THE NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA 1931-1950:
A NEW PHASE IN NATIVE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

by

JACQUELINE P. O'DONNELL
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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the organization and activities of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia during the years 1931-1950 and to explore the impediments and incentives to native extra-kin organization in the province prior to and during this period.

In preparing this thesis I have drawn on numerous secondary sources dealing with the historical development of Indian policy in British Columbia and also, works focusing on specific native organizations. In addition, I have used a report submitted by the Special Joint Committee appointed in 1927, to inquire into the claims of the Allied Tribes, as well as the Minutes and Proceedings of the Special Joint Committee which convened during the years 1946, 1947 and 1948 to revise the Indian Act. A native newspaper entitled The Native Voice was also utilized for the purposes of this study.

The composition of British Columbia's Indian population is diverse, yet, despite the geographic, linguistic, social, political and cultural differences among the province's natives, organizations did develop. Two important catalysts existed within north coast society and pertained to the formation of native extra-kin organizations. For example, a hierarchical leadership structure which provided an able leadership base and the economic orientation of commercial fishing which provided the means
of transportation and communication, both necessary to facilitate the growth and success of an organization. In addition, other factors acted as the triggering mechanisms which prompted natives to organize. First, a distinct historical experience; second, the concept of aboriginal title; and third, the Depression of the 1930's.

The two organizations which preceded the Native Brotherhood were single issue, elite based organizations geared toward pressing the Provincial, Dominion and Imperial authorities to compensate natives for their loss of aboriginal rights to land and resources. Therefore, these organizations represent Phase One of native organization. The establishment of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia in 1931 marked the beginning of a new phase of native organization in the province. The Brotherhood was a membership based organization which sought provincial representation. Furthermore, for the first time a native organization focused on a wider range of issues relating to the general welfare and inferior socio-political position of British Columbia natives. Therefore, the aims and objectives of the organization were Pan-Indian in nature.
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Jacqueline P. O'Donnell

June 12, 1985
Introduction

Anthropologists, historians and journalists have compiled a great deal of information about the Indians of British Columbia. Native cultures and historical experiences have been described in detail. However, one area of Indian history which has received only limited attention relates to their political activity. Studies investigating native political organization in British Columbia include the works of: Drucker, LaViolette, Manuel, Posluns, Duff, Tennant, Kopas, Mitchell and Patterson. All of these authors have made valuable contributions to a small body of literature but none have examined the diversity of British Columbia Indians and provided a comprehensive study of; first, those factors impeding native organization; and second, elements within native culture pertaining to extra-kin organization during the period 1890-1950. Furthermore, although a number of authors have dealt with specific organizations, and others have provided overviews of the historical development of organizations during specific periods, no attempt has been made to examine the aims and objectives of the Native Brotherhood during the immediate post war years and assess their Pan-Indian nature. As a result of native political activity being a relatively recent area of inquiry, the above gaps in the present body of literature invite further research. This thesis will focus on these gaps by addressing three specific questions: First, what factors within British Columbia impeded native organization?
Second, what were the elements within native culture which pertained to extra-kin organization? Finally, what were the aims and objectives of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia and were they Pan-Indian in nature? The dates 1890-1950 were selected primarily to limit the scope of inquiry to the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia and its aims and activities as related through two sources. The first source is the Minutes and Proceedings of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons which sat during 1946, 1947 and 1948 and the second is the "Native Voice", the official newspaper of the Brotherhood.

As early as the 1870's Indians of the Nass Valley were initiating protest actions precipitated by grievances arising from the advance of white settlement. The movement away from periodic localized protest to province-wide protest developed within a relatively short period of time. During the 1890's the Nishga Land Committee was formed and later in 1916 the Allied Tribes of British Columbia came into being. Both of these initial organizations developed for the purpose of obtaining a settlement of their claim to compensation for the loss of aboriginal rights. In 1927 a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the claims of the Allied Tribes. Following five days of hearings, the Committee decided that the Indians had established no claim to the lands of British Columbia based on aboriginal title and recommended that the matter be closed. After the decision of the Committee,
the Allied Tribes collapsed. In 1931, a new organization referred to as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was formed. This organization focused on a wider range of issues of interest to many different Indians in British Columbia.

The initial extra-kin political organizations which developed to deal with aboriginal rights claims were dominated by a native elite and were single issue organizations. The Nishga Land Committee was the political action of a single language group and the Allied Tribes was an attempt at province-wide organization. In sharp contrast, but at the same time a continuing progression, the Native Brotherhood had a broad membership base and was a multi-purpose organization. Considering these basic differences the organizations formed prior to 1931 can be regarded as representing phase one of the political activity in the province, whereas the formation of the Native Brotherhood signals the beginning of phase two.

In many ways it is remarkable that native extra-kin organizations first developed in British Columbia, given the province's divisive physical geography and the diverse character of its native population. Yet organizations did develop. A number of factors served as catalysts. They included elements within traditional native culture on the north coast of British Columbia. These elements facilitated the development of extra-kin organizations, for example a hierarchical leadership structure and the economic sphere of commercial fishing. In addition, the particular historical experience of British Columbia natives
created a number of grievances that acted as a triggering mechanism for extra-tribal political activity and organization. Other factors acted as stimuli to further the development of specific organizations. For example, the issue of aboriginal title and native land claims resulting from the lack of extinguishment of native title in the province, prompted the development of phase one organizations. In addition, the Depression acted as a triggering mechanism for the creation of the phase-two organization, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. Finally, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was a native organization concerned with issues regarding the general welfare of all Indians. It was an organization geared toward enlarging the economic, social and political opportunities available to Indians, while still maintaining their Indian rights and identity. The Native Brotherhood possessed aims and goals which were pan-Indian in nature, despite the fact that it was only a provincial organization.

This thesis will examine the development of native political activity in British Columbia during the period 1890-1945. Chapter One will focus on the impediments to, factors pertaining to and causes of Pan-Indian political activity in British Columbia. Chapters Two and Three will discuss the two phases of native political organization. The aims, objectives and activities of the Nishga Land Committee, The Allied Tribes of British Columbia and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia will be examined. Finally, Chapter Three will discuss those theories of
colonialism and independence movements relevant to establishing the Pan-Indian nature of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia.
Chapter One

Indian Organizations in British Columbia: Impediments and Incentives

No area of comparable size in Canada included a native population that was as culturally diverse as the natives of British Columbia. In part this was a reflection of the complex physical environment in which they lived. Yet, despite this cultural and physical diversity, the Indians of British Columbia were the first to develop extra-kin political organizations to address issues of concern to native peoples and native leaders from this province have been in the forefront of native political activity on the national scene. Chapter One will attempt to identify those aspects of the historical experience of British Columbia's native groups that encouraged and facilitated the development of effective extra-kin political organizations. The discussion will begin by focusing on the cultural differences of Indian groups within the province. Those factors pertaining to organizational development from within native culture will then be examined. Finally, the causal factors or triggering mechanisms provided by the particular historical experience of British Columbia's Indians will be identified.

Native Diversity in British Columbia

In British Columbia, anthropologists usually distinguish two main cultural areas: the Northwest Coast or Maritime Region and the Inter-Mountain or Interior Region. These areas were in-
habited by independent groups of people who had developed cultures that shared many similarities. However, this did not mean that the groups found within a given culture area always co-operated or maintained friendly relations. This is not surprising given that within each culture area a number of ethnic divisions existed varying in geographic location, language and culture. As a means of organizing data pertaining to a very diverse and complex native population in British Columbia, anthropologists have recognized ten major ethnic divisions. Each division includes a common language and a similar culture. Six of these divisions were found on the coast and four in the interior. Those divisions which corresponded to the languages spoken on the coast were the Haida, Tsimshian, Kwawgelth (Kwakiutl), Bella Coola, Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) and Coast Salish. Those of the interior were the Inland Tlingit, Athapaskan, Interior Salish and Kootenay. Each of these major ethnic divisions can be further sub-divided into groups which share single languages or major dialects. In contrast to anthropological classifications, Indians themselves recognize no common or uniformly used term to refer to the concept of language or dialect group. The term "tribal group" is frequently used, while the term "tribe" is occasionally used, with the later referring to "clan" on the north coast and to "village" or "band" elsewhere. Regardless of what classificatory system is used or terminology is adapted, the fact remains that within British Columbia linguistic diversity was immense and a greater variety of native languages are spoken
here than in the rest of Canada. The following table listing the language or dialect groups found in British Columbia today clearly reveals a high degree of linguistic diversity. This diversity was an obstacle impeding communication between Indian groups and furthermore the growth of extra-kin organizations.

In addition to linguistic composition, the diversity of British Columbia's native population is further illustrated by their differing social and political organization. In all regions of the province, the fundamental social and political unit of Indian society was the group of people who lived together throughout the year. These groups were Kinsmen who shared a particular dwelling and who owned specific resource areas. They have been referred to by anthropologists by a variety of terms, but those used most commonly are: clan, lineage, house group or social unit. Throughout the province, the degree of social and political organization achieved by this kin unit was determined by the physical geography of the region it inhabited, as well as the importance it assigned to the concepts of heredity, wealth and rank.

Indians of the Maritime or coastal region possessed an areal culture that was elaborate and highly adapted to its environment; within this culture exploitation of the fisheries was the crux of their economy. The teeming life in the waters of the Pacific furnished a stable food supply which allowed these people to settle permanently in villages and develop a rich culture. Three general cultural traits were shared by native
Figure 1

MAJOR ETHNIC DIVISIONS AMONG B.C. INDIANS

Source: Duff, Wilson, The Impact of the White Man
Table 1

Native Indian Language/Dialectic Groups in British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North Coast</th>
<th>c) Gitksan</th>
<th>c) Nishga</th>
<th>Haida</th>
<th>c) Tsimshian</th>
<th>Haisa</th>
<th>Northern Interior</th>
<th>Tlingit</th>
<th>Kaska</th>
<th>Tahltan</th>
<th>Salteaux</th>
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<tr>
<td>West/Central</td>
<td>Bella Coola</td>
<td>Heiltsuk</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>b) Kwawgelth</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Coast</td>
<td>Comox</td>
<td>Island Cowichan</td>
<td>Songish</td>
<td>Fraser</td>
<td>Halkomelem</td>
<td>Sechelt</td>
<td>Squamish</td>
<td>Semiahmoo</td>
<td>Puntlatch</td>
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a) "Nootka" has been rejected in favour of "Nuu-chah-nulth" by the group's tribal council.

b) spelling "Kwawgelth" more correct than "Kwakiutl".

c) Gitksan, Nishga, Tsimshian, whom anthropologists label as "Tsimshian" are perceived as separate groups by their members.

Source: Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organization in B.C., 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism"
groups throughout the coastal region, but with slight modifications existing between geographic localities; first, was a basic social unit defined according to a recognized principle of kinship; second, a social organization based upon the hereditary transmission of status and privilege, placing stress on material wealth; third, autonomous kin groups organized by either a matrilineal, patrilineal or bilateral line of descent. North coast groups were distinct in recognizing heredity based on matrilineal descent, that is, kinship ties were traced through the female line. Within kin groups, members were divided into the categories of nobles, commoners and slaves; with a leadership structure in which one chief was pre-eminent. Since kin groups were not large each individual occupied a precise place on a graded scale of social rank. Shifting to a southern focus, native groups of the west/central coast recognized bilateral descent with a patrilineal bias, and therefore did not have distinct clans, nor did they place as much importance on heredity. Like their northern neighbours, these native also settled in villages and were similarly organized within their independent kin groups. In the south, groups were not divided into clans, but rather into social units based upon "true kinship" or extended families. Reflecting this type of social organization the southern natives recognized a more flexible assignment of social rank. Philip Drucker noted the degree of importance placed upon heredity by natives of various coastal areas. According to Drucker: "From the Columbia to the Straits of Georgia the basis
of status was the same as in the south although the fact of heredity was stressed more and more as one proceeds northward."

There were major cultural differences between native groups of the Maritime or Coastal region and those of the Inter-Mountain or Interior region. Existence in the interior was much more difficult for native groups. In contrast to those of the coastal region, winters in the interior were long and severe, and thus much more time and energy had to be expended in coping with the adversities of the environment and in the quest for food. In addition, the hunting of land mammals, which was negligible on the coast, was of major importance in the interior, and as a result interior natives were nomadic hunters. As a result of these environmental and economic differences, the social structure of interior natives was simpler than that of coastal groups. Rank and class distinctions were characterized by social equality, and prestige and leadership were attained through individual achievement, rather than by heredity and wealth.

In summary, the geographic, linguistic, social, political and cultural differences among the native groups in the province clearly indicate that the total population was extremely diverse in composition. Yet, despite this diversity, native extra-kin organizations did develop. The following sections of this chapter will focus upon providing an explanation for this development.
Traditional Factors Pertaining to the Formation of Native Organizations

There are two important factors which seem to have been the catalysts that led to the formation of native extra-kin organization in the north coast during the period 1909 to 1931. These factors related to the nature of traditional social organization and the economic orientation of north coast society. The term traditional has been applied to these factors because they both stem directly from pre-contact native culture. The hierarchical leadership combined with the economic focus on commercial fishing made north coast native society favourably disposed to the formation of extra-kin organization.

As noted, a hierarchical leadership structure was distinct to the social organization of the Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit ethnic divisions. Inherent in this structure were elements which were easily adaptable to the leadership patterns of modern extra-kin organizations within north coast society. Of importance, lineage chiefs and their heirs held privileged positions and were accorded deference by other members of their kin group and the village. These members of native nobility typically possessed a number of status traits which distinguished them as leaders. For example, a chief had to be born with no taint of slave ancestry in his past. Other key features of leadership status traits are outlined in the following passage.

Chiefs should be able leaders, good speakers, haughty and proud before strangers, and humble and generous toward tribesmen. The ideal leader was an able organizer and speaker, and a model of good taste and
conduct. Above all, a chief must be able to command wealth and to distribute it to the benefit of his tribesmen.\textsuperscript{17}

While the concept of hereditary rank produced a leadership structure which was characteristically distinguishable from other members of society, it did not produce a class of aristocrats who exploited individuals of lower birth. The north coast chief was a kinsman to other members of his social unit; they were his relatives not his subjects.\textsuperscript{18}

Chiefs from the traditional system comprised an existing body of men with the qualifications of influence to expand their roles to become leaders of modern organizations. Even today, hereditary chiefs are recognized and respected leaders within north coast society. This continued recognition and respect, as well as their influential capabilities allowed these men to expand their role as hereditary chiefs to become spokesmen and leaders of modern extra-kin organizations. Also, as administrators of kin group resource areas,\textsuperscript{19} it was a logical progression for chiefs to initiate organizations to fight for the protection of aboriginal rights to the land and also to work for a better condition of life for their people. It was the absence of such a hierarchical leadership structure in the interior that probably explains why extra-kin organizations did not first develop in that region. In contrast to the interior, the north coast was an area in which the political structure of hereditary leaders could be expanded, enabling chiefs to adapt their role to a changing modern world.
In addition to a hierarchical leadership, commercial fishing on the north coast by natives, provided a base for the development of extra-kin organizations. The importance of fishing to coastal Indians was and still is based upon their historic relationship to the industry. With the coming of European settlement, many features of traditional society changed. The traditional economic base of subsistence hunting and fishing no longer existed,\(^{20}\) having been partly replaced by commercial fishing. For example, the primary mode of early commercial fishing was salmon gill netting on river estuaries. This method of fishing was distinct from the traditional techniques which utilized weirs, traps, spears and reef netting.\(^{21}\) Furthermore, a large portion of native commercial fishermen did not fish in their ancestral areas, but rather in zones in close proximity to the canneries.\(^{22}\) Although traditional fishing practices changed, with the exception of the fur trade, commercial fishing entailed greater continuity with past practices than did other resource industries employing natives.\(^{23}\) In the post-1870 period commercial fishing industry was one of the most important areas of Indian employment.\(^{24}\) In canneries, native women worked cleaning fish and filling cans on an assembly line and were paid either straight wages or on a piece-work basis. Cannery workers often lived in shacks which were built around the actual plant.\(^{25}\) Native commercial fishermen generally worked under some form of contract with a cannery, using cannery boats and equipment. Furthermore, they were often dependent upon advances from the
cannery store to purchase goods required during the fishing sea-
son. Independent native fishermen, owning their own powered
boats, became more numerous during the 1920's and 1930's. Prior
to 1923, natives could only catch fish on their reserves for im-
mediate consumption and because of their status as wards of the
Dominion government, they were unable to secure licenses for
commercial fishing. However, in 1923, salmon, herring and sein-
ing licenses were made available to natives and as a result the
number of natives owning their own boats increased. Despite
this growing independence, canneries continued to employ a num-
ber of stratagems in order to retain the loyalty of a core of
fishermen. The life and work of a commercial fisherman or can-
nery worker entailed a modification of the traditional subsis-
tence lifestyle, but the historical connection remained unse-
vered. North coast natives were still fishermen with the excep-
tion that they were now functioning in a modern resource indus-
try and fishing for large companies rather than for themselves.

Two aspects of native commercial fishing facilitated the
growth and success of an extra-kin organization, namely, trans-
portation and communication. As a result of a scattered popula-
tion and the slowness of communication, native collective orga-
nization was impeded until the developments of modern technology
were able to lessen the significance of geographic features. With
the advent of larger powered boats, natives were able to
travel and communicate with people of other villages during all
seasons of the year. Thus, north coast Indian fishermen
possessed the key to transportation and communication - motorized vessels. Furthermore, after the turn of the century, a greater command of the English language provided the potential for communication among differing language groups. Since the initiation of the first language classes by the missionary Mr. Duncan in 1857, missionaries and teachers have systematically taught English to British Columbia Indians. By 1930, there was an emergence of a generation of adult Indians with a sufficient command of English for political action. Furthermore, with powered boats in their possession, the commercial fishermen of the north coast were able to travel and communicate with natives of other coastal communities, and thus were an ideal membership base for an extra-kin organization. In a time period before the use of telephones, north coast commercial fishermen possessed the means that were essential for the recruitment and cohesion of an organization. Consequently the economic orientation of early twentieth century north coast society was a factor pertaining to the development of native organization. While the hierarchical leadership structure and the economic orientation of north coast society made organization possible, other factors acted as the triggering mechanisms prompting natives to action. These will now be examined.
Historical Development of British Columbia's Indian Policy

European contact did not occur in British Columbia until the last quarter of the eighteenth century when the Hudson's Bay Company was given a grant for colonizing the area. In 1851, the Company's Chief Factor at Fort Victoria, James Douglas, became Governor without relinquishing his company position. Under Douglas the colonial authorities pursued an Indian policy which acknowledged Indian title, adopting the usual British view that although absolute title to the land was vested in the Crown, Indians owned proprietary rights. During his first years in office, Douglas negotiated a series of aboriginal title surrenders in the northeastern and southeastern parts of Vancouver Island. These treaties and the inclusion of the north-east quarter of the province into Treaty No. 8 in 1889, were the only formal treaty negotiations in which the province's Indians participated.

Due to a lack of funds caused by the establishment of British Columbia as a Crown Colony, and the severing of Douglas's connection with the Hudson's Bay Company Indian policy had to be altered. No longer having the use of Company funds to purchase Indian land, a colonial policy was instituted that authorized the confirmation of reserves without treaty negotiation or the surrender of aboriginal title. In 1858, Douglas, as the new Governor of both the mainland and Vancouver Island, petitioned the Imperial Government for funds to purchase Indian land. His request was denied and the reply stated that the British taxpayer should not be burdened with internal colonial problems. Both the Vancouver
House of Assembly and the Imperial Government argued that the provision of funds was the others responsibility. This disagreement over the provision of funds led to the formation of reserves without treaties. As a result, Douglas directed that village reserves be clearly defined throughout British Columbia without any negotiation or formal surrender occurring between government officials and Indians.

Within British Columbia, after Douglas's term, a further shift in Indian policy was implemented, the consequence being a federal-provincial conflict on how to deal with the question of Indian lands. After the retirement of Douglas in 1864, his Indian policy was curtailed to satisfy settlers and local government authorities who were obsessed with the idea that Indians were standing in the way of development. This resulted in the development of a policy which ignored or denied the existence of any native title to land. Consolidated by provincial politicians it was implemented during the 1870's and 1880's. With Confederation in 1871 and the transfer of Indian affairs to the federal government, a period of stormy dominion-provincial relations began. The federal government adopted a strong position on the surrender of aboriginal title through treaty. It also supported the establishment of new reserves and an increase in the size of existing ones. In response, British Columbian government officials opposed federal initiatives and refused to make land available. The ability of the provincial government to oppose federal plans was based upon the fact that after Confederation, the lands which
Indians would surrender were legally vested in the provincial Crown.\textsuperscript{38} In 1876, an attempt was made by both governments to study the problems of Indian lands by establishing a Joint Committee on Indian Reserves. This Committee was active for thirty years, during which most of the province's reserves were laid out.\textsuperscript{39}

A second attempt by the federal and provincial governments to find a solution to the problems of Indian administration in British Columbia was made in 1913. At this time, a joint federal-provincial commission known as the McKenna-McBride Commission, was appointed and assigned the task of settling the number and size of the province's Indian reserves. Upon completion of the Commission's inquiry title was to be conveyed to the Dominion government, free of any provincial reversionary interest.\textsuperscript{40} This meant that surrendered reserve land would no longer become the property of the province, unless the band had become extinct. During the course of its investigation, the Commission visited every Indian population centre in the province and listened to the testimony of all Indian bands willing to testify. After three years of deliberation, its report was published. In most cases, the Commission confirmed existing reserves. However 87,000 acres of new reserve lands were added and 47,000 acres of existing lands were cut-off. The report of the Commission was ratified by both Dominion and Provincial governments in 1924. At the time, this was thought to be the final settlement of questions relating to native land in British Columbia. However, the McKenna-McBride recommendations disregarded an existing provision of the Indian
Act which stated that land could be cut-off reserves only with the consent of adult band members. Governmental denial of the ethical proprieties involved in reducing the size of native reserves led to the dissatisfaction and eventual political action by British Columbia Indians.

In summary, the distinct historical experience of British Columbia's natives caused dissatisfaction and acted as a triggering mechanism for extra-kin political organization. The provincial government has had a long history of opposing federal policies on the issues of aboriginal title, treaties and reserves. Consequently, the two issues of aboriginal title and cut-off lands were the basis of Indian grievances and discontent, which eventually sparked native action. In this regard, the natives of British Columbia are different from the majority of Canadian Indians. They were dealt with in a manner of total disregard. For example, they were tossed from one level of government to the other as; firstly, reserve commissions were established and disbanded; secondly, reserves were conveyed but never transferred; and finally, established reserves were cut-off. 41

Despite the diverse character and composition of the native population in British Columbia, extra-kin organizations were formed. An explanation for their formation lies in the fact that within north coast native society factors existed which pertained to the development of an extra-kin organization. These factors were a leadership base provided by a traditional hierarchical chieftain structure and the key elements of transportation and
communication provided by the economic sphere of commercial fishing. In addition to these two factors, the particular historical experience of the province's Indians acted as a triggering mechanism, prompting Indians to organize. Other factors, including the concept of aboriginal title and the Depression of the 1930's, also prompted organizational development and will be discussed in Chapter Two as they relate to specific organizations.
Chapter One - Notes


2 Ibid., pp. 7-10.


5 Ibid., p. 46.


7 Drucker, Philip, Cultures of the North Pacific Coast, p. 48.


9 Tennant, Paul, B.C. Studies, p. 12.


16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Drucker, Philip, Cultures of the North Pacific Coast, p. 49.
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21 Ibid., p. 11.
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23 Ibid., p. 12.
24 Ibid., p. 10.
25 Ibid., p. 12.
26 Ibid., p. 78.
28 Knight, Rolf, Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Indian Labour in British Columbia, p. 12.
30 Tennant, Paul, B.C. Studies, p. 29.
32 Ibid., pp. 9-32.
34 Madill, Dennis, British Columbia Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective, p. 33.

36 Madill, Dennis, British Columbia Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective, p. 37.


39 Duff, Wilson, The Impact of the White Man, p. 68.

40 Ibid.

41 McCullum, Hugh and Karmel, This Land is Not for Sale, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975), p. 126.
Chapter Two

The First Phase of Indian Organization in British Columbia: The Nishga Land Committee and The Allied Tribes of British Columbia

The Indians of British Columbia began to develop the first extra-kin political organizations in Canada between 1890-1945. As noted, two distinct phases of development can be identified on the basis of the aims and objectives of these organizations. The first phase corresponds to the time of the Nishga Land Committee and the Allied Tribes of British Columbia, which were geared toward the issue of aboriginal title and native land claims.

Phase One: The Nishga Land Committee

The first extra-kin organizations in British Columbia were formed as an expression of native land claims and were based upon the concept of aboriginal title. Prior to an examination of these organizations, a clear definition and clarification of the historical basis of aboriginal title is necessary. Aboriginal title was interpreted by the British as being "a territorial range of rights of an identifiable group over a wide but definable area for food-gathering, hunting, fishing and trapping." It was not a clear land title to a fixed occupational site. Aboriginal title was substantiated by the British premise of occupation which vested absolute title to land in the Crown, yet acknowledged aboriginal territorial rights which had to be surrendered. For example, a conquering or discovering
nation could assert sovereignty over the lands, but the aboriginal peoples retained property rights until they were surrendered to the Crown. Under the Proclamation of 1763 during the colonization of North America, these views of aboriginal title were enshrined in law. The basic intention of the Proclamation was to effectively specify a procedure for the acquisition of native hunting grounds by whites. Paternalistic and self-serving in nature, the Proclamation sought to "protect" native peoples and guarantee their loyalty by setting aside vast tracts of land for their use, and thus insulate them from the "evil" aspects of white society. For example, the Royal Proclamation stated:

It is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest, and the security of our colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of our Dominion and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them as their Hunting Ground...3

Thus, the result of the Royal Proclamation was a process of making treaties with aboriginal peoples in order to acquire land for settlement. Treaties were an extension of the principle of aboriginal title and therefore, rather than denying the existence of aboriginal rights, they actually supported the concept.

The aboriginal rights claim in British Columbia became the major focus of Indian grievances due to: first, the advance of white settlement; second, the development of a distinct provincial Indian policy; and third, the consequent Federal-
- Provincial dispute over the recognition of aboriginal title and reserve allotment. As a result of treaties being made in only a small portion of southern Vancouver Island, natives in other areas of the province claimed that their territorial rights to land had never been extinguished. Beginning around the turn of the century, the Nishga Land Committee, a representative body of the Nishga natives of the Nass Valley was formed. It was established to press the government for a settlement of an Indian claim to compensation for the loss of their aboriginal rights.

Since 1881 the Nass Valley, located in the northwest portion of the province, had been a focal point of Indian agitation over the loss of their traditional lands. The first expression of opposition to the province's Indian policy occurred in 1887, when the Nishga expelled from their homeland government officials who were assigned the task of surveying and assigning reserve land. This event marked the beginning of one of the longest and most unusual stands taken by a native group in Canada. Further action was taken by the Nishga in 1887, when their leaders went to Victoria in an attempt to present their case to the legislators. Their argument was based upon the concept of aboriginal title and is summed up in the following passage:

... From time immemorial, the Nass River Nishga Indians possessed, occupied and used the Nass River Valley and we have never ceded or extinguished our aboriginal title.
It was during the 1890's that the Nishga organized the Nishga Land Committee. It was a body comprised of five village committees consisting of four chiefs from each clan. The Nishga Land Committee had the power to elect its own chairman and officers.\(^6\)

In 1909, the Land Committee hired A. E. O'Meara, a lawyer, in order to obtain a legal opinion on aboriginal title.\(^7\) Upon his recommendation, the Nishga decided to submit their claims in the form of a petition to the Governor General of Canada and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is probable that O'Meara was the main author of the Nishga Petition which was drafted in 1913, for at this time few natives would have possessed a knowledge of British law.\(^8\) The Nishga Petition stated:

> While we claim the right to be compensated for those portions of our territory which we may agree to surrender, we claim as even more important the right to reserve other portions permanently for our use and benefit and beyond doubt the portions which we desire so to reserve would include much of the land which has been sold by the province...
> We claim that our aboriginal rights have been guaranteed by Proclamations of King George Third and recognized by Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain.\(^9\)

Upon its arrival in Ottawa, the Nishga Petition was reviewed by Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Scott concluded that the best way to resolve the question of Indian title would be to submit the claim to the Exchequer Court of Canada, with right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. However, Scott attached a number of conditions to his recommendations:
1. The Indians of British Columbia shall, by their Chiefs or representatives, in a binding way, agree, if the Court, or an appeal, the Privy Council, decides that they have a title to lands of the Province, to surrender such title, receiving from the Dominion benefits to be granted for extinguishment of title in accordance with past usage of the Crown in satisfying the Indian claim to unsurrendered territories, and to accept the finding of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia as approved by the Governments of the Dominion and the Province as a full allotment of reserve lands to be administered for their benefit as part of the compensation.

2. That the Province of British Columbia by granting the said reserves as approved shall be held to have satisfied all claims of the Indians against the Province. That the remaining consideration shall be provided and the cost thereof borne by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

3. That the Government of British Columbia shall be represented by counsel, that the Indians shall be represented by counsel nominated and paid by the Dominion.

4. That, in the event of the Court of the Privy Council deciding that the Indians have no title in the lands of the Province of British Columbia, the policy of the Dominion toward the Indians shall be governed by consideration of their interests and future development.

When these conditions were communicated by an Order-in-Council, to O'Meara and the Land Committee, the Nishga decided not to allow their claim to proceed. In their opinion, the proposed conditions disallowed any benefits to be gained from a decision in their favour, therefore the claim was halted. From the natives' perspective they were in a no win situation. However, the Nishga Petition, which was widely circulated among the province's Indians, was adopted as a general statement of the aboriginal rights claim, an outline of the conditions for a settlement. As support mounted, Peter Kelly, Andrew Paull and "many of the elder Indian statesmen of the day" recognized the
shortcomings of local and divided individual grievances and in 1915 began to organize The Allied Tribes of British Columbia.\textsuperscript{13}

In 1916, at a meeting held in Vancouver during the early summer, the Nishga joined with Coast Salish and other north coast groups in opposition to the proposed conditions attached to their case being heard by the Exchequer Court and also to the work of the McKenna-McBride Commission. Indian groups represented at this meeting were, from the Interior (the Okanagan, Lake or Senjextee, Thompson River at Couteau, Lillooet, Kutenai, Chilcotin, Carrier, Tahlton) and from the Coast (the Nishga, Tsimshian, Gitskan, Haida, Bella Coola, Cowichan, and Lower Fraser or Stalo).\textsuperscript{14} At this meeting an Executive Committee was established which elected its own officers, but no formal representative bodies were instituted at the village level. Rather, delegates from each community were elected to attend general meetings and to provide a communication link between village and Executive. Consequently, the Allied Tribes was an elite based organization, which remained essentially unorganized at the local level, while maintaining a highly structured and formal Executive.\textsuperscript{15} In addition, the organization had no membership fees or techniques for fund raising except for the practice of asking for donations. These donations were used to finance travel by Executive members, to pay attorney's fees and to cover general expenses of the organization.\textsuperscript{16}

Although the Nishga were members of the Allied Tribes, they remained independent in the pursuit of their claim. O'Meara
continued to act as their lawyer and in 1915 he forwarded a report to the Privy Council asking that the Nishga Petition be heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In reply the Lord President of the Privy Council stated that no action could be taken on the Petition without the advice of the Dominion Government, relayed through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Nishga still persisted in their claim, possibly on the encouragement of O'Meara, in the belief that the Judicial Committee would in due course decide upon the issue of aboriginal rights in British Columbia. However, by 1922 the Nishga had drifted away from the Allied Tribes, preferring to fight their own claim.

In 1916, the McKenna-McBride Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia submitted its report recommending the addition of 87,000 acres to reserves and the removal of 47,000 from reserves. However, between 1916 and 1919, neither the Dominion nor the Provincial Government moved to implement the Committee's recommendations. Problems arose regarding the clause of the McKenna-McBride report which specified that no lands could be "cut-off" reserves without the consent of the Indians as stipulated by the Indian Act. The Government of British Columbia wanted assurance that the consent of the Indians would be obtained. A solution to the problem of obtaining Indian consent to the cut-offs was proposed by the Dominion Government in 1919. On March 12, 1920, Bill 13 entitled "An Act to Provide for the Settlement of the Differences between the Government of the
Dominion of Canada and the Province of British Columbia respecting Indian Lands and Certain Other Indian Affairs in the said Province" was introduced in the House of Commons. This Bill was intended to empower the Governor in Council to:

... do, execute, and fulfil every act, deed, matter or thing necessary...for the full and final adjustment of all differences between the said Governments respecting Indian lands and Indian affairs in the Province.

Shortly after Bill 13 was introduced, the Allied Tribes sent a delegation to Ottawa in order to oppose the legislation. Members of the delegation included: Peter Calder; George Matheson; Peter Kelly; Chief Basil David; J. A. Teit and A. E. O'Meara. The delegation succeeded in gaining the support of a number of Liberal Members of Parliament and Senators, but was unable to stop the passage of Bill 13, which received royal assent in July of 1920. Although the representatives of the Allied Tribes had lost a major battle in Ottawa, their focus shifted back to the submission of the aboriginal title claim to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This objective was confirmed by a resolution passed in 1925 by the organization's Executive Committee stating:

In view of the fact that the two governments have passed Orders-in-Council confirming the report of the Royal Commission on Indians Affairs, we the Executive Committee of the Allied Indian Tribes of British Columbia are more than ever determined to take such action as may be necessary in order that the Indian
Tribes of British Columbia may receive justice and are furthermore determined to establish the rights claimed by them by a judicial decision of His Majesty's Privy Council.23

Finally, in an attempt to secure government assistance in bringing their claim before the Privy Council, the Allied Tribes presented a petition to Parliament on June 10, 1926.24 The petition contained several requests, the most important being:

...that steps be taken to define and settle the outstanding issues between the Allied Tribes; the Province and the Dominion; (what was most important about defining the issues was a recognition that the Allied Tribes were a party to negotiations that up to that time had always taken place as a two-way action between the Dominion and the province);
...that steps be taken for facilitating the independent proceedings of the Allied Tribes and enabling them by securing reference of the Petition now in His Majesty's Privy Council and such other independent judicial action as shall be found necessary to secure judgement of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council deciding all issues involved;
...that this Petition and all related matters be referred to Special Committee for full consideration.25

Essentially the Allied Tribes was asking for the opportunity to present their case to an official public forum and demonstrate the reasonable nature of the claim and the need for it to appear before the highest court in the British Empire, the Privy Council. By referring the Indian land controversy to a Special Committee, the Federal Government perceived an opportunity to finally resolve the issue in a more convenient and less expensive route than a reference to the Judicial Committee. Consequently, a "Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons
meeting in Joint Session to inquire into the Claims of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia" was convened on March 22, 1927 and held sittings on March 30, 31 and April 4, 5 and 6.26

On the first day of the hearings, Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs was asked to present the history of the Indian land controversy in order to give the Committee a grasp of the general situation.27 The main point emphasized throughout Scott's testimony was that there had been no discrimination against the Indians of British Columbia and that under the care of his Department their needs were being properly looked after. Scott stated that the essential difference between British Columbia's natives and those of other provinces was the absence of treaties, which he distinguished as being essentially annuity payments. The intent of his presentation was to minimize the significance of the extinguishment of aboriginal title and stress that British Columbia's Indians had not suffered through their lack of treaties.28 Furthermore, Scott cautioned against the possible consequences of an Indian court victory. It was his belief that all of the recommendations of the McKenna-McBride Commission would be either questioned or invalidated and that all that was positive in the Indians' relationship with the Provincial Government would be jeopardized.29 Finally, regarding the Indians' demands for compensation, Scott asserted that any claims the Indians might have had were fully compensated by ordinary Government expenditures. In addition, it was Scott's opinion that the Allied Tribes request to go to the Judicial Committee should be refused.30
As the hearings proceeded, A. E. O'Meara attempted to present an oral summary of the documentary evidence. His presentation was wordy and repetitious, causing the Committee to become exasperated, if not rude. Further damage to the Allied Tribes case was caused when Mr. A. D. McIntyre appeared on the third day and informed the Committee that he represented the Interior Indians and the Allied Tribes did not. McIntyre stated that the Indians of the Interior were not concerned with the question of aboriginal title, but rather with receiving more water for irrigation and the right to hunt and fish unmolested. This testimony diminished the authority of the Allied Tribes to represent and speak for all British Columbia Indians and therefore, must have influenced the Committee.

The hearings concluded on April 6 and on April 11 the Committee submitted its final report. The Committee came to the unanimous decision that "...the Petitioners have not established any claim to the lands of British Columbia based on aboriginal or other title... the matter should now be regarded as finally closed." The explanation given by the Committee for its rejection of the Allied Tribes claim is summed up in the following statement:

...Tradition forms so large a part of the Indian mentality that if in pre-confederation days the Indians considered that they had an aboriginal title to the lands of the Province, there would have been tribal records of such being transmitted from father to son, either by word of mouth or in some other customary way...
The final decision of the Committee reflected a recognition of Scott's testimony that the only difference existing between British Columbia Indians and other Canadian Indians was the payment of treaty annuities. As a result, the Committee recommended that a grant of $100,000 a year be expended annually in lieu of annuities. The report concluded:

In concluding, your Committee would recommend that the decision arrived at should be made known as completely as possible to the Indians of British Columbia by direction of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, in order that they may become aware of the finality of findings and advised that no funds should be contributed by them to continue further presentation of a claim which has now been disallowed.35

In addition to the Committee's recommendations, an important amendment was made to the Indian Act on March 31. On this date Parliament passed an act making it an offense to receive funds from Indians in order to bring an Indian land claim against the Government.36 The decision of the Special Committee was interpreted by the Allied Tribes as a total defeat and shortly after the organization disbanded.

The formation of the Nishga Land Committee and the Allied Tribes of British Columbia were attempts to present native grievances to the governing officials of the majority society. However, the Nishga Land Committee was the voice of one language group, while the Allied Tribes was an attempt to link all natives of the province in a unified protest. Both of these organizations were developed as a result of British Columbia's
Indian land policy and they were geared toward the settlement of aboriginal rights claims. Therefore, when the Special Joint Committee of 1927 pronounced the issue closed, the utility of these organizations was cast in doubt. Now Natives faced greater adversity from the Government and possibly they needed time to regroup and assess their situation before attempting to organize again. However, these two initial native organizations provided a base of experience and the incentive for the formation of new organizations. British Columiba Indians had learned how the Provincial and Federal Governments operated and how to present their grievances to these governments. What they had not learned was how to administer a large organization. The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia would pick up where these early organizations left off. It would attempt to achieve a larger mass appeal, as well as wider aims and goals which affected the lives of all Indians.
Chapter Two - Notes

1 Frideres, James, Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1974), p. 34.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 20.

4 McCullum, Hugh and Karmel, This Land is Not For Sale, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975), p. 127.

5 Ibid., p. 129.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.


9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 32.


12 Ibid. p. 84.

13 Ibid.


17 Ibid., p. 40.

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid., p. 64.
20 Ibid., pp. 41-44.
21 Ibid., p. 51.
22 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
23 Ibid., p. 27.
25 Ibid., p. 88.
27 Ibid., p. 3.
28 Ibid., p. 10.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 77.
32 Ibid., p. 142.
33 Ibid., p. xi.
34 Ibid., p. viii.
36 Ibid., p. xvii.
Chapter Three

The Second Phase of Indian Organization in British Columbia: The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia

After the collapse of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia in 1927 a period of four years elapsed before natives in the province formed a new extra-kin political organization. The establishment of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia in 1931 marked the beginning of a new phase in native organization. For the first time, a native organization focused on a wider range of issues relating to the general welfare and the inferior socio-political position of British Columbia Indians. Grievances, more specific in nature, which affected and concerned a greater number of Indians were addressed by the Native Brotherhood. In this regard, the Native Brotherhood sought a province wide representation and was the successor of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia. Although still important, aboriginal rights claims were no longer the primary and sole concern of the province's Indians.

The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was founded by Alfred Adams (Haida), on the model of the Native Brotherhood of Alaska. Adams, who had relatives active in the Alaska Brotherhood and had attended two conventions himself, presented the idea of forming a similar organization in British Columbia to the chiefs of Port Simpson. The idea was approved by the community leaders and at a later meeting was accepted with enthusiasm by other citizens. A general organizational meeting was
scheduled for mid-December and on December 13, delegations from Masset, Hartley Bay, Kitkatla, Port Essington and Metlakatla met and adopted a resolution to organize as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia. At this meeting, a number of organizational decisions were made; first, a constitution was drafted specifying the purpose and aims of the organization; second, it was decided that conventions would be held annually; and third, officers would be elected and local branches were to be established. After the organization's second convention and the addition of only one more village (Vanarsdale), leaders began to actively recruit new members. Chief Heber Clifton of Hartley Bay and Chief Edward Gamble of Kitkatla, both of high rank in the traditional native system and thus forceful leaders, visited other communities by boat, in an attempt to persuade them to join the Brotherhood. As a result of these efforts, the organization slowly expanded. For example, by 1936 eight communities had become branches: Klemtu, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Kitimat, Kispiyox, Kitwanga, Skeena Crossing and Hazelton. The Brotherhood had reached a total membership of 474 men. Essentially, the first five years of the organization's life were limited to expanding membership, general organization and the discussion of Indian problems.

In addition to those factors previously discussed catalyzing the formation of native organizations, the Depression also acted as a direct triggering mechanism. The Native Brotherhood was formed by a group of natives whose major occupation was
commercial fishing and whose experiences during the early years of the Depression prompted their unification. The stock market crash of 1929 and the Depression which followed hit the salmon industry very hard. In addition, as has been mentioned, during the 1920's many individual fishermen were purchasing their own fishing craft. These boats were usually financed by funds advanced by the cannery. Consequently, fishermen were obligated to sell their catches to the cannery in order that a percentage of their earnings could be deducted to pay for loans and interest. Hence, many fishermen were heavily in debt when the Depression caused added economic hardship. Furthermore, labour unrest complicated matters even more for north coast Indians. For example, there had been a number of poorly organized fishermen's strikes in which the Indians were left "holding the bag," while white and Japanese fishermen were out making big catches. These conditions undoubtedly contributed to the incentive needed by Indian fishermen to unite into an extra-kin organization. Further substantiation for this position is provided by Thomas Gosnell (Nishga), a founder of the Brotherhood, in his testimony to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1947. For example, Gosnell states:

During the depression time of 1929 and 1930 things were very bad amongst the native people. The provincial government issued relief to citizens of British Columbia, and there was nothing available for the Indians of British Columbia... An Indian either had to be sick or there had to be some amount of actual starvation and destitution before he comes under relief,
which calls for approximately $4 and some odd cents...a month... During our informal talks at the council meetings the question of helping the Indians came up. Hence, the birth of the Brotherhood started. 7

While Indians on the north coast were organizing the Brotherhood, those on the central coast were forming an Indian fishermen's union. Indians had been exposed to the activities of unions for decades, through their contact with Japanese organizations and their limited membership in white fishermen's unions. Yet, no attempt to form a native union was made until 1914, when the first Indian union was started on the Skeena River by W. H. Pierce, a missionary of white-Tsimshian parentage. 8 The primary purpose of this union was to help Indian fishermen compete against the Japanese. However, it was shortlived and collapsed when Pierce was transferred to another mission. A more successful union was the Nass River Fishermen's Association, a Nishga organization which continued in existence for quite a number of years. 9 Another union calling itself the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association was organized in 1936 by the southern Kwakiutl and Nootka, after a disastrous strike at Rivers Inlet. This strike had lasted throughout the 1936 fishing season, leaving native fishermen heavily in debt. Upon learning that white fishermen and some northern Indians had fished at the Inlet during the last week of the season, local Indians decided to form a union. Membership in the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association drew in the entire Kwakiutl linguistic group, making it the strongest and most effective native organization to that time. 10
The amalgamation in 1942, of the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia resulted from the imposition of Canadian income tax on native commercial fishermen and the consequent need for a united protest. In 1942, for the first time, Indian commercial fishermen were subject to Canadian income tax. They were incensed and considered it discriminatory that the native fisherman who made his catches off the reserve should be taxed, while the native farmer, cattleman, or logger continued to be tax-free. Andrew Paull, who had been a member of the Allied Tribes, attempted to gain the united support of all coast Indians in a protest against the tax. It should be noted that Paull was the only Roman Catholic in this predominantly Protestant organization. Paull received strong support for his campaign at the Brotherhood's annual convention at Skeena Crossing. Next, he visited Albert Bay and persuaded the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association to become a branch of the Brotherhood.

With a new labour-bargaining arm, additional funds and Andrew Paull as their business agent, the Native Brotherhood entered a period of increased strength and expansion. Paull organized branches of the Brotherhood in some Coast Salish and Nootka communities, and also established a small business office in Vancouver for the organization. Moreover, the treasury of the Pacific Coast Native Fishermen's Association was transferred to the Brotherhood, making it possible for a delegation to be sent to Ottawa to present a petition to the Government in order to
oppose the new income tax law. Not only was the Brotherhood wealthier, but the merger established a labour bargaining arm within the organization, making it a more effective and influential representative agency for Indian fishermen. In addition, another factor contributing to the growing strength of the Brotherhood was the conservative character of its attitude toward bargaining. The canning companies recognized that such an attitude was a stabilizing force in the industry and therefore, extended recognition to the organization as a legitimate bargaining agent. Finally, increased resources allowed leaders of the Brotherhood to once again travel along the coast and in the interior to recruit new members. As a result, two new branches were established on the Nass, one at Greenville and the other at Kincolith. During the early 1940's the organization came to be represented over the entire coast from Cape Mudge northward and in most of the Gitksan villages up the Skeena, as well as a scattered membership in the interior.

In 1945 an important step was taken when the Native Brotherhood revised its constitution and was incorporated under the requirements of the British Columbia Societies Act. As a result of this incorporation, the Brotherhood was established as a legally chartered organization with specific rights and obligations. This move suggests that the organization was utilizing the methods of the majority society for good public relations and to attain recognition as well as respect for its aims and goals from industry and Government officials.
Two major events which occurred in 1946 were important to the Native Brotherhood's struggle to achieve a collective Indian consciousness and clearly demonstrate the organization's objectives. The first event was the appointment of a special Joint Committee to revise the Indian Act and the second was the establishment of the first Indian newspaper, entitled "The Native Voice."

The Special Joint Committee was the product of a new social awareness and public interest in Indians following the Second World War. Indian participation in the war was impressive and native veterans returned to Canada with much more sophistication about the ways of the world than before the war. Within this context, Parliament established a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons to revise the Indian Act. The Committee's order of reference outlined eight major categories of inquiry. They include:

1. treaty rights and obligations
2. band membership
3. the liability of Indians to pay taxes
4. the enfranchisement of Indians both voluntarily and involuntarily
5. the eligibility of Indians to vote at Dominion elections
6. the encroachment of white persons on Indian reserves
7. the operation of Indian day and residential schools
8. any other matter or thing pertaining to the social and economic status of Indians and their advancement which, in the opinion of the Committee, should be incorporated in the revised act.17
The Special Joint Committee consisted of twelve Senators and twenty-two members of the House of Commons who convened during three sessions of Parliament from 1946 to 1948. Testimony was presented by: Government officials; representatives of Indian organizations, associations and bands; as well as persons involved in Indian administration or interested in the condition of Indians. The Committee held 128 meetings over three years during which 22 witnesses were heard and 411 briefs were received. Considerable space in the Minutes and Proceedings of the Committee was devoted to statements by Indian witnesses as well as briefs submitted by various Indian and white groups, Government officials and experts on special subjects relating to Indians and their condition of life.

A delegation representing the Native Brotherhood appeared before the Committee in Ottawa on May 1, 1947, with a brief outlining their response to the Committee's general terms of reference. Members of the delegation included: Rev. P. R. Kelly, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Brotherhood; Chief William Scaw, President of the Brotherhood; Mr. Guy Williams; and Mr. Thomas Gosnell, a founder of the Brotherhood. The following statement by Rev. Peter Kelly summarizes the feelings of the Organization regarding the changes they desired for native people and sets the tone for all their aims and objectives as presented to the Special Joint Committee. Kelly notes:
...I think the Indian reserves and villages at one time served a fine purpose; they acted as a protection for the people. I believe the time has come when the Indian of to-day has just marched a little past that. The reason we are stressing so much the necessity of Indians attending the public schools of the land is so that the growing generation will meet with the other children and will compete with them - if that term can be used with regard to school life - and play with them; and will develop with them and will think as they do and see as they do. And as they grow up I think they will be prepared to take their place in a far better way than the Indian of to-day...\textsuperscript{20}

The issue of the Native Brotherhood's membership and the number of Indians the organization represented was the first topic addressed by the Committee. Rev. Peter Kelly informed the Committee that the Brotherhood had approximately 2,000 male members in good standing and an auxiliary women's organization referred to as the Sisterhood had another 2,000 members. Furthermore, by estimating that the average family had five members, the Brotherhood represented 10,000 people. Given that, the total native population of the province at the time was 25,000, the Native Brotherhood therefore represented approximately half the native population.\textsuperscript{21}

A topic of great concern to the Brotherhood and one which was raised a number of times during their presentation was taxation of Indians. The Brotherhood adopted the position that the imposition of income and other forms of taxation on natives was unjust, due to their lack of a "voice" in the affairs of the country. Their objection was substantiated by a citation of the British principle "No taxation without representation."\textsuperscript{22} Furthermore, the Brotherhood based their opposition on the wording
of Article 13 of the Terms of Union between British Columbia and the Dominion which stated:

The charge of the Indians, and the trusteeship and management of lands reserved for their use and benefit shall be assumed by the dominion government, and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia government shall be continued by the dominion government after union.23

It was concluded by the Brotherhood that because natives in the province did not pay taxes prior to union, they should never be subject to taxation. However, if natives were to be taxed the Brotherhood requested that; first they receive the same social benefits received by other taxpayers, such as: old age pensions, mother's pension, social assistance and homes for the aged; second, they should be extended adequate representation in the affairs of government; third, they should be given equal opportunities in the civil service, public works and other forms of employment.24

Another issue which the Brotherhood's presentation addressed was enfranchisement. It was the organization's conviction that enfranchisement, as it was provided for in the Indian Act was inadequate and therefore, few Indians became citizens. Natives did not wish to give up their Indian identity and hereditary rights for the privilege to vote. However, they "craved" the right to citizenship because by living under the laws of the land they naturally desired a role in the formulation of those laws. As a solution, the Brotherhood proposed that the rights to
citizenship be extended to Indians, without the necessity of their enfranchisement.\textsuperscript{25}

Further discussion on the topic of enfranchisement focused on the system of representation adopted by the Maori population in New Zealand and the Brotherhood's support for the institution of a similar system of representation in Canada.\textsuperscript{26} In New Zealand, the Maoris retained their aboriginal rights and also had full representation in Parliament. Their population in 1943 numbered 96,939 and was allotted four members in the New Zealand Parliament. Maoris were permitted to vote for these four members, but not for other members in the country at large. However, half-castes were given the choice of voting either with the Maoris or with the larger body politic.\textsuperscript{27} Rev. Peter Kelly made the following statement regarding the New Zealand system:

\ldots some of the members (Maoris) have reached cabinet positions and one of them has been knighted. They have advanced wonderfully. I would also like to say that under the challenge of responsibility they seem to have thrived.\textsuperscript{28}

Kelly also makes reference to the overall general condition of the Maoris and the increase in their population as a result of these better conditions. For example, "at one time, in 1874, the population of the Maoris in New Zealand was 47,330, in 1896 the population was down to 42,113...; in 1936 it rose to 82,327 and in 1943 to 96,939."\textsuperscript{29} This increase was attributed to better hospital care and a fine school system which provided the oppor-
tunity of university education paid for by the New Zealand Government. Essentially, the Brotherhood was drawing the Committee's attention to what had been accomplished in another country by comparing it to the embarrassingly backward condition of Canada's natives and placing blame with the Federal Government.

The Native Brotherhood concluded this discussion by stating that without political representation and responsibility, Canada's Indians would remain "wards" and "minors", trapped within a system which fostered ambivalence, dependence and apathy.

The area which was viewed as the key to the future and which elicited the strongest response from the Brotherhood was education. Within the Brotherhood's brief, there was discussion of three main categories of Indians, as follows:

1. ...those who wished to withdraw entirely from white civilization and live as Indians under the wardship of the government with, of course, more money and more land granted them.
2. ...one faction wished to retain the Reserves and as far as possible their old and segregated way of life, but with sufficient educational and federal benefits to allow them to live on an economic parity with the whites, "separate but equal"...
3. ...those who knew that the only salvation for the Indian was education and training that would permit him to enter the white community as an equal, and be assimilated with it.³⁰

Members of the Native Brotherhood belonged to the third category, but with the qualification that natives maintain their hereditary rights. They stood firm in their belief that "it should be the objective of the Indians as well as the government by all
means at their disposal, by way of education and otherwise to bring all Indians within the third category, to the realization that to every right there is a corresponding duty." With regard to specific educational changes, the Brotherhood adhered to the position that Indian Day and Residential schools should be freed of denominational jurisdiction. Furthermore, they felt that the curriculum in Indian schools should be the same as in other provincial schools and therefore, come under the supervision of provincial inspectors. Other suggestions presented were; first, that the school age be advanced to eighteen years due to the broken period of attendance occasioned by the casual geographic employment of parents; second, that Indian children be permitted to attain high school and university education; and third, that a solution be found regarding the inferior qualifications of teachers and the poor condition of native educational facilities. These demands for change in the area of education were supported by statistical evidence outlining the deplorable situation existing in British Columbia, as of June, 1946. For example:

...12,000 or nearly 50 per cent of the Indian population of British Columbia are 17 years of age or under. In the year 1945-46 only 4,100 Indian children were enrolled in schools... 1,200 Indian children were receiving no education whatsoever. Of those enrolled, only 87 had reached Grade VIII, while 142 were in Grade VII, 261 in Grade VI and 382 in Grade V. Only 24 Indian pupils were receiving high school education.
Although problems in the domain of education were recognized as a major contributor to the backward condition of Indians, the Brotherhood also acknowledged economic problems as another contributing factor. Thomas Gosnell drew a comparison for the Committee between British Columbia Indians and the Indians of Alaska, in order to demonstrate the advancements which could be made if a Government extended economic assistance for the development of native industries. For example, after an investigation of Indians in Alaska, the United States Government built canneries at various locations, up to the value of $300,000. These canneries were equipped and supported by the Indians, with their cost being repaid out of the profits. Information received by the Brotherhood revealed that some of these canneries were paid off in five years, making the native in those communities, cannery owners. In addition, the United States Government also agreed to extend loans to groups of twenty or more Indians, at low interest rates, to be paid back over a fixed term of years. As a result of this economic assistance, the natives of Alaska "had a very high rating as productive Indians." 34 The Native Brotherhood requested the institution of a similar arrangement between British Columbia Indians and the Canadian Government. They noted to the Committee: "we think it is possible for the Canadian Government to deal with the Indians along the same pattern. The Indians of British Columbia are not beggars; they do not want to beg; they want something in the nature of a business proposition." 35 By pointing to the life of
the Alaska Indian, the Brotherhood was asserting that people of
a similar race had achieved economic goals equal to whites and
consequently they had feelings of dignity and group identity.
The Brotherhood was stressing the importance of the Government
assisting Indians to stand on their own, shoulder to shoulder
with other citizens.

The recommendations presented to the Special Joint Com-
mittee by the Native Brotherhood demonstrate not only a wide
range of issues, but also a clearly articulated and well thought
out statement of aims toward a better future for Indians. The
future they envisioned was one characterized by justice, deve-
lopment of reserves, occupational opportunities, educational
achievement, as well as feelings of self-worth and dignity.

In addition to the Native Brotherhood's presentation to
the Special Joint Committee the establishment in 1946 of the
"Native Voice", a newspaper informing natives about the Brother-
hood's program and activities, also clearly articulates the
organization's objectives. Although leaders of the Brotherhood
had talked for some time about printing a newspaper, it was not
until the spring of 1946 that it became an urgent need. As a re-
sult of; first, the return of thousands of Indian veterans; se-
cond, the decline in the fishing industry due to the end of the
war; and third, the appointment of the Special Joint Committee,
natives were in need of a forum in which they could be kept in-
formed of the activities of the Brotherhood. The purpose of the
newspaper was outlined on the front page of the first issue in a
statement made by Chief William Scow, president of the Native Brotherhood:

Through our "Native Voice" we will continue to the best of our ability to bind closer together the many tribes whom we represent into that solid Native Voice, a voice that will work for the advancement of our common native welfare. The "Native Voice" will bring about a closer relationship between ourselves and our good white friends who we also appeal to at this time for their support in our struggle for advancement.36

The feelings of natives regarding their position as "wards" and "minors" in Canada was clearly manifested in an editorial, also appearing in the first issue of the newspaper. This editorial, written by Jack Beynon, a Tsimshian from Port Simpson, also displayed the objectives of the Brotherhood. Beynon notes:

...we suffer as a minority race and as wards, or minors without a voice in regard to our own welfare. We are prisoners of a controlling power in our own country - a country which has stood up under the chaos of two world wars, beneath the guise of democracy and freedom, yet keeping enslaved a native people in their own home land.

...our Dominion is not in a position to point a finger of scorn at the treatment meted out by other countries to their people, until she liberates her own aboriginal and subjected race.

...The "Native Voice" will follow through with their aims and objectives with the co-operation of the Government, as they see fit. Those aims are stated clearly by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, Inc. in their Constitution.37
The publication of the "Native Voice" is significant because it was the product of a new Indian able to utilize the examples of the majority society to express Indian aims and ideas. The Native Brotherhood viewed the establishment of a native newspaper as "a long awaited stimulant leading to a better way of life..." Furthermore, it was the Brotherhood's intention that their newspaper; first, always remain undenominational and non-political; second, that it always cater to the native people of the province; and third, that it strive to unite the natives of Canada into one solid body by keeping them in touch with the affairs which affected their lives. In summary the establishment of the "Native Voice" was a pronouncement by the Native Brotherhood that natives were attempting to control and decide their own futures. Moreover, its significance extended far beyond its being the official organ of the Brotherhood, to the fact that it aspired to speak to all Indians on topics relating to the welfare of all Indians.

In conclusion, the presentation of the Native Brotherhood to the Special Joint Committee and establishment of the "Native Voice" demonstrate that the aims and objectives of the organization were geared toward the social, political and economic advancement of Indian peoples, as well as the preservation of Indian identity. Through both of these events the Brotherhood presented itself as a high quality Indian organization, dedicated to changing the minority status of Canadian Indians. In order to change this status the Brotherhood recognized that natives had
to do a number of things. First, natives had to maintain their identity; second, they had to alter their situation of dependence upon the majority society; third, they had to take and maintain the initiative to be independent; fourth, they had to make themselves known provincially and nationally through political activity; and fifth, they had to subordinate their tribal traditions and concerns to focus on issues relevant to all Native Canadians. The efforts of the Brotherhood to promote native self-determination are not unlike some of the steps to independence which have been adopted by newly emerging nations. For example, a gradual increase in participation in the administration of their own affairs with full control in some social, political and economic spheres as the ultimate objective. During the 1940's the Brotherhood, as demonstrated by the two events examined, was asking for social, political and economic equality with the rest of society, while still retaining their special status and Indian identity. In summary, the Brotherhood's objective was a society in which Indians could remain culturally distinct, yet co-operate with other groups within the totality.
Chapter Three - Notes


2 Ibid.


8 Drucker, Philip, The Native Brotherhoods, p. 128.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 129.

11 Ibid., p. 108.

12 Ibid.

13 Morley, Allan, Roar of the Breakers: A Biography of Peter Kelly, p. 145.


15 Ibid., p. 110.

16 Ibid., pp. 110-111.

17 Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 764.


19 Special Joint Committee, 1946, p. 761.

20 Ibid., p. 765.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid., p. 766.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., p. 804.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid., pp. 766-767.
29 Ibid., p. 767.
30 Ibid., p. 833.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid., p. 787.
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., p. 833.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia: A Reflection of Pan-Indianism

The aims and objectives of the natives of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia to enlarge native autonomy within Canadian society are not unlike some steps which have been taken by newly emerging nations. By placing the Native Brotherhood in the context of "nationalistic" literature further insights into the organization's development, objectives and nature can be gained. In recent times there has been a growing movement among colonized racial-ethnic minorities, within various national structures to achieve recognition as socio-political entities with legitimate claims to a meaningful role in controlling their own destinies. Examples of this on the North American continent have been Black, Chicano, French and Indian minorities who have had the same experiences as formerly subject colonial peoples and have begun to actively seek a larger measure of self-determination. The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia represents another example of this trend. During the 1940's, the aims, objectives and activities of the Brotherhood were Pan-Indian in nature. For example, the organization's program of ideas sought to enlarge the economic, social and political opportunities available to Indians, while still maintaining their Indian identity. Pan-Indianism has been defined by Robert Thomas as, "the expression of a new identity and the institutions which are both an expression of that new identity and a fostering of
it. Furthermore, it is a vital social movement which has a nationalistic flavour and is forever changing. In order to better understand the development of Pan-Indian ideals by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, it is useful to examine those relevant theories that seek to explain modern independence movements.

**Internal Colonialism: A Canadian Perspective**

Historically, British Columbia Indians have conformed to those conditions which Bell and Moskos, scholars of independence movements in the Caribbean, have found to be conducive to the emergence of nationalist movements: that is conditions characterized by subordination, oppression and gross inequities in other words, colonialism. Moreover, all the classic elements of European colonialism are present in the history of the Canadian Indian. Robert Blauner cites four basic components of colonization: first, the beginnings of colonization have generally involved a forced or involuntary entry; second, there is an impact upon the culture and social organization of the colonized peoples; third, members of the colonized group tend to be administered by representatives of the dominant power; and fourth, the final element of colonization is racism, the perception that colonized peoples are inferior. These four components exemplify the experience of all Canadian Indians. They were dominated geographically, subject to an external political unit, governed by a people of a different race and culture, exploited economically
in terms of land resources and raw materials, and were assigned a position of dependence upon the "mother" country. However, Robert Blauner has suggested that Canada's Indians have undergone a transition from classic colonization to what has been termed "internal colonialism." For example, today Indians constitute an oppressed minority rather than an oppressed majority.

The notion of internal colonialism as a relevant approach to the search for explanatory frameworks in the study of Canadian native initiatives to achieve self-determination warrants careful consideration. The concept was first introduced by Pablo Gonzalez Casanova. Casanova suggests that the great independence movements of the old colonies are the roots of internal colonialism. Furthermore, after political independence is gained a state of neo-colonialism slowly arises with the direct domination of foreigners over natives disappearing to the domination and exploitation of natives by natives emerging. Dominant groups and classes in new nations play similar roles to those played by the old colonies and this new oppression is felt by some sectors to be more intolerable than the continuation of the colonial government. The utility of the concept of internal colonialism in a Canadian context is that after gaining independence from Europe no change occurred in the subjugated status of Canadian Indians. They remained in a colonial situation with the exception that it became internally imposed, rather than externally imposed, with immigrants or the descendents of immigrants assuming the position of ruling majority.
Sociologists and anthropologists have suggested that indigenous peoples can respond to internal colonialism in a number of ways. For example: "organized violence in the form of initial warfare or later rebellion; revitalization, or messianic movements...; social breakdown and personal demoralization; and individual assimilation into the majority society." However, Fredrik Barth, an anthropologist, has suggested an alternative response. Members of a minority who reject assimilation may "choose to emphasize ethnic identity using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for their purposes." Furthermore, this response identified by Barth includes three main activities. Two additional activities have been suggested by Paul Tennant. These responses include:

1. Selective adaptation of new culture elements, as well as dropping of old elements, for the purpose of facilitating group survival in post-control circumstances.
2. Formation and maintenance of a comprehensive organization to emphasize group identity and to conduct transactions with the ruling majority.
3. Pursuit of minority unit in order to maintain group identity and to provide support for the organization.
4. Establishing relations with groups within the majority which are able and willing to provide resources or support.
5. Lobbying government in order to defend and promote group interests.

The comprehensive organization has been labelled a "dichotomizing" organization by Barth, due to its function of maintaining a dichotomy between the minority group and the majority society.
In addition, the minority organization determines what the interests of the group are and then through political action defends those interests, both within the group itself and within the political system of the majority society. Paul Tennant has designated this response as the strategy of political adaption. In summary, it is evident that indigenous groups can react to internal colonialism in a number of ways, on a continuum with separation and assimilation representing the two extremes. By choosing the strategy of political adaptation, indigenous groups are reacting to internal colonialism in a way which lies somewhere in the middle of the continuum.

Social Scale and Equality

The theses of Wendell Bell and Charles Moskos, derived from their studies of political independence movements in the British West Indies are also relevant to understanding the political adaptation of Canadian indigenous groups. Menno Boldt in a study entitled Indian Leaders in Canada was the first to discuss the Bell-Moskos theses in a Canadian native context. Central to the theories of Bell and Moskos is the concept of social scale. Scale refers to the interaction of individuals within a society and the variations in social gradation between individuals. In addition, there are two types of scale: contemporary and historical. Interaction with other human beings is referred to as contemporary scale, while those relationships oriented toward the past are termed historical scale. Bell and Moskos have
linked contemporary scale with philosophies of the Enlightenment. Philosophes of the eighteenth century were spokesmen for fraternalism, democracy and increasing contemporary scale through the spread of equality and social inclusiveness. Furthermore, Enlightenment philosophies had the effect of identifying particular kinds of barriers to social interaction and opening men's minds to questioning those barriers. Moskos asserts that egalitarianism will always be a change-provoking ideology as long as social organizations exist in which large groups of people occupy subordinate positions. Bell and Moskos have also sought to measure the effect of another intellectual tradition, the Romanticist movement, in its relationship to independence movements. Romanticism has been defined as seeking to extend historical scale. For example, the Romantics claimed that scale was increased, not so much by the spread of equality, but rather by closer interaction with the ancestral background of the group. Therefore, Romantics consciously endeavoured to highlight cultural traditions. In the case of colonial territories, it was the imperial power which served as a model for what was needed to reorder the existing colonial system. Colonial intrusion exposed racial ethnic minorities to Enlightenment and Romantic ideals which then expanded the minority groups' images of feasibility. Thus if a minority group perceives social change and an increase in scale as feasible, a desire for its achievement will result.
Leaders of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia believed that the social scale of the province's natives could be maximized within the existing political structure, rather than through complete political independence. Enlightenment philosophies of equality, fraternalism and democracy, learned from the majority society, provided native leaders with ideological guidelines from which to question the political and social barriers separating them from other members of society. Bell and Moskos acknowledge that there are alternative ways by which minority groups can seek to enlarge scale. During the 1940's in British Columbia, Indian leaders sought to increase their scale through the formation of an extra-kin organization geared toward attaining full equality with the majority society, while at the same time retaining an Indian commonality and identity. Another notable feature of the Native Brotherhood was its manifestation of Romantic ideology. The organization, in its attempt to increase native contemporary scale was at the same time increasing native historical scale. The Brotherhood was increasing the intensity of relations within the smaller Indian society and stressing an Indian identity. Furthermore, native heterogeneity was being assigned a secondary position to an emphasized homogeneity of economic, social and political deprivation. Leaders of the Native Brotherhood were emphasizing a more inclusive, generalized Indian identity based upon a shared historical experience as a minority group and all the inequalities that derive from this status. The program, activities and objectives of the
Brotherhood, emphasized issues to which all natives shared a common concern. Moreover, the objectives of the organization indicate that a gradual progression toward a Pan-Indian inclusiveness was taking place, with a shared history of exploitation and subordination under internal colonialism providing a unifying symbol.

The Bell and Moskos Theses: "Decisions of Nationhood"

Another segment of the Bell and Moskos theses which is also relevant to the political adaptation of Canadian indigenous groups is an analytical scheme referred to as "decisions of nationhood." The research conducted by these two scholars concluded that in a colonial situation, a political independence movement emerges if: first, a significant number of local people are conscious of inequality; second, if a local "enlightened elite" exists committed to equality; third, if local leaders perceive political independence as being feasible; and fourth, if there exists a core of local cultural integrity.20 Furthermore, economic, social and political conditions since World War II, combined with ideologies of the modern world have prompted nationalistic and minority group leaders to adopt a rational decision-making model. The leaders' "definition of the situation" makes them conscious actors within a set of conditions, who are to some extent manipulators of the present and creators of the future.21 "Decisions of nationhood" are a series of questions which must be answered by leaders based upon their
perceptions of reality. How these questions are answered determines the economic, social and political form a nation-state will assume or the conditions necessary for a minority group to survive within an existing nation. "What do men think they must do and think they must become in order to establish and maintain what they think is the type of organization called a nation-state?" According to Bell, the answer to this question may be a single subjective reality, or may be multiple subjective realities if different leaders have different perceptions of the situation. The "decisions of nationhood" proposed by Bell are:

1. Should we become a politically independent nation?
2. How much national sovereigny should the new nation have?
3. What should the geographical boundaries of the new nation be?
4. Should the state and the nation be coterminous?
5. What form of government should the new nation have?
6. What role should the government play in the affairs of the society and of the economy?
7. What should the new nation's external affairs be?
8. What type of social structure should the new nation have?
9. What should the new nation's cultural traditions be?
10. What should the national character of the new nation's people be?

The first decision, "should we become a politically independent nation?" has priority, since all decisions following are dependent upon the outcome of this one. The second decision is of paramount importance, due to the implication that there are varying degrees of independence. All decisions beyond this one are only applicable to groups who have chosen the path of a separate
autonomous nation-state. Although the best known model of "nationalism" takes the form of an active pursuit of a politically independent state, the "decisions of nationhood" demonstrate that it is not necessarily limited to the level of political independence but can refer to a range of political conditions. Furthermore, full and complete economic, political and social independence represents the extreme position on the continuum of "more or less" autonomy. Therefore, minority and nationistic groups can decide upon a range of actions based upon their perceptions of reality in order to create the kind of future desired by their people.

Leaders of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia pursued the goal of enlarged autonomy over the economic, political and social institutions which affected their lives. They stopped short of demanding full political independence in the form of a separate nation-state. Independence was not considered to be a feasible option, nor was it deemed the most advantageous means for correcting inequalities within Canadian society. However, Pan-Indianism as an expression of native political adaptation, was selected by the same decision making process as other groups choose the path of independence and therefore, the "decisions of nationhood" are a relevant concept within the Canadian native situation. For leaders of the Native Brotherhood their choice was not the establishment of a politically independent nation-state, but was increased control over their own lives and destinies, accomplished by co-operation with the government of
the majority society. The political structures and goals favoured by leaders of the Brotherhood were no doubt influenced by the basic fact of Indian poverty and lack of training. Added to their condition of dependence due to a lack of financial resources was their geographical dispersion. There was and still is no geographical location where they could have pursued desires of becoming a separate nation-state. As a result of these conditions independence was not a feasible option for leaders of the Native Brotherhood.

In conclusion, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia was formed as a response to internal colonialism and demonstrated, through its activities and objectives elements of Pan-Indianism. Robert Thomas has suggested that Pan-Indianism has a nationalistic flavour. This is manifested when a group of native people recognize the distinction between themselves and other groups in society and strive to exercise influence on the political structure of society, in order to change this distinction. The general goals of Indian nationalism as noted by Hazel Hertzber are:

1. increased education for all kinds on all age levels
2. improved health and general welfare
3. retention of land base and accumulation of more land
4. economic development on the reserves
5. true rather than nominal tribal sovereignty...
6. greater political solidarity and strength in order to exert significant control over their affairs
7. maintenance and development of Indian culture
The Native Brotherhood of British Columbia expressed similar goals during the 1940's. Although the organization represented only half the native population in one province, it addressed problems and concerns which affected the lives of all Indians. Furthermore, the organization recognized the need to subordinate tribal loyalties to create a new identity as Canadian Indians in order to change their minority status. Therefore, even though they were not a national Indian organization they were still Pan-Indian in the fact that they were working to change the minority status of Indians, while at the same time maintaining Indian traditional rights and culture.
Chapter Three - Notes


3 Ibid., p. 743.

4 Ibid., p. 739.

5 Boldt, Menno, Indian Leaders in Canada, p. 24.


7 Boldt, Menno, Indian Leaders in Canada, p. 25.


9 Ibid.

10 Tennant, Paul, "Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism," B.C. Studies, (Vol. 55, Autumn 1982, pp. 3-49), p. 6. In this article Tennant traces and consolidates the concept of internal colonialism and it is his format which is followed in the discussion in Chapter Three.


13 Barth, Fredrik, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, p. 33.


Ibid.


18 Ibid., p. 81.

19 Ibid., p. 82.

20 Boldt, Menno, Indian Leaders in Canada, abstract.


22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., pp. 7-8.


Conclusion

Despite the diverse character and composition of the native population in British Columbia, it was the first province in Canada to produce native extra-kin political organizations. The predisposition to form organizations and the ability to maintain them were without a doubt affected by the legacy of traditional social and economic organization of coastal Indian peoples. Within north coast society a clearly acknowledged hereditary leadership structure provided an existing leadership potential, with the influence and capabilities to assume executive positions in modern native political organizations. In addition, the economic sphere of commercial fishing provided the two essential elements of transportation and communication which were necessary in order to maintain structural cohesion, as well as to recruit new members. However, without just cause even a group of natives possessing the predisposition and potential to organize will not necessarily do so. In British Columbia, a distinct historical experience caused native dissatisfaction and acted as a triggering mechanism for extra-kin political organization. In this regard the Indians of British Columbia were different from the majority of Canadian Indians. They possessed not only factors pertaining to organization but also a unique set of grievances stemming from their genuine concern that their lands and traditional lifestyle had been taken from them without payment of compensation by the Crown. The combination of all these
factors elicited the response of political adaptation through the formation of native organizations.

Native organizations which formed between 1890-1950 differed from one another in structure, membership base and objectives. On this basis these organizations can be viewed as occurring in two phases. However, this method of classification does not imply separate-ness, but rather progression with the initial organizations providing a base of expertise and valuable experience for the later organization to build upon. The Nishga Land Committee and the Allied Tribes of British Columbia were formed for the sole purpose of pursuing a settlement of the aboriginal land claim. The land claim, in addition to the "philosophy of injustice" provided the primary incentive to achieve Indian unity through organization and for seeking a judicial decision on the issue of aboriginal title. However, their desire to have their claim heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council prevented them from achieving their objectives. This course of action threatened the preservation of satisfactory relations between the Dominion and British Columbia Governments and therefore hindered their cause, since they could not get to court without the permission of those government officials whom they threatened. Also, the Allied Tribes had a weak organizational base. In the absence of a localized membership structure the life and purpose of the organization was concentrated in a small group of leaders and white supporters. Furthermore, since no membership fees were levied and the organization depended
entirely upon donations for funds, money was a continual problem. In summary, organizations within the first phase of native political activity were characterized by: first, organizational weakness; second, aboriginal land claims as the sole focus of their activity; and third, a single minded commitment to a decision by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a method to resolve their grievances.

Phase two of native political activity in British Columbia commenced with the formation of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia in 1931. Unlike the Nishga Committee and the Allied Tribes, the Brotherhood did not pursue the claim to aboriginal title. Rather, it sought improved education for Indians, better health care, the franchise, as well as improved economic and employment opportunities. The objectives of the Brotherhood were more specific and wider in range, therefore they affected the lives of all Indians in the province. Furthermore, while the early organizations were aided and influenced by white advisors the Native Brotherhood was organized and led by Indians. It was a highly structured organization both at the executive and the local level. Each local branch had its own vice-president and secretary and held its own meetings, while the general organization held annual conventions. Although the Brotherhood was essentially a north coast native organization its aim was to represent Indians from the whole of British Columbia. Like earlier organizations the Brotherhood was triggered by a particular historical experience, but rather than stressing aboriginal rights
they focused on the "philosophy of injustice" as a basis for their grievances. In addition, the Depression and the hardship it caused native commercial fishermen acted as a further triggering mechanism for the formation of the Brotherhood. As an expression of political adaptation to internal colonialism, the Brotherhood's program sought to enlarge the economic, social and political opportunities available to Indians, while at the same time maintaining their Indian rights. They were utilizing the political procedures adapted from the majority society to change their minority status and at the same time ensure their survival as Canadian Indians.
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Appendix A

CONSTITUTION
NATIVE BROTHERHOOD OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
1931-32

Preamble

Whereas, we the Natives of British Columbia, owing to the keen competition in our efforts for an existence, the time has come when we must organize for the betterment of our conditions, socially, mentally, and physically. To keep in closer communication with one another to cooperate with each other and with all the authorities, for to further the interests of the Natives.

Hence we organize as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia whose objectives will be, to stimulate and increase learning among our natives, and to place them on equal footing to meet the ever increasing competition of our times.

To cooperate with all who have at heart the welfare of the natives and to cooperate with the Government and its officials for the betterment of all conditions surrounding the life of the native.

BYLAWS

1. That this organization shall be known as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia.

2. The powers of this organization shall be Legislative, Executive and Judicial, in such time as the Convention shall from time to time dictate, and all members shall be governed by such constitutions and laws adopted at these conventions.

3. In order that there be better unity this organization shall have power to establish branches in all native villages for the purpose of this organization.

4. Conventions shall be held annually and at such times and places as the previous convention shall decide. Delegates shall be appointed from each branch. The President, General Secretary and General Treasurer shall attend all conventions.
5. Conventions shall pass on all credentials and audit all books, elect officers and prepare resolutions and all matters pertaining to the business of the Brotherhood.

6. Officers of the Brotherhood shall consist of President, Vice-President, General Secretary, General Treasurer, Recording Secretary, and an Executive Committee to be elected, two from each village of the Brotherhood.

7. Duties of the officers will: President shall preside over all meetings of the convention and all executive meetings and shall direct the policy of the organization, as agreed on at the convention and executive meeting.

   First Vice-President, in event of the Office of President be vacant to fill same, and to have full executive powers.

   The General Secretary, to attend all conventions, to keep all the accounts and records of the General organization, to be empowered to receive and expend monies on behalf of the organization.

   The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Organization. All monies received by the officers of the Brotherhood shall be deposited in his care. The Recording Secretary shall take and keep all records of all meetings.