the several regions. Their plant and animal life have fixed the conditions under which man has lived, and have determined his settlements and his institutions, as well as the nature of the trade which he has been able to carry on” (Morton 1973: 1).

The economic driver for these elaborate social systems of the Pacific Northwest was *surplus* of natural resource products created by human labor. Product surplus served as the universal currency to effect expansive commerce networks over great distances. A general list of natural resource products includes:

Eulachon Grease

Dried/smoked fish (anadromous, pelagic, groundfish and shellfish, etc.)

Dried/smoked meat (whale, dolphins, seals, sea lions, moose, elk, deer)

Dried fruits (berries, crab apples)

Dried hemlock bark cakes

Dried seaweed and kelp

Dried herbs and prepared barks for tea, medicines

Animal furs for clothing articles, blankets (including caribou, elk, marten, etc.)

Wood products

Tools (wood, stone, bone, antler, shell, metal)

Baskets and containers for collecting, storage

Weaving materials – cedar, spruce, maple, sedges, grasses, nettles, ferns, mosses/lichens (colorants), etc.

Weaving products –mats, nets/weirs/traps, rope, clothing, ceremonial objects

Blankets – woven wool with cedar (later imported wool fabric)

Personal objects: combs, clothing, jewelry, and ceremonial ornaments

Etc.

The region contains a high diversity of natural resources in high abundances but not all within the same locations. Several researchers have attempted to quantify pre-historic abundance levels of some resources based on a variety of mechanisms with incomplete conclusions. Some archaeology investigations in general refer to volume estimated from portions of sparse remains found in archeology sites (Arnold, 1996; Carlson, 1983, 1994; Fladmark, Ames, and Sutherland, 1990). Ethnographers, historians, scientists and others equate abundance of natural resources to pre-historic wealth directly however frame Aboriginal wealth in subsistence-use only terms. Ericson and Baugh (1994) characterize systematics of prehistoric regional exchange however note some geographic gaps remain for North America. The volume of pre-historic natural resource use and their distribution remains unknown largely as an artifact of inconsistent metrics between resource abundances and products derived from resources as well as from what is generally perceived to be a vacant historic record.

“Wealth and status were interrelated aspects of ethnographic Northwest Coast culture. Wealthy men were the leaders and wealth as well as high rank were required to lead. Wealth was ostentatiously displayed as a sign of rank and one of the mechanisms for this display was the potlatch; another was the art system with portrayed hereditary family prerogatives and rights to certain crest symbols. This system likely rose in prehistoric times in response to food surpluses and the need to concentrate the surplus in the hands of a leader so that it could be redistributed to a wider population. From there it became extended to incorporeal property, and both concentrating the surplus and giving it away became mutually reinforcing aspects of leadership. No one has ever dug up a prehistoric potlatch, nor is it conceivable that anyone would ever be able to do so, so it is not possible to determine whether the above process took place during the Middle period. However, there are some evidences for wealth and status differentiation at this time: some burials at Namu, Prince Rupert Harbour and Marpole have different amounts of grave goods which may be indicative of differences in rank, but in view of the perishable nature of many grave objects this interpretation is far from secure; artificial head flattening appears in

Marpole at this time and may be an indicator of high rank; labrets occur throughout the coast in the Middle Period and were probably high status items; wealth in the forms of small disc beads laboriously ground from stone or shell is found in the major centres at this time; beautifully flaked stone knives similar (but not as large) to those displayed as wealth objects by historic California Indians are found; and the presence of a sophisticated art style which in itself suggests full time artisans and commissioned art. Crests are suggested by various animal motifs carved on spoons and bowls of this period. There is no reason to believe that the concentration of wealth extended beyond the familial (lineage or extended family) level, or there would be evidence of the rise of a ruling class or either a religious or secular nature. No palaces and no temples appear in the archaeological record, only the remains of a hunting-fishing-gathering society adapting to a settled existence and abundant food supply” (Carlson, R. L. 1983: 28).

The evidence of wealth is an indication of social stratification. The confusion of the ‘potlatch theory’ of distribution loses some fundamental relationships of resource use. Carlson (1983) is providing evidence of an extensive trade system that has existed for thousands of years. It was actually access to resources that was provided for Aboriginal people to pursue their *own* harvest to create surplus. The resource users paid the owner for the privilege of use (e.g., Kwakwaka’wakw seals and goats hunters; Nuw Chah Nulth fish). People lived in large domicile structures and generally may have had at least one main meal in common daily (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 142). It is probable that people had both their own storage areas in the domicile structures to prepare separate meals and joined in a common main meal. “Formerly, they are but twice daily: the morning meal upon rising, *ka-ga ut-ha-ye*, “morning eating [qe’xe ?at xa’yi, “morning food”], and *ki-ne ut-ha-ye*, “evening eating [xa’na’?at xa’yi, “evening food”]. The latter was the substantial meal” (original brackets; approximate font-symbols; de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 140). It is unlikely people waited for the Chief to hand out food although there is a pervasive ethos throughout the Pacific Northwest coast Aboriginal societies of making sure nobody goes hungry. Besides, if surplus was redistributed in terms of the ‘potlatch theory’ that means that the other 10

months of the year there should have been more famine. Most of the food was eaten fresh (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 142). Payments to the chiefs could have been tribute as a license for use of territorial areas. The Chiefs use of these items may have been stock for external trade and accumulation of surplus. If it was a benevolent chief, there may have been compensation to the hunter after the subsequent external trade however not likely equivalent value due to the tribute factor still in effect for social organization. “No evidence is presented in support of the idea that food surpluses were given to disadvantaged groups” (Ruyle 1973: 605).

The timing of eulachon harvesting in the northern portion of the north-central coast occurred at the end of winter (after the ‘season’ of feasting) as the fish returned from the ocean to spawn in their natal streams. Eulachon is the first resource returning to the Skeena/Nass area in the rhythmic cycle of annual activity. One of the five names for eulachon in the Tsimshian *Smalgyax* language is “*halimootk*” or savior fish recognizing its role in saving souls from starvation after the north coast winter during lean years as a welcome to rejuvenation. The activity of harvesting and processing eulachon occurred in specific places by specific lineage and according to specific laws. The eulachon products are processed at the harvesting grounds in eulachon camps until the fish pass the harvesting area in their journey to spawning grounds. Immediately after the eulachon harvesting fishermen return to marine areas, some travel to halibut banks, and others to harvest herring and prepare for collecting herring spawn. Other fishing and hunting are engaged during the eulachon time. Fur trappers are also active during this time.

The timing of eulachon harvest in the southern portion of the north-central coast is later in the spring during the month of April and following the herring spawn harvest. Still later harvest of eulachon occurs in southeast Alaska areas in late spring-early summer. The

duration of processing Grease after harvest takes about two weeks. While the fish are allowed to bleed out in bins before final processing, fishing continues on the eulachon for preparing other products such as smoked and dried. The Grease is stored in a variety of containers for use, including consumption and inventory purposes. Other bird and mammal populations follow the eulachon as they migrate to their spawning rivers facilitating additional hunting and fishing opportunities.

The seaweed harvest follows the herring spawn harvest on the north coast and both harvests also produce products for consumption and inventory. Shortly after the seaweed is processed into dried forms the fishermen ready their gear for the returning salmon in the rivers. By this time some fishermen have encountered, caught and processed Chinook salmon (*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*), also known as spring salmon, in marine waters. The Chinook encounters are sporadic compared to the summer and fall salmon fishing for sockeye (*O. nerka*), pink (*O. gorbushca*), Chinook, and chum (*O. keta*). Salmon and eulachon occur in cycles based on their life history while the temporal availability of other fish is more constant. “Halibut, cod a dozen other species of fish were readily available throughout the year” (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 46).

Terrestrial hunting may overlap in some instances such as the timing of eulachon fishing but more generally commences after the fall salmon harvesting and berry picking season have concluded (Daly 2005). As hunters pursue their endeavors in the woods the villages are bustling with activity in preparation for the season of feasting during winter months. The pursuits are continual but not by all members in a community at all times. The entirety of a home territorial area is fixed, and travel within it may not be considered any differently than moving from one location in a building structure to another.

“The mode of life of the Oregon Indians, especially those of the interior, is so peculiar that it is difficult to determine how it should be characterized. They have no fixed habitations, and yet they are not, properly speaking, a wandering people. Nearly every month in the year they change their place of residence,—but the same month of every year finds them regularly in the same place” (Hale 1846: 200).

1. The territory of Oregon abounds, beyond example, in esculent roots, of various kinds, which, without cultivation, grow in sufficient quantities to support a considerable population. More than twenty species, most of them palatable, and obtainable, generally, with little labor, are found in different parts of this territory. At certain seasons, the natives subsist almost entirely upon them. As the different species come to maturity at different times, the people remove from one root-ground to another, according to the time when experience has taught them to look for a new crop."
2. Several kinds of fruits and berries are found, at certain seasons, in great abundance, and offer another cause for a temporary change of place.
3. At a particular period of the year, the salmon ascend the river to deposit their spawn, and then the Indians assemble in great numbers on the banks of the streams, for the purpose of taking them. Two months afterwards, the fish appear again, floating in an exhausted condition down the current, and though by no means so agreeable for food, are yet taken in large quantities, principally for winter stores. These two seasons of fishing are the occasion of two removals.
4. The tribes of the interior depend, in part, for their clothing, on the buffalo skins which they obtain, either by barter or by hunting. And for both these purposes it is necessary for them to visit the region near the foot of the Rocky Mountains, frequented by that animal. This, however, does not, except with some of the Shoshonees, give rise to a general removal of the tribe, but merely an expedition of the principal men, their families being left, in the mean time, encamped in some place of safety.

The tribes near the coast remove less frequently than those of the interior. Some of them spend the summer on the sea-shore, and the winter in a sheltered nook on the banks of an inland stream. Others do not change their place of residence at all; but at the approach of summer, they take down the heavy planks of which their winter habitations are made, bury them in the ground, where they will be out of the way of injury, and having put up a temporary dwelling of bark, brushwood, and matting, feel no apprehensions at leaving it for two or three weeks at a time, to fish, hunt, collect roots, and gather fruit” (Hale 1846: 200).

Other resource products other than food items are as vital to the pre-historic

northwest economy (Arctander, 1909; Boas, 1889; Carlson, 1983, 1994 and others). Large

cedar canoes with people, paddles and products, facilitated transportation through marine and river waterways. Cedar planks were hand-manufactured by people for use in construction of buildings for residences, processing natural resources, and ceremonial use. Clothing and containers were derived from animal products and cedar and other plant- products.

Exchange of other items that were not natural resource products *per se* were as integral to the supra-order of prestige status among the elites as is the success of feast events. These things require juxtapositioning of the ritual performance for transmission of social organization and the maintenance of power relations:

Slaves (Garfield, 1939; Hunt, 1918; Ruby and Brown, 1993)

Territory access, rights, privileges, names (Boas, 1889; Garfield, 1939; Roth, 2008)

Territory (Boas, 1889; Roth, 2008)

Trading alliance (Daly, 2005; Marsden, 2000)

Exclusivity privileges (Marsden, 2000)

The latter four items generally are transferred only at times concordant with maintaining the functionality of core hereditary territorial authority within lineage systems. The item recognized throughout the region as the highest symbolic expression of prestige is the “*hyetsk*” or “Copper” that distinguished the lineage systems similar to a “coat of arms” found in the English and Scottish cultures. Halpin (1973) describes crest symbols “represented iconographically on certain items of material culture” (Halpin 1973: 3) as similar to Scottish coat of arms.

After the introduction of the fur trade, other items were easily incorporated such as traps, muskets, ammunition, potatoes, flour (etc.; Colyer 1870). “They showed,” said La

Perouse, “to our great astonishment, great familiarity with trading and they made bargains as astutely as European merchants” (as presented in Gunther 1956 (Krause): 130). The explorers and fur traders were surprised to find the presence of iron and other metals upon their arrival. The Grease Trails trade network from the coast to the interior could easily have facilitated movement of these items from the eastern coast through trade network junctions.

“That this trade is not a new custom and that it moves along ancient trails and probably was only intensified by the interference of the Europeans can be seen from the reports of the fur traders who found the natives endowed with all the tricks of trading, and we can see it even today in the household possessions of the Tlingit, which are the products of many different places” (Gunther (Krause) 1956: 127).

Trade of eulachon products was well established along the coast and into the interior regions long before European traders began their pursuit of furs. The influx of fur traders into the established trading economy may have stimulated additional trade in eulachon products.

“The coast tribes have always been great traders, and they had a certain currency. Dentalia, skins, and slaves were the standards of value. For less valuable property marmot-skins sewed together served as currency. The Tsimshian used to exchange olachen oil and carvings of maintain-goat horn for canoes. The Chitlk’at sold their beautiful blankets, the Heiltsuk, canoes ; while the southern tribes furnished principally slaves” (Boas 1889: 36).

### **Aboriginal commerce**

“For it is a cardinal tenet of international and interregional and even local trade, that the maximum economic advantage, buying from outside those things that would cost more to produce at home, hiring the services of others to do jobs that one cannot do as well or as cheaply for oneself, and leasing to others resources that would yield more income than could be derived from developing them on one’s own” (Hawthorn 1966: 27).

Aboriginal people on the Pacific Northwest Coast were living in lifestyle patterns by their own social design and mode of prosperity into the early 1900s during a time of rapid colonial-settler expansion in other areas of the continent. “Most Aboriginal people continued to live within their own governments on their lands, as they had done for centuries, and paid

little regard to British assertions of sovereignty” (Burrows 2002: 85). The Aboriginal populations “were involved in regularized exchange networks and who lived much of the time in relatively large and permanent settlements” (Leacock 1982: 164; Garfield 1939). The harvest of resources and the manufacture of products are components of the Pacific Northwest Coast economy, significant components albeit however other components contribute to the effectiveness of the productive motion of goods and services across a very large region.

The pursuit of resource production is a series of rhythmic sequences consecutively orchestrated by specialized labor pools in dedicated areas of heterogeneous resource availability. What resources were produced depended on what was available locally.

“As the precipitation all along the coast is very great, its lower parts are covered with dense forests, which furnish wood for building houses and canoes. Among these, the pine, hemlock, and the red and yellow cedar are the most prominent; while the hard wood of the maple is used for implements of various kinds, principally for paddles. The woods abound with number kinds of berries, which are eagerly sought for by the Indians. They also make use of the kelp and seaweed with which the sea abounds.

In the woods the deer, the elk, the caribou, the black and the grizzly bears, the wolf, and numerous other animals, are found. The mountain goat lives on the high mountain ranges. The beaver, the otter, and the fur-seal furnish valuable skins. The Indians keep a great number of dogs in their villages, which look almost exactly like the coyote. In the northern villages they are much like the Eskimo dog.

Of prime importance to the natives is the abundance of fish and other animals living in the sea. Seals, sea-lions, and whales are found in considerable numbers, but the Indian depends almost entirely upon various species of salmon and the olachen (*Thaleichthys pacificus*, Gir.), which are caught in enormous quantities in the rivers. Various species of cod and halibut are caught throughout the year; herrings visit the coast early in spring; in short, there is such an abundance of animal life in the sea that the Indians live almost solely upon it. Besides fish, they gather several kinds of shellfish, sea-eggs, and cuttle-fish” (Boas 1889: 7).

A variety of shellfish and other invertebrates contributed to sustenance and trade along with salmon and eulachon. MacDonald and Inglis (1976) indicate an estimated 5 to 10 tons of fish was required annually by each ‘nuclear’ family. This amount seems inconsistent

with the volume of fish resources that were available (Berringer 1982) and diversity of fish resources. The volume of eulachon alone was observed by Collison (Lillard 1981), "Each household will thus have from five to ten tons of fish, and more" (Lillard (Collison) 1981: 41). The extant practice of returning fish bones to the water at the time of harvest and cleaning likely provides a reason for the paucity of fish bones in some archaeology sites. Several other animal remains were also found with over 40 different species of land and sea mammals, and more than 50 kinds birds. Collison (Lillard 1981) notes the use of sea gull feathers for beds and pillows (Lillard (Collison) 1981: 42).

The field of archaeology has provided substantial evidence of continuity for harvest of natural resources and cultural integrity. The locations of cultural groups are found to coincide with natural contours of the landscape. Hale (1846) noted "The boundaries are usually determined by the physical conformation of the country, and are well understood among the natives" (Hale 1846: 202, \*footnote). A map provided by Hale (1846) indicates location of linguistic groups according to "conformation" of the country, although scale appears unresolved and some landscape features are not present, nor are some Aboriginal groups:

"...constructed, with much care and labor, from information derived, in most cases, from the natives themselves, and confirmed by missionaries, hunters, officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and others who had had good opportunities for acquiring knowledge on this subject. The boundaries are usually determined by the physical conformation of the country, and are well understood among the natives, a circumstance which has enabled us to lay them down, for the most part, with minuteness and precision" (Hale (1846: 197).

These boundaries followed watershed contours at a variety of scales from large river watersheds such as the lower Skeena River for the Tsimshian, upper Skeena River for the Gitksan, to tributaries for individual tribes and lineages, and smaller tributaries for lineage

groups or *walp* (or *waab*). Areas that might be construed as “common areas” such as the lower courses of the Skeena, Columbia and Klamath (Berringer 1982: 193) were common only in certain areas and only to the controlling tribal nation group. Retribution for trespass in the lower Skeena was death.

The geographical background had a certain influence on Pacific Northwest Coast Aboriginal civilization however the heterogeneous landscape and diversity of resources availability did not define the cultural patterns of the area. “Some of the environmentally affected cultural elaborations are included in the patterns that make the areal culture as a whole distinctive” (Drucker, P. 1955: 4). The high abundance of natural resources has often been the focus of scholars as the source of wealth when in fact it was the territorial juxtaposition of natural resource locations *and* use that constitute wealth. Resource products generated from these locations, according to Aboriginal territorial law, culturally specific protocol, and effective application of ecological knowledge are demonstrations of that wealth. As Berringer (1982) observed the suite of opportunities available for salmon harvest was resolved through a variety of technological complexes with social access to labor (Berringer 1982: 190) and governed by site ownership (Berringer 1982: 191-197). The multiple varieties of salmon, and other fish, and the consecutive nature of different species timing, along with a large variety of other resources pursuits that occur throughout the year make it difficult to conceive leisure time as noted by Drucker (1955): “The particular fields of interest that were seized on were determined by historical and social factors of human culture, and not by environment at all. All the environment did was to make possible the development of economic techniques that permitted considerable leisure” (Drucker 1955: 5).

The *volume* of resource products facilitated trade of products from other areas that likely had more impact on available leisure time rather than just high abundances at specific locations:

“However, many other features of coastal culture that served to mark it off as different from most other Indian civilizations of North America can be traced only to historical factors, or to the selection of certain solutions to problems, posed by functional relationships of strictly cultural, not environmental, phenomena” (Drucker 1955: 6).

It may be appropriate for Drucker (1955) to suggest solutions to problems were devised from cultural phenomena however the diversity of environmental attributes may also have leveled possible problems to manageable solutions. Ames (1981) examines a framework based upon concepts of resilient and stable ecological systems for exploring social processes of change “to distinguish several kinds of systemic change, all of which the archaeologist might perceive as cultural change” (Ames 1981: 792). Both ecological and cultural phenomena are integrated within the Aboriginal systems in a manner that resulted in resiliency for their collective interdependence. The resiliency of these phenomena is expressed as a catalyst for intercourse between different regions. Long distance trade and exchange networks likely solidified with the development of ‘storage’ technology. Trade also could pose solutions to problems. Matson (1992) acknowledging salmon appears in very old deposits and noted “...it is at Crescent Beach that we have our first good evidence of the time at which salmon began to be stored in large numbers” (Matson 1992: 412). Matson (1992) suggests the absence of salmon head bones indicates the salmon were not likely processed at that site during that time (after St. Mungo phase, approximately 3,300 BP; Matson 1992: 410). It is possible the salmon at this site was the result of trade. Evidence of salmon (or flatfish; Croes and Hackenberger 1988) storage nearly coast wide occurs in about the middle

of Carlson's (1983) Middle Period (5,500-1,500 years ago) or about 3,500 to 3,000 BCE (Croes and Hackenberger 1988; Mitchell and Donald 1988; Moss 1990).

An Aboriginal trade network economy existed for thousands of years (Carlson, R. 1983) regulated by Aboriginal law systems facilitated through social institutions. These exchange networks involved products extracted from environments that appeared to the new comers as an endless supply of natural resources just waiting for their exploitation (BAAS 1885). Access to these resources by colonial enterprises was through Aboriginal conduits for nearly two centuries. Some of the eastern seaboard colonial entrepreneurs manifested control to these conduits such as through boards of trade (Stagg 1981). Pacific Northwest Aboriginal trade conduits determined the Hudson's Bay Company selection of sites to build their 22 forts west of the Rockies.

The continuity of these trade networks extends far beyond the contemplation of theoretical constructs. In fact, this is primarily why these theories are challenged because the time frames of success are measured in thousands of years, not simply annual cycles. The extent of the function of these networks also defies theoretical constructs. Each group had a decisive relationship with each of the neighboring groups, that is transposed to the benefit of the next neighboring group. The end destination of particular items was dependent upon the successful trajectory of the demand by intervening groups. If particular items were desired, such as Grease, in a location far removed from its origin, the delivery of Grease as a product to the furthest location was determined by the demand along its journey. If groups along the way of the Grease journey exhausted its supply then demand increased its value in its next iteration. This could explain how Grease became so extensive in its distribution from the source to the Columbia Plateau and beyond. The origin of the name for the present state of

Oregon is not clearly understood. The use of term is suggested to have derived from a traveling artist to the Pacific Northwest over land (U.S. Senate 1840: 77). It may be that the Cree provided him with their reference-name to the Big River (Columbia River). Eulachon products, Grease and others, were present in this basin both from northern trade (Grease) and from Columbia River or Cowlitz River resource production. The Cree trade language has no sound for “l” and would have pronounced ‘ooligan’ as ‘ourigan’ possibly referring from their view to the region which eulachon products had traversed (Czapp 2009). Tributaries to the Columbia River extend as far as the present states of Idaho and Montana. It may be possible that Cree and other groups traveled to the Columbia River Basin to participate in large annual events such as one held in the Kittitas Valley (Yakima River).

“...One of the oldest continuously occupied regions of the New World” (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 12) is found on the Pacific Northwest Coast. MacDonald and Inglis (1976) describe the process of reconstructing an archaeological excavation site in the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. The Boardwalk site (GbTo 31) was chosen as the model from the nearly 200 sites found along 2072 km<sup>2</sup> section of the coastline. The assemblage within the site indicates 5,000 years of human occupation and abandoned prior to contact with Europeans in the 1780’s. None of the structural features, house posts, poles or other was found at this site. The artifacts found indicate industrious use of the marine environment.

“The gallery has the same quiet, cathedral-like quality that the deep forest gloom gives to the actual site” (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 25). MacDonald and Inglis (1976) found similarities of skeletal remains to other coastal people further south suggesting frequent contacts and marriage. The archaeological record confirms Tsimshian occupation continuously for at least 5,000 years.

Several scholars have attempted to sort through archaeological data to explore development of social organization with particular emphasis on locating in time a point of evolution from simplistic to complex relationships. R. Carlson (1983) considered Kroeber's (1939) ethnographic model needed revising after archaeological investigation of the 1970s. R. Carlson (1994) describes three cultural areas (Northwest Coast, Columbia-Fraser Plateau, and Western Sub-Arctic) in more detail based on fingerprint analysis of obsidian artifacts found in several sites and obsidian-source origins from remote locations. R. Carlson (1979) explored the early period of the central coast greater than 5,000 years BP through analysis of stone artifacts and found evidence of trade with the appearance of obsidian from four sources (Mt. Edziza, Central coast, Obsidian Creek, and McKenzie Pass; Figure 4) with the oldest sample dating to 7,800 BP.

R. Carlson (1983) suggests new discoveries can lay to rest some of the older ideas of the events of that unknown prehistoric period considered to be about 12,000 years prior to contact and describes Early (12,000-5,500 years ago), Middle (5,500-1,500 years ago), and Late (1,500 years ago to contact) periods with more emphasis on Coast Salish areas (Carlson, R. L. 1983: 13-32). R. Carlson (1983) evaluates the distance of trade distribution through the analysis of obsidian found in sites compared to their source. It provides evidence of the magnitude of extent and direction of trade distributed items. The magnitude of trade distribution is illustrated with early occurrence of obsidian trade.

“Obsidian is a naturally occurring volcanic glass highly valued for its cutting qualities. It only occurs naturally in a limited number of locations in the Pacific Northwest. Peoples remote from obsidian sources had to receive it by trade or trips to the quarries. The widespread distributions of some types indicates trade as the most probable distributive mechanism. There are four main source areas for obsidian in the Pacific Northwest, and many more flows within these source areas: Mout Edziza near the Stikine in northwestern British Columbia; the Rainbow and Ilgachuz Mountains including Anahim Peak high in the coast range near the divide between

the Fraser and Bella Coola drainages, a source near the northeastern end of Vancouver Island or the Adjacent mainland whose exact location is unknown, but may be the Tsable River; and a great many sources in interior Oregon east of the Cascades. Obsidian from each source has a slightly different chemical composition called a “fingerprint”. Obsidian artifacts found in archaeological sites can be fingerprinted using a technique called X-ray fluorescence, and the resulting fingerprint matched with the fingerprints of obsidian quarries. The map in Figure 1:4 illustrates the widespread trade in obsidian in the period 4000 to 6000 years ago, the time of transition between the Early and Middle Period. Obsidian from eastern Oregon reached not only Puget Sound, the Gulf Islands, and the Fraser delta, but is found as far north as Namu on the central coast of British Columbia. Obsidian from Anahim Peak reached the Fraser to the east, and the coast to the west. Obsidian from Mt. Edziza went as far north as the headwaters of the Yukon, west to Ground Hog Bay in Alaska, and south to Burke Channel in British Columbia. If we had more archaeological knowledge of sites of this time period, the obsidian trade would, I am sure, prove to be even more extensive. The available evidence does demonstrate trade over wide areas and with trade undoubtedly went other ideas” (Carlson, R. L. 1983: 22).

Ames (1981) suggests “there were no clearly marked central places as there sometimes are among chiefdoms” (Ames 1981: 790). The Hudson’s Bay Company observed central places of commerce and located 22 forts based on these locations. Trade was extensive throughout the entire Pacific Northwest Coast for thousands of years regulated by Aboriginal law through social institutions prior to contact with Russians, Europeans, or their North American descendants. The location of Aboriginal groups along the coast indicates powerful presence was strategically coincident with regional corridors.

“While intercourse all along the coast is greatly facilitated by its character, it is almost impossible to penetrate into the interior, the high peaks of the coast ranges rising abruptly from the sea. There are only a few passes by means of which intercourse is possible. The most important of these are on the Skeena River, and on Salmon and Bella Coola Rivers of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm” (Boas 1889: 7).

The northern Tlingit are located on the Chilkat and Stikine Rivers that traversed the Coast Mountains. The Tsimshian are located on the Nass and Skeena Rivers with the latter river coursing through the mountains from the interior. The Nuxalk are located on Bella Coola River that provides communication to the interior plateau. Kwakwaka’wakw groups

are located along the northern portion of Vancouver Island and corresponding mainland extending north and south.

“The Lekwiltok deserve special mention as one of the most warlike groups of the entire coast. Their original territory dominated Yucluta Rapids and Seymour Narrows, [marine] passes between Vancouver Island and the mainland. They exacted tribute or attacked anyone who traveled these roads [waterways], whether the party was a peaceful one going on a trading expedition or to a potlatch, or whether it was a Haida war party bent on slave raiding in Puget Sound” (Drucker 1955: 10).

Each of these areas, the Chilkat/Stikine (Tlingit), Skeena/Nass (Tsimshian), Bella Coola (Nuxalk), and Johnstone Strait (Lekwiltok, Kwakwaka'wakw; Boas 1887: map) were purposively controlled for purposes of trade. These areas are also located proximal to production of eulachon Grease. Other areas of the Northwest coast of significance to the region that controlled trade corridors include the Columbia River by the *Chinook* groups (Hale 1890). These are the gateway corridors to the interior regions and there has always been communication among these gateways, whether peaceful or hostile, because the goods that permeated these networks did more than provide a minimal existence.

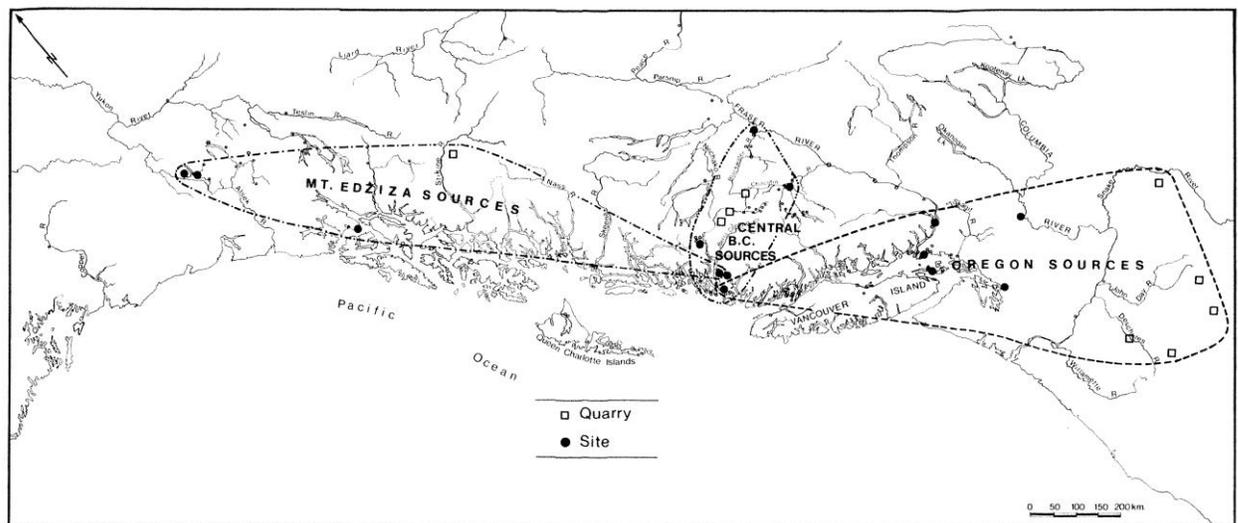


Fig. 1-4. The Obsidian Trade 4000-6000 years ago at the time of transition between the Early and Middle Periods.

Figure 4. Map taken from R. L. Carlson (1983: Figure 1.4) that shows the extent of obsidian artifacts found from archaeological sites far removed from their origin source locations dated from 4,000 to 6,000 years ago.

“Although trade, rather clearly indicated by obsidian distributions and probably also present in other scarce commodities such as eulachon oil, was serving to level cultural differences and keep development apace from region to region, some differences are apparent. Some of these differences are rooted in divergent culture history of the various regions, and others in the variant ecology” (Carlson, R. L. 1983: 28).

The occurrence of Grease would have been rare in areas it was not made, such as in the Salish region. Carlson (1983) is indicating an element of evolution of cultural complexes by interaction among various trade groups that might have led to diffusion of attributes that contribute to the Pacific Northwest complex as an area wide phenomenon. It makes more sense to think about the progression of cultural group specificity becoming intensified with tendencies for adoption of elements as diffused from group to group. The variant ecology may have contributed more to differences between groups but because of the variance in ecological services some groups had access to more diversified natural resources products. Some of these, such as eulachon Grease, would be rare in areas it was not produced but available through trade.

Archaeology investigations provide unequivocal proof of the longevity of these cultural practices. The field of archaeology has experienced some tumultuous apprehensions from ethnographic groups in areas of investigation primarily because of the nature of disturbing past spirits or sacred sites. Although this teleological tendency continues to pervade such discourse it has been compensated to some degree by the evidence investigations have provided for the continuity of cultural practices. Aboriginal people have advocated for the continuity of cultural practices, natural resource use, and territorial occupation since contact. Archaeological investigations have demonstrated the validity of these declarations.

“Between 3000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. ... It is worth noting, however, that the key features of North coast culture in other terms are clearly evident during this period. The economic pattern is established for the exploitation of fish runs in the rivers, and the extensive use of intertidal resources, along with land and sea mammal hunting. Although population density is not as large as in later periods, the settlement pattern is well established and most of the same sites continue to be occupied until the contact period in the Prince Rupert Harbour” (MacDonald, G. 1983: 101).

The longevity of these practices has far greater implications than verification of consistent use although its importance should not be diminished. The existence of the continuity of cultural practices and use of natural resources over thousands of years indicates persistence of successful management of specific use. By comparison, the imposed regime has nearly exhausted many of the same natural resources in a matter of a couple of hundred years. The imposed regime continues to ignore the evidence because it conflicts with ‘open access’ or ‘commons’ use. Aboriginal people are forced to demonstrate specific practices and use item by item as their ancient rights are marginalized and ignored. The longevity of continual practices and natural resource use, whether these are fully comprehended from the Aboriginal domain or not, yet, merges with the present:

“The culture of the Northwest Coast retained up into the period of European contact the subsistence base and associated classes of implements which are known earliest in the late Paleolithic and Mesolithic cultures of the old World. Fishing, supplemented by shellfish gathering and by sea and land mammal hunting, became the subsistence pattern which persisted long after food production through plant and animal domestication had overtaken major parts of both the Old and New World. ... The late period merges almost imperceptibly with the ethnohistoric cultures. ... Cultural continuity throughout the Late Period is indicated for the Central and Northern Coasts, and probably for the Salish region” (Carlson, R. L. 1983: 28).

Archaeology is constrained to use ‘subsistence’ terminology because the volume of faunal remains is difficult to extrapolate into volume of natural resource use. Archaeologists are also constrained by that nagging question of population numbers or population growth in the prehistoric past (Nash 1983: 18). Croes and Hackenberger (1988) used the Hoko River

site to model population growth based on economic changes. Their use of a generalized DYNAMO Flow Chart for relationships between human populations and resource use does not appear to include trade as a decision mechanism for procurement. Croes and Hackenberger (1988) recognize the mechanisms for resource management: “Thus, differential access to resources arose as the specific consequence of the need to manage resources, not people. Differential access to resources and extended-family maintenance of resource ownership and management resulted in the differential accumulation of wealth and social ranking” (Croes and Hackenberger 1988: 77). The simultaneous change coast-wide in economic transitions are nearly all equated with food storage occurring during the St. Mungo and Locarno Beach phases. Population growth periods could be better substantiated with food consumption levels higher than subsistence base. “We contend that the major assemblage changes observed archaeologically along the southern Northwest Coast are most probably linked to shifts in subsistence adaptation” (Croes and Hackenberger 1988: 79). It may be possible that *sustenance* was improved with the ability to trade items available in different locations as a result of food storage technology. Croes and Hackenberger (1988) acknowledge their “computer-based economic decision making modeling provides a tool to simulate and better explore factors contributing to cultural evolution along the Northwest Coast” (Croes and Hackenberger 1988: 79). The use of other knowledge, for example as suggested by Nash (1983:5) “such as the ecological paradigm” may draw together a tighter fit for sustainable use of natural resources by examining shifts in extractive harvest. These shifts in use are not likely demarcated by abrupt change but graded according to abundance fluctuations and influenced by environmental events. The emphasis on salmon use found in the Marpole period (1400-2400 BP: Matson 1992) may be the peak of trade distribution.

Salmon occurrence and abundance throughout the coast could have provided the most reliable item of trade as well as secure food source. The continuity of marine resource use, and the phenomenal level of harvesting was observed by early visitors:

“As the salmon harvest is of such importance to the Aborigines, it may be worth while to consider by what means, it is reaped. In the bays and harbours they use a net about forty feet long and eight feet wide, with large meshes. The upper edge is buoyed by pieces of dry cedar wood, and the next [net] is kept tight by means of small pebbles, slung at distances of four feet along the lower margin. This nest is stretched across the mouth of a small bay, or inlet, and the Indians sit watching it in their canoes at a short distance. ... Immense numbers of spring and autumn fish are caught in this way, before they ascend the rivers” (sic; McDonnell Dawson 1881: 85).

The entirety of McDonnell Dawson (1881) Chapter XIII is devoted to Aboriginal fishing techniques including spearing, weirs and basket traps; his following Chapter XIV covers the pursuit of groundfish, and Chapter XV, herring.

MacDonald and Inglis (1976) note the typical archaeological sequence is “...a series of developing technological traditions with an accumulative effect through time. New elements are appended to the basic pattern, but they do not significantly alter it” (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 73). Technological advances undoubtedly increased efficiency in processing products and volume. These technological advances would have to have permeated all areas of resource use to provide substantive benefits for an increase in human populations throughout the region. Resource products are generated from areas where they are prolific, and then exchanged for resource products from other areas.

Resource products were, and continue to be, a direct function of human labor available to steward, harvest and process the resources. The emphasis for effective resource husbandry was to derive surplus production of resource products that may have had an ancillary effect of increasing species population success leading to higher abundances. The eulachon resources may have the highest significance for its value of the production of

Grease (oil rendered from the fish). In this region prior to contact most dried foods were preserved with Grease (de Laguna 1991: 148). "Salmon spawn, berries, seaweed, tree bark, and meat were all preserved in or eaten with grease" (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991: 148). Collison (Lillard 1981) notes, "The herring spawn and seaweed when boiled are mixed with a portion; and even the berries, crab apples, and cranberries are mixed freely with the grease when cooked and stored away for winter use" (Lillard (Collison) 1981: 39). Other technology has evolved for preservation of many food items although some people may continue to use Grease for some fish drying for taste preference. Presently, Grease is still used as condiment, medicine, and feast payment when it is available. "The Tsimshian carried on a lucrative trade in eulachon grease with their neighbours, the Haida and Tlingit. This activity survives on the Nass River to this day" (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 46).

### **Grease trails**

The larger river systems, Chilkoot, Stikine, Skeena, Bella Coola, Fraser, and Columbia, were staging areas for control of Pacific Northwest Aboriginal trade networks into the interior and along the coast. These large river systems cross the mountain ranges providing a corridor conduit.

"Dr. Dawson informs me, as the result of his own personal observations, that trade between the coast and interior tribes of British Columbia was formerly chiefly carried on along the following routes : - Fraser River Valley ; Bella Coola Valley, from head of Bentinck Arm ; Skeena River ; Sticking River ; and Chilkoot Pass, from the head of Lynn Canal" (sic; Wilson, Sir D. 1889: 82).

The extent of the commerce network facilitated acquisition of products that may have been scarce locally due to natural variability. "A particular industry can only be situated in a particular location, given a particular technology: thence arise exchanges and prerogatives" (Allen (Mauss) 2007: 100). Trading relations extended territoriality beyond tribal boundaries

merging areas into regional associations throughout the Pacific Northwest. The transporting of surplus processed goods along these trails and adjacent waterways that extended great distances facilitated an extensive distribution system. The four main north central coast arterials of the Chilkat/Stikine, Skeena, Bella Coola Rivers and Johnstone Strait are located proximal to Grease production areas by the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Nuxalk and Kwakwaka'wakw respectively. These are gateway communities (Hirth 1978).

“Study finally the links between markets and meeting places, roads and transportation routes. All of this can be observed quantitatively: the number of things produced in such and such a place, by such and such people. Transport facilities, existence of a waterway, for example), and transport capacity, using porters, or beasts of burden) determine the commercial value of a country" (punctuation *sic*; Allen (Mauss) 2007: 100).

Travel prior to contact was mostly by canoe along the waterways and by foot on extensive trail systems. A physical network of trails cross-crossed the coast mountain ranges into the interior that are known as the “Grease Trails” (Birchwater 1993; Collison 1941; Daly 2005; Drake and Wilson 1991; Kopas 1980; MacDonald, G. 1984; Moody 2008; Swan 1880). The Stikine River corridor is mentioned in one record as the “Great Trails” (Wilson 1889: 83) but this could be a corruption of Grease Trails. These trails occur on the river systems that course through mountain valleys opening to the interior plateaus, Chilkat, Stikine, Skeena, and Bella Coola. The Tlákw.aan (Klukwan) Tlingit controlled the Chilkat River corridor known as the Dalton Trail to the Yukon for the gold rush.

Grease was traded from the north-central coast to the interior as far south as the Columbia River Basin (MacDonald 1984). Grease trade is described along a portion of the Grease Trails used by the Ulkatcho and Nuxalk. The Ulkatcho live on the Chilcotin Plateau and used the Grease Trails for travel to areas of resource harvest and for trade (Birchwater 1993).

“They [Coast Tsimshian] were further blessed with unimpeded access to the fur-rich interior via lengthy navigable rivers and “grease trails” through the river canyons and mountain passes. These factors combined to permit the Coast Tsimshian to administer the largest and most important regional trade nexus” (Grummet 1975: 295).

The first cross-continental land journey by European Sir Alexander MacKenzie culminated across a Grease Trail in 1793 terminating in Bella Coola (Birchwater 1993; Drucker 1936). In 1879, the Tlingit entered an agreement with the U.S. to allow other people to use the mountain pass. These historic arterials provided the conduit for transporting and distributing goods of commerce with many becoming paved modern highways (Drake and Wilson 1991) to serve the same purpose. “Roads in this province usually originate in trails, these in the process of evolution incident to settlement and development becoming rural thoroughfares and ultimately trunk highways” (as presented in Gosnell 1911: 297).

### **Volume of Grease**

The ethnographies and historic records often refer to “box” without reference to volume. A common size box holds “about 25 gallons to the box” (as presented in Hinrichsen 1998: 5). A smaller box is measured 14” x 14” x 24” with a volume of five gallons. Another storage medium is the hollow bulb (pneumatocyst) of bull kelp *Nereocystis luetkeana*. This seaweed can grow up to 100 feet in length in the marine environment often referred to as a ‘kelp forest’ with a dense profusion of long blades wafting through the tidal currents. Bulbs were dried over a period of a few days, periodically turning for even drying over a fire, and then used as containers for Grease (Stewart 1977: 154), and other liquids. The blades from these bulbs were likely consumed (Garza 2005), or used as an insertion between layers of dried food preservation. The volume of bulbs is not known and would correspond to the size of the seaweed. “The [bull-kelp] stipes, though narrow, can be filled for a considerable length and can hold several litres of liquid” (Turner 2005: 188). Gibson (1992) refers to kelp as

possibly equivalent to a 'scabbard' (or sword sheath). "Kelp bottles of oil were coiled up into a box or hung on the wall for storage" (Stewart 1977: 154). The Tlingit stored herring oil (yes, herring and other fish too; Tlingits also tried out seal oil) in a box of "...about one foot square and eighteen inches high, or in seal bladders" (de Lagnua (Emmons) 1991: 148).

The boxes are known as bentwood boxes crafted from a single cedar plank and kerfed at three intervals, then steamed-bent with a bottom fastened with pegs and a top carved separately to fit as a lid. A gallon of water, less dense than Grease, weighs about 8.4 pounds. If water is used as a proxy for illustration purposes then 25 gallons would be about 210 pounds. Another amount found in the ethnographies is 14 gallons that might approximate about 117 pounds. These volumes may likely have fluctuated with the volume of eulachon harvested relative to abundance of return runs. Varied prices were likely dependent on the size of the box, or other storage device, and origin location.

The volume of eulachon products had to satisfy local consumption need for the duration of the year before the next cohort of eulachon returned to spawn. Local consumption included its use as a condiment on nearly every food item, as a hygienic medium (Simpson as in Gibson 1992: 232), as medicine (Kuhnlein et al 1982), and as a preservative for other food products (de Laguna 1991). Swan (1880) reported that a ton of fish makes 24-30 gallons of Grease. The Columbia River eulachon may be smaller than the northern populations (Swan 1880). Each canoe haul yields 2 tons making 48-60 gallons Grease for each ebb flow-tide-unit of effort.

The Hudson's Bay Company obtained Grease in phenomenal quantities. "In the early 1840s the Tsimshian brought more than 30,000 gallons of oolachen oil to Fort Simpson *annually*" (emphasis added; Gibson 1992: 233). It was estimated that the fishery catch at that

time was about 1200 tons in the Nass River. Other fur trading merchants also obtained and traded eulachon Grease. Merchant vessels traded Grease between each other after obtaining it from Aboriginal sources. The only source for Grease is from Aboriginal groups. The vessel Hamilton purchased quantities in one unit and then exchanged the product in smaller units to other vessels (Table 1).

Table 1. Volume of Grease or “shrowtow” (Haida *satáw*) obtained and traded by merchant vessels (Source: Gibson 1992: 231-232).

<b>Date</b>	<b>Vessel Out</b>	<b>Vessel In</b>	<b>Volume</b>
24 July 1820	Hamilton	Volunteer	1,266 kelp
4 May 1821		Hamilton	60 boxes “shrowtow”
6 May 1821		Hamilton	60 boxes “shrowtow”
	Hamilton	Ann	1,290 “kelp” (container of oil of unknown capacity, possibly a scabbard)
4 August 1821	Hamilton	Arab	800 kelp
4 August 1821	Hamilton	Pedler	1,000 kelp
20 August 1821	Hamilton	Mentor	600 kelp
	Hamilton	Lasear	3,300 kelp
24 September 1821	Hamilton	Sultan	1,648 kelp
25 September 1821	Hamilton	Sultan	1,361 kelp
13 June 1826		Tally Ho	60 boxes at Nass

These items of trade have typically generated less interest than luxurious furs from accounts of the maritime fur trade period. The Aboriginal familiarity with items for trade or the new availability of these items likely added a favorable advantage to the trading relationship. An advantage not missed by the maritime traders who managed to supply their cargo holds with products of Aboriginal manufacture (Appendix 1). This defies the perception that Aboriginal traders were eager only for items of European manufacture. It is clear that maritime traders had learned the items of value to the Aboriginal traders. These were items known throughout the regional trade system prior to the arrival of maritime trading or exploring vessels.

## Currency value

“Economic value is a matter which one should not try to understand by starting from the philosophy of values. At the most, we can speak of a hierarchy of economic values, but there is no place for speculation on value judgments” (Allen (Mauss) 2007: 98).

The identification of a single currency has complicated an understanding of the Pacific Northwest trade system and economy. Scholars have mistaken cultural symbols for currency on several accounts. “The Kwakiutl of America have a currency consisting of copper plates that are exchanged in the course of large-scale ceremonies they call ‘potlatches’. The value of a particular shield depends on the number of potlatches in which it has already appeared, for the shield is inseparable from the ceremony that is somehow part of it” (Allen (Mauss) 2007: 102). The copper shield is a ‘currency’ for prestige as a symbol of wealth not necessarily used in transactions outside of its focal conduit. Transactions were predicated on available surplus products for trade.

During the maritime fur trade the marten (*Martes Americana*) retained its position as a unit of currency however its value was reduced to fractional currency equivalent to a quarter of a dollar. The Hudson’s Bay Company may have paid \$2 to \$4 to Aboriginal suppliers for sea otter skins and sold those for at least \$700 (Arctander 1909). The shell of dentalium (*Antalis pretiosum*), known in Chinook jargon as *haiqua*, is known as a currency. Bancroft (1875 notes in the section on ‘ Tacullies’ (men who go on water – travel by canoes) or as they are otherwise known as Carrier, “Their avarice lies in the direction of hiaqua shells, which find their way up from the sea- coast through other tribes. In 1810, these beads were the circulating medium of the country, and twenty of them would buy a good beaverskin” Bancroft 1875: 122).

Dentalium shells were used on the west coast from their origin radiating inland much the same as wampum was used on the east coast, or other shells in other regions (Hale 1885: 911). Dentalium are found in many archaeological sites. "Dentalium shells, amber and obsidian are evidence of the developing trade in prestigious items with people in other areas" (MacDonald and Inglis 1976: 77). Hale (1885) noted the

"...tribes of the region now composing the United States and Canada had a real monetary currency in common use. This was their wampum, which consisted of shell-beads, in the form of disks or small cylinders, perforated through the centre, and usually strung upon a deer's sinew or some other string. This currency was found by the first white settlers so useful in dealing with the Indians, and so convenient in the absence of silver money, that it was for a time adopted and made a legal currency among the Colonists themselves" (Hale 1885: 910).

European-perception of currency value during the maritime fur trade was based on surplus fur products. The fur trading companies transacted payments with land otter skins: "To some extent the land otter pelt replaced the beaver skin, for in 1840, when the Hudson's Bay Company leased the littoral of Alaska from the Russian American Company for ten years, the principal annual payment consisted of three thousand land otter skins" (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991:54). "Notwithstanding the immense business transacted, the constant buying of furs, and the selling of various commodities from different parts of the world, in the dealings of the fur companies with their servants as well as with the aborigines, no gold, silver, notes, or other circulating medium known as money was employed" (Bancroft 1886: 458). Very little money was used in any transactions. The Hudson's Bay Company had a difficult time keeping workers in spite of the promise of land at the end of five years service (Morton 1973: 757). "A change to a system of cash wages at the current rates, leaving the men to purvey for themselves, did not stem the tide of absconding servants" (Morton 1973: 757).

The Beaver skin has been noted as a currency in the Pacific Northwest maritime fur trade but it also has a history of its own. In 1820 the North West Company issued,

“coin checks representing the value of a beaver skin. Later a similar currency struck in brass was issued by the Hudson’s Bay Company for 1, ½, ¼, and ⅛ “made beaver.” The term “made beaver” was the unit by which the value of furs was reckoned. This currency, never popular among the Indians, who preferred to depend on their accounts as kept in the Company’s books, rather than on these checks, which were subject to be lost, was soon withdrawn” (McLachen 1915: 58).

A change to standard currency was difficult across the Dominion of Canada (McLachlan 1915). Prior to adopting a decimal currency, standards of issue depended upon who issued the unit and ranged from French issued coins, Intendant deMeules’ “card money,” English tokens, copper tokens and few other token coinage. The “card money” was “paid out, in default of any available coined money, to the soldiers, sent out in the defence of the country, who were clamouring for their arrears” (McLachlan 1915:52). Playing cards were used as a medium to scribble on their face various amounts of debt value.

“Discussing the position of money in the sciences, he placed money on the border, partly in the field of economics and partly in that of jurisprudence, the latter being the controlling portion. The peculiarity of monetary jurisprudence was its partial extra-territoriality. The laws are of one State, the data in large measure belonging to the family of States; the individual wealth-maker, wealth-exchanger, wealth-consumer supplying the conditions in the midst of which the State acts. The mere name of monetary jurisprudence carried with it the recognition of the importance of history, for the education of a jurist is an education in the history of principles and of their application. The neglect of the double jurisdiction of monetary science explained the backwardness of its position to-day. The jurist cared little for economy ; the economist little for law” (Horton 1887: 829).

The value of money and its variation became an issue taken up by the BAAS in appointing a committee “for the purpose of investigating the best methods of ascertaining and measuring Variations in the Value of the Monetary Standard” (BAAS 1888: 247). The change to dollars and cents occurred in a currency Act of 1858 and was followed by law “for all the people to use the decimal currency” (McLachen 1915: 59). McLachen (1915) notes

Table 2. The prices for eulachon Grease by volume indicated as found in ethnographic literature.

Year	Literature Source	Origin Source	Destination	Price (\$)	Unit	Volume
(ca. 1850?) <sup>1</sup>	Suttles 1991	Alert Bay	Alert Bay		Bride dowry	20 boxes <sup>2</sup>
1873	Swan 1880	Nass		0.25	gallon	
1880	Dawson 1880: 112B	Nass	Haida Gwaii	\$12-20	Box	"containing somewhat over a hundred pounds of this grease from six to ten 'blankets' or say from \$12 to \$20 is paid"
1882	Gunther (Krause) 1956	Chilkat	Chilkat			
1888	Cornwall and Planta 1888.	Tsimshian - Nass	Tsimshian and market	\$7	Box	family consumption for the year plus 10 boxes each man for sale <sup>3</sup>
1888	Anon.	(Nass/Skeena)		\$36	Box	
("some years later")	Stewart 1977: 153	undisclosed	Haida Gwaii	\$35	gallon	
1968	Stewart 1977: 153	undisclosed	Haida Gwaii	\$25	gallon	
1974	McNeary, Stephen	Nass River		\$40	gallon	
1976	Stewart 1977: 153	Alert Bay	Vancouver Island	\$50	gallon	
1978	Edwards 1978	Bella Coola		\$85	gallon	
1988	Magdanz 1988: 10	Chilkat	Chilkat	\$30	quart <sup>4</sup>	
ca. 1990	Cranmer Webster 1991	Alert Bay	Alert Bay	\$250	gallon	250 gallons at a feast
2001	Cranmer Webster 2001	Alert Bay	Alert Bay	\$125	gallon	

<sup>1</sup> A generation before the recording by Hunt/Boas

<sup>2</sup> plus 40 dressed deer or elk skins; Names: for Groom: Thronging-Place; Prince Smoke-all-around will be called Valuing-Each-Other-Place; Princess Head-Food-Giving-Woman will be named Giving-Away-Property-Woman in the secular season (plus more names) Groom: Head Winter Dancer; Prince - Kanga; Princess Warming-Place in winter; Plus four house-dishes: grizzly-bear, wolf, beaver and killer-whale [material chattels carried to the beached canoes upon departure; also with Bride]

<sup>3</sup> "...each man engaged in the fishing, which continues for about six weeks in the spring, expects, besides providing for himself and family enough grease" for annual consumption, to put up ten boxes for sale ' each box is of a certain size and shape, and is of the average value of seven dollars ; thus each man gets "grease" to sell to the value of seventy dollars, besides his own supply" (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 422)

<sup>4</sup> most commonly reported was \$30/qt; range \$25-75/qt

“While money, with which the subject deals, is designed in the main for the economic purpose of providing counters by which the barter of commodities can be arranged between parties, often unknown to each other, sometimes living far apart, it is possible to view it from other standpoints” (McLachen 1915: 51). The ordinary price of eulachon grease in the Nass River area in 1873 was 25 cents a gallon. Scarcity of the fish increased the price to \$1.00 per gallon, and rarely to \$1.25 per gallon (Swan 1880). One hundred years later, the price of Grease in the Vancouver Island market (near Alert Bay) was \$50 gallon (Hinrichsen 1998) and \$60 per gallon in the Nass and Skeena rivers area (Report of D. McIntyre to the District Supervisor, April 11, 1978).

The abundance of natural resources, particularly fish resources, is not an appropriate metric by itself to enumerate value in ‘prehistoric’ Aboriginal commerce. Several fishery resources have multiple types of product outputs each with varying levels of value. The volume of eulachon necessary to produce Grease is different than the volume for smoking, drying or preserving by other methods. The use of Grease as payments at feasts has an additive dimension to its value. Production surplus over and above what was used domestically was the determining factor for engaging in commerce. The trade of Grease increases both its value locally and in value as the distance from the source increases. Having Grease to trade over the trade corridors increased the prestige of the territorial owners.

The tasks of labor were focused on the specific objective of increasing natural resource products surplus output. The value for commerce depended upon the availability of surplus products that could fluctuate from year to year according to natural resource variability. High diversity of natural resources facilitated a diversity of products to offset shifts in volume of particular products. Territorial owners that administered to the use of

multiple site locations could buffer resource use impacts. Specific resource husbandry and stewardship ensured and enhanced continued resource productivity to maintain high production.

The production of surplus Grease depended on effective labor pools and eulachon abundance in excess of natural productivity. Eulachon abundance depends on efficient husbandry and stewardship of the eulachon watersheds. Enhancing eulachon habitats and ecological services was also the result of using the labor pool. The Aboriginal economy was a direct result of maximizing resource products manufacturing based on excess resource productivity.

Transaction costs in prehistoric production more closely aligned with opportunity costs, such as not having access rights to territorial areas or an adequate labor pool to process products. For example, a recently splintered group may not enjoy the same level of authority (Halpin 1973) for access to separate fishing grounds until the group was successful increasing their labor force, and adequate payments were made into the system, including tribute to higher ranking watershed-level authority. The splintered group would have to continue to rely upon access based on their relationship to the group of origin until the social system conferred otherwise.

A market based on surplus products does not deplete the source of resources used for production, it depletes the products. The sources of resources were carefully tended for the purpose of increasing surplus products above natural productivity. This required a profound understanding of environmental functions, cyclic variability, and species responses to natural events over multiple generations of people associated with territories. Ancestral lineage succession provided the continuity for the transmission of this knowledge of the inalienable

lands and resources. People came and went through the spiral of lineage hierarchies and social institutions and the knowledge flowed through these spirals for the continuity of wealth generation. The social institutions of the Pacific Northwest Aboriginal legacy maintained constant vigilance for the continuity of social mechanisms behind management practices to maintain the value of resource products for use in extensive trade networks.

### **Aboriginal ecological knowledge (AEK)**

The territorial partitioning of lands and labor over the heterogeneous mosaic of the landscape and the variety of natural resource occurrences requires consistent flow of highly specialized knowledge through time. The Aboriginal ecological knowledge (AEK) of these resources and environments is stored in a variety of mediums. It is stored within and sanctioned by the Aboriginal social institutions through the cultural legacy of unique world views. The element of time, the past, present and future, is an omniscient consideration for the manner that Aboriginal knowledge transcends the Aboriginal domain. The intrusions to the cultural legacy have created a significant dilemma in the potential exchange of Aboriginal knowledge with the imposed regime.

The ways in which Aboriginal forms of knowledge have been treated in scholarly endeavor has been a mixed bag of understanding. Recognition of its value has emerged recently although constrained by the very mechanisms that isolate and marginalize Aboriginal people. Some erroneous notions that Aboriginal knowledge can be accessed by ‘collecting’ it trivialize the application of token parts of its use. In worst case scenarios, some parts of Aboriginal knowledge have been accessed and exploited in ways that further defile an Aboriginal legacy.

The location of Aboriginal knowledge is often thought of in terms of ‘traditional practitioners’ or elders and although these are often good sources, there are other repositories of AEK. Some may be surprised to learn Aboriginal knowledge exists on the landscape through names of things and the names people hold. It can also be found in the structures and dynamics of social institutions such as those that are depicted by dendritic networks, or in languages. Recall the stratified hierarchal Pacific Northwest territorial use by specific lineages with common ancestry linked to interactions and events across the landscape. Also recall the feast institutions are demonstrations of appropriate stewardship and husbandry of the inalienable lands and resources. The roles identified in the feast systems are the stewards, knowledge carriers and responsible for transmission of AEK. These are the mechanisms that provide for cross-scale integration, social sanctions, and mechanisms for cultural internalization. These mechanisms also determine the authority of roles and who can speak about matters while following rules of Aboriginal law protocol. From an Aboriginal world view there are consequences when these systems are removed from their ability to apply this knowledge to wise use and sustainable management. The more recent interest in accessing Aboriginal knowledge may be appealing from the standpoint of gaining a better understanding of environments and the cycles of change (etc.) however these are the Aboriginal domains of territorial jurisdiction.

What can be demonstrated is how the cultural frameworks support some expressions of knowledge for more effective resource management. It cannot be overstated that authority to speak is governed by stringent cultural protocols. The material substance of what is presented is consistent within this sphere of what can and what cannot be shared.

“Finally, traditional knowledge, or traditional environmental/ecological knowledge, and resource tenure play an important role in rural subsistence

economies. Most Native subsistence users prefer to hunt, fish, and gather in resource areas where they have ancestral ties and intimate local knowledge. Customary rules and traditions concerning access and use and, as we have seen above, distribution of particular resources and resource areas continue to exist alongside state and federal regulations. Although neither federal nor state subsistence laws contain provisions to protect ties to place, as only customary and traditional uses are safeguarded, *Native social organization and land and resource tenure systems maintain fidelity to place and limit demand on key resources* (emphasis added; Thornton 2007: 47).

Prior to European contact resource management was different. The environments of the continent were under intensive care, stewardship and husbandry to perpetuate natural resources productivity. The highly stratified societies of the north-central coast may have facilitated efficient use of extensive labor pools to provide the environmental stewardship and process natural resources into products. Knowledge of this stewardship is accumulated from thousands of years of observations and transmitted through customary Aboriginal law and cultural practices (Butler 2004; Crowshoe 2005; House 1999; Jones and Ryan 2002; Lewis 2004; McIsaac and Bruhn 1999; Mills 1982; Umcek 2004).

The accumulated Aboriginal ecological knowledge (AEK) refers to ontological and epistemological dimensions about spatial and temporal attributes of ecosystems, their component parts, and their functions differently than other forms of knowledge. Aboriginal knowledge is heterogeneous with ontological similarities between groups. What is known in one group may not be the same in another group although the frame of reference could be similar. The term “tradition” typically used to distinguish Aboriginal knowledge (e.g., Traditional ecological knowledge, Aboriginal traditional knowledge, etc.) emanates from unique worldviews, cultural heritage and local experience accumulated through time. The epistemology of AEK is also culturally defined and based in traditions of the collective memory. As McGregor (2004: 72) points out, “the way in which (AEK) is understood and implemented within a Western perspective means that the insights into the nature of the

environmental crisis and approaches to its resolution that (AEK) offers get lost.” Most work in the interest of AEK has consisted of ‘collecting’ and documenting information largely based in an emergence of a field of study complete with theory, methods, models and potential applications. These documentation efforts however may not capture the entirety of AEK, the nuances of its use, or the temporal connectivity. The substance within AEK may not generally correspond one for one with a ‘western’ perspective substance of interest. For example, listing multiple terms for ‘ice’ from an Inuit language conveys little about the application of the meaning to each of the other Inuit terms for frozen conditions of water. The act of ‘collecting’ AEK and forcing disambiguated pieces to fit into current institutional frameworks “often render irrelevant the intellectual, social, cultural and spiritual contribution that Aboriginal people have made or can potentially make” (McGregor 2004: 83). AEK is a different way of knowing than other forms of knowledge, such as science-based or institutional knowledge. The imposed regime institutional frameworks for natural resources management in general are intended to rely on the application of science-based knowledge although may be constrained by unavailable data or contain uncertainty. A useful analogy for comparing the distinctions between AEK and institutional knowledge is a visual depiction of general difference: AEK is generally considered connective and cyclic much like a circle with a point of interest in the center connected to all other facets of interest; and science-based knowledge is generally linear in its disposition to acquire an understanding of some point of interest (Figure 5) or many points.

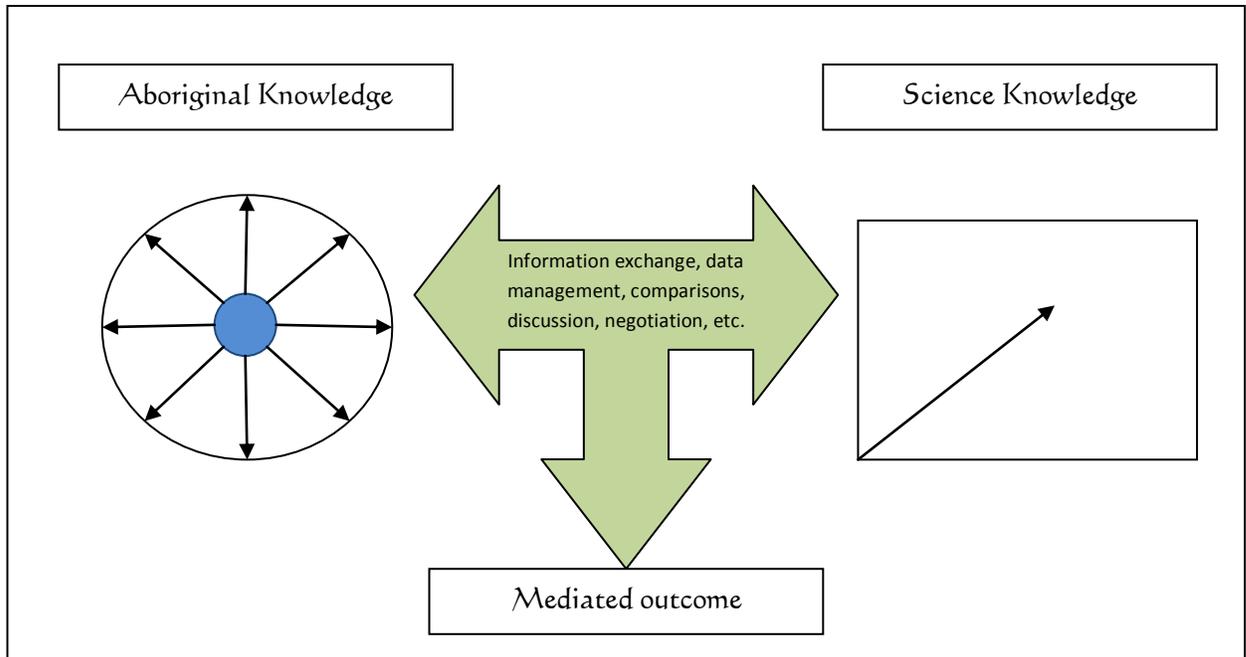


Figure 5. Comparison of different knowledge forms symbolically depicted as a circle for Aboriginal knowledge and square for science-based knowledge and engaging exchange of information between the two forms to deliver a relative mediated outcome.

The place in between the “circle” and the “square” in Figure 5 is a space for engaging exchanges between different forms of knowledge and building relationships between people. Equitable power relationships based on mutual reconciliation and peaceful coexistence are required to correct the current imbalance that perpetuates vulnerability for exploitation of AEK and Aboriginal people. The current resource management is ill equipped to deal with Aboriginal people. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples called for renewed relationships that must recognize ‘land is not just a commodity; it is an inextricable part of Aboriginal identity, deeply rooted in moral and spiritual values’ (as presented in McGregor, 2004).

AEK is like *corpus concilio* (Latin: body, to assemble/bring together) because of the living dimensions that connect people to their environment and their enduring relationships to their use of it. It embodies the cosmological order of the human place in the physical,

spiritual, and living biosphere with cognitive responsibility in balanced interactions that transcend time. Each culturally independent group is going to have their own perspective on their definition of what their knowledge means from their world view.

The diversity of Aboriginal groups in the Pacific Northwest coast, observed by Hale (1846), and the subject of scholarly study as explained in chapter 3, is characterized by a variety of languages. An essential repository medium of Aboriginal knowledge is language. Suttles and Ames (1997) indicate in their pursuit of language relatedness,

“Linguistically, the Northwest Coast is a paradox. Its languages seem diverse in one respect but similar in another. The region seems very heterogeneous if we count the languages spoken here and look at the evidence for their relatedness. There were over sixty languages spoken throughout a region corresponding to the coastal temperate rain forest; over 40 of those were spoken between the Oregon/California border and the Copper River delta in Alaska (Suttles 1985; Ecotrust et al 1995; Plate 4). By “languages” we mean forms of speech not mutually intelligible – as opposed to “dialects,” which are forms of a language intelligible to all speakers of the language. On the basis of evidence for common origin, most of these languages have been placed into language families or larger, less firmly established groups called phyla. . .Linguistic taxonomy thus places the forty-odd languages of the Northwest Coast into two phyla (Na Dene and Penutian), four families that we cannot place in any phylum (Tsimshian, Wakashan, Salishan, and Chimakuan), and one language that we cannot place in any family or phylum (Haida)” (Suttles and Ames 1997: 256-257).

At least seven language groupings (two phyla, four families, one language) are identified in the Pacific Northwest coast. Suttles and Ames (1997) suggest a possible common origin:

“Thus several or all of the seven lines may have a common origin so old that evidence has been obliterated by the passage of time. There are no known linguistic facts that would contradict a very early occupation of the Northwest Coast by speakers of three, two, or even one language followed by differentiation once they were there” (Suttles and Ames 1997: 258).

Language is the vehicle by which cultural continuity is transmitted. It is the repository of epistemological genesis, evolution, adaptation, observation, communication, social interaction and delineation of difference, and many other things. It is also the

ontological framework for a reference to place and time. Language provides categorical and systematic taxonomy - or names of things. It describes an understanding of the Aboriginal world around them and their place in it.

Some language terms express AEK in terms that reference specific phenomenon such as some migratory behavior. The Tsimshian have five words for eulachon: *wah* (eulachon), *halimootk* (first run, savior fish), *hanigoox* (second run), *laa'na* (third run), and *k'awoo* (last run, good fish hunt). The Tsimshian Sm'algyax language depicts four separate run timings of eulachon with four different Tsimshian uses associated with each run. It is uncertain if these runs are distinct population segments, or are one population with separate schooling migrations. Recent genetic studies suggest the latter is a more probable explanation of migratory patterns for one population (McLean, J. E. 1999). The place in the Aboriginal legacy where eulachon are considered as 'one' entity is consistent with the Aboriginal social order. As the eulachon migration approaches the Nass River estuary the Tsimshian fleets of canoes greeted the small fish with, "You are all chiefs, every one of you!" (Arctander 1090: 68). The Nuxalk have a supernatural name for eulachon, *Alqexaiyena*, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time (McIlwraith 1948: 576). Other languages may also have multiple names and terms for eulachon, and also linkages to social order or spiritual cognizance.

Some of the ethnographies were examined to detect similarities or linkages in relation to eulachon as an indication of regional exchange, or diffusion. A similarity for some language terms for small nets to catch eulachon and Grease are observed for the Tlingit, Tsimshian and Kwakwaka'wakw. Each of these groups has a variety of names for larger nets, and names for other elements of eulachon. Boas (1889) noted language similarities in the

region but may have missed comparison of specific similar terms that refer to a small dipnet used for catching eulachon and the eulachon product Grease (Table 3).

Table 3. Some similar language terms used by the Tlingit, Tsimshian and Kwakwaka'wakw for references to eulachon nets and the product Grease.

	<b>Eulachon net</b>	<b>Grease</b>
Tlingit	<i>deegáa</i>	(n) <i>saak eexí</i>
Tsimshian	<i>t'agaal</i>	<i>tsm-gawtsii</i>
Kwakwaka'wakw	<i>taga'l</i>	<i>T'lina</i>

These terms may indicate some type of diffusion among the groups with Grease production; and both northern groups have similar terms for both eulachon and Grease by pronunciation. The diffusion would occur through regional exchanges. All three groups use a similar term to describe a net used for catching eulachon. The Kwakwala word for Grease is related to the name of the river, Klinaklini although its current spelling is based on the English translation (Cranmer Webster 2001: 37). The Nuxalk terms for eulachon are different: eulachon net, *ält'xu* (McIlwraith 1948: 577) and Grease, *sluk'* (McIlwraith 1948: 537).

Interaction between Aboriginal groups is indicated by use of similar terms for a variety of purposes. Halpin (1973) noted the Gitksan word *laxse. l* for Raven clan may be derived from the Tsimshian word for the Tlingit village Laxselð at Cape Fox. A common language known as Chinook Jargon developed as a result of commerce relationships. Chinook Jargon is considered an 'idiom' by Hale (1890) of combining the languages of Nootka, Chinook, French, and English. It was in use during Hale's participation in an Exploring Expedition in 1841 and expanded to the entire coast within a few decades (Hale 1890). "As finally developed, it has become really an "international speech," widely diffused among the fifty tribes of Oregon, British Columbia, and Alaska, and of inestimable service,

not only to commerce, but to science, to missionary efforts, and to the convenience of travellers” (Hale 1890: 3).

Language is a shared characteristic of social interaction that may provide clues to the extent of transmission of social attributes. Some similar terms may indicate a relationship of distance of transmission, or perhaps origin. The Tsimshian have a name for a place known as Canaan as noted in the reserve commission Tsimshian statement for a specific eulachon fishing place below Kincolith (Cornwall and Plant 1888). Canaan is also a place of abundance on the Nile (Wilkinson 1842). It might be difficult to separate the Tsimshian use of the term ‘Canaan’ from a possible introduction by missionary effort. Another distant comparison however consists of a similar term found in Sumerian and Tsimshian languages for a specific role providing assistance to leaders: “Alternatively, the *gal-dam-gar* may have been not a supervisor of the others but merely the individual who dealt most closely with the city ruler” (Adams 1992: 150). The Tsimshian social organization includes a specific role of *Galdmalgyax* to the *Smoygit* (Chief): “350. *Galdmalgyax*, *Galdmalgyag*-. *n.* talking chief; chief’s assistant” (Dunn 1978: 19). The terms *gal-dam* are the same with the Tsimshian suffix added for ‘speaker’ derived from the Tsimshian term for language: “1727. *Sm’algyax*. *n.* language of the Coast Tsimshian” (Dunn 1978: 90). It may be coincidence but the similarity for very specific roles seems to convey potential linkages. Comparison of Aboriginal languages has tended to focus between neighboring groups (Boas 1889; Hale 1846; Halpin 1973). The study of Aboriginal languages has much to offer in the context of AEK, the relationships between various groups, and the distance of transmission. The Tsimshianic languages have been considered as Penutian stock, or at least isolated. The Chinook language is also considered Penutian:

“Along the lower Columbia, from The Dalles down to the sea, lived the various divisions of the Chinook. The exact relationship of their language to any other is unknown, although affiliation with the proposed widespread Penutian stock has been suggested. The great fame of the Chinook nation stems from the fact that they were middlemen in aboriginal trade north and south along the coast and between the coast and the interior” (Drucker 1955: 12).

The Tsimshian used to journey by canoe to harvest sea sweetgrass (*Schoenoplectus pungens*) in Grays Harbor, WA (B. Ryan, pers. comm.). Long distance trade is documented in ethnographies but the social linkages or relationships typically are not described.

### **Beliefs**

Belief systems are another manner of transmitting knowledge, providing indications of cyclic occurrences, and relating some observances at the interface of ecosystems and human use. “What the salmon called their salmon, humans called cottonwood leaves which have fallen into the river (Boas 1916: 454)” (as presented in Miller 1989: 127). By far, the greatest fear was scarcity of resources by the failure of their cyclic return, especially if only one or two locations were available. This fear underlies the rules governing how the resource is treated. Great care is taken to show respect to the resource through a variety of ritualized actions to placate fear and reinforce beliefs.

The Pacific Northwest Coast abounds with dark spaces and very real features to cause fear (Miller 1989: 128). The towering coastal mountains are cloaked in a blanket of powerful sentinels of old growth forests (cf. Turner 2005, *The Earth's Blanket*). The tide currents run rapid shifting nearly every six hours, heavy rains bring flash floods in enormous proportions, torrential storms can pound the shores and capsize canoes; violent winds can mow down entire stands of forest; fog can distort the direction home. The intensity of storms change as the climate has cooled and warmed in extremes with alternating periods of cold glaciations or warm drought; mountains move, and volcanoes erupt causing the earth to shake with

violence; and so many other natural events that can stir the deepest of emotions. It seems obvious that many of these types of events could precipitate movements of people within regions to avoid hazards and hence appear as some type of mobility. The magnificence of the region in its towering mountains, lush green forests, stunning wildlife, cascading waters, and temperate ocean conditions are also cause to stir emotions, and possibly another reason for preferred locations.

The way these things of fear and beauty are contextualized in beliefs and ritual actions, including taboos, was interpreted by some observers as ‘superstitious’ or ‘supernatural.’ The antagonist dismissal of ‘supernatural forces’ has played an instrumental role in the manner these things are interpreted, particularly in observing feast events. Ceremonial portrayal of stories with elaborate masks depicting transformations between immortality and the human condition has drawn the curious observer to interpretation. Belief systems, spirituality, and cosmological order drawn from the incantation of historic events and places and represented in mythos, symbolism, caricature and personality of feast events transcended outside observer’s evaluation through fear of the unknown. An opposition to that fear was generated from perceived interpretations of the visual display with admonishment based mostly on religious grounds. The ceremonial portrayal however is a recounting of history for the lineage association and human interdependence on the lineage and their lands and environs. For example, a “box of treasures” opened at a feast event is a ceremonial portrayal of the knowledge regarding the animals and plants associated with specific territories, and the authority of that lineage for their stewardship role including harvest and awareness of cyclic variability. The animals and plants are portrayed by people wearing masks and parts of plants while dancing the spirits of their ancestors recognizing the

continual interdependence between the treasures (e.g., ecological services) and people (e.g., social institutions). That these manifestations continue is testament to their longevity (Askren 2011) and in the continual connection of Aboriginal people to their local place and resources within it.

The perceptions of the conditions or events of nature are often framed on the consequences of particular actions. If a cultural ideology matches these consequences with human action it may reinforce particular beliefs. If Chinook salmon continues to return, it may be an indication that appropriate behaviors have been observed:

“A spring salmon charm was made by tying an Eagle tail on a pole about ten feet long. Eagle down was also put on the pole. The first spring salmon [Chinook] caught in a trap at a fish dam was tied to the stake. One or two of these were set up, each by tying it to a stake driven in the river bottom, in a still part of the river. They were kept there a number of nights. If put in swift water the salmon might be washed away. All the spring salmon, according to Bellacoola Indian belief, thought well of this procedure” (sic; Smith 1924: 168).

Smith (1924) describes the process of ensnaring Eagles and may have missed the opportunity to describe the salmon “charm” as an indicator for the activity of fishing or the relationship to Chinook fish. The location of the stakes may have indicated the preferred location for fishing as well as timing. The belief that salmon ‘thought well’ of the display portrays the Nuxalk conceptualization of their relationship to the Chinook.

Recent scholarly interest has developed in taboos as mechanisms for appropriate resource management actions (Colding and Folke 2001). The early ethnographies and historic record may have captured some of the taboos although may not have understood the particular meaning in the expression of a belief. Swan (1880) provides a period-typical description of taboos related to eulachon:

“The principal run of the fish reaches Nass River in the latter part of March, generally from the 16th to the 22d, varying in exceptional years from the 28th to April 4. When

the season approaches the Indians assemble in great numbers ; not only the Nishka, or natives of the Nass country, but from hundreds of miles distant, some in canoes and some overland. In former years quarrels and fights among the different tribes were common, but of late years the influences of the missions at Metlakatla, Kincolet, and Fort Simpson have produced a favorable change, not only in inducing them to be more peaceful, but to lay aside their old heathen superstitions, one of which was that all the fish eaten for the first four or five days after they commence to arrive must be either fried or toasted; no one was allowed to boil any, as they believed that if any were boiled the fish would immediately leave the river; they were also strictly forbidden to drink water after a meal of fish, lest there should be rain which would hinder the drying. These ceremonies are now abandoned in a great measure, and but seldom practiced at the present time” (Swan 1880: 259).

The expectation for the cultural practice of not boiling fish for the first four or five days indicates past observances of the fish mysteriously leaving the river. In the most recent few years eulachon at Kemano River have been observed to hold in the estuary for a brief period of time and then leave without ascending the river (Interviewee 120102). The reasons for this may be different than it has occurred on other rivers in the past but it is an indication of the sensitivity of eulachon to their environment. The cultural practice to refrain from boiling may also be a control for preventing the premature processing of Grease that requires cooking the fish in water.

The restriction of drinking “water after a meal of fish” is an indication of observing environmental conditions. Both of these cultural practices are indicative of the affinity for the reverence of eulachon and related harvest activities. Typical of the time-period bias towards Aboriginal people with perceived “heathen superstitions,” Swan (1880) interprets these incorrectly as “ceremonies” instead of taboos. Boas (1889) describes some of the actual ceremonies conducted for the first eulachon caught by the Tsimshian:

“Certain ceremonies are prescribed when the first fish are caught. They are roasted on an instrument of elderberry-wood, of the form shown in the accompanying sketch. ... The man who roasts the fish on this instrument must wear his travelling attire: mittens, cape, &c. While it is roasted they pray for plenty of fish, and ask that they might come to their fishing ground. When the fish is turned round, all cry, *lawā*’! The

fire must not be blown up. In eating the fish they must not cool it by blowing, nor break a single bone. Everything must be kept neat and clean. The rakes for catching the fish must be hidden in the house. The fish must not be left outside, but stored in boxes. The first fish that they give as a present to their neighbours must be covered with a new mat. When the fish become more plentiful, they are doubled up, and roasted on the point of a stick. After that they are treated without any further ceremonies” (Boas 1889: 51).

This ceremony also includes several taboos within the actions that indicate the reverence for eulachon and the conduct of appropriate behaviors. Boas (1889) notes no further ceremonies but he may not have been aware of the additional taboos prescribed during the preparation of Grease. Arctander (1909) notes some other Tsimshian taboos related to the production of Grease. The Tlingit observe taboos based on experience:

“Local owners developed such prescriptions and proscriptions (*ligaas*’, or taboos; literally “against nature”) on the basis of collective experience and the desire to ensure a sustainable supply of resources. If guests ignored them or otherwise threatened the resource, they were subject to punishment” (Thornton 2008: 140).

Belief systems are a fundamental component to the Aboriginal legacy. Some ritual actions are derived from beliefs. The preparation of Grease by the Tsimshian requires an action of a woman for the completion of the oil extraction process. This may be the most profound expression of ecological-social institution linkages. The process of extracting Grease requires heating the fish in large vats and skimming the oil from the surface and transferring into containers. After the vats of fish have been skimmed, the remaining mixture of fish and water is placed into an open-weave basket situated over containers to sieve every drop of Grease out of it. A board or flat rock is placed on top of the open-weave basket full of this mixture and the woman presses the board down to drain the basket:

“The remainder of the fishes, piping hot as they are, are scooped up into pine-tree [spruce root] baskets, and then the boiling hot mass is pressed against the bare breasts of the women, till the grease, and every drop of it, has been squeezed out. The oil must be pressed out in no other way. It would “shame” the fish to treat it otherwise” (Arctander 1909: 69).

The symbolism of this ritual act is a metaphorical maternal nurturing of a woman perhaps to suckle the eulachon spirits. Great care is taken to observe appropriate behavior of people in regard to the stewardship of eulachon, including the rituals of harvesting and production of products. It is a logical connectivity of the beliefs systems to ritual action. It is a demonstration of connection of humans to nurture environmental values.

Rules that govern resource use are pervasive in the Pacific Northwest with severe consequences for violations. These rules are found in a variety of scales from geographically large territorial areas to the smallest nuance of belief (cf. Thornton 2008). “A great number of restrictions and regulations refer to the salmon. These rules are similar to those observed among the other coast tribes” (Boas 1894: 8). The appropriate conduct of human behavior is guided by these rules so as not to disrupt the rhythmic flows of natural productivity. “The sockeye-salmon must always be looked after carefully. The bones must be thrown into the river. It is believed that then they will revive, and return to their chief in the west. If not treated carefully, they will take revenge, and the careless fisherman will be unlucky” (Boas 1894: 9). The beliefs associated with inappropriate behavior provides a mechanism for the social group to understand and deal with scarcity. Returning fish bones to a river system achieves recycling of nutrients back into the watershed as well as removing remains from site locations. Salmon are not the only fish that are treated in this manner.

The processing of eulachon consists of many intricate rules. During the production of smoking fish and making Grease certain locations are used with specific types of technology. The apparatus used may evolve but the technology used is the same as it has been used for thousands of years (Cranmer Webster 2001). The harvest of fish (the only portion of the resource use addressed by contemporary imposed regulation), is also subject to intricate rules

that are different than federal regulation. These rules also vary from group to group in response to local conditions. For example, the eulachon harvests in the Klinaklini River and the Skeena River have pronounced differences in regard to harvest of female eulachon. In the Klinaklini River, the harvest of females is taboo while in the Skeena river, a much larger river system and eulachon population (historically), harvest of females is allowed during high abundance conditions. The historic Guardian system of the Kwakwaka'wakw, prior to Crown intrusion, consisted of warrior-runners hiking to the headwaters in search of migrating eulachon. The return of these warriors provided the Chief information on the spawning run to determine harvest scheduling (Interviewee 21602-001). The Chief also directed the hand-held placement of wooden rods into the murky water to determine the volume by the number of fish bumping into the stick. Harvesting is still curtailed until after test catches reveal no females, and in the past most harvesting was conducted during the night (Interviewees 21602-001, 21602-004). More control decisions are used for the timing of harvesting, intermittent breaks and site specific harvesting criteria based on lineage prerogatives.

The ethnographic record contains very little description of resource management. “Unfortunately, early ethnographers simply were not interested in resource management. They not only didn’t ask about it, they apparently deliberately steered away from it, so as to spend their time finding out about more patterned behavior, such as language and folktales” (Anderson, E. 1996a: 67). As a result, and several other factors, this omission has placed unnecessary risk on the credibility of Aboriginal knowledge and its transmission in regard to resource management even though the integrity of the knowledge remains intact. The examples found in the literature in this instance have been clarified or augmented in relation to resource management. This analysis also demonstrates the risk of losing the context of

Aboriginal knowledge application without the Aboriginal voice narrating the appropriate conceptualizations.

The ability to apply Aboriginal knowledge has been arrested with restrictions to Aboriginal resource management strategies and actions including restricted harvest but also those actions of environmental stewardship that may have maintained or enhanced ecosystem services. For example, bans on seasonal riparian site burning have possibly changed the quality of plant growth that supports macroinvertebrate communities that in turn feed juvenile fish. Some plants were specifically burned to enhance specific characteristics of some plant parts to use in material culture. Some areas were burned regularly to increase plant fruit productivity. “The mid-elevation berry-picking used to be of great abundance before the government banned spring burning” (Daly 2005: 120).

### **Results of interviews and complementary knowledge**

The continuity of the application of Aboriginal knowledge for eulachon is demonstrated by presenting the results of interviews with eulachon fishers. Interviews were conducted with Aboriginal people who typically fish for eulachon in the Klinaklini River (Knight’s Inlet), Kingcome Inlet, Kemano and Kitlope Rivers, and Skeena River. The interviews generally lasted from one to two hours and were semi-structured on a set of questions used as guidance for open-ended dialogue. The purpose of allowing the openness was to accommodate the possible flow of information related to Aboriginal knowledge that may not have been directly elicited from using a ‘scientific’ framework. Some interviewees indicated that past interviewers often did not ask a question in the right way for the participant to express more information that may have been available. Access to Aboriginal knowledge requires a respectful and dynamic interface and researchers must have at least an

awareness to ask the right questions to elicit responses that are inevitably going to be culturally mediated answers. For example, informants likely may have specific expertise regarding local environmental attributes and linkages however may not divulge this information if the question focused only on one element in that environment such as how many fish are caught. Additionally, a general distrust has emerged as a result of the relationship to the colonial regime. Some situations of information exchange in the past have resulted in detrimental consequences. The disclosure of locations of salmon, their spawning grounds, and timing of migrations has negatively impacted Aboriginal access to their salmon resources through imposed fisheries management and other user groups using the information in ways inconsistent with the Aboriginal domain.

Some AEK practitioners may be inclined to express an oral narrative. The manner of telling ‘stories’ does more than provide an anecdotal account because it conveys several related factors to the knowledge exchange interface. A story provides legitimacy for the speaker, authenticity of the account, longevity of knowledge transmission, and a mechanism for archiving information – including the narration itself. A narration provides a mechanism of learning reinforcement for both the audience and the narrator. Participants are more likely to gain satisfaction in the interview process when the expression of their responses is structured in a manner that allows their freedom of full expression.

The most powerful expression of AEK is its continued application to contemporary Aboriginal resource management and harvesting strategies. The Aboriginal eulachon fishery has continued in areas that have consistent abundance levels (Moody 2008; Pickard and Marmorek 2007; *Hamdzid* 2012 pers. comm.). Moody (2008) describes some of the changes in fishing technology for the Bella Coola eulachon. The Kingcome and Knight’s Inlet

eulachon fisheries have experienced some changes in fishing gear methods (Interviewees 21602-001, 21602-002, 21602-003, 21602-004; *Hamdzid* 2012 pers. comm.). Likewise the eulachon fishers in the Skeena and Nass Rivers have also adopted new technology methods (Interviewees 30102-001, 30102-002, 100602-003). These changes however are used in tandem with the accumulated knowledge of the resource behavior and environmental conditions. The continuity of eulachon fishing has facilitated the transmission of Aboriginal knowledge for these ecosystems and the fishery resource.

“The Eulachon only travel up the Nass River as far as the flood tides reach, which is from 15 to 20 miles from its mouth. For about 7 miles from Nass Strait the river is unsuited for fishing operations. From thence to the Nass Village, at the head of tide-water, is a succession of sand-bars, and these form the spawning beds of the fish. Every available spot along the banks of the river is occupied by the Indians during the fishing season, who erect temporary wigwams for themselves” (Swan 1880: 259).

The number of camps on the Nass River bank is not likely to correspond to the number of nets in operation. The location of flood tide and spawning beds at the sand-bars provides useful ecological knowledge typically considered in the context of ‘science’ however other elements are missing that are relevant to the timing of eulachon and fishing.

The arrival of eulachon is signaled by a variety of cues and may be different between river systems. The arrival of adult eulachon is preceded by many of their predators but other indicators in the landscape may also be used as signals. Observing the cycles of nature provides cues for specific timing of activity. For example, the salmonberry (*Rubus spectabilis* Pursh) blossoms are used as a signal to travel to the eulachon fishing grounds by the Kwakwaka’wakw (Cranmer Webster 2001) while salmonberry blossoms are the indicator on the Skeena River for the emergence macro-invertebrates and other juvenile fish. The eulachon eggs are hatching in the Skeena when the salmonberry blossoms emerge

simultaneously. The robustness of the salmonberry blossoms also provides an indicator for the health of the ecosystem and protection for eulachon larvae. Healthy salmonberry blossoms indicate increased abundance of macro-invertebrates that are target prey for juvenile salmon, also appearing simultaneously with the salmonberry blossoms. More macro-invertebrates indicate reduced juvenile salmon predation on eulachon (Interviewee 100602-003).

The Tsimshian on the Nass River conducted ‘test fishing’ at the mouth of the river to gauge stock abundance as eulachon began entering the river current:

“When the fish reach the mouth of the river they generally rise to the surface of the water, and are caught by the natives with a pole about 18 feet long, slightly flattened into an oar-shape at the lower end. Into one edge of this flattened blade are stuck a row of wooden pins or pieces of wire sharpened. This implement is thrust down and with both hands drawn rapidly through the water, and the fish are impaled on the pins and are shaken off into the canoe in the same manner as the Indians about Puget Sound take herrings. The number of Eulachon caught in this way form a good estimate of the probable run of the fish for the season, whether they will be plentiful or not” (Swan 1880: 260).

“As soon as the fish make their appearance at the sand-bars fishing operations begin in earnest. ... About an hour after the tide has begun to ebb two strong poles are driven into the sand at the bottom of the river about 12 feet apart; to these the net is attached, the mouth being kept open by inserting two small sticks across it. It is then depressed in the water until the under rim rests on the sand ; the fish are drawn into the aperture by the force of the current (Swan 1880: 260).

In former years a sort of large landing net, called by the natives *Bānak* was used, but of late these have been discarded for purse-nets. ... The nets are generally six or eight fathoms long” (Swan 1880: 260).

The north-central coast Aboriginal groups fished for eulachon by a variety of methods. The Kwakwaka’wakw used stone and wooden weirs as well as traps, baskets and nets. The Nuxalk formerly set nets in the river by use of stakes driven into the river bed by two or three partners alternating control of the canoe and driving the stakes. Prior to the main run of eulachon, two upstream stakes are placed about ten feet apart and two downstream

stakes placed for wing support. The net is attached to these after the main run of eulachon is present.

Eulachon fishing was conducted on the ebb tide: “The olachen are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net” (McIlwraith 1948: 536). The tide turns about every six hours so during the flood tide eulachon continue to their spawning grounds. The use of conical nets for the capture of eulachon on an ebb tide may be one of the most efficient passive fishing technologies since the tide entrained the fish in the device:

“When the tide begins to flow, the nets are all taken in and all the fish caught are thrown in heaps on the ground close to the wigwams. With a good run of fish, each net ought to catch about two tons each tide” (Swan 1880: 260).

Eulachon fishing was also conducted during the night at some locations: “During the day, the mouth [of the net] is closed with a cross-piece, *nuxtnutsta*, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it [net], and opened during the night at whatever hour the tide turns” (McIlwraith 1948: 536). The ebb tide is the same signal for fishing during the nocturnal activity.

“There is a still more wonderful kind of salmon trout in the waters of British Columbia – one which affords to the uncivilized native, light as well as food. It can be eaten as a dinner or used as a candle, and hence its name, candlefish. It is also called Eulachon, *Salmo Mallotus, Pacificus* and *Thaleichthys Pacificus*. ... All along the shores of British Columbia, Vancouver Island, Alaska and the adjacent islands, the diminutive Eulachon furnishes an inconceivably great supply of fatty matter for maintaining the warmth of the body as well as for lighting the houses of the Aboriginal tribes. At certain seasons, it is the chief business of these tribes to trap and cure and store up for winter use, a fish that supplies so many wants. They commence operations by erecting lodges near the bays and inlets where it abounds. This once accomplished, they carry on their labours by the light of the moon” (McDonell Dawson 1881: 98).

The light of the moon plays upon the silvery sides of the eulachon in the water much more brilliantly than the light of day. The black of the top of eulachon is seen more

evidently during the day. As the mass of eulachon mingle in their migration up the Skeena River they appear as one giant organism, more specifically a 'black anaconda' snake. These are observations that feed into and augment what is known about eulachon. It is these types of observations that are dismissed as irrelevant to the 'science' knowledge however contribute to the Aboriginal legacy of sustainable use by observing environmental conditions. What 'science' tends to want to know are things that depict the life history of eulachon as if it could be reproduced outside of its natural environment.

The observations of life history characteristics and changing conditions are cornerstones in the AEK regarding eulachon. The Nass, Skeena, and Klinaklini Rivers observe females enter first in their early migration period. Observations are made on changing condition of eulachon use in the spawning channels. At Knight's Inlet, eulachon spawning is occurring more frequently by the 'watering hole' at a location lower in the river than before (*Hamdzid*, pers. comm. 2012). At times of reduced resource abundances the territorial owners took actions to restore and increase natural productivity. For example, in streams where eulachon abundance was reduced, adult migrating eulachon from other streams were entrained by net in the water and towed by canoe to the river that needed enhancement (*Kippa'gak* pers. comm. ca. 2006; McIlwraith 1948). Also, near shore habitats were tended to by transplanting plants (eelgrass, sedge plants, wild rice, wild asparagus, etc.) to ensure suitable functioning habitat and resource availability (B. Wadhams, pers. comm. ca. 2006). Fish spawning beds were kept clear of debris, and nursery areas were carefully tended for the right conditions to support juvenile fish refugia and *juvenile fish* foraging (Interviewee 100602-003).

The arrival of eulachon throughout its range consists of different timing. The earliest arrival is in the Columbia River however its southern location provides different set of conditions than the north. The eulachon arrive in the Nass and Skeena Rivers a couple of months later at the end of winter often under blankets of ice. Eulachon fishing is carried on through the ice by cutting holes and placing nets below the ice:

“Another difficulty, and the cause of much damage to the nets, is the loose ice. The fish first come about the time the ice begins to break up. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule. Some years the ice remains solid until after the fish are caught, in which case holes have to be cut in the ice to put down the nets ; other years, again, the ice has all disappeared before the fish arrive” (Swan 1880: 260).

Eulachon arrive in Knight’s Inlet, south of the Nass/Skeena and north of the Columbia in April. Still later, the eulachon appear in Alaska. The span of time from the beginning of the Columbia River runs to the later Alaska runs is about six months from January to June for one particular fish harvested from a fairly vast portion of the Pacific Northwest region.

Aboriginal ecological knowledge for eulachon populations is an extensive source of generational observations of the resource and its habitats. Some of the knowledge is stored in elements of language, some of it is found in stories, myths and legends, and still more is found in the people that continue to participate in Aboriginal practices. The few observations recorded in the literature are expanded in this analysis by the addition of cues used to signal activity, observations of life history strategies, and changing environmental conditions as demonstrated in AEK.

The contemporary management system does not facilitate the use of this rich knowledge source regarding eulachon. The dependence on natural resource use continues as it has for thousands of years with knowledge transmitted continuously through time.

Knowledge of ecosystems, components and their interactions, cycles of abundance, reproduction and environmental variables contribute to sustained use of resources. The ethnographic records may have captured some of the elements of the elaborate cultural symbolism, social stratification, and traditional practices however may not have described their linkage and purpose for resource management.

Stewardship activities in geographically large watersheds with highly complex habitat structure and diverse species require extensive local knowledge. Aboriginal resource management consists of a suite of obligations for stewardship of the environment, species, and harvesting strategies. The unique relationship of Aboriginal people to their local environment is reflected in their cultural expression, social institutions and governance of resource use. A key difference is many Aboriginal territorial eulachon fisheries are specifically located at or near spawning areas for the purposes of assessing the status of reproductive success including manipulating conditions to ensure large fish or female fish successfully complete their migration, and observe habitat conditions for their progeny.

The delicate balance of the human element as a component of complex ecosystems is based in a continual reciprocal relationships. The conduct of human behavior must be consistent with protecting the cycles of renewal, or creation. This means not causing disturbance to the cycles and heeding the decisions of Chiefs because they held the knowledge of these systems. Territorial titleholders were obligated to know these cycles and to know how to work with variability. They had to understand the predator-prey relationships symbiosis and the nature of functioning habitats within complex ecosystems and their interconnectedness. Activities that were not permitted were based on the fear of disturbing natural cycles (Thornton 2008; Winbourne 1998). Aboriginal people that hold the knowledge

of the cycles of creation understand that people are as much a part of the cycles as the fish, animals, plants, trees, waters, and environment. The respect for the creatures and processes in nature was encapsulated in their cosmogony. The animals lived as humans do with Chiefs, house-groups and villages located in the spiritual realm with their own social organization. “The first principle is that all animals and fish are under the control of “chief” or “masters” of their species in exactly the same way that humans are organized” (MacDonald, G. 1983: 120). It was only with the observance of appropriate behaviors, strict taboos, and culturally mediated reverence that creatures sacrificed themselves for the benefit of human use. The annual return of eulachon, salmon, bear, elk, moose, berries, herring (etc.) and their rhythmic abundances is evidence that they have been properly cared for and respected.

Many people are needed to conduct the environmental stewardship activities, such as maintaining eulachon streams. These activities were conducted in watersheds on an annual basis aligned with seasonal cycles, particularly during spring and fall weather flood events. Care was taken to observe potential impacts to spawning beds and remove obstructions such as excessive large woody debris or sediment loading from spawning gravels. Enhancement activities were conducted for many resources in a variety of methods (Turner 2005).

Several people converged on eulachon fishing grounds to harvest and process the fish into a variety of product forms. Some people were responsible for the construction of pole-rakes, nets and weirs while others were responsible for the construction of drying racks, holding bins, presses and fire pits. At eulachon fish camps, people would take advantage of the lull period to hunt for birds and mammals or harvest plant products while waiting for the eulachon to arrive. The actual eulachon fishing activity was an exciting reward that most everyone takes some part. During the period of time that specific products were curing other

activities commenced for continual industriousness. Finished food products were consumed at the site and distributed amongst families for transport back to home villages for storage. Surplus product is retained by the territorial owner both physically and in debt for future investment.

“During the boiling, all other activities are suspended and the people spend practically all their time on the river bank. If the fish is allowed to rot too long, much of the grease is lost, so men, women, and children are pressed into service to make the most of the short period. The men rise at dawn to start the fires on the bank, the women and children follow with food, and for several days the whole village camps, as if on a picnic, within hundreds of yards. There are tasks for everyone; the fish must be carried from the pits to the furnaces, wood must be brought, the fires stoked, the kettles stirred, the grease carried away, the fireplaces repaired, food cooked, and a hundred other chores” (McIlwraith 1948: 538).

An attribute of population control was vested in the traditional social institutions and resource management system. Daly (2005) notes,

“...conception was seasonally restricted according to the hunting rules imposed, generation after generation, by the head of the clan and House group. Fertility may also have been impeded by the spaced births and subsequent lengthy periods of lactation in the mothers, as children were not generally weaned for two to three years (herbal medicines, too, were known as antidotes to unwanted pregnancies)” (Daly 2005: 122).

Hierarchal integration of people into the system through inheritance and acquisition of additional labor needed (i.e., slaves, commoners, and attendant nobles) facilitated direction of specific tasks related to production of surplus goods. The system operated without scarcity due to manipulating increased abundances and high diversity of resources, as well as agency alliances, and competitive trade. Mechanisms within the social institutions facilitated equitable distributions of human populations to maintain equilibrium with human impact on local environments. For example, groups that were approaching local thresholds of carrying capacity were divided to facilitate movement of splinter groups into other areas (Seguin-Anderson 1986), or hostilities forced group relocations (Marsden 2000). These mechanisms

also consisted of property transfer, authority, rights and privileges while maintaining continued associations for their group of origin. The groups collectively would gather at key locations during specific times to participate in resource stewardship, harvest, and processing, such as eulachon harvesting grounds, as well as for social events such as potlatch in various communities. The result of large gatherings at resource harvest and production sites increased the output creating production surplus. The movements of large groups of people to sites where they may remain for various lengths of time has often been mischaracterized as some type of ‘nomadic’ behavior in a ‘seasonal round’ of resource harvesting. Natural resources that are the subject of resource harvesting sites continue to be points for their presence that is unchanging. The anadromous fishery resources (i.e., eulachon and salmon) are migratory throughout their life cycle returning to their natal streams of origin. The cycle of resources availability is seasonal over the course of a year, and year after year with relatively precise predictability when abundant. The high diversity of resources harvested (e.g., not foraged) are generally located in multiple areas. Some of these areas are in close proximity to one another while others may require more distant travel or trade. After the harvest event concluded these groups of people that collectively converged at harvesting or fish spawning sites would disperse back to their own residence at the same location from which they traveled from, or pursue other harvesting activity. The domicile residence was located in one place and people traveled to and from that location for various short periods of time and returned to it.

“The olachen camps at Red Bluff represented one of the peaks in activity and excitement in the yearly round. When the run was over and the last boxful of fish had been tried out, the people loaded their canoes with their newly acquired trade goods and with boxes of grease for their own use or for later trading ventures. Even though many canoes were large, more than one trip was sometimes necessary to get all the people, grease, and possessions back to Metlakatla Pass” (Drucker 1965: 117).

The results of the interviews indicate continuing practices of applying the knowledge consistent with the social mechanisms behind management practices needed for building resilience (Folke et al 2007: 48). These results reconcile some of the distance between the limited information in the current literature about Aboriginal knowledge regarding eulachon and how it is applied for continued stewardship and use of the resource. What is known is ‘science’ regarding eulachon presents another dimension in the reconciling of knowledge regarding eulachon.

### **Eulachon science**

Many early explorers and settlers recognized the use of eulachon throughout its range and often commented in journals about their observations (Gibson 1992; Moulton and Dunlay 1990; Swan 1880). Lord (1866) describes the eulachon and its use, particularly on the Nass River. Meriwether Lewis noted the occurrence of eulachon in the Columbia River during the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and included a drawing of the small fish (Moulton and Dunlay 1990). Brown (1868) recognized the nutritional and medicinal value of Grease, and communicated a suggestion for commercial and pharmaceutical development. European traders and geographic explorers comment in their journals as well about the small fish along the entire Pacific Northwest coast.

Eulachon are endemic to the northeastern Pacific Ocean along the northwestern coast of North America. Eulachon spawn in glacier-fed streams (Hay and McCarter 2000) and spend the majority of their life in marine waters. Eulachon stock status reports in BC generally cover about 15 river systems with generalized overviews (Hay and McCarter 2000). The southern portion of their range is experiencing dramatic decreases in abundance consistently in the last two decades (Moody 2008). In the northern and central portion of the

BC range a mix of abundances is prevalent with some rivers at extremely low abundance. The Nass River appears to be the only river with consistently measured adult returns and abundance in north-central BC. One investigation has evaluated a population assessment throughout the entire range of eulachon (Moody 2008). The causes for recent declines are not known. Hedrick, Batts, Yun, Traxler, Kaufman, and Winton (2003) isolated viral hemorrhagic septicemia virus (VHSV) in eulachon sampled from Sandy River, OR. The North America VHSV has a low virulence for salmonid fish.

Eulachon populations have been the subjects of some science investigations for the Fraser River (Hart 1973; Ricker, Manzer, and Neave 1954; Hay and McCarter 2000) and Nass River populations (Langer, Shepard, and Vroom 1977; Orr 1984; Vroom 1971). Some survey work has been conducted for the Skeena, Kitimat, Kemano, and Bella Coola Rivers (Lewis 1998; Ryan 2002, 2004; Moody 2008). Additional survey work has been conducted in southeast Alaska along the Copper River, Stikine River and the Unuk River. Some genetic stock identification work has been conducted as well (Beacham, Hay and Le 2005; McLean, J. E. 1999; McLean, J. E., Hay and Taylor, 1999). McLean, J. E. (1999) and McLean, J. E., Hay and Taylor (1999) examined population structure through use of mitochondrial DNA. In McLean, J. E. *et al.* (1999), study results suggest potential regional population structure from an original single Wisconsinan glacial refuge.

The US National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) Alaska Fisheries Science Center, Kodiak Laboratory (2001) has mapped eulachon occurrence in the Bering Sea since 1982. Some shrimp trawl surveys have provided data for analysis of eulachon occurrence in offshore areas of BC. Samples were collected and delivered to DFO staff for genetic stock identification and aging analysis (Beacham et al 2005). In an offshore survey

off the West Coast of Vancouver Island (WCVI) the average length found in trawl samples was 160.25mm (n=203, not sexed), and in Queen Charlotte Sound (QCS) the average length was 181.11mm (n=217, not sexed; Ryan 2001).

The spawning migration does not follow a coastwise south to north seasonal dependence pattern. The northern California and Columbia River (south) eulachon return to spawn in late January; Nass and Skeena River (north) eulachon return in late February and March; Klinaklini River (central) return in April; Fraser River (south) return in April-May; and the Alaska (north) eulachon return in May (Hay and McCarter 2000). Reasons for differences in spawner return times are not understood. The insularity of Vancouver's Island may present some relationship although difficult to test. Alternatively, prehistoric Aboriginal enhancement of eulachon populations taken from one system and placed in another may have changed a timing sequence, also difficult to test.

The anadromy and semelparity of these fish are important in the contribution of nutrients into their associated habitats. Clarke et al (2007) have demonstrated eulachon are semelparous by analysis of elemental ratios although post-spawning mortality has been commonly known in AEK. Sporadic study has occurred on the life history of eulachon during the last century, and recently an urgency to conserve eulachon has motivated more interest in eulachon life history, habitats, and stock assessment. Hart (1973) describes Fraser River returns start with adult males entering the river first. A scientific investigation in the Nass River indicates female migration before males (Vroom 1971) consistent with AEK for the Nass, Skeena, and Klinaklini Rivers. The range of female fecundity is from 17,300 at 145mm SL to 39,600 at 188mm with an average of 25,000 eggs (Hart 1973).

An investigation by Vroom (1971) examined substrate preference for egg deposition to determine the impact of sedimentation as a result of logging operations; determination of relative abundance; categorization of migratory route environmental conditions; and determination of age, length and sex of spawning stocks. The results indicated high egg mortality for silt substrate (100%) and lower egg mortality for sand (4.9%) and gravel (25%). Egg concentrations were found between miles 14 and 35 with highest concentrations between miles 23-27 upstream from the mouth of the Nass River (Vroom 1971). A study by Orr (1984) provides information on egg deposition, larval drift, and adult presence compared to stream flow characteristics on the Nass River. This study determined that log-towing activity disturbs eulachon egg sites, and the Aboriginal fishery. The historic Aboriginal activity of sweeping eulachon spawning grounds with boughs of cedar is an indication of the awareness of challenges that increased sedimentation present. Natural landslide events are known to contribute excessive sedimentation but these are episodic events compared to the constant sedimentation produced by poor logging practices in the last century.

Eulachon hatch in glacier-fed rivers and are swept with the current into an estuary within hours of hatching (McHugh 1940). The Skeena River larval surveys conducted by Lewis (1998) reveals the Kasiks River (river kilometer 25) as the upper limit to larvae collection success. The Kasiks River on the Skeena is also the upper limit of tidal influence (Lewis 1998). The 1997 study year indicates that larvae density was low and population abundance may also be low. The location of spawning activity and incubation were conclusive for this study as the area above the Scotia River and below the Kasiks River (Lewis 1998). Lewis (1998) worked with the Aboriginal fishers in the design and implementation of this project demonstrating a congruence of AEK with science.

The time duration and location for larval residence in the estuary is not known. Eulachon migrate from the estuary to offshore areas where they are encountered as small as 70mm size (Clarke, Lewis, Telmers, and Shrimpton 2007; Ryan 2001), and spend approximately two to three years in the ocean before returning to fresh water to spawn. Eulachon have been sampled in offshore environments through Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO) research surveys such as shrimp trawls usually in the month of May for the southern coast of BC. The smallest sizes typically are outliers from the two main size classes that are encountered offshore (Clarke, Lewis, Telmers, and Shrimpton 2007; Ryan 2001). This may indicate the smallest sizes are not entrained in the gear and may actually be present, or have not migrated out of estuary rearing areas to the offshore. The occurrence of the smallest sizes indicates the fish have spent some duration of time some place while growing to the 60-70mm length and may be classed young of the year or first year. The timing of hatching occurs 2-4 weeks after egg deposition. Small fish found off the West Coast Vancouver Island that belong to the Fraser River spawning populations (Clarke et al 2007) either have phenomenal growth rates during a few weeks, or have spent the duration of nearly a year in sheltered waters prior to entering the offshore. Another anadromous fish juvenile sockeye salmon grows about 0.6mm/d during their initial marine period in the Strait of Georgia (Burgner 1991: 65). If juvenile sockeye growth is taken as a proxy for illustration of eulachon growth in the same environment, given that eulachon larvae are flushed out to the marine environment after hatching two to four weeks after egg deposition, it would take about 116 days (or nearly four months) to reach about 70mm. Juvenile eulachon from the Columbia River (January spawning) could possibly reach this length in time to be caught in the West Coast Vancouver Island May trawl survey. As mentioned, two age classes are

found in the offshore environment (Clarke, Lewis, Telmers, and Shrimpton 2007; Ryan 2001) after spawning events have occurred for the year indicating the largest sizes may be returning to spawn the next year. Sampling in river for comparison to offshore age-classes needs better synchronizing for these relatively short-lived fish to confirm age at spawning, and from river to river.

Many mammals and birds rely on eulachon as an important food source (Hart 1973). For example, seals gorge on eulachon before pupping and may not eat again until after pupping. An unchecked increase in seal populations could pose a significant impact on eulachon abundance. The balance of the ecosystems functions is presently tipped by not understanding the effects of predator-prey relationships through the imposed regime's single-species management. Eulachon are a vital link in the marine food chain for sea mammals, birds and other fish. Historical accounts describe sea lions, whales, seals, porpoise, and sea birds following the eulachon migration into rivers (Lillard (Collison) 1981; Prince 1907). The arrival of these predators provides a signal for the arrival of eulachon, and opportunities to hunt the predators. Prince (1898) reports stomach contents from a 71-inch sturgeon (*Acipenseridae*) contained 30 eulachon. Eulachon have also been found in the stomachs of hake *Merluccius productus* (Outram and Haegel, 1972; Rexstad and Pikitch 1986). The predators feed on eulachon, a fact long known in AEK but treated anecdotally by 'science' until 'demonstrated' concurrence. This presents a classic dilemma encountered in the exchange of knowledge – a perceived need for validation of AEK that has manifested due to the vulnerability placed on AEK from its oppressed position. What seems to emerge from the 'science demonstrations' is a priority to count fish for the purposes of stock assessment that contribute to management of harvest opportunities.

Ricker, Manzer, and Neave (1954) examined the Fraser River eulachon fishery to determine catch per unit effort and fishing success in successive years for the period of 1939-1953. The objective of the Ricker *et al.* (1954) study was to estimate abundance and determine if significant changes in the stock occurred. Water level, temperature and fish age were also examined. The results indicate that fishing catch during this time averaged 25-30% of the population and also did not negatively impact recruitment. Ricker *et al.* (1954) also suggest a need for more age analysis data.

Smith and Saalfeld (1955) compiled investigations of Columbia River smelt, another common name for eulachon, primarily to assess the status of the Columbia River commercial fishery stock. Migration timings are noted for the Columbia River Mainstem, and major tributary streams that support commercial fisheries. Physical river conditions for larval stages are examined through temperature and effects on hatching. Adult lengths were measured for comparison between tributary streams. The average length for eulachon from the Cowlitz River commercial catch averaged 170.1mm (n=1000 males) and from the Sandy River averaged 176.1mm (n=1000 undisclosed sex) with samples taken two months apart. Studies on the Mainstem Columbia River and known eulachon bearing-tributary streams include larval surveys and catch statistics used to estimate abundance (Hymer 1994). The Cowlitz River sampling results indicate successful escapement and spawning in 1994. A comparison is made to previous studies on the Columbia River (Hymer 1994; Smith and Saalfeld 1955). The location of spawning activity occurs mostly near the Gearhardt Park area on the Mainstem at approximately river mile 1.2 up to Lexington Park, river mile 8.6 (Hymer 1994). Larval sampling surveys and fisheries catches generally do not proceed upstream beyond the Toutle River (river mile 19.9; Hymer 1994). The larvae water column distribution

in Hymer (1994) was found near the bottom whereas the earlier Dammers (1988) study found more larvae near the surface. River conditions of temperature and turbidity were different during the two studies (Hymer 1994).

Counting fish by stock assessment methods is a necessary component of the imposed regime although other information is also important for understanding the conditions of eulachon. The methods used in AEK for testing abundance of eulachon prior to determining harvest are consistent with the purposes of stock assessment, namely, to gauge abundance. Other environmental indicators in AEK provide information on the condition of eulachon that can have effects on abundance. Among the studies conducted by Smith and Saafeld (1955) are the effects of adult migration through effluent pollution commonly found in the Columbia River. The results of their study indicate a distinct preference for the fish to avoid the effluent conditions, and preference for a narrow range of water temperature. This is consistent with the observations made on eulachon by Aboriginal fishers at Kemano. A related study by Chan, El Khoury, Sedgemore, Sedgemore, and Kuhnlein (1995) examined the ability of eulachon to retain organochloride pesticides and polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) congeners in Grease (eulachon oil). The Chan et al. study indicates persistent levels of organic pollutants (110ng/g lipid of total chlorinated pesticide and 30ng/g lipid of PCB) present a minimal health risk as compared to similar risks from the Great Lakes and Arctic regions. Blahm and McConnell (1971) conducted tests on eulachon to examine aspects of thermal tolerance of adult fish. The lethal temperature in this study was found at 18°C with 50% mortality occurring after 1920 minutes (32hrs) and 100% mortality at 32°C after 0.3 minutes. Pollution is something that has emerged rapidly in the recent past and not previously encountered in the Aboriginal domain. It presents multiple detrimental effects for

the resources and also for the Aboriginal people that continue to rely upon the natural resources. New observations are manifesting in AEK regarding taste and conditions of fish size as well as abundance levels. The way the imposed system of resource management has evolved however indicates that it may take longer before comparisons can be made between observations in AEK and science for others for the management system to respond to risks pollution presents.

A few investigations have examined the composition of Grease and its nutritional and medicinal value (Daughters 1918; Kuhnlein, Chan, Thompson, and Nakai 1982; Kuhnlein and Chan 1998; Phinney, Wortman, and Bibus 2009). Lipid density of forage fish has been explored by Anthony, Roby and Turco (2000). Proximate composition (protein, oil, ash and moisture) was examined by Payne, Johnson and Otto (1999). An interest in the medicinal value of Grease does attract the attention of scholars and others however the distrust manifested in the imposed regime constrains divulging some Aboriginal medicinal uses.

The reconciliation of distance between AEK and science is found in the way knowledge is accumulated, stored and transmitted, and applied. The way that eulachon 'science' has emerged reflects the priority for counting fish with minimal treatment for the conditions of eulachon and their habitats. The way that AEK is applied is more consistent with comprehensive characterizations of eulachon and the relationships of ecosystem linkages. A study by Hay and McCarter (2000) provides a comprehensive compilation of available biological information for taxonomy, life history, stock structure, and assessment. Their discussion includes impacts to eulachon from habitat degradation, climate change implications, and incidental by-catch from other commercial trawl fisheries. Hay and McCarter (2000) make recommendations for precautionary management of eulachon. This

level of study is more consistent with AEK in characterizing the many elements required to understand eulachon but yet still objectified as science without social institution linkages.

### **Demonstrating the fit between ecology and social systems**

History plays a critical role in the manner that societies currently treat Aboriginal people, "...history can be used both to bolster and to contest hegemonic institutions..." (Handler 2000: 4). The perceptions towards Aboriginal people have waxed and waned through time based on the flow of knowledge and its content. A notion developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century disciplines of ethnology/anthropology that embraced an evolution of man the beast to civilized man along a single continuum of unilineal evolution (Boas 1924; Goldman 1953), and that Aboriginal societies were in the earliest stages of that evolutionary transition.

"Comparative studies in ethnology are forms of historical reconstruction because they reveal probable associations of customs. Tylor, it will be recalled, was the first to apply a method of statistical correlations of cultural traits. But world-wide comparative studies, no matter how elaborate, have the defect of obscuring all but the most general meanings. Since evolutionary founded on generalities, its development can only be set moving again not by new generalities but by more concreteness. The need for close analysis that will bring out new relationships and so deepen and refine evolutionary theory takes us back to the viewpoint of Boas that the center of inquiry must be a limited geographic area. In modern terms this would be a "culture area" that is, a geographic grouping of societies that share some historic unity, whether a unity of descent as demonstrated by common language or a unity of common social systems" (Goldman 1953: 73).

The Pacific Northwest region as a whole provides historic unity however the groups in the region are as diverse as the landscape. It seems that different approaches to unravel the complications forged from the generalizing approach may improve understanding of unique groups of people and their social-ecological linkages. The need for close analysis to bring about better understanding of "cultural areas" also facilitates the need to better understand how people are perceived in their ability to contribute to sustainable prosperity. The Pacific Northwest Coast, as a region, has prospered for thousands of years based on their sustainable

use of ecosystem services through socially constructed resource management. More emphasis is placed on the social mechanisms *in front of management practices* rather than behind them.

Folke et al (2007) suggest social mechanisms needed for building resilience and sustainability are *behind management practices* while the north-central coast eulachon Grease producing groups, and other Pacific Northwest group, demonstrate the high value of prestige to successfully orchestrate social mechanisms that incorporate management practices. It may be that keeping the ‘management actions’ separated from the ‘social mechanisms’ while considering how to improve resiliency and sustainability perpetuates the distance between humans and the environment. This separation does not exist in the Pacific Northwest Aboriginal domain.

The reflection by Folke et al (2007: 50) on social mechanisms and institutions recognizes an increase in the recent work on social taboos and sacred areas leading to an enhanced understanding of co-evolutionary social-ecological processes. They suggest findings on “issues related to collective and social memory...must be linked to ecosystem management” (Folke et al 2007: 50). The Pacific Northwest societies continue to transmit collective social memory through ancient traditions of social reproduction, feasting institutions and resource management.

Anthropology has described Aboriginal harvest of natural resources as ‘cyclic rounds’ of annual activity that is in general a close approximation. The Aboriginal view however may be more closely aligned with *rhythm* instead of ‘cyclic rounds.’ The difference between Aboriginal institutions and the resource management that Folke et al (2007) refer to is the placement of *rhythm*. Aboriginal social institutions, within which resource

management is contained, may ebb and flow in a natural rhythm of social reproduction. The natural rhythm in nature is obvious when an opportunity arises to look at it directly and it stirs profound cognizance inspiring awe. For example, the migration of sockeye salmon (*O. nerka*) to their spawning grounds, at close proximity to their end in nearly any of their streams, can be observed to move in a seemingly gentle choreographed pulsation. Before the salmon die they complete their journey by leaving their progeny to continue their ancient rhythm of time. The Aboriginal societies of the Pacific Northwest coast are exceptional in using their knowledge of these rhythms as evidenced by their persistence over thousands of years.

Several of the authors in Folke et al (2007) have reported in various publications on their observations of Aboriginal resource management systems with some works cited in their article. In their discussion of “The lack of fit between ‘conventional management’ institutions and ecosystem properties” they argue “that in many cases proximity and direct dependence on the resource base makes it easier to filter out and discard practices that are clearly unsustainable, and this close connection to nature is a property of many indigenous traditional systems” (Folke et al 2007:37). Aboriginal proximity to the resource base has numerous advantages however insufficient as a sole criterion to evaluate fit of the ecological system to management practices. It may also be a challenge to evaluate discarded unsustainable practices. The identification of practices that are sustainable based on the repetitive cycles of use without causing negative impact may be more pragmatic to evaluate fit. A key criterion to evaluate fit is the social systems ability to demonstrate elasticity in response to productive ecosystem services and perturbations before they arise.

The functional social system must have the appropriate incentives to solicit voluntary acquiescence to meet resource management objectives or penalties appropriate to warrant social non-acceptance. Resource management objectives should coalesce with the function of ecosystem attributes to realize maximum benefits in proportion to a future state equilibrium.

"Based on this perspective, modern natural resource management has been successful at rapidly achieving a set of narrowly defined goals. It has focused on controlling the flow of specific resources into the economy such as fish, trees, water, or cattle, thereby achieving social objectives, such as employment and economic growth. The field has relied on the use of fixed rules for achieving constant yields, as in fixed carrying capacity of animals and fixed maximum sustainable yields (MSY) of fish and forest products. Success has generally been equated with increasing yields, and increasing economic returns" (Folke et al 2007:38).

The objectives make sense from a societal perspective except relying on just mechanistically reducing the variability on those flows punctuates a finite capability of the resource to renew. The Pacific Northwest coast Aboriginal societies built in mechanisms to buffer crisis situations in natural resource use. Natural disturbances are common occurrence in a region with steep topography, prevailing winds, lightning strikes, toxic algal blooms, parasites, and fluctuating predator aggregations but with enormous landscapes alternative choices exist and may include reliance on social relationships to resolve crises. Folk et al recognize that some sophisticated local institutions have developed over a long period of time. Their section 'V. Management Practices and Social Mechanisms for Ecosystem-institutional Fit' suggests "The lessons from the literature on common property resources indicate that local-level institutions can learn and develop the capability to respond to environmental feedbacks and surprises faster than do centralized agencies" (Folk et al 2007: 46). The Pacific Northwest coast, contrary to imposed public resource management, does not consider resources as common property and in fact stringently adheres to an established pattern of ownership through ancestral lineage relations. The pattern consists of a mosaic of a

variety of social reproduction mechanisms and these are fundamentally the linkages to territorial areas, resource management, and social institutions. Social relationships are strategically integrated through a reciprocation network that facilitates a flow of generosity at the same time as it also signifies territorial wealth and social status. Social reproduction mechanisms assured continuity of these relationships and their inalienable linkages to territories, social institutions, and economic prosperity. The combination of these forces act in concert to generate wealth and it must be demonstrated in the feasting systems.

Effective demonstration of the power and authority of territorial areas portrays successful regeneration of knowledge in the management and use of natural resources. Folke et al (2007) make a classic mistake of qualifying Aboriginal management as passive: “...the process of adaptive management, whether it is science-based with active adaptive management or more passive adaptive management like the one described in many local communities and traditional societies, triggers learning and stimulates self-organization toward ecosystem management.” (Folke et al 2007: 51). The Pacific Northwest Aboriginal groups clearly exercise active control of resource management. Adaptive management should present options for the appropriate foresight to act on observed criteria in a manner that reduces risk to the resource, such as not fishing on a population showing weak abundance at that moment. Folke et al (2007) reflect on adaptive management that includes recognition of “... a too narrow appreciation of the social dimension of ecosystem management” (Folke et al 2007: 51). The Aboriginal resource management strategies in the Pacific Northwest are more than ‘active,’ they are *immersive* in the human agency of environmental stewardship while capitalizing on and conserving ecosystem services.

## Conclusions

The Aboriginal economic-management system may have provided greater resilience in complex and dynamic resource management for maintaining ecological services. The social organization and institutions governing territorial authority link together the expansive landscape with diverse and highly abundant resources to create the resource surplus products through effective organization of labor (based on lineage or ‘house-groups’), and ecological-economic resource management contributing to natural productivity. This chapter has demonstrated the systems complexity of the social organization as it is portrayed across the heterogeneous landscapes. The actions of this complex system demonstrate the effectiveness of the role of Aboriginal knowledge, language and beliefs to continuously transmit the appropriate stewardship and use of resources. The result is the production of high volumes of resource products for use and exchange across a vast network with strategic location of gateway communities along the corridors of transportation. The values of resource products are found in currencies, and exchange volumes, but more importantly in the linkages of the Aboriginal people to the ecosystem through their social institutions. The extent of distance for trade items found from their origin of manufacture and dated thousands of years in the past through archaeology demonstrates the longevity of trade relations. The consistent substance of trade items over thousands of years demonstrates the resiliency of these Aboriginal resource management systems to prosper based on the wealth of their lands in a sustainable manner relative to the ecosystem services in the region. The wealth from lands and resource use are significant in the elevation and maintenance of status and prestige providing the incentives that served as drivers for continuity of the functional systems.

If the economy is considered functional over the region, and it appears to have sustained Aboriginal groups for thousands of years, is it possible the current resource management has built opportunity costs that have farther reaching effects than simply excluding Aboriginal people from their territorial areas and the resources that evolved from their Aboriginal cultural domain? Finally, what are these opportunity costs? These questions frame the final analysis for this research in the following chapter. Contemporary resource management is framed on legislation and regulation that are derived from the colonial aspirations in the pursuit of lands and trade. The context of how these laws and regulations are implemented and affect Aboriginal access to territories and natural resources, particularly fisheries resources, continue to disrupt the cultural legacy and economic prosperity of Aboriginal communities.

The history of eulachon use exemplifies how knowledge is stored in language and symbolism, transmitted to others and successive generations, how it has contributed to the evolution of resource use, and how it provides guidance of specific activity as a result of observations (i.e., selective fishing, enhancement, watchmen, response to flood level changes, etc.). Effective resource husbandry included the ability of title-holders to demonstrate their control of supernatural powers in their knowledge of resource and environmental variability resulting in surplus production derived from the wealth of their lands.

## **Chapter 5: The subjugation by the imposed colonial regime to wrest**

### **Aboriginal title and control of fisheries while reserving starvation**

#### **allowance for Aboriginal use**

“By the development of civilization is meant the ever increasing degree of sophistication of our society and of our individual lives. This progressive sophistication is the inevitable cumulative result of the sifting processes of social experience, of the ever increasing complications of our innumerable types of organization; most of all our steadily growing knowledge of our natural environment and, as a consequence, *our practical mastery, for economic ends, of the resources that nature at once grants us and hides from us.* It is chiefly the cumulative force of this sophistication that gives us a sense of what we call "progress" (emphasis added; Sapir 1924: 412).

#### **Introduction**

The Pacific Northwest Aboriginal economy that endured for several millennia generating wealth and prosperity based on effective resource husbandry and extensive trade, grounded in Aboriginal traditional law and expressed through social organization, remains unmatched by any other human civilization. The final analysis for this research is presented in this chapter and seeks to demonstrate the transformation of the wealth and prosperity of Aboriginal people, generated through their fit between ecological and social institutions, to subjugation by alien and imposed jurisdiction over their lands, resources and people. The first section returns to the colonial encounter of the maritime fur trade and how control of it influenced territorial dispossession of Aboriginal lands. The following two sections recall where the Aboriginal authority of power was located and how the colonial regime sought to remove it. How the Aboriginal territorial areas are delineated and marked as property is presented in the next section, followed by examples of how the imposed colonial regime pursued the extinguishment of Aboriginal title to lands and resources. These actions were

conducted by a variety of mechanisms including treaties and legislation. The next section addresses one of the most hostile oppressions of the Pacific Northwest in the missionary suppression and legislated bans of the “potlatch.” The next two sections describes how the legislated control of fisheries further dispossessed Aboriginal people of their lands and resources but also created opportunity costs for the colonized state. The vestiges of resource use are restricted to the manifested “subsistence” perceived from the rationale used to justify dispossession. The following section challenges the legitimacy of the derivation for “subsistence” terminology wherever it is used in fisheries management and its inconsistency with the Aboriginal domain of wealth, trade and prosperity in addition to sustenance. The next section provides additional perspectives on Aboriginal commercial fisheries leading into the final section of risks encountered by the colonial state of the collateral loss of Aboriginal resource stewardship. These risks and losses will result in more and continual impacts, including the risk of extinction for eulachon.

### **Acts of pernicious imposition**

The first Russian encounter occurred in 1741 by Bering and Chirikof (International Boundary Commission 1918: 205). The first Russian settlement on the Pacific Northwest coast in 1784 may have been the epic point in time that brought change to the economy in this region. The settlement facilitated an expanding trade of fur products that would have resonated throughout the northwest region and certainly in the immediate vicinity of extended Tlingit distribution systems. The Pacific Northwest sea-coasting trade started in 1785 with the Captain Hanna on the *Sea Otter* realizing 41% profit. “The number of trading vessels peaked initially at twenty-one in 1792” (Gibson 1992: 235). The Russian American

Company was established in 1799 indicating some Russian consideration for the lucrative fur trade over a period of at least 15 years.

The Russians conducted sea otter hunting expeditions using "...Aleuts" (including Koniag and Chugach) in baidarkas escorted by an armed sailing vessel. Two parties, totaling 60 to 90 baidarkas, went to Yakutat and to Lituya Bay each year from 1822 to 1825, inclusive (de Laguna 1972: 177). A Tlingit pointed out the low rate of sea otter reproduction to a Russian at Sitka "...cod lay eggs but otters are born in ones and twos, and because of this disparity alone they can be completely annihilated" (as in Gibson 1992: 177). The Tlingit of Frederick Sound complained about the Russian hunters causing declines in the central straits.

The coasting fur trade occurred primarily in fair conditions with vessels entertaining one or two voyages per year mostly for short duration. In the later years vessels had to 'overwinter' to accumulate furs, which by that time furs had also decreased in value at Canton (Fisher 1992). The fur skins appeared to these merchants at transactions as complete products. The merchants would not have observed the manner these skins were obtained. Aboriginal hunters were sensitive to pup-rearing times or at least peak periods in local regions in relation to optimal harvest strategies (Thornton 2008: 140). The sea otter fur trade endured for about 30 years before the decline was noticed in a scarcity of product, and declines coincided with foreign hunters entering the area in their own pursuit of furs. These foreign hunters would not have hunted by the same rules as followed by Aboriginal territorial regulation. This does not imply that Aboriginal hunters did not take amounts that would have reduced the productivity rate. It is evident that all harvest severely depressed sea otter productivity. Aboriginal territorial owners however had more incentives to regulate their

harvest in some manner to ensure their own continued supply. The alternative would have been to acquire additional productive territory that would have been an extraordinarily risky affair if conducted by hostile attempt, especially after the introduction of guns.

The other factor that influenced transformation in the Northwest economy was the arrival of ocean voyage explorers and in particular, Captain James Cook in 1778. That Juan Perez commanded an earlier voyage and reached the southern area of the Pacific Northwest coast region had little effect on the economic trade expansion. Captain Cook on the other hand transmitted news of 'discovery' with descriptions of the treasures to be had. His first officer, Vancouver, repeated the journey and inscribed new names of places already named by the Aboriginal territorial occupants.

The British established the Hudson's Bay Company comprised of Lords, with Prince Rupert designated as the Governor:

"The Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated in *perpetuity* by Royal Charter, granted A.D. 1670, in the twenty-second year of the reign of Charles II. The Charter was granted after much consideration of the national and commercial advantages of such a society" (Dunn 1844: 8; original emphasis).

"The Governor and the company were to be lords proprietors of the same for ever ; empowered to make laws for the good government of the territory and the advancement of trade" (Dunn 1844: 10).

The British government established the Hudson's Bay Company to oversee the progression of various operations for the industriousness of the fur trade and later evolving as the Crown administrators to advance governance of settler communities.

"In the license which placed these northwestern territories under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, that Company became, for the time being, the representative of the parent state, and ought to have carried with it into the government of the dependency the principles of the mother country" (Church Missionary Society 1858: 245).

Governance measures of the time period included methods to address conflicts with the Aboriginal people. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were appointed to official roles of the British government as colonization settlement burgeoned elsewhere across the continent. The Hudson's Bay Company was granted license to Vancouver's Island and New Caledonia for a period of 21 years to conduct trade exclusively with the Indians. The colony of Vancouver's Island was considered open to settlement while the colony of New Caledonia (now known as mainland British Columbia) was exempted from colonization by settlers and was retained as a fur preserve. This has a bearing on the instruments known as "Douglas Treaties" pertaining to Vancouver Island groups. No similar instruments were devised for mainland groups, notwithstanding the parochial nature of those instruments and the inadequacy of the Crown government to abide by their intent.

The first influence of Dominion control in the Pacific Northwest sought to change Aboriginal control of access to resources, products and territorial areas. Aboriginal people were controlled by a variety of mechanisms to facilitate expansion of colonialism and ostensibly to alleviate conflict with them regarding access to areas, resources, and markets. The Province of British Columbia by confederation was 'given' authority over lands while the Dominion 'retained' authority over Indians, navigable waters, sea coast and inland fisheries, and trade and commerce (etc.; *Constitution Act 1867* Section 91(24)). The confederation of British Columbia was premised on the *Province* designating lands reserved for Indians, although the federal government ostensibly has responsibility for the Indians under the *Constitution Act (1867)* Section 91(24). While delegation of authority could be considered unconstitutional, it carried force. Reserves were laid out and assigned largely without the awareness of Aboriginal people until land surveys were required.

“But whilst making ample provision under the arrangements proposed for the future sustenance and improvement of the native tribes, you will, I am persuaded, bear in mind the importance of exercising due care in laying out and defining the several reserves, so as to avoid checking at a future day the progress of the white colonists” (Carnarvon 1859: 18).

The reserves were not to impede colonial settlement according to Lord Carnarvon, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies who signed a ‘despatch’ in the absence of the Secretary of State for the Colonies Sir E. B Lytton in reply to Governor Douglas. The Indian Reserve Commissioner in BC was active in 1874 perhaps without any intention to understand Aboriginal ownership. By the time the surveyors reached the northern coast, other troubles were brewing that would bring the land title issue front and center in the public purview.

Conflicts among the missionaries helped create excuses for military intervention and contributed to creation of a Commission of Inquiry. In 1877 the Church Missionary Society had sent a priest to take over Metlakatla for full conversion to the Episcopal Church and Duncan left quietly (Arctander 1909: 244). The services of Rev. Hall changed the tenor of religious worship and some anxiety was caused by some unusual activity. Duncan was retrieved to restore peace in the community and to continue his work and Rev. Hall went to Fort Rupert. Bishop Bompas visited Metlakatla on behalf of the Church Missionary Society with instructions for its Episcopal conversion and found that changing Duncan’s Christian model was not appropriate. The Bishop blessed the community and left (Arctander 1909: 249). The Church Missionary Society in 1879 divided the Columbia diocese into three parts resulting in the formation of the Caledonia diocese that consisted of three clergymen and lay missionary Mr. Duncan. Rev. Ridley was consecrated bishop of this diocese and arrived in the designated seat at Metlakatla in November 1879 (Arctander 1909: 250). Bishop Ridley was intent on converting the Christian mission to an Episcopal Church, and also made

concerted effort to dissuade the Methodist Church activities at Hazelton and Fort Rupert (Arctander 1909: 255-256). These activities were brought to the attention of the Church Missionary Society and they had considered that Bishop Ridley's appointment was not a success (Arctander 1909: 256). Dissension in Metlakatla was in fact already present because "Duncan's failure to maintain the unity that was the basis of his system was due to his inability to find an acceptable place in his utopia for the chiefs and traditional leaders of the Tsimshian" (Usher 1974: 135). The chiefs were able to use Ridley for their own aspirations to disrupt Duncan's experiment (Usher 1974: 135). Ridley worked assiduously after the 1881 'rift' to ruin Duncan causing more problems in the village (Arctander 1909: 270). Ridley summoned a war ship to Metlakatla (Arctander 1909: 272), and Victoria authorities responded by soliciting the U.S. who promptly sent the cutter *Oliver Wolcott* (Arctander 1909: 273). The rift between the clergy included conflict over a land survey of two acres at Metlakatla that inflamed land survey issues in the region.

These tumultuous affairs were deemed in need of a Commission of Inquiry, the first on the northern Northwest Coast (Metlakatlah Commission 1885). The testimony is indicative of the silent removal of Aboriginal authority over their lands but is obscured by the conflict between the religious clergy, as evidence was recorded from the sworn testimony of

*Sm'oygit* (Chief) Paul Legaic:

"Mr. Davie - ...Did you not know that Mission Point was set apart long ago for the Church Missionary Society, at the request of Mr. Duncan? *Ans.* - I did not know it. It was not till lately I enquired into it. I did not hear so until lately.  
Mr. Elliott - Ask him if he knows now in what way it was set apart for them?  
Do you know that the Government simply holds it in trust, and has not made a Crown grant of the land? *Ans.* - I never heard of it.  
Mr. Elliott - There has been no Crown grant for that land to the Church Missionary Society. *Ans.* - I would like to know whose ground it was to give to the Society.  
Bishop Ridley thought he did not know what is the meaning of Crown grant.

Mr. Davie – Did you understand what was said the other day in Court? Do you know the reason why we say the land belongs to the Queen? *Ans.* - No.

Supposing the land had not belonged to the Queen, how would you have been able to hold it against an enemy?

The interpreter did not think the witness is capable of understanding such questions – that he was too stupid to do it.

Mr. Duncan thought that the witness had come for a special purpose – to speak about the affair with Bishop Ridley – and that he believed he was not the spokesman for the other Indians.

Mr. Davie – What else do you want to say for yourself? We are given to understand that you are not the Indians' deputy, to speak for them, and that you are here for another purpose. Is there anything else you want to say? *Ans.* – Our forefathers never informed us that this land ever belonged to the Queen. For one thing, they knew the land belonged to them” (Metlakatlah Commission 1885:xlvi).

Whether it was Mr. Duncan or Bishop Ridley translating, they each had more interest in settling the conflict between them *viz.* the Church Missionary Society. Duncan used his knowledge of Tsimshian protocol for “spokesman” in an attempt to deflect the direction away from the discontent of Crown usurpation and back to the Duncan-Ridley conflict. The translator (name not specified) would have known the answer to the question about holding land against an enemy – hostility, acts of war, or death, but may not have wanted any reminder brought forward.

According to sworn testimony during the Metlakatlah Commission, Mr. Clough (non-aboriginal residing in Victoria, BC) testified that Mr. Duncan in conversation spoke

“about the Indians' rights to the land. He said it was not between the Bishop and Mr. Duncan, but a question of principle. That the land belonged to the Indians; they had had their title from time immemorial, and that was the best that could be shewn. That the Government had not any basis for any law in the matter, and there were only three ways of acquiring land – by purchase, or by conquest, or they could steal it. That the Government had not bought it; they had not taken it by conquest; then how did they get it? And that when they came to enquire into the matter they would find it a very difficult question to settle, and that he had legal advice on the subject” (Clough 1885: lxxviii).

During the second Commission of Inquiry in the northern Northwest Coast four years later (Cornwall and Planta 1888), Cornwall was outright condescending to *Smo'oygit* (Chief)

A. Shakes who was trying to convey the absence of people while away at fishing grounds left out legitimate due process when O'Reilly set out to survey reserves. This second commission evidence contains testimony and written letters with some very specific to the Nass eulachon fisheries (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 462C).

“The Tsimpseans of Port Simpson allege that years ago the land on the Naas below Greenville (9) belonged to them. That would necessarily involve the possession of some fishing rights at least, and they now ask that the commonage on the different fishing reserves may be extended to two chains in width.

Upon Redcliff (13) they have built a church, and houses on all, some of which are alleged to have been put up in defiance of the Reserve Commissioner, who states that he warned them against any such act at the time of laying out the resources.

These acts of the Tsimpseans were possibly their mode of seeking to establish rights to land of which they claimed to be the owners. ...

This contention exists between the Kincolith people, who, twenty years ago, established themselves near the mouth of the Naas River, and the Greenville people. By this movement from Greenville to Kincolith, the Kincolith people do not conceive that they relinquished fishing rights in any way, but rather strengthened them on the lower reaches of the river, on which the oolachan fishery is prosecuted.

As to the lower reserves (11, 12, 13), they hold them rather for agricultural purposes than for fishing. They allege that after they left Greenville (9), where they formerly used to catch oolachens, they begun to fish at Stoney Point (10), and, seeing how well they did there, other Indians from Greenville and further up the river began to come there too. To that they object, because, they say, the fisheries at Greenville endure as before, and might be enjoyed by the people of Greenville and other up-river Indians as before (this was denied by the Greenville people), and because, owing to the great number of Tsimpseans and other Indians on the lower reserves, they (the Kincoliths) are almost obliged to occupy Stoney Point (10). ...

The Greenville people again say that the Kincolith people, having left long ago the upper part of the river, “threw it away,” and now want it again; but the Kincoliths contend that that is not the case” (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 421-422).

The occupation of Kincolith (Smalgyax language meaning place of the scalps) presented conflicts with Tsimshian *Ayaawx* or Nisaga'a *Ayuux* (both Smalgyax versions refer to law). The overlay of the missionary site, and eventually the Nisaga'a Land Claims Agreement, obfuscates the Tsimshian dilemma but does not derogate the Tsimshian fishery access rights, and perhaps true ownership of lands. Suggestions were made during the Commission on Northwest Coast Indians to increase the size of the “commonage” area for

fishery purposes (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 421). The Commission expressed concern that extending the commonage may deprive “Kincoliths of too large a quantity, if not all, of the tillable land” but in the public interest, if such an extension were excepted, “other reserves of arable land should be provided in suitable localities for the Kincoliths” (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 421). The Northwest coast climate and soil typically do not support agriculture, at least on the scale anticipated in the civilization experiment. The second conflict was within the Nisga’a Nation over Stoney Point. The Commission suggested for the Government to acquire approximately 10 acres at Croasdaile’s cannery on Stoney Point and divide the reserve equitably between the Kincolith and Greenville people with the commonage right continuing to exist for the eulachon fishery (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 422). The duration of the Commission and the nature of the inquiry did not permit time to allow expression of the typical arrangement that would have transpired prior to colonial intervention, or in the alternative, the Commission selectively chose to present material in their report. In fact, the results were not satisfactory to any party because the conflict has continued to pervade the eulachon fisheries. The Commission did note some awareness of the hereditary structures and their function:

“It appeared that formerly all these matters were more or less amicably managed by the chiefs, but that now when religious differences have sprung up, owing to the presence in the same neighborhood of missionaries of different missionary societies, all charitable forbearance in such matters seems to be at an end, and disputes about secular interests are waged with as much acerbity as are those of a spiritual character” (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 419).

The missionaries appear to have become a scapegoat mechanism for the colonial governance at conveniently appropriate junctures. Gone are the aspirations to use Missionaries to advance the colonial agenda! Indeed, the two Commissioners for the 1888 Northwest Coast Indians inquiry were instructed, “As regards the attendance of missionaries

at your meetings, there can be no objection to their acting as interpreters for the Indians, should the latter so wish, but the Government do not deem it advisable that the clergymen of any denomination should act as Indian advocates” (Cornwall and Planta 1888: 416).

Commissioner Cornwall was familiar with the previous 1884 Metlakatlah Commission in his role as former Lieutenant Governor. In the 1885 Report to Cornwall the Commissioners believed “the Metlakatlah Indians were advised to reject the Indians Act and the Indian Agent” (sic; Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: 136). The Commissioners note a delegation of the Governor-General Lord Dufferin in 1876 raised the issue of Indian title and its non-extinguishment (Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: 134). The Governor-General was prompted to visit Metlakatla after the attention of the Dominion government was drawn to it:

“In 1875, Mr. Duncan found it necessary, in order to protect the Indians of British Columbia generally from the attacks on their ancient rights by the white land-grabbers, to take a trip to Ottawa, Canada, where he laid before the Dominion government the outrageous legislation adopted by British Columbia, and log-rolled through its legislature, by the land-grabber lobby, by which it was intended to allow the Indians only ten acres of forest and rock for each family, in lieu of their old ancestral rights and privileges, of which they were now by law to be deprived” (Arctander 1909: 236).

The Commissioners of the 1884 Metlakatlah Commission were “*Esquires, of our Province of British Columbia*” (Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: 131). The government of the Dominion of Canada was not involved. Elliott previously served as Magistrate at Metlakatla (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: iv). The purpose of this Commission was to determine the causes of disturbances and disquietude in the province

“whereas disturbance and breaches of the peace have occurred at Metlakatlah, and elsewhere, on the North-West Coast of Our Province of British Columbia, and a feeling of discontent is manifestly spreading amongst Our Indian *liege* subjects, of the said North-West Coast, and the peace of Our said Province is thereby disquieted and disturbed” (emphasis added; Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: 131).

The Metlakatlah Commission determined “the causes of disquietude may be classed under the following heads:

1. The claim of the Indians to have recognized their title to all the land.
2. The severance between Mr. Duncan and the Church Missionary Society.
3. The fact that the two acres at Metlakatlah, known as Mission Point, is not part of the Tsimpsean Indian Reserve; that it is at present in the occupation of Bishop Ridley as temporary agent for the Church Missionary Society, to which Society it was promised some twenty years ago by Governor Douglas, at the instance of Mr. Duncan.
4. The Indian Council at Metlakatlah.

Mr. Davie stated, “...as we intend to take the evidence of the white people before taking that of the Indians, in order that there will be a full and fair opportunity for everyone to have a hearing” (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: xiv). The Metlakatlah Commission spent their first day of inquiry with Mr. Robert Hanley Hall, Agent of the Hudson’s Bay Co. at Fort Simpson. According to Mr. Hall’s sworn testimony, he had advised Chief Mountain “that whatever claim the Indians might have to the land that they had no right to detain the man’s property” after an incident of running off Charles Roundy to prevent his logging of a timber lease near Observatory Inlet (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: ii). Mr. Hall further testifies,

“Until Mr. O’Reilly came there was no great stir about lands. This was three years ago. When he came, as far as the Metlakatlah and Fort Simpson Indians are concerned, the reservation that he made them generally very nearly came up to what the Indians expected. If they had extended a little further to the north-east, up the Naas Straits, it would have been completely satisfactory. I think it would have been satisfactory to them at that time. Since then they have asked for more. A few years before that much less would have satisfied them, as they did not know anything about it” (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: ii).

The purposes for the general surveying of reserves were not made explicitly known to *any* of the tribes (Davie Ball and Elliott 1885: 134). Mr. Duncan in his testimony states, “No explanation that I am aware of has been given by any Government official to the Indians in this part of the Province” (Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: xxvii). The Indian Superintendent Dr. Powell admitted to Mr. Duncan at Metlakatlah “the land question was not satisfactorily

settled up here” (Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: xxvii). Mr. Duncan expressed his hopes for the Commission to put the

“land question on a better footing than it is at present. I think the question divides itself into two parts – first, to satisfy the minds of the Indians in reference to reserves, and, second, to satisfy them in reference to land outside their reserves. It may be easily explained to them the benefit which would or did accrue to them from resigning all claim to lands outside their reserves; and, secondly, it should be shown to them that the reserves set apart for them, and said to belong to the Queen, are not the less theirs to all intents and purposes. . . . To translate literally words “the Government, or the Queen, owns all the lands on which the Indians live,” would be fraught, in my opinion, with great evil and leave the Indians to suppose they are mere slaves or paupers” (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: xxvii).

The Letter by Lieutenant Governor Cornwall to Davie, Ball and Elliott (1885) noted whereas disturbances and breaches of the peace had occurred and a feeling of discontent was spreading amongst “Our Indian *liege* subjects, of the said North-West Coast” (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: 131) indicating the Province had already surmised Mr. Duncan’s fear. Affixing the Seal to the 1884 document recites Cornwall’s position, location and date typical of letters patent but includes “in the forty-eighth year of Our Reign” although the Province existed as a colony since 1858 and not confederated until 1871. A pernicious liberty was assumed by the Province to apparently back-calculate their legitimacy to the issuance of the Hudson’s Bay Company commercial enterprise license for Vancouver’s Island and New Caledonia.

As part of the system of reserves, hunting reserves were also included. Mr. Collinson’s testimony 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1884 replied to Mr. Elliott’s question, “They have all each their own hunting grounds, and these grounds are respected. Mr. O’Reilly said he would prefer if they would go on with their own old laws” (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: lii). As demonstrated in chapters three and four, the ‘old laws’ of the Aboriginal domain stretched across the heterogeneous landscape through lineage owned territorial partitioning and

regulated economic functions, including protection of trade corridors. These ‘old laws’ are the linkages of people to their sea and landscapes, or ecological systems. Mr. O’Reilly may not have had any interest in understanding the ‘old laws’ otherwise he would have understood that his dissection of the landscape was in fact illegitimate against Aboriginal title.

The first formal element of dismantling the ecological-social institution fit of the Aboriginal domain is an act of pretension to remove the authority of Aboriginal territorial owners by preemptive assertion. As explained in chapter four, the lands are intimately connected to Aboriginal social institutions with territorial partitioning, obligations, and sustainable use based on the incentives to demonstrate effective stewardship. This single act completely removed all management practices and several social mechanisms behind management practices as suggested by Folke et al (2007: 48) as necessary for building resilience.

The colonial agents had no desire to comprehend Aboriginal territorial authority and how it worked to maintain the resiliency built over ten thousand years. The Dominion would eventually contribute financing for Boas’ work in 1888/1889 to better understand Aboriginal land tenure (Hale 1889), some 15 years after the Indian Reserve Commissioners work:

“The researches of Dr. Boas, while pursued, as will be apparent, without any bias of preconceived theory, will throw much valuable light on the subjects now referred to, as well as on others of equal importance. It should be added that some of the facts which he has gathered, particularly in regard to the tenure of land among the tribes of British Columbia, have a great practical value. This is a point which deserves special mention, as the Canadian Government is now sharing with the Association the expense of these inquiries. Many of the most costly wars which the Colonial Governments have had to wage with the aboriginal tribes in America, New Zealand, and elsewhere have arisen, as is well known, from misunderstandings growing out of the acquisition of land from the natives. The great benefit which accrued to New Zealand, in the improved relations between the natives and the colonists, from the researches of Sir George Grey into the laws, usages, and traditions

of the Maori tribes, is a matter of history. The state of affairs in British Columbia is in some respects remarkably similar to that which prevailed in New Zealand. ... We learn that the land occupied by certain tribes is held, not by the tribe, nor by individuals, but by the clan, and further, that when the land is sold the original owners are still considered by the native law to retain 'the right of fishing, hunting, and gathering berries in their old home.' It is easy to see how, when these native laws and usages are not understood, collisions might at any time arise, in which each party would naturally claim to be in the right. It should, further, be borne in mind that as there are eight distinct stocks in the Province there may possibly be as many distinct systems of land tenure" (Hale 1890: 4).

The varieties of Aboriginal groups west of the Rockies to the coast and along its course do have distinct systems of land tenure as diverse as the groups. Hale (1890) was summarizing generalities among "primitive communities" that he conceived as existing in some 'stage' of culture. In Hale's introduction of the fifth report of the BAAS committee on Northwest Indians, he summarizes perhaps his state of knowledge suggesting,

"...we find among primitive communities every form of government and of social institutions—monarchy among the Mayas and the Natchez, aristocracy among the Iroquois and the Kwakiutl, democracy among the Algonkins and the Shoshonees, descending almost to pure, though perhaps peaceful, anarchy among the Tinneh, the Eskimo, and various other families. In some the clan system exists; in others it is unknown" (Hale 1890: 4).

The Dominion of Canada had contributed funds to support the work of the BAAS committee with very specific Northwest tribes focus. Clearly the issues of Aboriginal land and title conflicts had reached Ottawa and predicated their financial support. The work of the BAAS committee on North-west tribes had outlined their interest in studying characteristics according to the Circular of Inquiry distributed after the 1884 Montréal meeting. The Circular of Inquiry content was derived from the BAAS *Notes and Queries* document. Boas (1889) did report on elements in that framework based on anthropography and ethnography. The framework did not include Aboriginal legal and social institutions and the orchestration

of territorial jurisdiction. Boas (1889) was also more interested in cultural characteristics. Only one small statement is made regarding land issues. Boas (1889) reported,

“In my preliminary report I have dwelt upon the present state of these Indians, the causes of their discontent, and the incapacity of the white settlers to understand the peculiar culture of the Indian. ... It is hoped that by a considerate land policy, by the encouragement of industries rather than of agriculture, and by an attempt to develop existing institutions instead of destroying them the Indians will in course of time become useful men and good citizens” (Boas 1889: 11).

Boas (1889) provides an indication of the rationale the Dominion may have devised to contribute support to this work, “...the present state of these Indians, and the causes of their discontent” which is consistent with the purposes of the Commission of Inquiry on the Northwest Indians. Boas (1889) notes the “encouragement of industries” that fits the model Mr. Duncan had demonstrated at Metlakatla. Clearly, the discontent was regarding dispossession of Aboriginal lands and resources. Industries of resource use had already existed for several millennia in the Pacific Northwest but the success of prosperity depends upon the appropriate stewardship of the wealth of the lands and resource use in the Aboriginal domain.

The acts of dispossession of Aboriginal lands were also occurring on other continents as colonialism trampled over other Aboriginal domains. The Colonial Office in Great Britain was the nucleus of British colonialism and provided direction to a variety of outposts. Primary objectives emerged as general policy to remove the Aboriginal authority among them by ejecting the chiefs and confining Aboriginal people to ‘reserved’ areas. The conversion to Christianity was used as a facilitating mechanism to achieve these objectives. This ideological approach became entrenched as the *modus operandi* across the Americas, and other places.

## Removing the power

A proposal was presented to Lord Carnarvon regarding the colonial endeavor at the Cape and Natal (South Africa) that was essentially an extension of the prevailing system at the time with exception of using ‘Native Law’ (although not clarified) and appointing new magistrates “to be placed on the locations, are to *eject the chiefs* – I mean, to take out of their hands all control over their tribes” (as presented in Aborigines Protection Society 1874-1878: 263). This proposal was conveyed to the Aborigines Protection Society from a Bishop (not named) who indicated his approach had been,

“gradually breaking down the power of the chiefs by withdrawing their people from them, and doing away with the tribal system by giving all possible encouragement to the natives to buy land for themselves, which they are eager to do, would be far less dangerous, because the work would be done imperceptibly, and with the full consent of chiefs and people, and would also be far more effective, since the supposed Government plan would leave them still landless, mere squatters in fact on Crown lands, though set apart as locations, and held in trust for native purposes, but to which the natives have no titles, and they would still be mere tribal communities as before, the magistrates in their midst being only so many tentacles of the great cuttle-fish – Native Law—as administered solely by the Secretary for Native Affairs” (as presented in Aborigines Protection Society 1874-1878: 263).

The South African colonial ‘Native Law’ was manifested through colonial legislation, not tribal law although tribal law was at least suggested (Aborigines Protection Society 1874-1878: 264). “”The Native Administration Bill” ... supercedes the authority of the chief by that of the European magistrate, and gives the latter power “summarily to remove such native chiefs or headmen if he thinks expedient, and to appoint others in their stead”” (Aborigines Protection Society 1874-1878: 263).

It had become a policy of the U.S. to remove the authority of Chiefs, among other things. A commission of citizens had been appointed by the President in 1869 to “examine all matters appertaining to the conduct of Indian affairs, and ... to act both as a consulting

board of advisors, and through their sub-committees as inspectors of the agencies, &c., in the Indian country” (Brunot, Campbell, Lane, Dodge, Bishop, Farwell, Colyer, Stuart, and Tobey 1870:45). The commission reported on their conclusions based on personal observations and testimony. A synopsis of paradox is presented in the benevolent measures of government, soldiers sent to protect, agents appointed to administer, and trader’s interested in profits only (and other factors) resulted in a travesty of obstacles in the civilization experiment (Brunot et al 1870: 48). The commission recognized, “The history of the government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises” (Brunot et al 1870: 47). Some examples, or similar situations, of the travesty have been provided in chapter two, and this chapter. The commission made some suggestions that likely influenced the cessation of making treaties in the U.S., and possibly had effects in the Dominion as well:

“The policy of collecting the Indian tribes upon small reservations contiguous to each other, and within the limits of a large reservation, eventually to become a State of the Union, and of which the small reservations will probably be the counties, seems to be the best that can be devised. Many tribes may thus be collected in the present Indian Territory. The larger the number that can be thus concentrated the better for the success of the plan; care being taken to separate hereditary enemies from each other. When upon the reservation they should be taught as soon as possible the advantage of individual ownership of property; and should be given land in severalty as soon as it is desired by any of them, and the *tribal relations should be discouraged* (emphasis added; Brunot et al 1870: 49).

An interminable war was waged for more than a century against the Aboriginal domain largely without their awareness but did include acts of hostility. The aggregation of Aboriginal people on reservations (or reserves) was anticipated as confining Aboriginal people to those locations. “Great mischief, evils, and frequently serious results follow from friendly Indians leaving the reservations, producing conflicts between the citizens, soldiers, and Indians” (Parker 1870a: 43). Mr. Brunot openly threatened chiefs at the Kiowa and Comanche agency near Fort Sill:

“There is one thing I am afraid the chiefs do not understand: Washington is very strong and has many soldiers. He wants you all to stay on your reservation, and if your young men will go into Texas or Kansas, he will send soldiers after them, and they will be killed. We are your friends and don’t want this to happen. Some of the Cheyennes have been behaving badly, and some of them have been killed. Their chief has sent for them to come in and stay on their reservation where they will have peace, and we want you to keep on your reservations, and not leave it without permission from our authorities” (Parker 1870a: 63).

The final act was to rid the landscape of the cultural difference by creating a homogenized system to enable colonization. By 1870 the violent physical dislocations and misguided colonial hostility would become entrenched in the imposed colonial law. The ineffectiveness of the colonial experiment was a proven disaster on many counts but yet there was no consideration for its illegitimacy (Parliamentary Committee 1837; Bruno et al 1870).

The Dominion was on the same course:

“Mr. Elliott – Has it been the object of Mr. Duncan to reduce the influence of the Indian Chiefs with the Indians, to the extent of superseding them? *Ans.* [Robert Hanley Hall, Agent of the Hudson’s Bay Company, Fort Simpson] Mr. Duncan has, in order to accomplish what he considers most good, thought it well to weaken the power of the Chiefs generally, as the influence of the Chiefs in most instances has been a barrier to his advancement; but when a Chief fell in with Duncan’s views and willingly acted under his guidance, the Chiefs position was improved rather than otherwise. It is a well-known fact that civilization and Christianity, when accepted by the Indians, reduce the position of the Chiefs to a non-entity almost; very much damages their influence. Duncan has worked against the Chiefs as far as I can make it out” (Davie, Ball and Elliott 1885: ii).

The imposed regime wanted only one chief-leader in any community and preferably, not the hereditary leaders. The authority and manipulation of power to control Aboriginal people is manifested in many ways, including local and national legislation. A U.S. statute named the Alaska Native Citizenship Act of 1915 was passed for Alaska territory that established a convoluted process for indigenous people to demonstrate by examination “... a *total abandonment of any tribal customs or relationship*, and the facts regarding the

applicant`s adoption of the habits of a civilized life” (Hope and Demmert 1995: 4; original emphasis).

The political integrity may or may not continue with non-native interventions however intervention may have intended to remove Aboriginal authority in an imposed political domain. The motivation for removing authority is for manifesting or imposing other authority, particularly over resources that comprise an economic base or have economic value. Sapir does not define “political integrity” however refers to a “...compromise with his new environment, in making what his well-wishers consider great progress toward enlightenment” (Sapir 1924: 414) that is more closely aligned with subjugation. After Sapir (1924: 414) mentions the passing of the Indian, he laments the loss of genuine cultures and remains fastidious to the objectives of subjugating Aboriginal people with economic dependence while encouraging cultural expression as an offset:

“We have no right to demand of the higher levels of sophistication that they preserve to the individual his manifold functioning, but we may well ask whether, as a compensation, the individual may not reasonably demand an intensification and cultural value, the spiritual heightening, of such functions as are left him. Failing this, he must be admitted to have retrograded. The limitation in functioning works chiefly in the economic sphere. It is therefore imperative, if the individual is to preserve his value as a cultured being, that he compensate himself out of the non-economic, the non-utilitarian spheres - social, religious, scientific, aesthetic” (Sapir 1924: 415).

In other words, Sapir is suggesting not to demand preserving the Aboriginal economic base but compensate its loss by allowing other cultural expression such as through ceremony, dance, prayer, knowledge and arts (e.g., non-utilitarian, non-economic). When some parts of culture are connected to power, however, the cultural practices are orphaned into vacuous fragments. Sapir`s recommendation could only apply to cultural practices not conveying power. This perspective stands in contrast to a previous statement made by Sapir (1915:355) "It is obvious that to a large extent the type of social organization developed by

particular group of people must be due to the economic status attained by it.” Removal of the “manifold functioning” is removing the economy that sustained Aboriginal people for well over ten thousand years in this region. The cultural expressions of social organization, institutions, and intertribal relationships require the linkage to economic functioning across the heterogeneous landscape. Removing the economic base severed the ecological-social institutions fit that operated harmoniously with sustainable use contributing to the resiliency of Pacific Northwest ecosystems.

Sapir (1924) describes his view of man’s function as an organism to mete out direct ends (e.g., procuring of food, clothing, shelter) in the pursuit of existence to spontaneously participate in the world of indirect ends (e.g., ritual, dance). Sapir’s presentation seems to have logic to consider the distance between direct and indirect ends although the examples he used are abstracted from a combination of belief and dogma at that time towards Aboriginal people. Sapir acknowledged varying levels of accumulated knowledge through time, “We know immensely more about Hellenic antiquity in these days than did the scholars and artists of the Renaissance” (Sapir 1924: 423).

“If we realized more keenly what the rapid spread or imposition of a culture entails, to what an extent it conquers by crushing the germs of healthier autonomous growths, we would be less eager to welcome uniformizing tendencies, less ready to think of them as progressive in character. A culture may well be quickened from without, but its supersession by another, whether superior or not, is no cultural gain. Whether or not it is attended by political gain does not concern us here. That is why the deliberate attempt to impose a culture directly and speedily, no matter how backed by goodwill, is an affront to the human spirit. When such an attempt is backed, not by goodwill, but by military ruthlessness, it is the greatest conceivable crime against the human spirit, it is the very denial of culture” (sic; Sapir 1924: 426).

The removal of power from Aboriginal authority was one mechanism to force acquiescence by Aboriginal people into the collective isolation onto reserves (or reservations). Removal to reservations sought to homogenize the manner that imposing

governments could manipulate their assimilation experiment. In those cases, the conflict between Aboriginal belief and Christian belief could become the “cover story” for the underlying removal of powers of autonomy.

### **Use of “communal” or “common property” to erase Aboriginal institutions**

The Aboriginal conceptions for ‘property’ are sometimes viewed in comparison to European constructs, particularly in reference to private property (Trosper 2009). The obligations for private property ownership often lie more in the external periphery of others not interfering with the individual owner in space, time and rights rather than flowing from the individual. A significant element in private property ownership is eminent domain, the legal ability of the state to seize property. A ‘fee’ is paid to prevent seizure creating fee simple ownership. The state defines its territory and rates of ‘fees’ are leveraged as taxes. The variety of property ownership types has implications for how Aboriginal property has been treated. An Aboriginal view of property ownership may be more closely aligned with principles of state ownership. Trosper (2009) compares conceptions of private property to contingent proprietorship for the Northwest coast. The counterfactual imaginary provided by Trosper (2009) is a provocative consideration of how different the Northwest economy could have been directed by using the principles in the Aboriginal Northwest social institutions instead of the unsustainable approach that has prevailed.

“Some might identify the control held by titleholders as demonstrating the benefits of private property. The counterfactual story also contains elements that would not be present if all the resources had been converted to private property. In a private property system, all rents from resources belong to the owner of the resource. For fisheries, owners hold fishing sites, not the resource, creating the common pool dilemmas that lead to over-harvest.

In the Northwest Coast system, rents are shared among all the corporate groups that operate the economy. The traditional system had shares defined by the hierarchies that had grown over the years. Without more specific data, we can’t judge the extent to which the payments due at feasts were balanced in such a way as to

create incentives to recognize interdependencies as a best solution to the common pool problem” (Trosper 2009: 122).

The rents are shared, and so is the earned prestige. The distinction that makes fishery resources unique in the Northwest coast, and tied to territorial areas, is the anadromous nature of the fish such as salmon and eulachon. These fish may be considered a ‘common pool’ only in the marine environment where they exist as ecosystem services. Their unique stream dedication to spawning grounds that typifies their species, populations, races, and demes transforms their availability directed to territorial areas. The fish are no longer in the ‘common pool,’ and all rents from the resource belong to the territorial owner *after* capture, manufacture of products, and exchange. The question then becomes how does one manage access to the ‘common pool’ to ensure equitable distribution of benefits? The Northwest coast Aboriginal groups managed this issue by effectively controlling fish harvesting with technology (Berringer 1982; Langdon 1977), timing, and territorial authority. The timing of fish harvest based on estuarine and lower river locations by ebb tide flow is a significant control for sustainability of resource use while allowing fish to ‘escape’ on the flood tide. “The calculation of sustainable catch depends on the relationship between the current catch and future catch possibilities” (Munk and Motzfeldt 1993: paragraph 59). The incentives for such control were pervasive from the marine areas to the spawning grounds to allow the fish to reproduce ensuring future supply.

The authority of hereditary leaders does have contingencies as noted by Trosper (2009). The location of these contingencies for authority are found in the status and prestige gained from successful demonstration of the culturally appropriate behavior to produce goods based on the accumulated knowledge and controlling the supernatural powers to allow

the fish to be caught. The prestige status is contingent, and it is the primary incentive to derive the social surplus for the continuity of social-ecological linkages to endure.

Property in Aboriginal law is available to transactions and exchange as real property within the territorial system of ownership. It cannot be conveyed outside of lineage ownership without the attendant institutional sanctions or requirements for conveyance. It cannot be conveyed outside of the tribal nation. The power of eminent domain has been exercised in the Pacific Northwest by Aboriginal groups that have to adjust protection of resource areas when vulnerabilities arise due to social changes. Legal binding transactions occur within the feasting system. The feasting system continues to be the venue for legal recognition of titleholders and legitimating their roles, tenure, rights, privileges, and access to specific territories and relationships with other tribal domains. These territories belong to specific ancestral lineage: title of ownership lies with the lineage while people born into the lineage may ascend into positions of authority responsible for the territory.

The Minister ostensibly has discretion to manage fisheries under the *Fisheries Act*, however, there must be fish available in the waters for the actions of Crown-regulated fishing to occur. Canada's *fisheries* may be considered by others as a "common pool resource" but the fish that populate those fisheries may not be common property. In fact, salmon and eulachon populations are stream-dedicated throughout their life history. For salmon, their life cycle is semelparous, spawning once and then dying. Concepts of 'property' regarding fish in Canadian law do not apply until the fish is physically in the possession of fisher. Until that moment in time, the prosecution of the *act* of fishing is regulated by the Minister (in some cases through issuance of licence) following approval of fisheries management plans that determined the probability of available surplus above the requirements needed for successful

fish population reproduction, otherwise known as “Total Allowable Catch” or other defined limit.

The eulachon fishing grounds access and the activities associated with Aboriginal eulachon stewardship exemplify how the legal system is operationalized with the territorial owner with authority of decisions. The importance to specific fishing grounds, such as eulachon fishing grounds, was ostensibly used to establish “Indian Reserve” lands throughout the coast ignoring the connectivity of the small plot of land to the entire territory and the roles of the hereditary systems. In fact, Aboriginal ownership was conveniently ignored. The colonial regulation of Dominion-licensed fisheries was determined by the Supreme Court of New Brunswick as illegal on the basis in right of property of the riparian owners in the fish:

“Again, in 1879, it was decided, by the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, that a license granted by the minister of marine and fisheries of the dominion of Canada, - pursuant to the Canada statute (31 Vict. C. 60) for the regulation of the fisheries, - authorizing certain persons to fish in fresh-water rivers in New Brunswick, was illegal. The court were of the opinion that, inasmuch as the several provincial legislatures, prior to confederation, whilst enacting necessary laws for the protection of fisheries, had always scrupulously abstained from any interference with the right of property of the riparian owners in the fish, it was therefore not competent for the dominion parliament, in legislating under the authority of the ninety-first section of the British North America act, in regard to “the sea-coast and inland fisheries” in the dominion, to assume a greater power than the legislatures of the different provinces had been accustomed to exercise. The Canada act (31 Vict. C. 60) could not be construed to authorize the grant of leases in fresh-water rivers, where such rights did not already exist ; and any lease granted by the dominion minister of marine and fisheries to fish in fresh-water rivers which are not the property of the dominion, is accordingly null and void” (Todd 1880: 379).

The original case appears to be regarding an 1873 dominion-issued license for fly-fishing Atlantic salmon on or near the Miramichi and Nashwaak Rivers based on a ‘land company’ lease. Neither Maliseet people, known as *Wolastoqiyik* (“of the beautiful river”), nor Mi’kmaq are mentioned. The case was about terrestrial adjacency to the rights for the act

of fly-fishing activity but it was based on superficial imposition of a land lease over 'granted' lands to the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (Neubraunschwig) Land Company (Cartwright 1883: 65-146). This decision recalls the Royal Protection of Private Fortunes ideology explained in chapter two, and obfuscates Aboriginal ownership in the lands and in the fish.

“Wightman, J., delivering judgment, referring to *Holford v. Bailey* (8) says :—” These decisions are in conformity with the rule stated in the later editions of Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. 2, p. 39. ' He that has a several fishery must also be (or at least derive his right from) the owner of the soil'" (Cartwright 1883: 91).

“I consider that I shall sufficiently answer the different questions propounded for the decision of this Court by stating my opinion that the Crown had no power to grant the license in question, and that the same is absolutely void ; and further, that the Crown has no power, under the statute of 1868, to grant an exclusive right of fishing in any non-navigable river, whether the bed or soil of such river be vested in the Crown in right of the Province, or in a private owner deriving title under a grant from the Crown made either before or since the passing of the B. N. A. Act” (Cartwright 1883: 111).

“In England it is well settled that in a navigable river there can be no exclusive right of fishing unless such right existed prior to Magna Charta” (sic; Cartwright 1883: 76).

Prior to Magna carta, the Aboriginal ownership of the soil (and the fish) are clearly demonstrated in territorial authority based in Aboriginal law. The complex cultural associations by intra specific and inter specific actions were also based in Aboriginal law. These Aboriginal laws are at the heart of social institutions and complex stratified societies (Johnsen 2001; Masco 1995). Aboriginal law provided order and predictability for the behavior of humans in an environment that could be inhospitable at times. Laws facilitated order, including exchange of resource products for human labor guided by intricate rules for appropriate behavior. Commerce exists through the construct of legal systems for its

regulation. The structure and dynamics of institutions is noted by Folke et al (2007) as social mechanisms behind management practices needed for building resiliency.

Expressions of these social institutions manifest in elaborate cultural symbolism as territorial markers in the Pacific Northwest. The eulachon Grease producing region is the same geographic range that cultural expressions are elaborate as observed in house front design, house posts, 'totem' poles, and other territorial markers. Evidence of territorial declaration is provided by elaborate symbolism in many forms (Carlson 1983; others). These cultural expressions were physically symbolic cultural representations of unique identity. They are the written record of territorial declaration, ancestral identity, and history. Exploring some examples of how social institutions use territorial markers is useful for expressing Aboriginal concepts of property ownership. The appropriation of territorial markers to various collectors and museums has removed the key function these markers depict at their previous location.

The north-central coast region was fiercely protected from invasion of neighboring tribes and also Europeans because of the wealth in the region (Marsden 2000; Pidcocke 1965). Captain Sir Edward Belcher noted "Kellet acquainted me that this chief possessed very high notions of territorial right, and had thrown difficulties in the way of wooding and watering, which he was glad that our [Belcher] presence would remove" (as presented in de Laguna 1972: 179).

### **Territorial markers**

"It would be an interesting and important object of study to inquire into the territorial rights of each gens, for such a study would undoubtedly throw much light upon the ancient history of these peoples. These rigid laws in regard to the holding of land by the gentes are very important in the past history of the Indians of British Columbia, and are of prime importance in their present relations to the white settlers" (Boas 1890: 38).

The geography of territorial units typically aligns with watershed delineation or other significant structural landscape features. “The boundaries are usually determined by the physical conformation of the country, and are well understood by the natives, a circumstance which has enabled us to lay them down, for the most part, with minuteness and precision” (Hale 1846: 202, footnote). Tribal markers are used to delineate Aboriginal territories very similar to land survey monuments used to depict property boundaries. Titleholders have an astute awareness of territorial delineation much the same as European concepts for private property (Daly 2005; Garfield 1939; Halpin 1973; Marsden 2000/2001; Martindale 2003, 2006; Roth 2008; Tennant 1990). Within tribal territories are properties owned by specific lineages also with titleholders. Territorial demarcation set the defining criteria for application of Aboriginal law within that territory. MacDonald (1983) suggested “at least some of the rock art of the region forms a cognitive map, via the Wegets legends for the territories of the Tsimshian, Gitksan and Nishka” (MacDonald, G. 1983: 118). Petroglyphs, carved stone and pictographs are found throughout the region (MacDonald, G. 1983). Natural features of landscapes and forest structures are also used.

“As you see here (uncovering a stone in the school on which was written, “This land belongs to us”) it is like a rock and post on each side. God has given it to us and it is ours. You see the two posts on either side, the one on the right is Skeena River, the one on the left is Naas (Nass) with the Tsimshian land right in the midst. God has given it to us. On the two Rivers the Skeena and Naas and between these the land is full of the bones of the departed Chiefs and Tsimshians. At the mouths of both rivers you will see the names for marks of the Chiefs on the rocks. If you go up there you will see them as I have said. They did this years and years ago” (Campbell 2001: 130).

“The ancient movements and settlements are also recorded on ancient rock art which are found throughout the coastal region. They attest to the presence of the early Tlingit, and are interpreted as "markers" of land ownership. They also reflect the relationship that the early [Tlingit] settlers had established with their environment. They depict wildlife from both land and sea. The rock art also records trade items,

such as *tinaa* or copper shield that demonstrate the contacts that were established among the coastal and mainland groups" (Worl 2005: 8)

The Haida used sticks to mark hereditary property along the coast "and especially the various rivers and streams... These tracts are considered as strictly personal property, and are hereditary rights or possessions, descending from one generation to another" (Dawson 1880: 117B). Seagull eggs were gathered from areas apportioned to hereditary ownership (Dawson 1880: 113B).

The "boundaries" between tribes were arrangements of mutual interest often including trade prerogatives. Within the territorial areas groups defined their location based on a variety of factors. The Nuxalk villages occupied small valleys tributary to the Bella Coola River (McIlraith 1948a: 118).

"The northern most tribe of the Tlingit is the Yakutat whose principal village, "chlach-a-jek," is situated on the Tsuska Island in Yakutat Bay. The Yakutat tribe was never very large. Dixon counted only seventy natives here in 1787, but it must be taken into consideration that it was during the summer when most of the population is away fishing, hunting or on trading expeditions. Chliebnikof states that in 1805 the tribe had two hundred warriors. It seems that earlier they were somewhat dependent on the Chilkat tribe. The Russian steersman Ismailof and Bocharof [Shelikof's voyage] here met Ilchak the head chief whose own residence was on the Tschitschat (Tatshenshini) River [tributary to the Alsek], but who had come in the spring of that year to Yakutat Bay by boat for a trading trip and also to visit his subjects. The local people traded with the Tschitschat to the east and Ugalachmut and Chugach to the west" (Gunther 1956 (Krause 1885): 65).

The Kwakwaka'wakw territory as observed by Dawson (1888) was thus described:

"To the north, their territory comprises the coast of the mainland and a number of adjacent islands, bordering on the territory of the Tsimshian and *interlocking with it*. They enclose the peculiar and isolated Bilhoola people, who inhabit Dean Inlet and the North and South Bentinck Arms, on the north and south, and on the seaward side. Thence, southward, they claim the mainland coast to the entrance of Bute Inlet. Their territory includes, also, most of the islands by which the Strait of Georgia is closed to the north, and the north-east coast of Vancouver Island to some distance south of Cape Mudge. Their southern border meets that of the group of peoples to which Dr. Tomie and myself have provisionally applied the general name "Kawitshin." Thence, northward, they possess the Vancouver coast to the north-west point of the island, and

extend down the west coast as far as Cape Cook or Woody Point, where they meet the Aht peoples” (Dawson 1888: 1; emphasis added).

Thus, the presence of territorial markers was verified but ignored. These markers were both for demonstrating external limits and for delineating internal distinctions of the Aboriginal territorial partitioning and social organization across the landscape. By ignoring these territorial markers and imposing restricted boundaries, the colonial regime could manipulate their perceptions of how the aboriginal domain could be conceived under their assumed jurisdiction.

### **Unprincipled quieting of title**

“It has now been over one hundred years since the first treaty was made with the Canadian Indians by Britain, for the quieting of Indian titles and the surrender of the lands ; and yet in all this time no drop of white blood has been shed by an Indian because of a broken treaty – and the reason is plain. The Indian saw himself regarded as an equal in all the treaties made, and the rights and privileges guaranteed to him have been observed to the very letter. ... For it must always be remembered that in Canada the policy of “removal farther west: has no advocates. In every treaty the Indians are allowed to select their own reserves on the surrendered lands, and they are guaranteed free hunting and fishing privileges over the whole lands covered by the treaty, so long as the title remains in the Crown. When the land passes into private hands all such privileges cease.

...

In British Columbia there are about seventeen thousand treaty Indians on the various agencies, and in all these widespread territories law and order run together, and white man and red man live and have lived in peace” (Macdonald 1886: 164).

In the above passage, MacDonald’s rhetoric contains essentially only two truths: 1) it had been over a hundred years since Britain attempted “quieting” Aboriginal titles, and 2) the Aboriginal regarded himself as an equal. That “Indians [were] allowed to select their own reserves” is fallacy otherwise entire territories would have been “selected” but oddly the colonial endeavor conveniently ignored Aboriginal ownership. MacDonald is not clear about the “seventeen thousand treaty Indians” but seems to indicate a broad scope for the existence

of treaties “on the various agencies” and certainly this rhetoric on paper served other purposes.

An astute awareness, by the British and U.S., of Aboriginal title was pervasive across the continent during the colonial endeavor to settle lands. Commissioner Taylor (1868) reported on the various progress of several Indian Treaties in the U.S. and notes the removal of the Utah bands to the Uinta reservation presented a solution to the Indians annoyance of white encroachments: “It certainly is very desirable that their title to the lands in the Territory be extinguished, and they be permanently located on the reservation referred to, where they could be helped, and put in the way of being made self-sustaining in the course of time” (Taylor, N. G. 1868: 6). The plan was intended to open up valuable “agricultural districts and mining regions” for ‘citizens’ (Taylor, N. G. 1868: 6).

The Dominion of Canada took the same approach in their acquisition of Aboriginal lands. The plan was to acquire the lands, civilize the natives through education and industrial pursuits to make them self-sufficient. It was not a plan based on the Aboriginal domain but rather to produce a homogenous system to replace the heterogeneous landscape:

“In such industries as these the natives may also doubtless be enlisted, but before they can be prosecuted justly the Indian title must be disposed of. This, in the case of these people [Haida], will be a matter of considerable difficulty, for as we have already seen, they hold their lands not in any loose general way, but have the whole of the islands divided and apportioned off as the property of certain families, with customs fully developed as to the inheritance and transfer of lands” (Dawson 1880: 174B).

The British Crown and colonial agents had considered and recognized inalienable rights to Aboriginal people over their lands and acknowledged property transfers through exchange, purchase and for seemingly unpredictable purposes, seizure. In the British province of Virginia the “whole countryside around Jamestown” was mortgaged, and years later the same province “took frontier lands as compensation for war damages” (Stagg 1981:

18). Governor Nicols of the British colony of New York encouraged purchase of lands from Native people. Stagg (1981) describes the actions of North Carolina as indicative of colonial-Indian land transactions in the territories closest to Spanish Florida and French Louisiana with the earliest purchases by traders doubling as land speculators (Stagg 1981: 20). In Maryland two Acts were passed that declared "...no Indian-occupied territory was to be alienated from the Indians without prior approval of the colony's proprietors" (Stagg 1981: 22). In 1651 Lord Baltimore set up the first Indian reserved lands that eventually were subject to encroachment by non-natives and fraudulent sales.

"Many documented instances exist where either the British Crown or colonial officials in North America attempted to institute specific rules to regularize the processes of land acquisition from Indians on the settlement frontiers. Unfortunately, these were often hastily brought forward to satisfy military or other exigencies and were almost invariably unenforceable" (Stagg 1981: 21).

In areas where there was relative concordance over an exchange regarding land, it may have been adjacent to lands occupied by different Indians. By 1703 disputes over land and trade intensified between Indians and British colonials erupting into a full-scale conflict in 1711 known as the Tuscarora War (Stagg 1981: 21).

The advance of the 'settlement frontier' is an epoch of its own in the colonial encounters wreaking hostile havoc at every stretch of terrain traveled. It was during this epoch that malignant treatment of animals would be revealed by the actions of colonial settlers. The hostility increased in momentum and was wantonly directed towards the Aboriginal people as the frontier reached the western edge of the continent.

"The tribes in these Territories, as well as others, have long roamed free and uncontrolled over the countries they occupy, which they claim as their own, and it is not surprising they regard with jealousy and bitterness of spirit the encroachments of the whites, who, in many instances, not only ignore their rights but treat them with contempt, and despoil them of life and property. The passing through their country of a continuous stream of emigration, dispersing or destroying the buffalo, is one of the

causes of great discontent and suffering with them. Treated thus, and no adequate compensation being made to them for what they have yielded up or lost, their resources of subsistence and trade diminished, with starvation in the future staring them in the face, the wonder is that there prevails any degree of forbearance on their part, with such provocations to discontent and retaliation. The best policy to pursue towards tribes in the conditions, and which justice and humanity dictate, is to treat with them, recognize their rights, relieve them from suffering, remunerate them for that which they have been deprived, and provide for the concentration upon tracts of country guaranteed to them for their possession against any intrusion by whites, and then teach and assist them in whatever will tend to make them ultimately, and at no distant day, a self-sustaining, intelligent people” (Taylor 1868: 6).

The irony of depriving an already self-sustaining people of all they had was entirely lost in the benevolence of addressing tribes’ conditions. The acts of destroying the buffalo symbolize the complete disregard for animals and Aboriginal people by the settlers and the colonial agents responsible for “good’ governance. The slaughter of vast buffalo herds, followed by the wanton pursuit of predators such as wolves, mountain lions, bears, wild boar, etc., demonstrates the cruel disconnect of the ‘newcomers’ from these ecological systems. The colonial regime aggressively pursued disconnecting the Aboriginal people from these systems as well through the use of legal instruments.

The U.S. and the Dominion had entered into some treaty arrangements however many of these were fragile and subject to change. The plan was in general to carve out reserved space from the Aboriginal territory to facilitate entire dispossession, often without the awareness of the Aboriginal people. The ‘treaty’ process was, and still is, vulnerable to manipulation:

“To facilitate the future allotment of the land the agricultural portions of the reservations should be surveyed as soon as it can be done without too much exciting their apprehensions. The titles should be inalienable from the family of the holder for at least two or three generations. The civilized tribes now in the Indian territory should be taxed, and made citizens of the United States as soon possible [sic].

The treaty system should be *abandoned*, and as soon as any just method can be devised to accomplish it, existing treaties should be *abrogated*” (emphasis added; Brunot et al 1870: 49-51)

The U.S. treaty-making process ended in 1871 with passage of law (25 U.S.C. § 71) on March 3, 1871. The law and policy changed to accommodate further agreements to be made in domestic law. In 1851, many of the remaining tribes in California had entered treaty negotiations with the U.S. however the Senate rejected

“them on the ground that the United States, acquiring possession of the territory from Mexico, succeeded to its rights in the soil, and as that government regarded itself as the absolute and unqualified owner of it, and held that the Indians had no usufructuary or other rights therein which were to be in any manner respected, they, the United States, were under no obligations to treat with the Indians occupying the same for the extinguishment of their title” (sic; Parker 1870a: 15).

The Church Missionary Society observes the dissolution of support from Mexico of the Roman Catholic missions, “and eventually a law was passed by the general Congress of Mexico “for entirely removing the Missionaries, dividing the lands and cattle amongst the Indians and settlers, and appropriating their funds in Mexico to the use of the state.”” (Church Missionary Intelligencer 1858: 221). An act of Congress in 1864 determined a maximum of four reservations for California although previously there had been more (Parker 1870a: 15), notwithstanding other territorial dispossession.

The designation of reserves by the Province of British Columbia was included in the terms of confederation. Other scholars, namely Cole Harris (2002) and Doug Harris (2001, 2008), have described the reserve geography and procession of Aboriginal dispossession of their lands. The surveys of coastal Aboriginal reserves were adamantly contested by Tsimshian (and others). In the 1884 Metlakatlah Commission of Inquiry report they note, “The Commissioners need hardly point out that the question of Indian lands is constitutionally settled by the British North America Act (an Imperial statute) and the Terms of Union between British Columbia and Canada” (Davie, Ball, and Elliott 1885: 133). The

similarities between the Aboriginal experience in California with respect to reservations and preemption of rights and title was duplicated in British Columbia. The Province of British Columbia was obligated to designate “reserve” lands however these were not construed along the Aboriginal territorial domain. It appears the shape, size and location of reserves intended to meet the minimum requirement under the terms of confederation. The creation of “reserves” established the platform for the implementation of the *Indian Act* against Aboriginal people, and derogated local responsibility to federal oversight. It was the local colonial settlers that encroached upon Aboriginal lands however provincial officials did not tread in conflict resolution as it was officially the responsibility of the Dominion to control ‘Indian affairs’ under the *Indian Act*. The split between pretended provincial authority over lands and federal authority over seas, fisheries, and Indians has created an irreconcilable dilemma of the colonial regime. Aboriginal title applies to lands and Aboriginal rights are based in title to lands.

Slattery (1987) contends “...the doctrine of aboriginal rights apply apart from the introduction of English common law, it limits and molds the application of that law to native peoples... The reason is that the doctrines governing the perception of English law in "settled" colonies, and the retention of local law (such as French law) in "conquered" colonies are themselves part of imperial constitutional law and are to be understood in light of other imperial principles, including the doctrine of aboriginal rights” (Slattery 1987: 738).

The mechanism of application for imperial constitutional law and English common law lies in the British subject and its obligation to uphold the Honor of the Crown. The origin of both the doctrine of Aboriginal rights and the doctrine of Aboriginal title lies at the crux of territorial jurisdiction conflict. The existence of either doctrine in English common law or

imperial constitutional law may be reasonable if reinterpreted to accommodate traditional Aboriginal law (Burrows 2002) that must include Aboriginal territorial jurisdiction. An alternative interpretation is the doctrines of Aboriginal rights and Aboriginal title apply encumbrance to all parts of the Americas separate from the introduction of English common law or imperial constitutional law because these Aboriginal doctrines exist *a priori* and without the existence of either of these other forms.

Garfield (1939) notes “Many ancient village sites are no longer occupied but small reserves for hunting and fishing have been set aside by the Dominion government for the use of lineages claiming hereditary rights to them” (Garfield 1939: 173). The Dominion government intended to homogenize the social institutions by two mechanisms: 1) ejecting the hereditary chiefs from power, and 2) creating a “band council” system to replace traditional governance. The Tsimshian, Tlingit, Haida, Kwakwaka’wakw, and Nuxalk (and others) are making *declarations* not simply “claims” on territorial authority that has been established for thousands of years. Their territorial authority and ownership exists. It is the imposed colonial state that finds more convenience in referring to territorial authority as “claims” but the Aboriginal people have significantly more vested interest than merely “claims” suggest. The Dominion government has perpetuated the pretension asserted by Great Britain but made it more complicated by divesting authority through the *Constitution Act*. Other legislation is framed on the *Constitution Act*, including those instruments such as the *Indian Act* that ostensibly sought to homogenize the Aboriginal domain.

### **Economic loss in the “Potlatch” ban**

The “potlatch” ban was first practiced by the missionaries as a mechanism of conversion. Collison (Lillard 1981) noted one of the Haida objections to Christianity, “was

that it had impoverished the people who had abandoned the potlatch and the old heathen customs” (Lillard (Collison) 1981: 103). The *Indian Act* ban on the potlatch intended to disrupt the cultural activities and was largely premised on the misconceptions of Aboriginal people. A description and reflection of the ‘potlatch’ ban is provided by Cole and Chaiken (1990) in their book *Iron Hand Upon the People*. Cole and Chaiken (1990) provide a ‘narrative’ to the interface between perceptions of potlatch activities and the colonial attempt at abolition. Potlatching, otherwise known as feasting by the Aboriginal people, did continue as shown by Cole and Chaiken (1990) but also in those areas they suggest it stopped noting, “... it must be qualified by the incompleteness of easily available documentation and by the paucity of historical studies among other groups” (Cole and Chaiken 1990: 181).

The feasting system is a pervasive institution for the social organization, transmission of authority, and regulation of economy as has been explained in chapter three. Although the feast system itself does not fully comprise the economy, the movement of chattel goods for the purpose of the feast system was a significant contribution to flow of wealth emanating from the true wealth of territorial jurisdiction. The Cowichan tribe was observed to suffer economic losses of wealth flow with the passage of an act banning the potlatch:

“The recent statutory interference with some of their customs had produced a remarkable effect. Under the peculiar stimulus of their own system they had accumulated in 1888 ‘personal property’ to the large amount of 407,000 dollars. In the following year that value had suddenly sunk to 80,000 dollars. This startling change is briefly explained by the Indian Superintendent for the Province: ‘The decrease in the value of personal property as compared with last year,’ he states, ‘is ascribed by Mr. Agent Lomas to the fact that most of the natives have not collected property for potlatching purposes.’ Thus it appears that a law of compulsory repudiation, enacted with the most benevolent motives, had in a single year reduced the personal wealth of one small tribe from over 400,000 dollars to a fifth of that amount. This must be deemed a lesson in political economy as striking (coming from such a quarter) it is unexpected” (Hale 1890: 8).

The potlatch ban had the effect of arresting the movement of surplus chattel goods. These items are stored away for a very specific purpose that is above the economic goods and services transacted during daily life. In areas where the potlatch ban was enforced the interruption to the flow of feast goods and services had the intent of holding local social institutions hostage. The economic incentives that supported the structure and dynamics of these institutions were ostensibly removed. While the missionaries and philanthropists may have wanted to change behaviors associated with the feast system, colonial agents may have wanted to disrupt the social institutions.

“We now perceive why the well-meant act of the local legislature, abolishing the custom of potlatch, aroused such strenuous opposition among the tribes in which this custom specially prevailed. We may imagine the consternation which would be caused in England if the decree of a superior power should require that all benefit societies and loan companies should be suppressed, and that all deposits should remain the property of those who held them in trust. The potlatch and its accompaniments doubtless had their ill effects, but the system clearly possessed its useful side, and it might perhaps have been better left to gradually decline and disappear with the rise and diffusion of a different system of economy” (Hale 1891: 557).

The logic behind the potlatch ban was more consistent with “...a system of utterances that Canada will endlessly recite to itself in order to put limits on the actions of indigenous societies, but it will be impossible for the purveyors of this discourse to listen to the voices of those same societies when they speak eloquently in defense of their own social practices” (Bracken 1997: 24). Hale (1891) suggested it might have been better to let the system gradually decline into oblivion with the “rise...of a different system of economy”. Notwithstanding that Hale and other anthropology colleagues overlooked Aboriginal economy, the *Indian Act* potlatch ban was much more intrusive than simply disallowing ceremonial performance. “For it bans all economy. The statue is a letter sent not just to rupture the circle of economy at a few selected points, but to smash it altogether. ... Taken

literally, the law states that as of 22 July 1895 there can be no trade between aboriginal people anywhere in Canada” (Bracken 1997: 119). The colonial endeavor purposely sought to eradicate any obstacle in its trajectory to possess all lands, access to resources, and control of trade. The vectors of change since contact are many although the most critical mechanisms affecting loss of economy transpired through Dominion legislation, particularly the *Indian Act* and the *Fisheries Act*.

The development of legislation related policy in many cases is insufficient to support the regulatory controls necessary for the protection and conservation of resources under the *Fisheries Act*, the single Act that has caused the most conflicts with access to fish for coastal Aboriginal people. Doug Harris (2001, 2008) has described the Indian reserve geography and effects in British Columbia with respect to fisheries regulation. Diane Newell (1993) has provided an account of the history of fisheries regulation. These scholars have conveyed the transformative detrimental changes that have affected Aboriginal people and fisheries across the ancient landscapes.

The prior Aboriginal way of life easily incorporated an expanded level of commerce resulting from trading expeditions by European and U.S. foreigners. “In Sitka, a Tlingit elder commented, “One of the things that impressed Europeans is our nature of being traders. We like to acquire things that are not available in our country. It’s odd, that this is the thing that allowed the country to be settled, that the settlers would turn around and not allow us to trade anymore” (as presented in Magdanz 1988: 14). Observations were made regarding the success of Aboriginal resource management: “The coast Indians are well off up to this day” (Boas 1889:11).

The Aboriginal governance of resource use consists of linkages with social organization, belief systems, ritual behaviors, and accumulation and transmission of detailed knowledge for the purposes of ensuring prosperity for people and continuity of wealth generation. The anadromous fish rely on the integrity of their specific watershed for successful reproduction. The basis for Aboriginal resource management is at the watershed scale with territoriality delineated very closely with these watersheds throughout the Pacific Northwest coast and high basin desert where salmon occur. The outline of an Aboriginal language group often matches the outline of specific salmon populations and/or groups. Territoriality for salmon is not entirely lost on the Crown-regulated fishery. Specifically, the U.S.-Canada Pacific Salmon Treaty stipulates at Article III: Principles 1.(b) *provide for each Party to receive benefits equivalent to the production of salmon originating in its waters*. The affinity of the social organization of these created states to salmon watersheds however is not the same as the Aboriginal ecological-social institution linkages.

The contemporary management system arose to regulate immediate wealth gratification for the colonial regime. The Minister ostensibly has discretion to manage fisheries under the *Fisheries Act*, however, there must be fish available in the waters for the actions of Crown-regulated fishing to occur. Canada's *fisheries* may be considered by others as a "common pool resource" but the fish that populate those fisheries may not be common property. In fact, salmon and eulachon populations are stream-dedicated throughout their life history. For salmon, their life cycle is semelparous, spawning once and then dying. Concepts of 'property' regarding fish in Canadian law do not apply until the fish is physically in the possession of fisher. Until that moment in time, the prosecution of the *act* of fishing is regulated by the Minister (in some cases through issuance of licence) following approval of

fisheries management plans that determined the probability of available surplus above the requirements needed for successful fish population reproduction, otherwise known as “Total Allowable Catch” or other defined limit.

Priority for control of fishery regulation depended upon the perceived non-aboriginal commercial value of the resources. The Aboriginal ownership, use and value were ignored, particularly if local settlers demonstrated any interest in its use:

“The oolachan fishery is of great value. This little fish is obtained year by year on the Naas in incredible quantity. When the fish are boiled down, the oil – or “grease,” as it is called – extracted is of considerable and certain value, and forms the most important article of diet of the Indians accustomed to its use. It is with them a valuable medium of barter and exchanges; each man engaged in the fishing, which continues for about six weeks in the spring, expects, besides providing for himself and family enough “grease” for annual consumption, to put up ten boxes for sale; each box if of a certain size and shape, and is of the average value of seven dollars; thus each man get “grease” to sell to the value of seventy dollars, besides his own supply. The number of Indians assembling on the Naas for fishing is estimated by thousands, and so the enormous value of the fishery may be seen at a glance. As is well known, these delicate fish are also salted and dried by white people and used as an article of commerce, while the oil, properly extracted, is of great medicinal value. The value of the fishery thus demonstrated, *it must follow that the enjoyment of it should be confined to our own people*” (emphasis added; Cornwall and Planta 1888: 422).

Cornwall and Planta (1888) underestimated the value of eulachon to Northwest Aboriginal people but found the slightest potential value to the non-aboriginal people to justify their appropriation of the resource. Potential non-aboriginal marine commercial value also may explain why the 11 ‘numbered’ treaties encompass all areas removed from such perceived potential. The courts have forced recognition of three other treaties that are near commercial fishery areas, only one is ‘pre-confederation’ but none of these 14 instruments have been implemented in a manner that acknowledges the Aboriginal domain.

Several court decisions or legal opinions provide a litany of court recognized Aboriginal rights to Aboriginal lands and resources. The Cohen Commission recently issued a report to government and it cites Calder:

...

7. The Court has acknowledged that the rights of aboriginal peoples to their traditional lands has, for many years, been virtually ignored and that it was not until after a number of judicial decisions, notably *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*<sup>11</sup> in 1973, that the government was prompted to reassess that position.<sup>12</sup> In *Calder*, the Court held that prior aboriginal occupation of North America could give rise to rights that were not merely personal or usufructory in nature:

*[T]he fact is that when the settlers came, the Indians were there, organized in societies and occupying the land as their forefathers had done for centuries. This is what Indian title means and it does not help one in the solution of this problem to call it a "personal or usufructory right". What they are asserting in this action is that they have a right to continue to live on their lands as their forefathers had lived and this right has never been lawfully extinguished.*

*Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*, \*1973+ S.C.R. 313. ("Calder")

A period of time in the documented history of fisheries management in BC from 1860 to 1889 indicates an "open access" regime primarily because it is the time frame that precedes the *Fisheries Act* legislation or implementation. Access to fisheries resources on the coast of BC has never been "open access" and in fact was closely guarded by Aboriginal territorial exclusion. The legislation was created by the Dominion of Canada and overlain on top of the existing Aboriginal jurisdiction without appropriate consideration. It has attempted to replace the territorial jurisdiction that "fit" the landscape.

### **Legislated fisheries management**

The confederation of Canada in 1867 determined the platform for federal nationalism to enact legislation. The *Fisheries Act* (1985) in Canada is the legal instrument authorizing regulation of fishing activity. The current *Fisheries Act* has evolved from the original legislation of 1868/1871 with various amendments that have directly and indirectly affected

Aboriginal access to fisheries resources within their territories or according to their traditional use (Harris 2001, 2008; Newell 1993).

At the time of legislation for the *Fisheries Act* of 1868, the commercial fishermen on the west coast were Aboriginal prior to the designation of British Columbia as a province in 1871. The regulation of fisheries on the Atlantic and Gulf of St. Lawrence coasts against foreign incursions became a high priority for the drafting of the first *Fisheries Act*. The regulation of fisheries through national legislation was a hindrance for the two British Pacific colonies to join the Dominion of Canada. The colonial administrators acquiesced to confederation to stave off the U.S. pretensions on the Pacific coast to Oregon Territory (Bancroft, 1886, 1887; Dawson 1881; Stagg 1981).

The *Fisheries Act* was not extended to BC until an 1876 Order in Council, in force 1877 (Newell 1993). The commercial fishing industry evolved over time with comparatively little activity during the late 1800s. “The only trade in fish hitherto, and not a very extensive one, has been with the Sandwich Islands, and between the Aborigines, who mostly subsist by fishing, and the European settlers of the Hudson’s Bay Company and some others” (Dawson 1881: 53). The population on Vancouver Island was “supposed to be over 10,000, whilst the Aborigines on the Island number 17,000 souls” (Dawson 1881: 53).

“The difficulties attendant on any effort toward the improvement of the condition and mode of life of the coast tribes of British Columbia, are very grave ; and the actual results of missionary labours, such as those carried on by Mr. Hall among the Kwakwaka’wakw, and other self-sacrificing persons elsewhere, are in most cases, to all appearance, small.

It is difficult to induce individuals to abandon their old customs and bad habits, and nearly impossible to prevent them from relapsing from time to time, owing to the fact that they still live promiscuously among and herd together with the mass of the tribe. Since the arrival of the whites, the Kwakwaka’wakw, equally with other tribes, have become in a word “demoralized.” They have lost, to a great extent, their pride and interest in the things which formerly occupied them, losing at the same time their spirit and self-respect, and replacing it by nothing. It is comparatively easy at all

times to obtain a sufficiency of food, and food is at some seasons – as during the salmon run – to be had in the greatest abundance with very little effort. Beyond this, there is nothing more to occupy their time fully and to keep them out of mischief. They are restless and unhappy. In some seasons, good wages are to be obtained by picking hops in the vicinity of Puget Sound, and it has thus become customary for many of the tribes to go south in the autumn, nominally for this purpose, but in reality with no great prospect of obtaining work. They may then be seen leaving their villages in bodies in their large and well-built travelling canoes, whole families together with their household effects and children, and three, four or five paddlers to each canoe, setting out cheerfully enough on their voyage of two hundred miles or more. They may obtain a little money while away, which they invest in goods and whiskey if they can obtain it (and in this there is unfortunately very little difficulty). They live, however, in the vicinity of Victoria and other large towns in a state of shameless debauchery, and thus very often return in a diseased state to their homes.

The condition of these people is in no sense bettered by endeavouring to teach them moral maxims or religious dogma. They do not appreciate the truth of the former, nor can they in their low mental state rightly understand the latter. To endeavour to do so is merely to imitate the procedure of the Indian shaman over the dying. If, on the contrary, you speak to them of means of improving their material condition, or deplore with them the rapid diminution of their tribe, the more thoughtful and mature listen with the greatest respect and attention. The problem is, fundamentally, an industrial one, and is to be attacked, if successfully, from that side. They are naturally industrious enough, and capable, though not so persistently laborious as the whites, and less easy to control than the Chinese. They obtain a certain amount of precarious employment in connection with the canneries and other nascent industries of the northern coast, but have not generally the offer of any permanent remunerative work.

It is thus primarily essential to establish industries among them which will remove the temptation now felt to drift to the larger settlements and towns. Improvement in mental and moral tone will then naturally follow. The Kwakwaka'wakw, with other Indians of the coast, already cultivate in a desultory manner small crops of potatoes, on such minute patches of open land (generally the sites of old villages) as are to be found along the shore. Their bent is, however, not that of an agricultural people, and the densely wooded character of their country calls for labour, herculean in proportion to the unsystematic efforts of these people before it can be cleared and reclaimed for agriculture on any large scale. They are, on the contrary, excellent boatmen and fishermen in their own way, and it is towards developing, encouraging and directing their tendency in this direction that efforts should be made. *They would readily learn to build boats, make nets, and to take and cure fish in such a manner that the product would be marketable, and in so doing might attain independence and what would be to them wealth.* They might not, it is true, be able to compete on equal terms with the whites in such matters, but this need not prevent them from developing into very valuable members of the community of the west, the scattered constituents of which are already gathering from all quarters of the world and being welded into a new whole. To effect these objects, the most essential step is the establishment of industrial schools, of which there are already good examples in several parts of the

country, where the younger people will be separated from their old associates and instructed in various callings appropriate to their condition and surroundings” (Dawson 1888: 25; emphases added).

Dawson obviously did not fraternize with cannery owners who saw to it to restrict Aboriginal fishing entirely. The cannery operations were considered the bulk of the fisheries industry although Aboriginal fisheries were significant contributions to the economic prosperity of the province (Newell 1993). A clear separation of Aboriginal fisheries and commerce emerges after the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

“The Indians of British Columbia rely so much on the success of salmon fishing, that if it were to fail them, or if they were by any means cut off from obtaining supplies of food from this source, they must starve. This fish in a preserved state, is almost their only food, throughout the long and severe winter of the mountain regions. It is also, during the winter season, the principal food of the clerks and servants of the Hudson’s Bay Company at their inland and more northern posts. It has scarcely become an article of commerce, although, indeed, at Fort Langley, on the Fraser, the Hudson’s Bay Company salt several hundred barrels of salmon yearly, which they export to the Sandwich Islands and to China” (McDonell Dawson 1881: 83).

“The coast tribes of British Columbia are communities of fishermen, mechanics, and traders, with a well-defined political and commercial system” (Hale 1890: 6).

“The native Indian tribes, subsisted upon fish, and the salmon, trout, sturgeon, halibut, herring, anchovy, clams, oysters, crabs, sea-weed and other marine products have from time immemorial been used by them for food. But the [non-native] commercial exploitation, and the systematic pursuit of the fisheries, date back for a very short period. Even now a genuine fishing population, and fishing firms devoted exclusively to the fishing industry, as on the Atlantic or European coasts, are largely lacking, the fishermen and the packing firms being for much of the year engaged in other industries.

‘In speaking of the fisheries of British Columbia one may almost be said to be speaking of something which has no existence,’ said a prominent authority in Victoria, writing 30 years ago [ca. 1877], ‘with exception of a few factories for putting up salmon in 1-lb. and 2-lb. tins on the Fraser river, and one or two whaling enterprises of a few years standing, no attempt whatever has been made to develop the actually marvelous resources of the province in the way of fish.’ It is true that for more than half a century previously the Hudson’s Bay Company had extensively packed salted salmon, and shipped them in barrels to Australia, the Sandwich Islands, and other countries, but there was no general utilization of the fishery resources.

‘In some seasons,’ said inspector Anderson, in his report for 1871, ‘between 2,000 and 3,000 barrels are provided, the fish procured by barter from the natives, but’ he adds, ‘for some years private fisheries have been established, where large quantities are annually cured, and recently an establishment for preserving fish in cans for exportation has been started and promises to be very successful’ (sic; Prince 1908: 19).

The 1905-1907 Report and Recommendations of the Dominion British Columbia Fisheries Commission (Prince 1908) indicated no significant [Crown regulated] commercial fisheries had developed; the canneries were not at the time considered ‘commercial fisheries’ although their processed volume was included in fishery statistics. Early salmon canneries, mostly on the Fraser River between 1874 and 1901, brought an avalanche of change in the manner that fisheries were regulated (Brown 2005; Knight 1992; Newell 1993).

Attempts have been made to open a commercial eulachon fishery on the north coast of BC, however, the attempts have been aggressively opposed by Aboriginal groups since the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Shrimp fishers during and since the 1950s have requested the possibility of opening a commercial fishery so their incidental bycatch of eulachon on the north-central coast might yield economic value for their effort (Moody 2008; Stacey 1995).

Eulachon are the subject of Pelagic Stocks management with responsibilities designated to specific DFO staff members. Those fishery resources that contribute to commercial or recreational fish harvesting activities generally receive higher priority for allocation of departmental resources for management activities. Fish harvesting activities that may contribute to generating economic activity generally determine the scale of activity associated with resource management. For example, Pacific salmon fisheries may have the largest concentration of resource management activity due to the scale of fisheries harvesting by commercial and recreational sectors and multi-sector engagement. By comparison, eulachon from the Fraser River have been managed for a small local commercial fishery by a

fairly simple and consistent management plan determined by department staff, and run through a gamut of ‘consultation’ with ‘stakeholders,’ when abundance has been determined by stock assessment to support fisheries.

Statistical records for eulachon do not exist in many areas throughout their range in BC although DFO Conservation Officers frequently provided comments in their regular reports. Most of these notations are qualitative observations. Stacey (1995) provides a history of eulachon use from archival records of DFO and other federal, and BC provincial agencies on the historical eulachon fishery. Stacey combines information extracted from ethnology study with fisheries management records. The study is maintained in DFO records and includes records of available catch statistics for the Nass and Skeena Rivers, Central Coast (Bella Coola River and Rivers Inlet), and the Fraser River. The historical records provide comments about the irregularity of runs within their range.

For over 100 years, eulachon has been protected for Aboriginal-use only in these other river systems by federal policy regulation (Stacey 1995). Recently however some recreational eulachon fishing has occurred on the Skeena River although it may not be clear where authority for recreational opportunity is derived. The continuity of the Aboriginal eulachon fishery through time has not skipped a beat. The territorial owners will plan and prepare for, and travel to eulachon fishing grounds, wait for the appropriate cultural indicators, and evaluate the resource productivity as has been done for thousands of years. If the cultural indicators signal low abundance then fishing is not pursued, even if DFO stock assessment indicates adequate abundance to support fisheries. This situation has been occurring with more frequency in the last few decades. Even without an adequate abundance and the absence of fishing, Aboriginal stewardship of the resource is conducted by other

activities while at the site, for example, determining abundance level, location of fish in the water column, condition of fish, and sex ratios, etc. It also provides an opportunity for conveying the cultural legacy with social interaction at the camps. The same time next year, they will return.

The early federal regulation of fisheries encountered conflicts between resource users similar to those experienced in contemporary situations. Advocates for Aboriginal fisheries presented their plea to exempt Aboriginal fishery regulation: “1878 Indian rights questioned – recommendation that Indians in British Columbia be formally exempted from general fishery law” (Society of Pacific Region Fishery Officers 1879). Pleas such as this were brought to the attention of government:

7. While treating of this subject I respectfully refer you to the remarks contained in my last year's report. To these I have little to add, though I would willingly quiet the alarm of those zealous agitators (few, possibly, in number) who contend that the untrammelled exercise of the aboriginal fishing rights must necessarily cause the ruin of the fisheries. These objectors are oblivious of the fact that, up at least to the advent of the white man, the fisheries throughout the province were admittedly unimpaired. Yet up to that period, from time immemorial, and while the natives were more numerous than they now are, the aboriginal fisheries both on the coast and in the interior, were prosecuted, after the hereditary fashion, without that deplorable consequence which, in ignorance or through oversight, some well-meaning individuals may now, possibly, choose to foreshadow. Any deterioration that may have appeared of late years in the fisheries either of the coast or in the interior, therefore, must be ascribed to other causes than that referred to. That such deterioration is apparent, however, to any material extent, I am nowise prepared to admit; though in a special instance, (that of Victoria Harbor) it has been found necessary to recommend restrictive measures-but these restrictions affect the white fishermen and not the Indians, whose local interests have partially suffered in common with those of the rest of the community.

8. I have so far sought to place this subject before the department on ground solely of humanity, of justice, and of prudential consideration. I have now to add that, in my opinion, the exercise of the aboriginal fishing rights cannot be legally interfered with. I refer you to a pamphlet which accompanies this, published by the provincial government on the Indian land question, containing copies of the treaties with the Indians of the several tribes under which the settlement of a portion of the province was commenced and has proceeded. In all of these treaties the following clause

appears: "it is understood, however, that the land itself, with "these small exceptions, becomes the entire property of the white people for ever; "it is also understood that we are at liberty to hunt over the unoccupied lands, and "to carry on our fisheries as formally."

Fourteen tribes, under distinct treaty, have their fishing rights best indefeasibly secured to them; and the same right, though unexpressed in writing, has of necessity been understood, a settlement extended, to be secured to all the rest.

9. I earnestly repeat, therefore, my former recommendation, that the Indians of this province be formally exempted, by order in Council, from the application of the general fishery law. In this way deposition will be publicly understood; and the risk will be avoided that, in some remote part of this wide region, some overzealous official may, through ignorance, be tempted to misapply the intention of the law as at present authorized, and thus originate troubles which it will be more easy to excite them to allay" (42 Victoria, Sessional Papers (NO. 3) A. 1879: 293).

The *Fisheries Act* and the associated regulations are not consistent with Aboriginal activities associated with natural resources use based in Aboriginal law. The *Fisheries Act* prescribes that the power of authority to make fisheries decisions is placed in the Minister of Fisheries with department headquarters operating in Ottawa. The Minister relies upon the local Pacific Region to provide the Minister with 'integrated' fisheries management plans for the fishing season. Within those plans, and the process that ostensibly conceives the plans are included fisheries by different sectors, namely commercial, recreational and Aboriginal Food, Social and Ceremonial (FSC) fisheries. These Aboriginal fisheries are by law to receive priority second only to conservation needs. The implementation of the *Fisheries Act* instruments often focuses on regulating harvest only, and interprets Aboriginal harvest as customs, traditions, and usual practices based on subsistence need. This is a problem when a distant and removed authority is not 'present' in the watersheds to conduct the Aboriginal customs and traditions of stewardship of the resources. The minimal amount of fishing 'allowed' by Aboriginal people does not provide the incentives for demonstrating the effective management of resources by the decision maker such as required by the Aboriginal

feasting institutions. In fact, the management system is constrained by inadequate knowledge and extremely limited operational budgets to inform the management system of the conditions for fisheries resources and their habitats. The mechanisms to determine harvest strategies at the fishing location based on conditions measured at that site are removed. It has become a numbers game and the fish are losing, as well as Aboriginal people.

What is missing in the interpretation is how those resources became so abundant, along with comprehending the elaborate system of commerce based on natural resource products surplus above subsistence use. Reducing harvest alone as a management measure has not provided the resiliency to natural resources for their return to higher productivity levels as previous Aboriginal resource management had continuously facilitated. Restricted access (timing, area, gear selection, and volume) to resources has been imposed based on harvest without consideration for territorial disposition and attendant husbandry. The effects of discontinuity of historic stewardship are observed at the point of inflection on historic salmon abundance since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century where the point of resource abundance decline aligns with removal of Aboriginal stewardship and husbandry. It is masked by the introduction of salmon enhancement activities and production. Perceptions about diminished Aboriginal fishing, as a result of declining Aboriginal populations, also plays into historical estimates. Eulachon abundance, and many other fisheries resources, during the same time period are not known. Resource management activities for eulachon under the *Fisheries Act* are virtually non-existent in the north-central coast.

The marginalization of Aboriginal people to access resources in their territories has resulted in perceptions that bits of the Aboriginal domain are blended with the colonial regime. One of these perceptions is an “informal” economy based on historic resource use

buttressed against imposed regulatory constraints. Aboriginal people that know fishing as a way of life have tried to participate in the imposed resource management (unsuccessfully) while maintaining social organization and cultural continuity (Burke 2010). The most profound misconception is the 'bit' that Aboriginal harvesting of fisheries resources satisfied only a subsistence need.

### **Regulated to starvation by subsistence 'allowance'**

A clear definition of "subsistence" was found as an overwhelming challenge to Schumann and Macinko (2007). The first use of the term subsistence in the context used for regulating resource use particularly by Aboriginal people may have come from interpreting the *Treatise on Government* by John Locke (1823) however it has not been clearly defined in its application. The term subsistence is a manifestation of the perceived bare minimum requirements of natural resources use for one group, typically Aboriginal, while not limiting another group, typically colonized state regulated users, for commercial pursuit of the same resources. A definition is provided by the UN Food and Agriculture Organization for "Subsistence fishery: A fishery where the fish caught are consumed directly by the families of the fishers rather than being bought by middle-(wo)men and sold at the next larger market" (UN Food and Agriculture Organization 1998).

The concept of "Subsistence" may have emanated from the perceived agrarian superiority or 'civilized' state in concert with perceptions of Aboriginal societies. The manner the term "subsistence" is used in the context of resource or fisheries management has a multiple meanings (Schumann and Macinko (2007: 707). The term "subsistence" derives from Middle English use in the 15<sup>th</sup> century originating from Late Latin *subsistentia*,

*subsistent-*, *subsistens* (Merriam-Webster online 2013). The Merriam-Webster online dictionary provides the following definition:

1 *a* (1) : real being : existence (2) : the condition of remaining in existence : continuation, persistence  
*b* : an essential characteristic quality of something that exists  
*c* : the character possessed by whatever is logically conceivable  
2: means of subsisting: as  
*a* : the minimum (as of food and shelter) necessary to support life  
*b* : a source or means of obtaining the necessities of life  
- sub·sis·tent adjective (Merriam-Webster online <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subsistence>, accessed May 2013).

The etymology for *subsistens* is Latin present participle of *subsistō*. The Latin etymology for *subsistō* is *sub-* (“below”) + *sistō* (“I place, I stand”). If *subsistō* is used as a verb its form is “...*present active* *subsistō*, *present infinitive* *subsistere*, *perfect active* *substitī*. (no passive)” 1. (intransitive) I halt or stop (Wiktionary 2013 <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/subsisto#Latin> accessed May 2013). Berkes (1988) provides a definition from “... the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (7<sup>th</sup> ed.): ...Subsistence: Means of supporting life, livelihood, what one lives on or by” (Berkes 1988: 319).

From the definitions above it appears contemporary use of “subsistence” is derived from the *means* of subsisting as the minimum necessary to support life although its Latin etymology indicates “below – place, stand” could implicate marginal risk to life. The manner the term is interpreted in its use depends on the context of the historicity of the use of natural resources as it is applied against *other* user groups (Schumann and Macinko 2007: 706). Berkes (1990) clarifies this distinction with a previous introductory statement (Berkes 1988: 319) used later as a definition “local, non-commercial fisheries, oriented not primarily for recreation but for the procurement of fish for consumption of the fishers, their families and community” (Berkes 1990: 35). The term does not appear to have evolved from an

Aboriginal domain whatsoever (Berkes 1988:320). The use of the term “subsistence” is common in anthropology, archaeology and economics in relation to the components of diet or principal foods consumed. Ethnographic observers appear to place high interest in the manner that food is shared, some interest in the context of meal timing (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991), and some interest in how food was obtained from its source (McDonnell Dawson 1880). Activities are recorded for the pursuit of hunting, fishing and harvest of plant fruits mostly for techniques, who is doing the activity, timing, and locations. According to Mauss, historians of civilization group things “according to the social contexts to which they correspond. ...an industry is defined as *an ensemble of techniques that combine towards the satisfaction of a need* – or more precisely towards the satisfaction of consumption that allows us to define industries (sic; Allen (Mauss) 2007: 40). Very little attention has been given to the production aspects of food storage other than the fact that it was stored. The process of production and the volume for storage are considerable aspects of commerce and distribution to trade networks as demonstrated in chapter four. The volume and distribution of surplus products in the Pacific Northwest Aboriginal trade networks defy the criteria for a “subsistence” level of consumption. Reducing Aboriginal fisheries to subsistence is another mechanism of reducing ‘fit’ by removing the incentives for stewardship of the resources.

The meaning of the term subsistence as it is used in the context of resource management consists of a dichotomy in its application. Its use is intended to indicate minimal use of the target resource against other uses of the same resource. The purpose of subsistence implies that acquisition of the target resource is restricted to an amount that barely keeps the resource-user alive by the consumption of the resource product. The limit of *de minimis* subsistence can only be at an individual level because without access to any other resource

the implication for target resource harvest failure is surely death. As mentioned earlier Berkes (1990) defines subsistence as “local, non-commercial fisheries, oriented not primarily for recreation but for the procurement of fish for consumption of the fishers (i.e., food), their families (i.e., social) and community (i.e., ceremonial)” (Berkes 1990: 35). Berkes (1990) definition matches the Canadian government control of Aboriginal fishing and suggests the use of the term “artisanal fisheries... is probably not appropriate to northern native fisheries in Canada, where there is a legal distinction between commercial and non-commercial fisheries for reasons of conservation and general administration” (Berkes 1988: 320). The regulatory controls of Pacific Northwest Native fisheries through the *Fisheries Act* were not based on conserving the resource for its productivity but rather to curtail Native fishers from perceived deprivation for other users of the target resource (Harris, D. 2008: 2; Newell 1993: 62). The total yield of fisheries for British Columbia in 1892 was reported as \$2,849,483 however, “The above is exclusive of the quantity of fish consumed by the Indian population of British Columbia, which is estimated at over \$3,000,000” (Department of Marine and Fisheries 1893: v). The ‘yield’ was estimated in dollar value however the volume in number of the fish caught by Aboriginals clearly must have exceeded whatever industry they were no longer allowed to participate. The profile of conservation has increased as a result of the occurrence of depressed fishery resource abundances in the recent past. The dichotomy for subsistence fishery management is the arbitrary limit placed on Aboriginal harvests for the sole purpose of not depriving other user groups’ access to the same resources.

Schumann and Macinko (2006) used Berkes (1990) stated definition as a standard in their exploration of subsistence fisheries management strategies. Four typologies are conceptualized by Schumann and Macinko (2006) in their attempt to unravel the academic

usage of the meaning of subsistence. These typologies are framed in summary of three existing cases based on legislation drawn from theoretical literature in general that Schumann and Macinko (2006) define subsistence as:

1. a level of existence that doesn't exceed a survival level;
2. An economy that doesn't include monetary exchange;
3. Institutions that accord special social meanings to sharing and exchanges; and
4. Activities that don't have a strictly material motivation (Schumann and Macinko 2006: Table 1, 708).

The evolution of sciences such as anthropology, economics and law, have shaped contemporary perceptions of the use of the term subsistence:

“Anthropologists, along with economists, have helped develop the concept of “subsistence” practices. In efforts to understand economic activities cross-culturally and comparatively, anthropologists adopted the term “subsistence” to mean activity aimed at meeting basic needs. A broader anthropological definition of “subsistence” would also include attention to potential cultural biases associated with notions of “affluence”. For example, groups that follow subsistence practices are not necessarily less “fortunate” in terms of how much labour they typically contribute. Where resources are plentiful, or where social organization facilitates productive harvests, consumption levels may be quite high. Regardless of efforts or consumption levels, subsistence practices are generally regarded by anthropologists and economists as not involving “exchange”. However, exchange of various resources, including fish, has been common among many Aboriginal groups across Canada from earliest time. Subsistence and exchange are not then exclusively separate activities in the view of aboriginal groups. The absence of exchange does not seem to be as good an indicator of “subsistence” practices as the kind of exchange involved. Where we use the term “subsistence” we include the possibility of informal trade and sharing” (Koenig and Adlam 2012: 5).

Prior to contact and the imposed foreign regime, the activity of fishing contributed to large volumes of surplus resource products for a variety of purposes including food, trade, and social obligations but at volumes that defy “subsistence” level. The trade activity of these resource products were often based on formal relationships and conducted with formal

etiquette and protocol. The typical Chief's headdress with square frontal abalone in-lay mask adorned with sea lion whiskers was part of the formal regalia chiefs would wear while conducting exchange with each other. They also wore specific blankets, aprons, leggings, etc (de Laguna (Emmons) 1991). The relationship between the chiefs is formal to define the regulation of trade. The goods and services that were exchanged in these transactions were part of a formal system of trade. Some of these trade relationships were established with the formalities of feasting events and conducted with the guidance of respective Aboriginal laws. The transformation of this elaborate formal system to the imposed regime has marginalized this extensive system to an 'informal' existence. That was the intent of the imposed regime, to remove the authority of the Aboriginal domain to the very resources located in their territories and stewarded by sustainable practices for thousands of years. Burke (2010) alludes to an informal economy of salmon production for the Nuxalk while describing the collateral effects of Crown regulated commercial fishery development. Harris (2008) refers to the informal economy of the Native fishers selling their fish at reduced prices to local buyers such as canneries (Harris 2008: 110-111).

“The informal policy not to enforce the *Fisheries Act* and *Regulations* against Native fishers became instead a focused effort to limit Native fishing as departmental personnel changed and as non-Native interest in sport and commercial fisheries grew. Anderson, who had sought to temper attitudes towards the Native fisheries, died in 1884 and was replaced by inspectors who sought to manage the resource by controlling the Native fisheries” (Harris 2008: 109).

The moment that imposed regulatory schemes interfered with Pacific Northwest Aboriginal territorial fishing, particularly determining no sale of Aboriginal caught fish, thousands of years of wealth and prosperity vanished. It would take time for the full force of this oppressive and hostile maneuver to emerge in regulatory constraints. The effects of the imposed Crown fisheries regulations on Aboriginal communities are still manifesting. Burke

(2010) describes the effects of the evolution of this regulatory environment on the Nuxalk and the 'informal' economy. It appears the 'informal' economy continues to oppress marginalized people to secure access to resources for others. Harris (2008) and Newell (1993) address the legal complexities and evolution of fisheries regulation effects in much more detail. The incentives to generate wealth from the effective Aboriginal stewardship of territorial areas have been removed. The previous Aboriginal wealth and prosperity have been replaced with a 'black market' phenomenon to just get by although Aboriginal commercial fisheries were a significant contribution to the development of the provincial economy.

### **Aboriginal commercial fisheries at the outset**

The sales of salmon to church missions in the 1800s are noted by volume in Argue and Shepard (1989). The Hudson's Bay Company was engaged in the purchase of fish and other products to supply their posts and personnel. At Fort Simpson it was noted that "...at certain seasons the Indians from the interior congregate at this depot, for trading purposes, to the number of 15,000" (Church Missionary Society 1858:246). Mr. Duncan noted the spring ritual about the middle of March, "All that can possibly be spared from the camp, and are able to go, now proceed to take small fish [eulachon] in a channel a little to the north of Fort Simpson. This fish is so abundant that they take it by means of a scoop net. There, also, they prepare grease and oil for their yearly consumption, and for sale. They also bring immense quantities of the fish to the Fort, which is salted, and served out in rations to the men all the year round" (Church Missionary Society 1858: 246-247).

The activity of fishing for Northwest coast Aboriginal people is the focal center of their world view. The prehistoric existence of the vast trade networks facilitated vigorous

commerce at very large scales. The maritime fur traders encountered the sophisticated intelligence of the Aboriginal entrepreneurial mind. The ability to expand the already self-sufficient economic system was an opportunity cost the colonial regime created for itself.

The value of Aboriginal commercial development was noted by Douglas:

“The most certain means of retaining the trade in our own hands is to aid and assist the Indians in working the treasures of their own country” – James Douglas to Donald McLean (Thomson’s River), 26 December 1857” (as cited in Mackie 1997, Trade and Labour chapter quote).

The newly formed province of British Columbia was interested in developing economic prosperity. The aspirations for developing marine commercial fisheries prevailed for several years. The province must have included Aboriginal people in their vision as exemplified by the donation of a large seine net to Metlakatla:

“Both the Governor [J. W. Trutch, Esq.] and Captain Cator were very kind to us, and really anxious to help us and encourage the people. They gave us a large fishing seine, and great quantity of stout ropes and blocks, to help us in erecting our new church – gifts worth 30*l.* to 40*l.* in this country. It was the sight of the massive beams and pillars, which are on the ground, to be used for the church, which excited them to give us the ropes and blocks” (Duncan 1873: 207).

The church, alluded to above, is an edifice, considering its surroundings and the means through which it has been erected, of really grand proportions. ... The whole structure is of cedar, well finished in every way, and requiring only staining and varnishing to render its interior to the eye complete. It may be added that Mr. Duncan was the architect of the building; the mechanics and labourers, the natives around, receiving daily wages for their labour out of the common fund of the Mission” (Anderson, A. 1881: 50).

The common fund of the mission was the result of proceeds from the commercial transactions in the village store that was supplied by the products of Aboriginal manufacture including fish, furs, and various other material culture items:

“Immediately at the landing, erected partly on piles on the verge of the tideway, is a large one-story building, well lighted with glazed windows, with spacious open fire-places, and other necessary accommodation for temporary lodging. This is intended for the reception, free of charge, of Indian visitors from abroad. It thus serves also as

a market-house where any interchange or sale of commodities is carried on” (Anderson, A. 1881: 51).

“Detached, at a proper distance, there is a large warehouse, with a well-fitted shop, provided with all necessaries for the supply of the settlement” (Anderson, A. 1881: 52).

“Each man’s labour is his own; and the results of that labour, for whomsoever performed, is for his own benefit and that of his family. Thus a general independence appears to prevail, and a feeling of self-reliance is created which should produce the happiest effect. Nor is Mr. Duncan unaware of the substantial benefits which may accrue to the people from the establishment of salmon-canneries and other industries around them at which they may obtain profitable employment” (Anderson, A. 1881: 52).

It may be too convenient for some to suggest the result of Metlakatla’s achievement was due to the missionary presence, and granted, much was accomplished for industrial pursuits. However other Aboriginal people not connected with the mission demonstrated commercial fisheries endeavor. Mr. Gilbert Malcom Sproat (1878: np, hand written) in his report of the Gulf of Georgia region observed in 1876,

“Many of the younger men at Burrard Inlet seemed to care nothing about the land. They make too much money as labourers, or by selling the products of their hunting and fishing, to permit an expectation that they will clear and cultivate the heavily timbered land which must necessarily for the greater portion of the reserves. The chiefs and older men, however, showed anxiety to be secured in the possession of the land they had been occupying, and to obtain some additional portions.”

The ‘land’ at the time of Mr. Sproat’s observation in 1876 and the small number of ‘settlers’ may not have had any provocation to the young men that land use would change although did articulate to Sproat their wish to retain the old lands of their fathers. The volume of fish caught by Aboriginal people was observed and their sales were conducted in the normal course of business transactions. An example is provided by Gosnell (1911): “Lowe Inlet is the residence during the fishing season of the Katkatla [Gitxaala] Indians, whose chief was the far-famed Sheiks (also spelled Shakes). Chief Sheiks had a monopoly of the

fishing here, and with a seine net in the bay, often hauled in from 2,000 to 3,000 salmon a day, for which he got the highest market price” (Gosnell 1911: 135). *Smo'ygit* (Chief) Sheiks monopoly of a marine fishing area is evidence of exercising territorial authority and control of fish harvesting by excluding others.

The Indian Reserve Commissioner O'Reilly (1886) noted the Nah-witti Indians (i.e., Kwakwaka'wakw group) "...principally live on dried halibut; cod and bass are also plentiful. They barter dried halibut for dried salmon, and oolachon grease with the Indians at Knight's Inlet. During the four or five weeks of the sealing season, they sometimes make as much as \$15 to \$20 per day each" (O'Reilly 1886: 187). That would be about \$375-500 per day each in today's inflated value. The harvest of seals was also a predator control for the protection of salmon and other fish.

Values of commerce were reported by Indian Agency and coastal agencies reported in 1885 for: the West Coast Vancouver Island \$21,150 (fish and furs), \$11,600 (other); East Coast Vancouver Island \$3,770 (furs), \$522.50 (other); and Lower Fraser \$29,545 (fish), \$18,830 (furs). Reporting values also depended on the availability of an agent and the North Central Coast did not have one (MacDonald, J. A. 1886), perhaps due to the presence of the missions in 1885.

The loss of Aboriginal control for their own wealth and prosperity becomes highly visible in the context of understanding the extent of the oppressive regime thrust upon them to acquire their lands and resources. Turner, Gregory, Brooks, Failing and Satterfield (2008) characterize 'invisible losses' caused by external forces that infringe upon the Aboriginal domain. Their characterization is certainly relevant for the "eight types of invisible losses that are often overlapping and cumulative: cultural/lifestyle losses, loss of identity, health

losses, loss of self-determination and influence, emotional and psychological losses, loss of order in the world, knowledge losses, and indirect economic losses and lost opportunities” (Turner et al 2008: 7, abstract). Prior to contact, Aboriginal identity was an integral component to relationships with other people and with place in the context of ecosystem values. Pacific Northwest Aboriginal identity is intimately entwined with cultural practices and customs, particularly those of an economic value, and when access was removed, quite visibly, the effect was erosion of the cultural linkages of identity to place. Even the reference of “First Nations” is an imposed identity to replace the autonomy of unique Aboriginal groups, or a convenience for the oppressive regime. “When the externally imposed forces or decisions negatively impact or prohibit a particular way of life and cultural values and practices that go with it, the people affected may no longer be able to engage in activities that are fundamental to their culture. As a result, they feel profound loss and alienation” (Turner et al 2008:9). The imposed regime intended to do exactly what it has done, although Aboriginal people may consider these highly visible losses. What is missing from the general public view point, in addition to those invisible things, is the very real collateral losses of knowledge regarding the ecosystems and resources stewardship, cycles of events, and the rhythmic continuity of linkages between people as part of the landscape. These losses are mired in the perceptions of the colonial regime.

“Economists, the writers of the Indian Act, and various members of the Canadian juridical community assumed that indigenous peoples have no “real” economies, that they simply “ate from the land” like other beasts of the field and, hence, that they had no understanding or need for exchange and trade. This assumption still remains lamentably under-examined. It holds the trade and commerce were introduced to these indigenous forest dwellers by Europeans” (Daly 2005: 211).

The Order in Council 26 November 1888 sought to regulate the salmon fishery and was the first instrument to indicate in its item 1 to exclude Aboriginal from the ‘formal’ economy:

“Fishing by means of nets or other apparatus without leases or licenses from the Minister of Marine and Fisheries is prohibited in all waters of the Province of British Columbia. Provided always that Indians shall, at all times, have liberty to fish for the purpose of providing food for themselves but not for sale, barter or traffic, by any means other than with drift nets, or spearing” (Department of Fisheries 1888: x).

This regulation was entered into the *Fisheries Act* and modified to “subsistence” (Harris 2008; Kyle 1996; Newell 1993). As Burke (2010) notes, “Exclusion from the formal economy has also had additional implications for social capital and social cohesion” (Burke 2010: 151). The social surplus no longer functions to facilitate the well-being of the Aboriginal domain. “To keep Indians in a state of peonage, laboring for only a meager subsistence and a scant supply of raiment, is, in my opinion, as degrading as absolute idleness. The system is absurd from a progressive point of view, and is repugnant to our laws and to our civilization” (Dougherty 1886:41).

The incentives for social capital investment in wealth generation, built over thousands of years in the Aboriginal domain, has been obliterated as the perceptions filtered into discourse to mould access to territorial areas and resources according to the model of the oppressive regime. Piecemeal adaptations of a benevolent nature continue to perpetuate both these perceptions and the culminating acts of Aboriginal lands and resources acquisitions.

Customary use of fish, wildlife, and other local resources were much more prolific prior to contact, traded into or accessed from the extensive Pacific Northwest Aboriginal trade network as described in chapter four. The implication is the oppressive regime redefined Aboriginal cultural ‘lifeways’ to suit the minimalist deprivation. The U.S. federal subsistence law makes a distinction between cultural and social subsistence uses,

“but the distinction does make clear that Alaska Native subsistence practices are enduring and fundamental to their cultural survival. Ideologically, the distinction is emblematic of Native’s more expansive and foundational definitions of subsistence, often expressed in aboriginal languages as “our way of living,” as opposed to non-Natives’ more minimalist, economic definitions of subsistence as basic sustenance (Thornton 1998)” (Thornton 2007: 46).

The protection of ‘subsistence’ needs for Alaska Natives is captured in *Alaska Native Settlement Claims Act* and as noted by Thornton (2007), a “rather vague and paternalistic clause turned out to be an Achilles’ heel in the legislation for Natives in that it provided no immediate protection or priorities for subsistence resources or subsistence economies” (Thornton 2007: 45).

A federal law (*Alaska National Interests Lands Conservation Act*, PL 96-487) framed priority to subsistence uses (customary and traditional uses by rural Alaska residents of wild resources) over other uses but does not define subsistence or separate Aboriginal use. Thornton’s (2007: 46) suggestion of the distinction in ANILCA between Natives and non-Natives ‘subsistence’ is consistent with the oppressive colonial regime to acknowledge Aboriginal use of resources but justify state acquisition to those resources by allowing only minimal Aboriginal use.

The way in which Alaska fisheries is managed is a result of court decisions and various state and federal legislation. The Alaska Aboriginal fisheries are managed as ‘subsistence’ fisheries with no distinction for Aboriginal priority over other users. Provisions are prescribed for the sale of subsistence fisheries products however not at the same extent as the Tlingit gateway community trade networks. The US Fish and Wildlife Service provide definitions for “customary trade”:

“customary trade means the traditional exchange of cash for subsistence-harvested fish or wildlife resources, not otherwise prohibited by Federal law or regulation, to support personal and family needs, and does not include trade which constitutes a

significant commercial enterprise. Extensive trade distribution networks with large volumes of surplus products are neither subsistence nor sustenance” (2013/2015 Federal Subsistence Fisheries Regulations: 91).

The Tlingit Klukwan (Chilkat River, Alaska) eulachon fishery is classified as “subsistence use” by federal law. Mills (1982) described eulachon fishing activity including location of the fishery, the fishing technique, and preparation of Grease. It appears “extensive trade distribution networks with large volumes of surplus products” were replaced with subsistence allowance and sale of fish restricted to local communities. If there is no other access, then ‘subsistence allowance’ is the only vehicle for maintaining continuity of the Aboriginal legacy however truncated: “...the process of negotiation and exchange between Native subsistence and corporate economies, cultures, and identities is leading to new understandings about what constitutes a sustainable community and what it means to be an Alaska Native. This is not a new process, either” (Thornton 2007: 58).

Thornton (2007) quotes a Tlingit leader, Robert Loescher as he stresses the imperative to protect subsistence. “The subsistence legacy, as framed by Loescher, is the legacy of ecologically sustainable, life-enriching local economies – healthy communities based on renewable wild resources and limited commercial development” Thornton 2007: 60).

Defining “community” within complex stratified societies as homogenous, as has been done through European constructs of Aboriginal communities, has placated imposition of external legislation and policy that is in conflict with Aboriginal law. The feasting system venue for legally binding transactions and legitimating of lineage succession is the mechanism for binding the landscape to the people and reciprocally, the people to the landscape by conferring obligations. “The initial [Tlingit] group settling in a geographic area

claimed ownership of these lands, which they continue to hold even after other groups joined them. A study by Goldschmidt and Haas (1998) found that in 1946 clans continued to hold firm title to their lands even with the presence of multiple clans within a community” (Worl 2005: 7). Clan ownership of territories has a different meaning than “communal” because multiple clans may be present in one community. “This moral injunction and ensuing habit of generosity, superficially observed and misinterpreted, is responsible for another wide-spread misconception, that of the primitive communism of savages” Malinowski 1932: 97).

It was more convenient for the imposed colonial regime to ignore the stratified lineages and replace it with the homogenized ‘communal’ ideology in regard to contemporary regulatory controls that are inconsistent with Aboriginal territorial ownership. In the context of the Pacific Northwest Coast, a lineage may be considered part of a ‘community’ however the lineage members may not live within the same vicinity or location. Many people presently living in a ‘reserve’ community are from different lineages. Further, the regulatory nature of a DFO ‘communal license’ often determines precisely where fish are to be harvested that is likely to be in conflict with the Aboriginal territorial authority of that location. This is precisely why the concept of ‘community’ under the *Indian Act* has caused antagonist relationships for coastal Aboriginal people living in a ‘reserve’ situation and the regulation of fishing by ‘communal’ license. Further, the communal license arrangement has no incentives for ensuring resource stewardship continuity related to the actions of harvest.

“The gentes are still acknowledged, and the laws referring to the mutual support among members of one gens and to the work to be done by the father’s gens at certain occasions (see p. 41) are still in force. The final giving up of customs seems to be done by the council, not by the individuals” (Boas 1889: 11).

“The property of the whole gens is vested in the chief, who considers the salmon rivers, berry patches, and coast strips, in which the gens has the sole right, as his property” (Boas 1889: 36).

A subtle yet powerful distinction between “clan” and “lineage” is pervasive in these societies. They may operate differently among the specific societies but “communal” has much less relevance to either clan or lineage within a community that may consist of many elements of either or both. “The conception of the self as a mere instrument toward the attainment of communal ends, whether of state or other social body, is to be discarded as leading in the long run to psychological absurdities and to spiritual slavery” (Sapir 1924: 424). Yet, the Canadian legal system takes great pains to maintain the Aboriginal rights as “collective” to support oppression under the “communal” homogenization of the Aboriginal domain.

“By confining Aboriginal rights to those practices, customs, and traditions that existed prior to contact with Europeans, the majority of the court has to some extent, ignored the dynamic nature of Aboriginal societies since first contact. ... It calls for a separation between particular elements of a cultures and the general cultural and social context in which these elements are rooted” (Mainville, 2001: p. 28).

Regulation of Aboriginal harvest is determined on a notion of “communal” arrangements based on “subsistence” need. Neither term “communal” nor “subsistence” adequately represents Aboriginal conceptions of industrious use of fishing technology, available resource use, and the acquisition and distribution of surplus products. This regulation serves to reify the colonial conceptions of lands and resources acquisitions from Aboriginal people and removing the ecological-social institutions fit that sustained the Pacific Northwest region for thousands of years.

### **More than eulachon at risk of extinction**

The removal of the Aboriginal domain from the landscape has had collateral effects on the natural resources and the landscapes, as well as Aboriginal people. The Aboriginal

stewardship systems of the Pacific Northwest were replaced with an imposed resource management system that has not evolved any type of holistic watershed perspective but instead has focused only on controlling the means of capture. Monitoring fish populations for the reproductive potential has manifested in only the last few decades but is not widely supported. The ability to transmit cumulative knowledge of the resources and their environments, including the observations of cyclic and punctual events, has not developed. The consequences are extreme.

Eulachon is listed among marine, estuarine, and diadromous fish (exclusive of Pacific salmonids) considered at risk of extinction in North America (Musick, Harbin, Berkeley, *et al* 2000). The BC Conservation data center has classified eulachon as a “blue list” species vulnerable to extinction. Hay and McCarter (2000) recognize eulachon may have been extirpated already from some rivers. Eulachon have been considered a Species of Concern under the Canadian *Species At Risk Act* (SARA) and recently moved to threatened. Recent stock status evaluations have designated management units for stocks: Fraser River, Central Coast, and Nass/Skeena, although currently in review.

Designating eulachon as threatened under the SARA may not provide remedy to restoring eulachon abundance. SARA outlines prescriptions for isolating species and preventing related activities that could foster improved abundances. SARA is generally premised on avoidance behavior that could potentially harm the species. Activities associated with Aboriginal resource management to restore species abundance are presently not permitted under SARA. For example, the activity of transplanting adult eulachon from other eulachon streams as enhancement would be prohibited without clear direction through a recovery strategy that may take years to draft. The implementation of SARA since it was

enacted has been slow. An element of implementation includes consideration for Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge although the institutional mechanisms have not been developed to date.

## **Conclusions**

This chapter has demonstrated how the colonial encounter transformed the Aboriginal domain by acts of imposition. The Hudson's Bay Company had other plans for the colony of New Caledonia to keep it as a fur preserve and maintain their exclusive control of trade with the Aboriginals. Confederation of the province into the Dominion of Canada would change the enduring legacy of the Aboriginal domain, ownership of lands and resources, and the manner society would treat them. The Terms of Confederation required the province to lay aside reserves of land for the benefit of Aboriginal use although Aboriginal people were unaware of these machinations against their Aboriginal territorial authority. Aboriginal people would learn only after land surveyors arrived to carve out the small spaces of their territorial domain.

The first Protestant missionary arrived in the Pacific Northwest coast, and while his work was admired and applauded for over 20 years, changes within the Church Missionary Society brought forth new districts and Bishop Ridley that would cause antagonism in Metlakatla to reach heightened levels of conflict. The first Commission of Inquiry in the Pacific Northwest was convened to review the causes of disquietude among the natives on the northern coast. Their report profiles the discontent among the Aboriginal people regarding Aboriginal title to their lands and the imposition of the Indian Act and Indian Agent systems. The conflict between the clergy however was emphasized as the main cause of discontent. Evidence provided in testimony indicates the high value of eulachon fishing

grounds and the battle over control of eulachon fishing, as well as declarations of ownership of Aboriginal lands.

The Dominion of Canada contributed to the BAAS committee on investigations of North-western tribes who were interested in learning about Aboriginal land tenure systems. The report provided by Dr. Boas contained very little information specifically about land-tenure. The Dominion of Canada and the neighboring U.S. had endeavored to remove the power and authority of Aboriginal Chiefs, also facilitated by the work of missionaries as evidenced by Mr. Duncan at Metlakatla. Legislation under the Indian Act to ban the potlatch and the Indian Act itself were oppressive mechanisms used against Aboriginal people to subjugate them while they were being dispossessed of their lands and resources. The *Fisheries Act* regulation of fisheries reduced Aboriginal fishing to “subsistence” levels while ignoring the contribution of Aboriginal commercial fishing to their own prosperity. The manner that subsistence-terms are used continue to perpetuate the oppressions of Aboriginal people and in fisheries, this is intended to promote the interests of other resource users. The removal of the Aboriginal fisheries access and management has removed the incentives for stewardship and husbandry of the resources. The Aboriginal territorial jurisdiction has been dismantled causing a direct loss of the ecological-social institutions fit that maintained thousands of years of sustainable use that created the resiliency for people and the resources to prosper. The loss of Aboriginal stewardship has collateral effects in the loss of maintaining high abundances, ecosystem resiliency, and generating prosperity by maintaining sustainability. Eulachon are considered at risk of extinction.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion: The risk of losing the enduring spiral of Aboriginal ecological-social institutions imposes opportunity costs and collateral damage in loss of resource productivity**

*"In the order of nature we cannot render benefits to those from whom we receive them, or only seldom. But the benefit we receive must be rendered again, line for line, deed for deed, cent for cent, to somebody"* (Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1841).

The Pacific Northwest Coast Aboriginal economy consisted of extensive wealth due to ownership and stewardship of territorial areas, proficient use of natural resources, and extensive distribution of resource products, including commercial sale. The Aboriginal social institutions of the Pacific Northwest perpetuated the human connectivity with complex ecosystems, natural resources within them, and their productive potential. Aboriginal cultures embrace the cognitive, spiritual, and physical linkages of people to natural resources and the environment based on ancient principles bound in Aboriginal traditional law that transcends continued natural resource use based on the historicity of the cyclic reproduction knowledge and productivity of natural resources. The culture provides the linkages between people and the ancestral dimensions of its continuity in a spiral of generosity to ensure the continuity of resource use through the transmission of knowledge. The repository of knowledge is an accumulation of immersion in the technical activities of maintaining and generating wealth in synchronous balance with natural rhythms. The transmission of knowledge in the Pacific Northwest coast cultures is intricately bound to the social institutions that orchestrate social reproduction and align the authority of power. These systems generated wealth in enormous proportions while maintaining the functioning of the ecological systems based on the inalienable wealth of territories.

The dismantling of these systems is nearly complete as resources persistently diminish. The dismantling has brought conflict with other resources users. Many of the contemporary natural resource use and management conflicts from an Aboriginal perspective are mired in complicated misinterpretations combined with the intent of European immigrants and their North American descendents to seek their own prosperity with disregard for the original inhabitants. A collision of two worlds emerged through oscillations of tenuous trading to bombastic conflagration for the purposes of Europeans securing “lands and trade.” The Aboriginal legacy continues to struggle against their oppressed condition to protect their lands and trade. The two-world collision in North America has met a terminus in British Columbia where natural resource and land use conflicts persist in what is generally considered unresolved land “claims” that are the same as declarations made by Aboriginal people on the Atlantic coast and progressing inland as immigrants made their way west.

The relinquishment of the Hudson’s Bay Company license in 1859 for exclusive Aboriginal trade had lateral damage in disrupting the consistent commercial market of Aboriginal supply. Exclusive trade with Aboriginal people as part of their license managed to allow Aboriginal jurisdiction over territorial areas to persist throughout the trading years with Hudson’s Bay Company. Removing their exclusive trade disrupted the Aboriginal control of commercial transactions.

For 12 years from 1859 to 1871 confusion likely arose as the transition from Hudson’s Bay Company control to federal regulation as confederation interfered with commercial product movement and volume. The regulatory transition may have been slow as Hudson’s Bay Company continued to operate although directly affected by the immediate influence of the Stevens Treaties and the ‘gold rush.’ Confederation of the Dominion and

subsequently the Province of BC gave no consideration to the source of Aboriginal commercial productivity and in fact trampled on the enduring Aboriginal economy.

Contemporary regulatory controls are embedded in what is known as “one size fits all” or “blanket” of prohibition for Aboriginal access to all fishery resources, including commercial sale or participation. These were derived from the conceptions and misperceptions and compounded by development of anthropological theory. Aboriginal regulatory controls, including access to natural resources use, requires territorial authority according to the Aboriginal customary law as defined by that social system. The difference in these two regulatory controls is manifested in the origins of each social system’s laws.

As contemporary conflicts enter into legal reality such as court, legal researchers and judges rely more on the ethnographic and historic records rather than characterizations from an Aboriginal perspective. These records are influenced by a variety of factors, including the disposition of an evolving anthropology, English society values, and pursuit of natural resources by the burgeoning settler population. Terminology has been invented and abused to perpetuate the oppression of the Aboriginal domain. Did the perceptions of the time feed into the evolution of policy that eventually became laws as mechanisms to deal with the perennial question of ‘what to do with the native races?’ It is undeniable they have when legislation uses terms such as “subsistence” or interpreting trade without full commercial value. The system of imposed resource management consistently obfuscates the consideration for qualifying Aboriginal livelihood, as if somehow it should contain less value than others livelihoods. Regulations for the governance of natural resources use have evolved with intent to remove the perceived quantitative interference that Aboriginal resource users pose to other potential users. The result has been an incremental reduction in access to natural resources in

the continual erosion of territorial possession. A narrow contemporary management focus on only exploitation evades the corollary that Aboriginal stewardship maintained sustainable practices, and likely increased natural productivity.

If the economy is considered functional over the region, and it appears to have sustained Aboriginal groups for thousands of years, is it possible the current resource management has built opportunity costs that have farther reaching effects than simply excluding Aboriginal people from their territorial areas and the resources that evolved from their Aboriginal cultural paradigm? Absolutely yes. It is colonial self-imposed opportunity costs to remove the power of Aboriginal authority over lands and resources and the inherent stewardship that required lineage Chiefs to demonstrate their success through social institutions such as the feast system. Aboriginal people bear the costs directly of their loss to traditional livelihoods, and the environment and resources bear the lateral loss of Aboriginal stewardship. The Crown has instituted collateral damage to the productivity of natural resources in a manner that has detrimental long term effects on environments, resources and people. The decline of fisheries resources have resulted in closed fisheries for all resource users in the recent past. The philosophical foundation of this damage is at the heart of conflict between Aboriginal people and the Crown. It is inconsistent with the Aboriginal social institutions that facilitated stewardship, reciprocal relations and obligations, and generated wealth for thousands of years.

Access to natural resources and territorial areas is fundamental to Aboriginal livelihoods, and are both now constrained by legislation and regulations that have evolved with disregard for economic impacts these cause to economic prosperity of the *state* as well as Aboriginal people. This is a collateral loss to the state with enormous consequences.

The intent of this research was to examine how the use of eulachon exemplifies the fragile relationship of human interaction with local environments, the sustainable use of resource products and their contribution to economic self-sufficiency. The historic use of human labor was orchestrated in elaborate social organization for thousands of years of conducting successful environmental stewardship producing phenomenal natural resource abundances and surplus production. After the ancient Aboriginal stewardship was removed from the Pacific Northwest landscape, fish populations have dramatically declined. The entirety of the Pacific Northwest Coast complex consisted of Aboriginal cultural groups with similar stewardship principles in their careful tending of environments and exploitation of the diverse resources. As natural resources continue to decline and contemporary resource managers grapple with gathering institutional knowledge, it has become apparent that to restore healthy resource abundances and their resiliency to sustainable use will require a comprehensive collaboration of all knowledge forms, and resolving the conflicts of jurisdiction.

The production of Grease in the most recent few decades has diminished as a result of reduced eulachon abundances in central and northern BC eulachon bearing streams. The loss of eulachon productivity causes disappointment for the loss of its products on the one hand and on the other, an inescapable fear of the implications for other resources in the same environment. Eulachon are highly sensitive to environmental disturbance and they are prey for many other fish, birds and mammals. The loss of eulachon indicates the ecosystems are severely distressed.

## **Reconciling the model**

Aboriginal territorial authority for resource management may be more effective at directing the husbandry and stewardship in resource areas based on ownership interests. These complex societies incorporate structural mechanisms for facilitating territorial management of resources issues (i.e., decisions, monitoring, harvest) and the roles and responsibility of people for the purpose of assuring continued resource abundances and their products. Local areas had and continue to have varied natural resource abundances and diversity allowing for multiple strategies of resource use. Salmon production also benefited from the stewardship provided for the eulachon streams. It was the same territorial owners of eulachon streams that tended the husbandry of salmon stocks as well. Not abiding by the processes of resource management by the territorial owners caused harm to the system, and to the people.

Resource management practices guided by social mechanisms provided for enduring sustainable use of an entire region. The Aboriginal governance of resource use consists of linkages with social organization, belief systems, ritual behaviors, and accumulation and transmission of detailed knowledge for the purposes of ensuring prosperity for people and continuity of wealth generation. The conduit corridor trade networks provided incentives for surplus production reinforced by the social institutions for demonstration of inalienable wealth and surplus production of the available resources. The level of social complexity in the north-central coast is intimately entwined with the stewardship, harvest and trade of natural resources and their products. In this region, also known as the northern Pacific Northwest coast complex, the production of Grease plays a critical role in the territorial defense of corridor trade networks for the distribution of this product and many others.

## Conclusions

The colonization of the North American landscape was pursued on dichotomous usurpation of Aboriginal societies for their lands and trade while engaged in the commerce of Aboriginal resource products. These dichotomies were transformed into contradictions to legitimize colonial possession by creation of new laws intended to sweep away the encumbrance of Aboriginal ownership, title, and rights. The common law continues to impose injustice by contorting the contradictions to hypocrisy of point-in-time reifications of perception. Although the U.S. has removed the imperial umbilical cord and no longer ‘subsists’ on the Crown, the relationships they have established with tribes have yet to reach equivocal resolution on many conflicts. The succession of Canada as part of the Common Wealth has left an indelible blemish on the Crown by perpetuating injustices to the Aboriginal people whose lands and resources they have presumed to have acquired. Ironically, both nation states, the U.S. and Canada, have made the same assertion as Aboriginal groups have conveyed regarding territorial access to fishery resources by the Pacific Salmon Treaty – access to salmon of *their* origin.

The maritime fur trade was conducted without any interruption to the Aboriginal social domain, their cosmology as they had always known it to be, and without any inclination these would ever be challenged. During the time of the fur trade on the Pacific Coast, colonization was creeping its way westward from the Atlantic coast. Wars were fought between distant foreign countries that ‘staked’ interest in the Americas. Explorers, entrepreneurs, foreign government appointed officers, and a rising settler population poured over the continent like thick black molasses consuming every bit of landscape, fighting each other, ravaged by deprivations, and in fear of deep dark forests and what may lie in it.

Other continents were also under siege during the same time period, notably Australia, Africa, India, and islands of the South Pacific including New Zealand, and Hawaii. Experiences in these other places and during the 17<sup>th</sup> century on North America influenced how the west coast was mapped, geographically defined, and at least initially, pursued by the adventurers of European descent. The Hudson's Bay Company was granted license to conduct the fur trade exclusively with the Aborigines on Vancouver's Island and the mainland known as New Caledonia. The principals of Hudson's Bay Company intended to keep New Caledonia wild and unsettled to maintain a constant supply of furs. Their license was granted on the basis that Vancouver's Island had to be opened to some settlers if any were interested. Very few settlers took a second glance at the Northwest Coast until the announcement of the discovery of gold reverberated throughout the world. The fur trade was winding down, markets were saturated, fur-bearing animals depleted, and it was difficult for the Hudson's Bay Company [Chief officer, later Governor] Douglas to maintain the authoritarian control of trade as he had intended. Other interests were simultaneously developing for the Pacific coast forests and mineral resources. Questions of boundary between US territory and British colonies started to pressure government officials to declare their interests in particular lands (and waters) and their intentions for the increasingly restless settlers. The California, Fraser River, and Yukon gold rushes brought so many people into the northwest at such an accelerated rate, it must have been simply overwhelming to the people, and the scanty infrastructure services for food and shelter. Many people stayed at the point they determined was the furthest point of their pursuit – not taking a chance on venturing to the farther northern fields.

The newly emerging fields of anthropology held promise to better understand the Aboriginal legacy by studying behaviors, characteristics, and societies but key elements of economy in the Aboriginal domain were missed. The underlying perceptions of the ‘savage’ influenced the approaches to studying Aboriginal societies for those characteristics. The approaches missed the nuances of social interaction and economic interdependence on environments. Foremost was the misunderstanding of the economy that prospered for several millennia. Some scholars have described economic activities in contrast to contemporary principles of global economy, referring to the Aboriginal economy as “informal” or ancillary to the economy of the society viewpoint prevailing in time. Whether one society was “dominant” over another is difficult to decipher during the ‘contact’ period since the economy of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries continued to flourish based on the Aboriginal trade systems and the population consisted of Aboriginal majority.

The pursuit of the pristine ‘pre-modern’ egalitarian society has obscured the functionalism of social relationships, their linkages to ecological landscape and interactions at the periphery of Aboriginal territorial areas. These are the loci of exchange, diffusion, and social evolution. Without these osmotic interactions social relationships within their own spheres complacently level to a degree of minimal function or stasis regardless of the structure within it. Exchange and trade manifest to reduce scarcity, especially in areas where heterogeneous resources availability follows temporal cycles of periodic intervals, consecutive sequence, or irregular timing. The control of commerce defines the regulatory authority of lands and trade. Where there are central depots of controlled trade relationships in the north central coast – Stikine, Skeena, Bella Coola Rivers, and Johnstone Strait - social complexity reaches its highest forms. These are also the only locations of Grease production

for trade purposes. The highest level of conflict in the Aboriginal and colonial encounter is usurpation of the control of commerce through control of lands and trade.

Prior to European encounters in North America, fisheries management was conducted based on the actions of harvest activity by locations and within the social-framework of the territorial groups. In coastal areas where fish abundances and diversity of species are high, a variety of social structures developed. The Pacific Northwest coast is often characterized as an exception to anthropological theories largely because of highly complex social institutions located in areas with high natural productivity of highly diverse natural resources. Territorial exclusion was the most effective Aboriginal mechanism to control access to these resources. Territorial control of trade in resource products is the catalyst that uniquely defines the North-central coast of the Pacific Northwest complex. It is this region of eulachon Grease production, the product/good/commodity/service of highest cultural and economic value that facilitated gateway corridor trade networks connecting the entirety of the Pacific Northwest region. The explicit ownership of territories defined the manner of access to resources and the impetus for resource management. The ownership of territories is the wealth and is consistently demonstrated through social institutions and reproduced in social organization.

These groups have a variety of social systems as evidenced by differences among them in the details of social function, and elements of diffusion from group to group. The eulachon Grease producing sub-region presents particular details of social reproduction operating in a spiral that links historicity of the past with the continuity of the future. Eulachon Grease was, is, and remains the natural resource-derived commodity with the highest value because of the system of commerce, its high social values and personal preferences for consumption, and the source location of the natural resource in territorial

areas owned by a succession and procession of lineages. The relationship of this complex feasting institution to the people and their territories, and the continuity of their jurisdiction are blurred by the interpretation of the colonial agenda and agents that failed to embrace their intrusion to it. Instead superiority was assumed through the benevolence of an ostracizing regime to rid the landscape of impediments to settlement. The ostracizing regime began to manifest at early contact when fur traders could not penetrate the Aboriginal economy while some settlers also experienced unrest among the original inhabitants.

The Aboriginal economic value of resources was transformed to fit into the European construct of access to resources consistent with their colonial pretensions of lands acquisition. The intent was to facilitate greater control and access by the Dominion to provide opportunities for “settlers.” In effect the value of livelihood opportunities for Aboriginal people was discriminated against in favor of colonizing their lands. The result of removing Aboriginal access has also had compounding effects on the natural productivity of the resources. The implementation of legislative instruments is guided by policy that in some cases subverts the legal requirements to uphold Aboriginal rights. Policy development has evolved from matters of circumstance in interpreting common law. The imposition of legislation has created several conflicts with resource use that have resulted in court actions. The basis of many conflicts rests in territorial jurisdiction and it permeates resource management discourse at many levels.

Contemporary fisheries management is theoretically guided by legislation and policy. In Canada fisheries management in general is guided by policy and focuses almost exclusively on harvest. In the US fisheries resource management is also guided by policy but developed through more comprehensive legislative instruments that also protect stream

habitats and water flows. Additionally, US tribes in Washington and Oregon have co-management roles as defined by case law since the mid 1970s, and more consistent application of federal obligations to tribes than is apparent in Canada. Anadromous salmon and eulachon occur throughout this region often migrating through international waters of the sea.

Contemporary (i.e., non-aboriginal) commercial fisheries for eulachon in Canada consist of a small fishery on the Fraser River system only when abundance levels are adequate to support limited exploitation and regulated under the federal General Fisheries Regulations. The markets are mostly localized near the fish source. The Fraser River eulachon are not used to produce Grease, nor is this fishery exclusive for Aboriginal use. Small commercial eulachon fisheries have been conducted in Alaska and Washington States depending on eulachon abundance that has also severely declined. Alaska fisheries include a commercial sector for eulachon. The Alaska Native eulachon fishery is federally managed through 'Subsistence' fisheries where sale of fish products are allowed only *within* Aboriginal communities. A small commercial fishery for eulachon is opened on the Columbia River when the run size is sufficient to support it. It has been closed for several years due to low runs. Columbia River eulachon (also known to Columbia River tribes as 'hooligan,' and others as Columbia River smelt) are not used to produce Grease.

The Aboriginal system of commerce and its extent has been obfuscated by layers of history, anthropological interpretations, and conveniences of appropriation whether by hostile usurpation of territorial access or by legal contrivances, including legal manipulation by the courts or other legal instruments. The territorial areas are the object of what is owned.

Inalienable title to these areas is held in an elaborate orchestration of social institutions that are intimately entwined with the physical landscape.

The dispossession of Aboriginal lands and resources from the Aboriginal domain has dismantled the economic prosperity that sustained Aboriginal people for thousands of years. Aboriginal people bear the loss directly but the resources and the imposed state also bear a collateral loss of the Aboriginal stewardship.

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## Appendix 1. Items of Aboriginal manufacture traded from fur merchant vessels.

Table 4. Items of Aboriginal manufacture used in trade by mariner traders as found in historic and ethnographic records.

Year	Literature Source	Item	Origin Source	Product Destination	Purpose of use	Price	Exchange	Volume
1786	Fisher 1992: 5	one piece of copper	Meares	Nootka (Nuu chah nulth)			10 skins (otter?)	
1786	Gibson 1992: 176	(sea otter) skins		vessel <i>Captain Cook</i>				540 skins in one month
1787	Galois (Colnett) 2003: 107	several salmon and two deer	[Nuu Chah Nulth]	Captain Colnett supplies	food		purchase	
1787	Galois (Colnett) 2003: 107	small canoe	[Nuu Chah Nulth]	Captain Colnett	ships use			
1787	Galois (Colnett) 2003: 111	many salmon	[Nuu Chah Nulth] Chief Ougomeize	Captain Colnett	food		purchase	
1787	Galois (Colnett) 2003: 125	a sea otter skin, several halibut	Haida Gwaii	Captain Conett	purchase		iron	
1787	Gibson 1992: 176	sea otter skins	Haida Gwaii	Captain Dixon	purchase			300 "in half an hour"
1789	Gibson 1992: 176	sea otter skins		Captain Gray				200 "in very few moments"
1791	Gibson 1992: 235	slave	merchant vessel	Nootka (Nuu chah nulth)			2-3 sea otter skins	
1791	Gibson 1992: 176	(sea otter) skins		vessel <i>Hope</i>				up to 1,800 in two months

Year	Literature Source	Item	Origin Source	Product Destination	Purpose of use	Price	Exchange	Volume
1791	Joplin 1989: 53	1 sheet of copper		Nootka (Nuu chah nulth)			3 otter skins	
1792	Fisher 1992: 5	one piece of copper	Meares	Nootka (Nuu chah nulth)			1 pelt	
1793	Gibson 1992: 230	"Clamons", clammaels, clamels, clemmels - elk hides bleached white in the sun and folded double or treble into a tough cape	Lower Columbia	northern coast	trade item acquisition		3 chisels	
1793	Gibson 1992: 230	"Clamons" - elk hides bleached white in the sun and folded double or treble into a tough cape	Lower Columbia	northern coast	trade item payment		sea otter skin	
1793	Gibson 1992: 230	halibut	Haida Gwaii	Explorers			chisels	
1793	Gibson 1992: 230	clammels	Nootkas and Chinooks	Explorers	for trade to the north	40	chisels	124 clammels
1793	Gibson 1992: 230	sea otter skin	Clayoquot	Explorers	end product	40 chisels or 1 clammel		
1794	Gibson 1992: 176			vessel <i>Jenny</i>				2,000 in three months
1799	Gibson 1992: 235	slave	merchant vessel	Haida			3 skins	
1799	Gibson 1992: 176			vessel <i>Eliza</i>				2,700 in three months

Year	Literature Source	Item	Origin Source	Product Destination	Purpose of use	Price	Exchange	Volume
1799	Gibson 1992: 176			vessel <i>Caroline</i>				2,200 to 2,400 in three months
1799	Gibson 1992: 176		Capt. Cleveland, vessel <i>Caroline</i>	Canton		\$55,100-62,300		2,300
1801	Gibson 1992: 231	clammels	Newhitty	northern trade	<i>Atahualpa</i> (trading vessel)			100
1805	Gibson 1992: 230	Ermine furs	(not described)	northern coast	Ebbets on the <i>Pearl</i> , Brown on the <i>Vancouver</i> for trade	?		
1811	Gibson 1992:235	slave	merchant vessel	Haida			3-8 skins	
1819	Gibson 1992: 176	sea otter skin	Northwest Coast			"3 1/2 piaster's worth of cloth" <sup>1</sup>		
1819	Gibson 1992: 176	sea otter skin		Canton		40-50 piaster's		
1825	Gibson 1992: 230	Dentalium	near Newhitty	Explorers on the <i>Convoy</i>	for northern trade	?		5,000
1828	Gibson 1992: 235	slaves	mouth of the Columbia and Strait of Juan de Fuca	northern coast	profit			
1835	Gibson 1992: 230	Dentalium	Fort Nisqually <sup>2</sup>	HBC		?		170 fathoms
1835	Gibson 1992: 235	slave	merchant vessel	Tsimshian			10 beaver pelts or 15 elk hides	

<sup>1</sup> "piaster" is currency

<sup>2</sup> between 1 March 1834 and 20 January 1835